

**HOUSE HOLD POLITICS, THE MARKET AND
SUBORDINATION: A STUDY OF WEAVER
COMMUNITY IN BANGLADESH**

M. Phil Thesis

By

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In fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M. Phil) in Anthropology

DECLARATION

I, Tahsina Ferdous, declare that my thesis, entitled HOUSE HOLD POLITICS, THE MARKET AND SUBORDINATION: A STUDY OF WEAVER COMMUNITY IN BANGLADESH is completely of my own research work. So far I know, no research on this title has been conducted previously. I have not submitted this thesis or any part of it anywhere for any degree or publication.

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CERTIFICATE

It is my pleasure to certify that the dissertation entitled “HOUSE HOLD POLITICS, THE MARKET AND SUBORDINATION : A STUDY OF WEAVER COMMUNITY IN BANGLADESH” submitted by Tahsina Ferdous to the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology is an original piece of research done under my supervision. To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation was not previously submitted for any diploma/ degree/ fellowship to any other university/ institute. The materials obtained from other sources have been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

This dissertation is recommended and forwarded to University of Dhaka, through the Department of Anthropology, for necessary formalities leading to its acceptance in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) in Anthropology.

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Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that Tahsina Ferdous has successfully completed her dissertation in Anthropology titled “HOUSE HOLD POLITICS, THE MARKET AND SUBORDINATION: A STUDY OF WEAVER COMMUNITY IN BANGLADESH”. The research is found acceptable and approved for submission in fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) in the department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka.

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the situation of women subordination which determined by the household politics and market strategy in weaver community of Bangladesh. In this traditional inherited occupational community the position of women in intra-household relationship is inferior because of the social construction of gender and construction of patrilineal society. In the weaving household both female and male members are engaged with the whole procedure of weaving. But female member's participation march with their household work. Male member's (who are responsible for running the family) participation recognized as economic and productive work. For the female it is very natural and as usual that at the same time they should cook rice on one (*Chula*) and on another she should boil the bobbin of yarn. And this is the actual picture of all most every household of the weaver community in kandipara village. The female members have to do the domestic work and economic activities at the same time in the household.

The study will show that even though women are engaged economic and productive activities with weaving, there is no analogous improvement in gaining economic power and their bargaining power. It explores how the intersection of gender with social-class, religion and culture shapes the position and experiences of female weaver within the household in Bangladesh. This study uncovers the various factors and forces which lead to the situation of subordination of women in the weaver community.

The study shows that in a weaver household work of male person is recognized as economic activities but that of a female is not recognized as economic activities. And it is considered as a normal household work on the part of women. Only when they work in others' factory it is then only they are paid. There is disparity between the wages of male and female workers and most of the time female workers are paid less than male workers.

This research provides current empirical evidence regarding the impact of She performed all the household works with his own hands like cooking, washing the cloths and utensils, cleaning the whole house, sweeping etc. At the same time she performed all the task of pre-weaving stage for the domestic production. Like spinning the yarn, boiling the yarn, applying glue to the yarn, drying it and processing it etc. I watched her cooking rice on one *chula* (oven) and boiling the bobbin of the yarn on another *chula* (oven) at the same time. And this is the illuminating picture of my research work that is subordination of women in weaver community. The housewife is doing normal household duties as well as economic activities at the same time. But she is not conscious about it and she does not get any wage for it and her work will not be recognized as economic work. Through this I

got an essence about an internal household mechanism which I may call household politics.

This situation of intra household mechanism-where men domination and women subordination is visible clearly with their everyday practice both private and public life. This Presented view of discrimination among the women in every weaver household of my study area village Kandipara. So I term this as “household politics”. This politics is found in weaver community of Kandipara like other weaver village of Bangladesh. Women are kept confined with weaving related work. But they do not get any wage for it. They are not aware that this work is apart from normal household work and deserves wage. This may be looked upon as domestic exploitation. This whole matter is included in intra household mechanism.

This study uncovers that even though women are engaged economic and productive activities with weaving, there is no analogous improvement in gaining economic power and their bargaining power. It explores how the intersection of gender with social-class, religion and culture shapes the position and experiences of female weaver within the household in Bangladesh.

This research provides current empirical evidence regarding the impact of the study considers to the aspects of gender division of labour commonly assigns of unpaid domestic activities to women. Importance is not attached to female labour. They have to perform household chores and labour of weaving. Though it is economic work they are not paid any wage for it. This type of exploitation is found in the household of weaving community in Kandipara.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

My research topic “Household Politics, The Market and Subordination: A Study of Weaver Community in Bangladesh” is very relevant to anthropological interest from various perspectives. Anthropology is the scientific study of human being and culture. The weaver community in Bangladesh has a unique tradition, culture and practice. Weaving is their inherited occupation. Both women and men are engaged in weaving in this community. The women have lots of contribution in weaving, production and manufacturing cloths. But they are not recognized as worker and are not paid their proper wage because of social construction of gender. In their household based production the household is the locus within which female and male cooperate as members of a single productive enterprise in which some production for own use goes on.

Women subordination is noticed in varying degrees in different countries, societies, cultures, classes, communities and religions. Ours is a developing country. As a result women subordination is acute here in both in urban and the rural spheres. Male domination and women subordination are as though the head and tail of the same coin. Family is the basic and primary institution of a society or a particular social system. Male domination and women subordination primarily exist in family. This state of affair is present in other aspects of society. In the weaver community household politics is one of the main causes of women subordination.

Our society belongs to a developing third world country. As a result gender discrimination and male domination clearly exist here. The root of domination over women can be traced in her status in household existence. According to feminist anthropologist Harris (1982) household is a sphere where gender discrimination is born and re-enacted. The feminist anthropologists consider family as an ideological institution. Their analysis put up family as a field where specific traits of gender are reproduced. For this reason family contains in itself the aspect of domination in the family.

Naturalistic assumptions about femininity derive particularly from physiological characteristics and also from the organization of family relations. Similar naturalistic assumptions underlie also in the way we think about the domestic domain, although here the assumptions are in general more concealed and less coherent. It has been generally accepted from Engels’s point of view on that the key of women’s subordination is to be found in their identification with the domestic sphere.

There is a argument that domestic labour is a hidden form of exploitation; another argument is that women’s responsibility for the personal, emotional lives of household members structures their lives in such a way as to exclude their participation in social and political life; other is about that pointed to marriage as the key social relation by which

women's subordination is secured; yet others have argued that women's status in the public domain can be positive only when there is little separation or differentiation between domestic and public spheres. Through a whole spectrum of arguments it is agreed that the domestic sphere is the site where gender subordination is produced and re-enacted. (Harris, 1984:136).

In feminist discussions it is normal to talk of 'the family', 'the household', and 'the sexual division of labour', in a way that seems to impute some universal significance to these terms. Feminist writers have pointed out that this confusion of terms is no mere accident; the prevailing familial ideology of capitalist society insists that members of a nuclear family should live together, and that people not related in this way should not live together (Rapp, 1979).

The assumptions made today about the natural –and proper- organization of family life can be shown to have arisen in particular historical circumstances (Hall, 1979; Donzelot, 1980). The definitions of motherhood, childhood, fatherhood,, the representation of the home as a 'haven in a heartless world', have been forged out of variable ideological and legal campaigns, and are subject to constant recognition as needs and circumstances change(Rapp,1979). However, the fact is that in most parts of the domestic groups does take place ideally through relations of kinship and marriage. Marriage may provide for the recruitment of new members to already existing units, or it may form the basis for the creation of a new unit, but it also provides a means by which families are reproduced from one generation to the next.

While the supposed coincidence of family and household presents the domestic unit as a domain in which relationships are based on natural law, I think there are other important dimensions in the assignation of natural status to the domain. The English term household denotes an institution whose primary feature is co-residence; it is overwhelmingly assumed that people who lie within a single space, however that is socially defined, share in the tasks of day-to-day servicing of human beings, including consumption, and organize the reproduction of the next generation. Co – residence implies a special intimacy, a fusing of physiological functions and a real distinction from other types of social relations which can be portrayed as more amenable to analysis. It is undoubtedly the case that whether or not it coincides with the family of procreation, household organization is fundamental to ideologies of womanhood, and that households are in material terms the context for much of women's lives. As such household is the fundamental component of social life.

As weaving is their hereditary occupation for generation, every member of the community both female and male are engaged with weaving in different capacities. As for example procuring the yarn and dye, preparing the yarn for weaving, actual weaving and processing the cloth.

In a weaver household work of male person is recognized as economic activities but that of a female is not recognized as economic activities. And it is considered as a normal household work on the part of women. Only when they work in others' factory it is then only they are paid. There is disparity between the wages of male and female workers and most of the time female workers are paid less than male workers.

This research provides current empirical evidence about women subordination of weaver community in the village Kandipara, district Sirajganj in Bangladesh. In the weaver community I noticed a particular household mechanism which is also related with market system existing. I call it 'household politics'- a state of affairs which prevails in my research area kandipara. This mechanism of household politics along with market system creates a clear situation of subordination of women.

Objectives of the study

Any thesis or research work is intimately related with objectives, that is, objectives are the part and parcel of research work. So it goes without saying that my thesis work has objectives. Basically there are two categories of objectives –one is ***broad objective*** and the other is ***specific objective***.

Broad objective– The main objective of the study is to know about the household life and its mechanism, market strategy and the situation of subordination of women in the weaver community.

Specific objectives – This type of objectives consists of several issues or objectives within the field of study.

As my intention is to understand the weaver community in depth, my endeavour is:

- To find out the factors and forces which lead to the situation of subordination of women in the weaver community.
- To obtain practical knowledge about the nature of women subordination.

- To portray the real images of their family and household pattern, religion and religious practices, type of marriage and kinship, socio-economic condition, and political standing.
- To know about the aspect of production side in relation to the participation of the women.
- To focus on the various aspects of production, techniques, marketing strategy of the weaver community.
- To investigate what qualitative and quantitative change occurred in the life of the weaver under the contemporary forces of globalization and urbanization and various problems of the weaver community.

Field Area

My research area is village Kandipara, a village sprawling with a number of factories. The specific spot village Kandipara is 35 kilometers away from the district Head Quarters, Sirajganj. It is accessible by bus. There is regular bus trip to south most part of Enayetpur. But to go to Kandipara one must get down at K.G. More. The final short distance of ½ km is to be covered on foot. The path takes a turn from the highway nearby the K.G. school at Enayetpur, covering a distance of about 5 kilometers.

Since I have reviewed some literatures and also I have past experience of working among the weaver community of Kandipara, I think I will find the situation of women subordination among them where women and men are treated very differently and they have varied role according to their physical recognition as “male’ and “female” in the household as well as in the economy and household politics may cause women subordination here. According to feminist view of anthropology it is clear that the productive and reproductive roles of women cannot be separated out and analyzed isolating one from the other. This provides a clear notion about women’s subordination worldwide.

Research question

1. What is the situation of household politics, market strategy and subordination in the weaver community?
2. How household politics (household mechanism) and market strategy determine women subordination?
3. Why the members of this community especially the female are not conscious about their subordinate position?
4. How the situation of women subordination is integrated in their hereditary occupation weaving?
5. How do the women contribute to the pre-weaving tasks leading to production of weaving?

Significance of the study

My research work “Household Politics, the Market and Subordination: A Study of a Weaver community of Bangladesh” has great significance and justification.

Since the dawn of civilization the need for clothing has been ever increasingly felt. In line with this increasing demand, weaving has evolved through time from its manually operated primitive handloom, power looms gigantic sophisticated textile manufacturing machines. In Bangladesh weaving has been one of the flourishing industries and it plays a significant role in the economy of the country.

In keeping with this increasing demand weaving has evolved through time from the manually operated primitive handloom, power loom and a sophisticated textile mill have sprung up and contribute to the economic development of the country. A sizable number of our populations both female and male are engaged in the sprawling handloom industry. They provide one of the most prominent basic needs - clothing. Of the complete workforce women constitute a vast part. This prompted me to study their case pertaining to family pattern, household mechanism or for that matter household politics and market also.

Anthropological study is an approach to understand the living picture of a community. Very few anthropological researches have been conducted on weaver community. What has been done is insufficient in view of demand. In view of this I channelized my endeavour to the topic in hand. I tried my best to delve deep in to the task and tried to build a realistic picture of weaver community in Kandipara which is supposed to be identical with other community of the same occupation in Bangladesh.

This is an anthropological analysis about the situation of subordination and with a focus on the socio-economic and cultural aspects of a weaver community of the village Kandipara in the district of Sirajganj. Shahjadpur and Enayetpur are the two main textile centers in Sirajganj district in Bangladesh. Though the cotton handloom sector is in terms of employment next to agriculture the most important economic sector; it is in a deplorable state. Hence it is the proper time to think for the betterment of the weavers who play very vital role in the socio-economic structure of our country. Handloom weaving is the biggest part of Bangladesh cottage industry but very neglected and the weavers fully responsible for the production of the nations clothing are in a miserable plight.

Handloom weaving was treated as a major rural industry in Bangladesh but the recent trend is the replacement of handlooms by the introduction of power looms. Traditional fabrics like *saree*, *lungi*, *gamcha* are now mainly produced in power loom factories. The inhabitants of Kandipara have been associated by generations with handloom industry from long past. The weaver community of this area is fully dependent on this industry. But the hard fact is that their association with handloom industry is on the wane. It is observed that all the members of a family do not engage themselves in this hereditary occupation. Some members are seeking other avenues of employment. Educated members are choosing job. Again, many others are going abroad. All these happen because this traditional occupation, weaving is passing through various problems.

The present study was undertaken to consider, in depth, the role and status of women and men in the weaver community. In the perspective of socio-economic environment the main purpose of the study is to provide detailed information of handloom weaving and weaver community of the village Kandipara as well as Bangladesh and to analyze it in its proper historical and present-day context.

Limitations of the Study

This study is not beyond certain limitations particularly from researcher's manageability point of view. Researcher manageability mainly depends on certain factors, like time, money, merit, skill, experience, conditions of the research area, and so on. As an M. Phil thesis, I had to work within a stipulated time period which has limited the volume and magnitude of the study. To carry out the research among the weaver community of the village Kandipara I had to face some limitations and difficulties. The biggest limitation of my study is the short spent of time. Intensive fieldwork is the pre-requisite for an anthropological study of any community.

The next vital question is that of finance. This type of work entails somewhat a substantial fund which may be forthcoming from a sponsor. But as a student I had to manage my own fund. From beginning to the end up to the presentation of the thesis the money required is not a mean amount. I could not procure any sponsor. So managing the requisite fund was almost a herculean task on my part as a student.

At the outset I had to encounter the initial hostility. It is quite a natural lot for any researcher in a new place. They looked upon me as an intruder. They were not in a mood to talk with me let alone cooperate with me. Gradually I was on talking term with them. Still they would not let me inside their affairs. Bit by bit I was progressing in rapport building. In this way I faced a lot of difficulties to get access in the weaver community. The study could overcome other constraints involved with researcher's manageability. In the research field, some difficulties faced by me but could succeed to overcome these with effective rapport building. The study has gathered a huge data but could not present many of those because of space constraint.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature Review

A review of literature is an indispensable part of a research process. For this, I have obtained background information in order to get an idea about my research topic. In the contemporary world women subordination as well as domination of male has been a global agenda. For the developing country Bangladesh women subordination and social construction of gender is a matter of great importance. For this reason, special attentions have been paid by academicians, researchers, social workers, teachers, researchers to women's issues. As a result, a number of works on women's affairs are available and these literatures helped me in my study to make a theoretical and conceptual understanding. According to John W. C. the literature in a research accomplishes several purposes. (1) It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the study being repeated; (2) It relates a study to the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature about a topic, filling in gaps and extending prior studies; (3) It provides a framework for establishing the importance of the study, as well as a benchmark for comparing the results of the study with other findings.

This study has obviously made a separate section for reviewing the literature. Following are some major and dominant literature review in the study:

Of Marriage and the Market: Women's subordination internationally and its lessons edited by **kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz and Roslyn McCullagh** (1984). This edited book is the unique one to study of women subordination. Despite the vast differences between first and third world societies, the subordination of women seems to be a universal fact. The articles in this book look specifically at the marital bond or contact, and locate the subordination of women in terms of that contact. Others examine the development and expansion of market relations and show how that affects marital relations, husbands' control over wives, men's over women. The authors believe that feminist concerns are international, only the emphasis differs from place to place.

The book presents a series of important and original essays on the question of the sexual division of labour and gender subordination. The essays provide important criticism of socialist practice and Marxist theory by focusing on the issues of marriage, family and private life. While some of the articles remain bound by traditional Marxist methodology they all extend and stretch this framework in exciting new ways. This book is a significant contribution to the field of Marxist feminist scholars.

The articles in this book apply feminist analysis to the situation of women in developing capitalist and post-revolutionary countries. The analysis of gender which is the common theme of the articles is sharpened in studying societies undergoing transformation in their dominant economic relationships and forms. It is the empirical variety of these economies which helps to problematize the link between gender and economy in a less deterministic way than that informed primarily by advanced capitalist economies. In societies undergoing rapid change, the articulation of gender and social economy is brought into sharp relief as existing structures break down and are transformed.

The first four papers explore the links between women's involvement in social production and the dynamics of their subordination. Theories which explain women's work in terms of the 'natural' attributes of women, or which take as their starting point the complementarity of women's and men's work are rejected. The papers attempt to construct feminist theory of the sexual division of labour within a materialist analysis based on Marxist methodology. At the same time they examine the social relations of production in third world countries and the place of women within them.

The Marxist analysis of social relations of production is theoretically insufficient not only because it does not address woman's subordination to men but also because it does not encompass the complete process of valorization in capital accumulation.

The articles by Whitehead, Maher and Harris address these latter issues: the relation between the household and woman's subordination. The perspective developed here represents a convergence of two sets of themes in the literature- the stress in feminist analysis of Western capitalism on the household as a locus of women's labour, and the emphasis in the analysis of many third world production systems on the household production unit. Feminist theory took a major step forward in distinguishing household units, characterized by co-residence and some common domesticity, from 'families'. It is in the assumptions and consequences of the arrangement for everyday living, especially those associated with human reproduction made through household forms, that we find a major cause of women's work burdens.

Olivia Harris discussed about the relation between the power and authority of the household head and the state. Although in tribal societies, family and kinship statuses frequently embody authority and power far beyond what in industrial society we would term the 'domestic', it is particularly where the state form is hegemonic that the status of household head usually the father serves as the conscious model for political power. On the other hand, the power and authority of the household head is derived not so much from the internal relations of the household, as from the use the state makes of households as legal, economic, administrative and political units.

Henrietta L. Moore, *Feminism and Anthropology* (1988). This is the first book which examines the nature and significance of a feminist critique in anthropology. It offers a clear introduction to, and balanced assessment of, the theoretical and practical issues raised by the development of a feminist anthropology.

Henrietta Moore situates the development of a feminist approach in anthropology within the context of the discipline, examining the ways in which women have been studied in anthropology - as well as the ways in which the study of gender has influenced the development of the discipline anthropology. She considers the application of feminist work to key areas of anthropological research, and addresses the question of what social anthropology has to contribute to contemporary feminism.

Throughout the book Henrietta Moore's analysis is informed by her own extensive fieldwork in Africa and by her concern to develop anthropological theory and method by means of feminist critique. This book will be of particular value to students in anthropology, women's studies and the social sciences.

The book *Feminism and Anthropology* by Henrietta L. Moore is a unique narrative historical description of Feminism and Anthropology. There are six chapters in this book. In the first chapter the writer introduces us to the history of the relationship between feminism and anthropology. Feminist anthropology began by criticizing male bias within the discipline and the neglect or negative presentation of women and their work. This stage is referred to as 'anthropology of women'. In the next page the remarkable tendency was studying women by women. This led to the anxieties of ghettoization and marginalization. As a result feminist anthropology introduced new approaches, new areas of theoretical enquiry and redefined in project not as the 'study of woman' but as the 'study of gender'. Feminist anthropology involves the building of theoretical constructs deals with difference by an attempt to establish the theoretical and empirical grounds for a feminist anthropology based on difference.

Chapter two deals on gender, sexual asymmetry and 'man' with debated and 'woman' as symbolic categories of constructs lies in the identification of the expectations and values which individual cultures associate with being male or female.

Chapter three discuss the relationship between Marxist and feminist anthropology, and considers the impact traditional areas of anthropological which feminist anthropology has had on traditional areas of anthropological enquiry, including property; inheritance and the sexual division of labour. These debates were extremely important in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and they are part of a more general shift in anthropological thinking which took place at that time.

In chapter 4 the writer deals with debates concerning the rise of capitalism, and the way in which forms of labour and the sexual division of labour have been transformed. The chapter goes on to discuss feminist theories of the relationship between productive and reproductive labour under capitalism, and shows how data from non-western countries can provide new vantage points from which to view old debates. It concludes with a discussion of the changing 'family'.

In chapter 5 Henrietta L. Moore has presented material on women and the state which is arguably the 'newest' and most exciting area of feminist scholarship in anthropology; and it draws on perspectives developed in earlier chapters to outline the areas of the discipline in which feminist anthropology is likely to be making substantive contributions in the future. It also provides material on which to base a critique of feminist theorizing and feminist politics. In my opinion this is undoubtedly a remarkable book to understand feminist anthropology and its scope.

Henrietta L. Moore, *The Subject of Anthropology: Gender, Symbolism and Psychoanalysis* (2007). In this ambitious new book, Henrietta Moore draws on anthropology, feminism and psychoanalysis to develop an original and provocative theory of gender and of how we become sexed beings. Arguing that the Oedipus complex is no longer the fulcrum of debate between anthropology and psychoanalysis, she demonstrates how recent theorizing on subjectivity, agency and culture has opened up new possibilities for rethinking the relationship between gender, sexuality and symbolism.

Using detailed ethnographic material from Africa and Melanesia to explore the strengths and weaknesses of a range of theories in anthropology, feminism and psychoanalysis, Moore advocates an ethics of engagement based on a detailed understanding of the differences and similarities in the ways in which local communities and western scholars have imaginatively deployed the power of sexual difference. She demonstrates the importance of ethnographic listening, of focused attention to people's imaginations, and of how this illuminates different facets of complex theoretical issues and human conundrums.

Written not just for professional scholars and for students but for anyone with a serious interest in how gender and sexuality are conceptualized and experienced, this book is the most powerful and persuasive assessment to date of what anthropology has to contribute to these debates now and in the future.

Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (1975). The book introduced issues and put forward questions which have both spoken to, and shaped, the concerns and research of many American feminist anthropologists since its publication in 1975. Certain of the issues have been resolved: others have led to research into related problems. But much research has been generated in response to or in alliance with, the concerns aired in the various articles. As a collection, it is an archaeology of knowledge about the anthropology of women in its US variant formative era. The book follows the Marxist - Feminist arguments, outline of Marxist theory and the methodological biases that permeate almost all of what we know about the world of gender studies.

The stated aim of the collection of essays brought together by Rayna R. Reiter is to provide information and theory on the bases for sexual equality or inequality and to contribute to the analysis which must always accompany action for fundamental social change. The topic that brings together the separate chapters is women, but the subject matter ranges from the state of the arts in anthropology to the universals and particulars of gender identification. It is nearly world-wide in area coverage, with chapters reporting on women in North America, Latin America, Africa, Europe and Asia and it moves from the Pleistocene to the Great Leap forward in China.

The editor has grouped the papers in the following sets: (1) male bias in the discipline (2) origin of gender relations (3) sexual quality of kinship-order societies (4) contemporary West European peasant groups (5) Third world developing countries and (6) the transition to socialism to China. This is not a book with a unitary view; it would be too early in breaking ground in this not quite virgin territory to crystallize issues that are just being explored. Marxism is there, but so is Levi-Strauss, Freud and even Bachofen. Myths are explored, demolished, and recreated. Some of the articles, such as Sally Slocum's "Woman the Gatherer: Male bias in Anthropology" are already classics. Others, such as "The Origin of the Family" by Kathleen Gough make us realize how far women's studies have progressed. Still others recapitulate familiar themes. But all are provocative in reviewing the anthropological past and prophesying future trends.

The issues raised in the book may be grouped under three major questions. What are the origins of women's structural subordination? What is the quality of the data on which we base our investigations into women's oppression? What perspective can the Marxist tradition provide—and how must we answer its deficiencies—for our critical reappraisal of women's status and potentials? The articles address issues of biological determinism (Liebowitz), oppression being related to differential strength and family structure origins (Gough), matriarchy as a needed charter/myth (Webster), the android-centrism inherent in most anthropologists' research concerns, data collection and interpretation—and how ethnology is thereby distorted (Slocum, Faithorn, Rohrlich-Leavitt, Sykes and Weatherford). The Marxist tradition—largely through the work of Eleanor Leacock, and Engels' Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State—has a great influence on a number of the authors. Beginning with the semi-autonomy of gender hierarchy within capitalist societies, these articles seek sources of gender oppression in various historical transformations. Draper explains the loss of authority and autonomy of sedentarized! Kung women through their lack of ownership of strategies property. J. Brown attributes

Iroquois women's considerable authority to their control of food distribution within and outside households. Rubin finds oppression rooted in the cultural constitution of gender identity, what she termed the sex/gender System of a culture. Sacks and Reiter specifically focus on State/class formation as setting up separated, unequal spheres of activity (public and private or domestic) which crone to be gender-linked. Other authors examine the effects of capital penetration on women of different classes and occupational categories, and how those structural effects crone to be internalized.

Silverman and Harding investigate the internalization of patriarchy: the association of life crises with socioeconomic functions on the one hand, and the structuring of personal influence in the absence of social authority on the other. Case study examines the economic, educational, ideological, and political structures which limit the involvement of urban Nigerian women with regard to the neo-colonial political sector, and the growing capitalist sector, at the same time; they can no longer participate in traditional productive and exchange activities, for religious reasons Islamic conformity or because those products have been undercut by manufactured goods.

Clearly, some of the major directions in women's anthropology today have taken off from ideas developed these essays. Research concerning gender constitution, and the sex/gender systems of kinship and class societies owes much to Rubin's pioneering formulation. Those involved in ethno historical research regarding State formation build on ground prepared by Rapp and Sacks. The critiques of male-centered methodologies have given many supports in facing still-hostile committees. The collection is grounding in the issues, and some of the initial approaches to problems confronting anthropologists doing research on women are still useful.

Toward an Anthropology of Women (1975) emerged from questioning anthropological traditions, from fieldwork and archival research which sometimes scandalized male-centered advisors, from the political struggles of women anthropologists in the class rooms on the home front, on the job and on the unemployment line. The research and the struggles continue perhaps that is why the anthology remains useful and exciting.

Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, (1989) which gives us a clear, comprehensive, and indispensable preface to the major traditions of feminist theory. Rosemarie Tong provides a more wide-ranging and substantially redrawn plot of twentieth-century feminist thinking. Besides providing up-to-date coverage of liberal, radical (libertarian and cultural), and Marxist-socialist schools of feminism, she covers psychoanalytic, existentialist, and postmodern feminism. All the chapters have been rethought and new chapters have been added such as eco feminism, multicultural and global feminism. Writers have tried as much as possible to discuss the weakness as well as the strengths of each of the feminist perspective.

The second edition of *Feminist Thought* is an invaluable guide to all intellectuals and learners of feminist theories. As a student of Women and Gender Studies, I need to know the comprehensive summary of the richly diverse set of feminist perspective. That is why I choose this book to review which enrich my wisdom of knowledge.

In chapter one, we see that Liberal Feminism embarked on the 18th and 19th centuries and has continued through to the present day. Although there are variations, the interior notion here is that women, as rational human beings, should have equal access to employment and education, should be paid for the value of their work and should be allowed equal participation in political and social life, according to their individual wishes and merits. In other words, women should not be excluded from, or devalued in any sphere of social life simply on the basis of their sex. Major thinkers under this school are Mary Wollstonecraft (18th century), Harriet Taylor Mill (19th century), and Betty Friedan (20th century). The major critiques of this position are that it uncritically accepts male values; it seems to want women to become like men, it also questioned liberal feminism's focus on the individual and not on the community. A historical critique of liberal feminism focuses on its racist, classist and heterosexist past.

Chapter two discuss about the oppression of women is historically the first kind of oppression. Radical feminists believe that the root of women's oppression or the source of women strength, there are two varieties, lies in women's ability to give birth and lactate. For some, then, the route to female liberation is to free us from our bodies. It began in 1970s and Major thinkers include Gayle Rubin, Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone, Marilyn French, and Adrienne Rich. Radical-libertarian feminists see reproduction as women's main weakness. Family, Organized religion, cultural structures, - even language itself – are the supporting agent of patriarchy to control the women's oppression. In direct opposition to this, radical-cultural feminists see reproduction as a woman's main source of power. Both heterosexual and lesbian relationships are acceptable unless there are any sexual limitations. Pornography is seen as a way for females to have power over female sexuality.

Radical feminists stressed the creation of alternative institutions and women-only spaces. Critiques of radical feminism are that it dichotomizes male/female and therefore reproduces the very sex/gender system feminists are opposed to and radical feminism is class blind.

Chapter three focuses the first half of Rosemarie Tong's chapter on Marxist Feminism lays out the basics of Marxist theory in general. The latter half of the chapter discusses the critiques and responses made on Marxist Feminism. Influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Marxist and socialist feminists see women's inequality as beginning with the origin of private property and capitalism. According to Marxist feminism, Classism is main base of women's oppression. Men, especially men in the capitalist class, benefit economically in the form of address women's work as nonproductive and women's unpaid. Socialist feminists do not think that the oppression of women is based only on the economic system, and they suggest that patriarchy and capitalism are combined into one system. Critiques of Marxist Feminism are gender blind and mode of production is not all. It ignores the psychoanalytic dimensions of persons.

In chapter four there is a discussion about Psychoanalytic Feminism is rooted in the notion of Sigmund Freud, but most feminists reject his theories on penis envy and ideas about “biology as destiny. Psychoanalytic and Gender Feminists over view women’s psyche or to psychological, biological and cultural experiences (gender) for explanations and solutions. Psychoanalytic feminists wanted to alter the experiences of early childhood and family relations, as well as linguistic patterns that produce and reinforce masculinity and femininity. Gender Feminism emphasizes boy’s and girl’s psycho moral development rather than their psychosexual development. Many gender feminist try to give explanations such as Carol Gilligan: *In a Different Voice*, Nel Noddings: *Caring and Women and Evil* etc. Critiques of Psychoanalytic and Gender Feminism; legal, political, and economic institutions and structures must also be considered while examining psychoanalytic explanations. Gender identity explanations are problematic.

The chapter five begins with a discussion of Jean Paul Sartre *Being and Nothingness*, the definitive existentialist text. Distinction between “being-in-itself” and “being-for-itself,” indicates the difference between an object (there for another) and subject (thinking, acting, perceiving). To simplify, Simone de Beauvoir, author of *The Second Sex* argues that society only permits women to be “being-in-itself” an object, while men are “beings-for-themselves.” The effects of this on women are many, and are all-negative. She sought a deeper answer for the question of why men named man the self and women the other. Elshain criticizes Simone de Beauvoir for representing the female body negatively.

In chapter six there is a discussion about the meaning of things, is not given by God, but is a machination of man. Postmodern Feminists believe the male/female binary as a main categorizing force in our society. It suggests a constructive philosophy for diversity in feminism because of its acceptance of multiple truth and rejection of essentialism. Hélène Cixous criticizes the very nature of writing. Luce Irigaray is a psychoanalyst whose primary focus is to liberate women from men’s philosophy. Julia Kristeva analyzes the relation between the symbolic and semiotic elements. My conclusion to the summary is that once females can overcome the defeated tag, the oppressive society tag –they are going to be working together, organized as a power. Criticism of postmodern feminism is the lack of clarity.

Chapter seven discusses Women’s class; nationality, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and so forth are not uniform. Not only are women different from men, they are also different from each other. There is a problem with stressing women’s sisterhood and solidarity. The core conviction of both multicultural and global feminism is women’s differences, and not confusing one kind of woman (white, Black, Western) with all women or women in general. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the concept of “cultural diversity” captured the attention of major institutions in the United States, and multicultural feminism emerged as part of this celebration of diversity. Multicultural and Global feminist have offered two ways to achieve unity in diversity. They are sisterhood of friendship and sisterhood of political solidarity.

Chapter eight describes three branches of Eco feminism: Spiritual Eco feminism, Social or Social-Constructionist Eco feminism, and Socialist or Transformative-Socialist Eco feminism. It begins with a discussion of the close relationship between women and nature. Tong states that, in patriarchal culture, “women have been ‘naturalized’ and nature has been ‘feminized.’” Eco feminism believes that the emancipation of women can be possible by the protection of eco-system because the mankind are inter related not only with each other but also with the nature and environment. Karen J. Warren said that Patriarchy is responsible for the miserable condition of women and nature. Spiritual aspects of eco feminism were heavily criticized by anti-intellectual in the early. For example- romantic notions of women as protectors of Gaia (mother earth). The cleavages between the differing types of eco feminism leave the overall theory full of holes. In its attempt to academicise itself, seems to have become stuck in the clouds of theoretical debate.

Tong summarizes her volume in a brief conclusion, mainly arguing that by examining our differences we will achieve unity. No other work provides one such a sense of the scope and essence of the major traditions of feminist theory. An informative guide to the multiplicity of feminism. Feminist Thought continues to serve as the indispensable source for students and thinkers who want to understand the theoretical origins and complexities of contemporary feminist debates. The bibliography, structured by themes within chapters, provides an invaluable aid to further do research.

M.A. Kelker, *Subordination of Woman: A new Perspective* (1995). In this book the author mainly focused on the theory related subordination of women. Many debates in feminism Centre round the issue of subordination of woman. Anthropologists and sociologists have tried to trace the origin of subordinate position of woman by giving various explanatory theories. The author examines the reductionist and constructionist theories and using a hermeneutic device of the Beejakshetra model explores the images of femininity to be found in the Mahabharata and in the rules of conduct in the Manusmriti. She shows how these models of femininity have shaped the life experiences and self-interpretation of woman down to present day. The last part attempts formulation of a feminist ethic of friendship and raises the discussion beyond protest and recrimination.

Don Herzog, *Household Politics conflict in Early Modern England* (2013). In this book the author presents early modern English canonical sources and sermons often urge the subordination of women. In Household Politics, Don Herzog argues that these sources were blather – not that they were irrelevant, but that plenty of people rolled their eyes at them. Indeed many held that a man had to be an idiot of a buffoon to try to act on their hoary “wisdom”. Households did not base serenely in naturalized or essentialized patriarchy. Instead, husbands, wives and servants struggled endlessly over authority. Nor did some insidiously gendered public/private distinction make the political subordination of woman in visible.

Virginia Sapiro, *Women In American Society* –An Introduction to Women’s Studies (2002). This book is based in the social sciences. Among the disciplines from which it draws theory, approaches, and knowledge are anthropology, economics, education, history, law, mass communication, political science, psychology, social work, and sociology. Although, this list of social science disciplines represents a diverse set of theories, methods and approaches. The book discusses important aspects of human social life, such as cultural norms and values, psychological character and interpersonal behavior, but it does so within the context of social structure and specific social institutions. The social institutions approach also leads to a particularly strong emphasis on the legal and policy aspects of sex or gender systems. The book also highlights the kinds of problems the social sciences have addressed especially intelligently.

In part one, the author introduces the field of women’s studies and especially its underlying themes and theories. Here we see the discussion of the process of research and theorizing in women’s studies. Because theory is the framework that makes an otherwise shapeless set of facts and pieces of information coherent and useful, theory construction and evaluation are among the most important tasks of student of any field. A variety of theories are presented here that have been offered to explain the development and significance of sex or gender system, the pattern of relationship between women and men in society.

In part two, “Gender-Defining Institutions,” presents the second major theme of the book. There are many different kinds of power and control. This book also about the institutions of education, health care, religion, communication media and government and politics to see how these institutions define and enforce norms of good and bad, normal and abnormal, healthy and sick, skilled and unskilled, important and unimportant, valuable and not valuable. Instead of looking at the family as simply one more institution, this book looks at different aspects of the family throughout. In addition, the family as an institution is most consistently thoroughly discussed in this book. The family has long been regarded by feminists as an important location where sexual equality must be won.

Margaret L. Andersen, *Thinking about women*, (2014) is the book about gender and social institutions. Here there are vivid discussion of women and their work and the economy. It is clear in this part of the book that feminist perspectives on women’s work have transformed sociological concepts such as class, status, and work. Gender stratification is the hierarchical distribution of economic and social resources along gender lines. Gender stratification intersects with and overlaps the system of racial stratification.

The contemporary status woman is marked by their increasing labour force participation, gender segregation, occupation, and income inequality. The experience of women workers in the paid labour force is further complicated by the intersection of race, class and gender. The culture of work organizations affects women's chances for success. Sexual harassment is a form of discrimination and is defined as the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a power relationship.

The current economic trends indicate that women's labour force participation will continue to increase, as will demands for their work both in the paid labour force and the family, resulting in increased stress and social speed-up for women workers. Women's work as housewives, though unpaid, constitutes a form of work. Women continue to spend far more time doing housework than do men, including men whose wives work for wages. Housework shows the interrelationship of economic and family systems.

Feminists distinguish between families and households to emphasize the economic functions of households. The family is an ideological concept. Feminists also see families as social, not natural units, and note that men and women experience families in different ways.

Race, class, and gender influences shape family experiences. African American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian American and Native American families have been subjected to policies that have destabilized families. Although minority families have been characterized in terms of cultural pathology, societal conditions of racism and sexism shape family structure.

The book indicates a number of contemporary social problems are located in families. Violence against women in the family-in the form of battering, marital rape and incest-reflects powerlessness of women in society. Finally, we see in the book that changes in family organization have created greater societal needs for child care. Resistance to organized child care stems, in part, from the continuing belief that only biological mothers can best care for children. In sum, new policies are needed that provide supports for the diverse needs of families and recognize the new demands placed by changing systems of work and family life.

N. N. Banerjee, *Weaving Mechanism*, (1999). It is an outstanding work. Discussion on the topics is lucid in the book. The book contains technical information, which is practical. There is a detailed description of motions of weaving and weaving mechanism in this book. It will be of immense help not only to students but also to those who are already engaged in the textile mills. The book has been enriched with a large number of illustrations. As for myself I am benefited from it because it relates to the very root of my topic of research.

“An Anatomy of Traditional Weaver Community and the Tradition of Technology in Bangladesh” by Manzurul Mannan. I had an opportunity to go through the above titled article of Manzurul Mannan. Mr. Mannan is a Research Anthropologist who works with BRAC. As his research arena Mr. Manzurul Mannan selected the village Nalta in Kaliganj police station of Satkhira district.

According to him simultaneously agriculture and weaving are traditionally the main forms of occupation and employment of the inhabitants. The resource community has mastered skill and knowledge to bring forth specific products – gauze and bandages along with *lungi*, *sari* and *gamcha* (napkin, a country variety of towel).

The author has written this compendious article dealing with the salient features pertaining to the industry- category and capacity of looms with various components, supply of raw materials, funding, wages, different stages of production, and marketing, entrepreneurial side. It may be expected that the article will provide some rudiment for prospective researchers in the field of textile cottage industry. Impact on and contribution of handloom industry to socio-economic sphere of Bangladesh is undeniable. But as ill luck would have it, adequate and appropriate work and research have not yet been done. There are a few mentionable publications.

Woven Shibori (2007) by **Catharine Ellis** is a book about weaving. The author is an artist and teacher who divided her time between studio work and Professional Craft Program at Haywood Community College in Clyde, North Carolina, where she has been the fiber instructor since 1978. She also teaches at the Pen land School of Crafts, and offers workshops internationally.

Catharine Ellis’s breakthrough technique - ***Woven Shibori*** – embraces new approaches to the art of weaving and dyeing.

In the traditional Shiboritecnique, stitches are placed into a piece of commercial cloth with a needle; the cloth is compressed, and then dyed. In *Woven Shibori*, the “stitches” are supplemental wefts woven directly into the cloth thus becoming a part of the original cloth construction.

The book *Woven Shibori* includes thorough instruction in a range of the applications form, plain weave and twills to laces. The author provides plenty of fascinating examples and tips, and safely guides for weavers through the stages of dye applications. Through breathtaking photography, clear step-by-step instructions, drafts, and dyeing tutorials, weavers will find the process easy to work with and marvel at the unlimited possibilities.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
OF THE STUDY

There are many theories have been formulated to explain about the subordination of women, social construction of gender and patriarchy of society. The universality of female subordination has been documented by anthropologists. Theories proposed to explain this phenomenon are reviewed. There has been a proliferation of anthropological studies on women and work, both in developed and developing societies.

Feminists' anthropologists, particularly Marxist feminist scholars have challenged this universality of female subordination and have asserted that the gender asymmetry and the origin of class exploitation are linked together; female subordination should be understood historically within the context of class formation and the development of state societies. The emergence of hierarchical societies is largely viewed as the result of women's loss of control over their labour and over the means of production. So finally it will be justified that study of woman and subordination should be examined in the context of history and cultural experience.

Here I am interested in theories related to the subordination of women, origins of subordination, household and impacts of market economy on household.

The conventional view of the household as a simple corporate unit (Becker 1976, 1981) does not encourage investigating the internal diplomacy of the household. Feminists' researchers have critiqued the unitary model of the household on a number of key issues. Folbre has argued that there are considerable and persistent gender based inequalities in allocation of productive resources and distribution of benefits (1988). Sharma stated that in "the feminist discourse the household is no longer an irreducible unit, it has an inner politics of its own which is not discovered from the politics of the society in which it is embedded" (2008:612). Young (1993:120) defined that households are assumed to be composed of a couple, allocating their labour to market and non-market work on the basis of their natural comparative advantage, where as women specialize in motherhood and house care and men in economic activities outside the home. Agarwal (1987) emphasized

that social norms enter virtually every sphere of activity because there is no solution for gender division of labour inside and outside of the home in Bangladesh. Women are silently surviving patriarchy because of the boundaries of the social space inhabited by them.

Beneria (1982) notes that in some cultures, household work done by a woman in her own is not even considered as “work”; however, if she helps the head of the family (her husband) in the field, she is identified as an “unpaid family worker”, a concept linked to the ideology of cash income earning. These expressions associated with patriarchal ideologies, view women’s work as valueless, secondary, and invisible, and thus make their work and themselves subordinate to men.

The same situation I observed in my study area among the weaver community in the village Kandipara. I noticed that in a weaver household work of male person is recognized as economic activities but that of a female is not recognized as economic activities. And it is considered as a normal household work on the part of women. Only when they work in others’ factory it is then only they are paid. There is disparity between the wages of male and female workers and most of the time female workers are paid less than male workers. The female member has to perform all the household works with her own hands like cooking, washing the cloths and utensils, cleaning the whole house, sweeping etc. At the same time she has to perform all the task of pre-weaving stage for the domestic production. Like spinning the yarn, boiling the yarn, applying glue to the yarn, drying it and processing it etc. I watched them cooking rice on one *chula* (oven) and boiling the bobbin of the yarn on another *chula* (oven) at the same time. The housewives are doing normal household duties as well as economic activities at the same time. But they are not conscious about it and they do not get any wage for it and her work will not be recognized as economic work. And this situation determines their inferior situation which is ultimately the result of the subordination of women in the weaver community of Bangladesh.

The feminist attempt spread over fifteen years to examine the specific nature of family farm. This family farm has the characteristics of industrial capitalism. It also examines the analytical power of Marxist concepts to deal with gender relation in capitalist society. In household based production men and women cooperate as members of a single production enterprise where some production for own use goes on. There is a clear division of labour between men's task and women's task. By sexual division of labour does not merely mean a list of men's job and women's job. It means a system of allocating the labour of the sexes to activities, a system of distributing the products of these activities.

The argument of Olivia Harris (1984) is that the domestic as a category contains all sorts of assumption about the natural status of the activities and relationships contained within it. According to these assumptions we discuss the household as a universal institution has been existing, though there has been some variation in the contain and organization of domestic institution. Feminist thinkers know that nature is an ideological means by which higherarchy and subordination are justified. Women subordination is found in many cultures and in widely differing production system. This phenomena is certainly not restricted to western capitalist society, but it is found also in other context in which the subordination of women ideologically reproduced and their domestication secured. But it is equally important to recognize that this is an ideology- women's subordination or domestication is never complete or guaranteed.

Under capitalism the domestic sphere is subject to continued intervention. This intervention may be through state agencies, legislation, and welfare probation and directly through the mass media, the structuring of wages and through technological change that constantly alters the nature of work carried on within the home.

In spite of this policing influencing of the household only limited members of units conform to the idea in other social and historical contexts also, whatever the power of domestic ideology, only a small numbers of units come near it practically. Women can only be fully domesticated where men are wealthy and powerful enough to dispense with their abilities and labour and confine them instrument of reproducing male stock (Stockle, 1984).

This is surely because the project of fully subjective women to the control of men is so contradictory that an ideological definition of the domestic in terms of a natural finality as remained so powerful and perceive.

Gender discrimination, domination became prominent in Jahangir's definition of household. But he did not mention anything clearly about the situation of subordination of women, discrimination and sexual division of work. Though he put emphasis on class, he argued the aspect of gender discrimination. Though he accepted household as social polarization, he did not explain discrimination in household and division of labour according to gender. Again it is difficult to find out difference between household and family in his work (Shumon, 2003; 63).

Physical procreation of women has been projected by showing family and household as natural here woman has been considered as natural. Women subordination may be traced in household by identifying her female existence. According to feminist anthropologist Harris (1982) household is a place where subordination of women arises and is reenacted. Harris adds that division of labour is such a model of system of discrimination where women live in household men naturally go out to do something which is termed as production work.

Feminists look upon family and household as problematic as there is a great difference between household and family. Because family denotes all of the members living under the same roofs. That is why there are separate characteristics though family and household are used in the same meaning. (Harris, 1982; Yanagisako, 1970). Feminists consider family as an ideal existence. According to their analysis family is an area where definite ideal of sex are reenacted. In feminist thought family is a matter of relation of power.

According to Edholm (1977) the sexual division of labour within household based productive enterprises renders to work that, men and women do noncomparable. The allocation of different tasks to men and women as the implication that it involves issues of commanded and control. It also creates the necessity of exchanging and distributing between the sexes goods which their joint or separate member has produced. In this type of economy the conjugal contract includes the exchange of labour in production and the exchanges in which personal and collective consumption needs are met including the feeding and maintenance of children.

The similar situation I found among the weaver community of Kandipara which is my research area. Kandipara is predominantly an area dominated by weaver community. The major perspective of this paper is what is the significance and meaning on the various factors which may affect the relative powers of husbands and wives over the disposal of income and production in the weaver community. In Kandipara it emerges in each case that the sharing and caring which dispossess women take place in family and kinship ties, it is clear that the nature of family and kinship relations because of their differing

relationship to production system as a whole. Here conflicts of interest between men and women are not generic conflicts of interest, or natural antagonisms; they are, like other conflicts of interest, rooted in the nature of social relationships in the weaver community of Bangladesh.

Ann Whitehead (1984) draws attention to necessary existence conjugal contacts which is basis for marriage and the household concerned with the daily maintenance of its members. It is also concerned with the changing terms and nature of such contracts within the household. There noticeable institutional arrangements by which women lose access to the resource which they have produce themselves. This same phenomenon I observed in weaver community in my study area of Kandipara village. This obtaining condition goes a long way for the establishment of male domination in marital and family relation. This is the indicator of men's power over wives and women the sexual division of labour outside the family and the power relationship within it are complex and indirect.

So in the conceptualization of the household it is not possible to understand theoretically the power relation of men and women if we consider it in feminist standard. Again if there is no difference between household and family, problem arises in the theoretical conception of women subordination. (Ahmed, 1994).

In the study of village or rural community in Bangladesh intra household difference has been emphasized. But no importance has been given in the important internal aspects like empowerment, sex, age, difference between occupations among the members of the household.

According to Pankhurst (1992) though the importance has been given on economic subjects and social difference in many social researches. But difference has not been shown regarding sex, age, and professional difference. There is difference in sex, colour, age besides because of ownership of production. Male role of production has been emphasized. So female participation and division of labour according to gender in household economy has been avoided. That is why Pankhurst considered the internal affairs of household, female participation in production are important for understanding gender discrimination.

Bangladesh is a patriarchal society in addition to being a class based society, as a consequence two economic differentiations occur in this society, one is the process of class formation which governs economic mobility in household, the other is the system of patriarchy which governs the economic mobility of women (Kibria, 2008; 406).

This conception also is applicable in my research area where women subordination is determined through a special kind of household mechanism (which I called 'household politics'-where male members play dominant role in every sector like private and public sphere, in production wages and marketing of the product of the household).

According to Bina Agarwal(1994), Walker(1994), Whitehead(1984) control over property and wealth and ownership of land are problematic for women. For this situation they pointed out gender discrimination and women subordination as a cause and this is also applicable for the female members of the rural community of Bangladesh. But in the study of rural society of this country this subject has not been discussed in many cases. A few feminist thinkers and researchers like Bina Agarwal(1994), Walker(1994), Whitehead(1984) have pointed out how women do not get the control over the land, products and other household affairs though they directly participate in the production and this theoretical construction is very much relevant with my research area. There I saw that the household is the discriminating place where female rights are not ensured. Women directly participate in household production and play a very vital role in weaver community in Bangladesh. But their rights are not established on wealth, land as well as equipments of weaving, production, wages etc. among this household there is a clear picture of discrimination among men and women.

This above mentioned aspects I tried to show in my fieldwork related to my anthropological research.

It is seen in the conventional studies that there has so many criteria and perception about the phenomena of women subordination. In my study I am trying to show subordination of women determines through household politics that means a unique mechanism of household and market system. In this special kind of household mechanism and situation leads women to isolate from their labour and their produced product's objectification. Female labours are not related with their weaving product after sale. They only used as machine for production. As only produce weaving product is their systematic work which regulated by the male members of the weaver household.

Here also I can relate this situation of female weaver of the village Kandipara with the Marx's theory of Alienation. In the theory of Alienation Karl Marx says that human beings define and assert themselves in nature and history primarily through their labouring activity. (It was the primary means to realize themselves in nature and history.)

Secondly labour is the source of human existence as it produces the material necessities of food, shelter and clothing.

Thirdly labour is part of human self definition through which individual controls their circumstances and activity and their being.

Marx mentioned the following types of Alienation

1. Alienation from the product of labour
2. Alienation from the productive activity
3. Alienation from human species
4. Alienation from fellow human being
5. Objectification and Alienation

Alienation from the product of labour: According to Marx in capital society production enters market for exchange. The labourer does not own the produce; it belongs to the capitalist or the owner of capital. They are solely responsible for production but they have no right of ownership in it. So the labour is fully isolated from the product and this causes alienation from the products.

Alienation from the productive activity: As discussed by Marx this type of alienation leads to the loss of control by human beings over the capacity of their labour or to assert their being or define their self existence. Alienation from productive activity is distinct from product alienation. To understand this category Marx used the concept of relation. This term is used to describe the connection between the individual and the outer world and to specify the way in which human beings are essentially connected to existence and to the external world through their labour. In this sense individuals are connected to existence in two ways: 1. in respect to themselves and 2. in respect to others and the social world.

Alienation from human species: Marx discussed the third type of alienation as alienation from human species. Marx argued that human beings are alienated from their own species-being. Human being lives in an active relation to the natural world. According to Marx animals have only physical being but not conscious being. So their life activity is qualitatively different from human life activity. Species alienation breaks the connection. Human being has their conscious being in two fundamental respects – first it revokes what nature has given human being over animal life. As a result conscious being is converted in to physical being.

Secondly –it makes human labour like the labour of animals-converting conscious being in to physical being.

In this form of alienation human beings become a creature of physical activity.

Alienation from fellow human being: Fourth type of alienation advocated by Marx is alienation from fellow human being and from the human social community. This occurs when the only aim of life is competition and when all social relations are transformed into economic relationship. There are two important meanings in it.

First, when capitalism compels the individual to be isolated from one another and to follow their private interest for personal gain, they enter into competition with each other. Second – the alienation of human beings from their fellow humans occurs when society makes another class, the sole beneficiary of the product of their labour.

Objectification and Alienation: Marx discussed that ‘labourer’s realization is its objectification. When Marx discussed alienation he drew a distinction between the end result of alienation and the process of objectification. He also discussed capacity of human beings positively. Objectification is the realization of labour which refers to the capacity of human being positively to do other roles themselves in the world they create. The important thing is that the social connection is between individuals, between human beings but not between things or commodity. According to Marx labour emancipation will come in to being through the end of alienations. Marx added that the true object of labour is the objectification of the workers’ species life.

The theory of alienation is also applicable to the female labourer of the weaver community of my research area. In the weaver community of my study area I noticed the main three household categories on the basis of social class structure. They are:

1. The upper class weaver household
2. The middle class weaver household and
3. The lower class weaver household.

Every member both male and female of these households is engaged with the total procedure of weaving in different capacities. Men’s labour is recognized here as economic labour. But in the case of women’s labour this idea changes. For the case of upper class and middle class weaver household woman’s labour related with weaving is not recognized as economic labour rather than household work. But for the case of female workers from the lower class weaver household this notion alters. They work in others’ factory on low wages to provide the family needs.

First type of alienation – that is alienation from the product of labour is visible in case of the female labourers in the weaver community in kandipara. This condition exists in all classes of household in the weaver community of my study area. The female workers of the community perform all the pre-weaving stages, sometimes weaving also. But they have no connection with the products. They facilitate weaving but they have no right over the products. So we can say that here is a clear case of alienation from the product of labour.

Second type of alienation is alienation from the productive is present among the female workers of weaver community. The female labourers of this community are isolated from the productive activity because they do not own the products. Also she has no rights to offer opinion about the weaving materials, yarn, dyeing, chemicals, and machineries etc. They work always under the direction of male members.

The third type of alienation is alienation from human species is applicable to women workers of the weaver community under my study. Means at the capacity reflects upon their rights and own power. Animal produced their direct all physical need. But human being creates the objective world by their social action producing social institution of various kinds. The female workers of kandipara proclaim themselves to cautious being by producing.

Fourth type of alienation is alienation from fellow human beings and alienation from the human social community. This also exists among the weaver community. Here we can see that the sole aim of life is competition and all social relations are transformed into economic relationships. There is another condition where society makes another class the sole beneficiary of the product of their labour. Female labourers participate in various stages of production. They are compelled to undergo forced labour in some cases. In this way gradually they are isolated from their usual life and become alienated from fellow human beings.

Fifth type of alienation is objectification and alienation. It is also present in the weaver community. Because the female labourers are not related with the products – they produce for sale and after sale as if a complete picture of capitalist society is evident here. Under this mechanism the alienation and objectification occur in the life of the female labour in the weaver community. Here Female labours are isolated from the objectification of their product which is produced by their hard labour.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu sees power as culturally and symbolically created, and constantly re-legitimised through an interplay of agency and structure. The main way this happens is through what he calls ‘habitus’ or socialised norms or tendencies that guide behaviour and thinking. Habitus is ‘the way society becomes deposited in persons in the

form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them' (Wacquant 2005: 316, cited in Navarro 2006: 16).

Habitus is created through a social, rather than individual process leading to patterns that are enduring and transferrable from one context to another, but that also shift in relation to specific contexts and over time. Habitus 'is not fixed or permanent, and can be changed under unexpected situations or over a long historical period' (Navarro 2006: 16):

Habitus is neither a result of free will, nor determined by structures, but created by a kind of interplay between the two over time: dispositions that are both shaped by past events and structures, and that shape current practices and structures and also, importantly, that condition our very perceptions of these (Bourdieu 1984: 170). Like this sense of habitus one kind of mechanism I saw in the weaver household, where male domination and women subordination exist in the every household and this situation is shaped and nurtured by the culture of the weaver community. For example when male person of the household engaged with weaving work, it is recognized as economic act but when the female perform the same duty this work is not recognized as economic work.

A second important concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu is that of 'social capital', which he extends beyond the notion of material assets to capital that may be social, cultural or symbolic (Bourdieu 1986: cited in Navarro 2006: 16). These forms of capital may be equally important, and can be accumulated and transferred from one arena to another (Navarro 2006: 17). Cultural capital – and the means by which it is created or transferred from other forms of capital – plays a central role in societal power relations, as this 'provides the means for a non-economic form of domination and hierarchy, as classes distinguish themselves through taste' (Gaventa 2003: 6). The shift from material to cultural and symbolic forms of capital is to a large extent what hides the causes of inequality.

In the weaver community of Kandipara village practice of 'social capital' among the rich weaver is visible. They possess power, wealth and authority. They have a social position and political influence in the village.

In the weaver community of Kandipara village practice of 'social capital' among the rich weaver is visible. They possess power, wealth and authority. They have a social position and political influence in the village. They are dominating group and dominate the loom less and marginal weaver class. Like this male members of the household always belong in the dominating class and dominate female members of the household. Male members have a special power, authority and position in the household. This situation makes male superiority and female inferiority in the households which determines women subordination.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Methodology

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. In it we study the various steps in research problem with the logic behind them. Thus Methodology refers to the choices we made about cases to study methods of data gathering, forms of data analysis etc. In this chapter I will present the study area, study Population, data sources and techniques of data collection, data collecting and recording, experiences of the researcher, limitations and the ethical issues. These are the whole procedure of the research work.

The central activity in anthropological research method is fieldwork. It is through this method that the subject gets most of its primary data. However, the researcher must have some ideas about the issues at hand before embarking on fieldwork (Ericson, 2004).

My present research is based on anthropological method which is more flexible, more informal in character and also qualitative in nature. It is the anthropological method which is most appropriate to understand human society and culture. The anthropological method which involves direct participation and observation in the field seemed to me the most useful method for the study of the real profile of a community. Through the method of intensive fieldwork we can gain insights into the society and culture of the people whom we are investigating.

Selection of the Research Site

My research area is village Kandipara, a weaver village sprawling with a number of factories of weavers both in the household and outside of the household. The village is very colourful with many coloured yarn. Every weaver household seems as ready for any festival with multi coloured yarn, *sharee*, *gamcha* (napkin), *lungi*(men's attairs), and so many weaving cloth. The weavers are busy all the time either yarn with spinning wheel or making *shana bou* (rid) or making weaving cloth. The village Kandipara is 35 kilometers away from the district Head Quarters, Sirajganj. At first I went to Sirajganj then I moved to the village by bus. It is only accessible by bus. From Sirajganj there is regular bus trip to south most part of Enayetpur. But to go to Kandipara one must get down at K.G. More. The final short distance of ½ km is to be covered on foot. The path

takes a turn from the highway nearby the K.G. school at Enayetpur, covering a distance of about 5 kilometers. This distance usually covered by rickshaw and two wheel van. The selection of the village Kandipara was influenced by a number of factors. My research interest was to investigate women's role and time in domestic and weaving activities particularly in their traditional occupation weaving. The inhabitants of this village practice weaving as their occupation from one generation to another generation.

The Sources of Data Collection

Data collection is one of the major tasks in conducting the research and during the fieldwork. Different kinds of sources can be used in this respect. In every anthropological research works, collection of data is very important. Most of the data in the present study were collected from the primary sources but some of them were also from secondary sources.

There are two sources of my data collection:

1. Primary sources
2. Secondary sources

Primary sources:

Through direct conversation and observation most of the data were collected from the primary sources. The present study has been based on primary data and its analysis. Data for this study have been collected mainly from the research field. For this purpose a weaver village of Bangladesh named Kandipara in Sirajganj district has been selected as the research area of the study. I have collected the data and information from the village during the year of 2013 in two phases. Mainly Primary sources of data collection for this research are those that have been directly obtained from the field and through the close contact with the responding people during the fieldwork. These are then raw data based on the primary sources that are firsthand contact with the people under study. The primary sources data were collected from the village people and the field observations. Through household, household census, informal interview, questionnaire, personal census and observations, case study and life history were under this category. Information or data were collected from the respondents directly considering individuals and households as units. This study was conducted through intensive study in the field. So the basic sources of information were primary and most of the data were collected through direct participation, observation and conversation.

Secondary sources:

In addition to the primary sources, secondary sources have also been used as the sources of the study include books, journals, academic articles, newspaper, statistical yearbook, published or unpublished research reports and other social artifacts. I have reviewed some relevant literature from where I have got some idea about the weaver community, household, subordination of women. These data will help me to construct the past and actual situation of women subordination and household politics.

Some published materials like various books, journals, articles, statistical information, daily newspapers, magazines etc. were used for this research. Moreover, Central Library of Dhaka University, Seminar Library of the Department of Anthropology of Dhaka University, Seminar Library of the department of Women and Gender Studies of Dhaka University, Seminar Library of the Department of Sociology of Dhaka University, Government organization, non government organizations such as Bangladesh Handloom Board are some other bodies of secondary sources from which valuable information, data and papers have been collected and support has been received.

These secondary sources helped in the formulation of some of the concepts and basic notes or background information about weaver of Bangladesh, their origin, development of loom, and also the commercialization or marketing process of the weaver community. All this helped for the better understanding of the situation and for the better representation of the information.

The Techniques, which have been followed for Data Collection in this study, are:

To conduct my research I have done intensive fieldwork mainly in the village Kandipara. I was a participant observer. So the principal technique used to obtain information for the study was Participant Observation. Along with this a variety of other techniques were used.

They are as follows –

Participant observation and Observation

Household Census

Informal interview and discussion

Case study

Key Informants

Audio recording and Photography

Mapping

Check list

Using diary and notes.

Description of This Research

The main objective of this research is to portray the picture of subordination of women in the weaver community of the village Kandipar in the district of Sirajganj of Bangladesh. It adopts methods and techniques of qualitative research. In recent years a quiet revolution is seen in the field of anthropological, social sciences as well as in the development research where a new appreciation for qualitative research has emerged among different scholars of different disciplines. These qualitative research methods have become increasingly important modes of inquiry for social sciences and applied field.

The present study has been conducted on the basis of the qualitative research methods and the methods, techniques as well as the various tools of anthropology that have been used in different stages and conditions of this study are described in brief below herewith for a clear understanding of the study procedures and to sort out the methodological basis of the study.

Selection of the Village

I selected the village Kandipara from Belkuchi Thana in the district of Sirajganj from Rajshahi division for the purpose of the present study. In terms of criteria for the selection of the study area some of the most rational and important points have been taken into consideration. For the purpose of the study it has been carefully maintained that the selected study area should fulfill the objectives of the study and should also support in collecting reliable and meaningful data, easy access to the study area, time, budget etc. However, the criteria for the selection of the study area can be mentioned in following terms:

1. In selecting the study area it is maintained that the areas for the study must support the objectives of the study taken into account.
2. Easy accessibility to the study areas is also kept in mind.
3. Time and money or budgets are the two vital factors in selecting the area. Because I have to conduct the research work with limited self- budget (no money is paid from the institution) and within a short period of time. So the more the study area is close to my easy access the more the chance is to complete the task properly with no fund provided and within the bound time period.

Unit of Analysis

The household was considered as the unit of this study. So the unit of data collection in the study field was fundamentally the household. But in some cases an individual was also taken as the unit while analyzing the data. There were used these units because of their relevance perspective. In the case of difference between two households analytical unit was a single household.

The Data Collection Procedure

The anthropological approach that means intensive fieldwork was followed for the purpose of the study.

Methods of Data Collection in the Study

I have followed the method of Participant Observation for the present study. Direct participation and observation is the most important method for such a study. A resident anthropologist stays for a long time as a guest member of the society, and tries to take part in daily life – processes of that society. As the total portion of my fieldwork in Kandipara village, gender division of labour commonly assigns unpaid domestic activities to women especially in the weaver community.

In my total field work period I worked in two phases. The first phase covered January, February and March 2013. Then I returned to Dhaka. Thereafter I resumed fieldwork in my research area Kandipara village and continued through May, June, July 2013. First phase of work was enjoyable as the period was winter. I enjoyed hospitality of various households and their families, specially various types of foods and delicacies of winter like *pitha puly* (handmade cake) and date juice etc. My host Rubiya Begum wife of Alhaj Abdur Rashid Sarker behaved with motherly attitude. She introduced me with lots of *pitha puly* (handmade cake), pickle and other amazing food of the village life.

Participant observation involves the researcher's involvement in a variety of activities over an extended period of time that enable him/her to observe the cultural members in their daily lives and to participate in their activities to facilitate a better understanding of those behaviors and activities. The process of conducting this type of field work involves gaining entry into the community, selecting gatekeepers and key informants, participating in as many different activities as are allowable by the community members, clarifying one's findings through formal interviews, and informal conversations, and keeping organized, structured field notes to facilitate the development of a narrative that explains various cultural aspects to the reader. Participant observation is used as a mainstay in field work in a variety of disciplines, and, as such, has proven to be a beneficial tool for producing studies that provide accurate representation of a culture. Though this is the intensive approach to study any community and culture but it has some limitations. The researcher must determine to what extent he/she will participate in the lives of the participants and whether to intervene in a situation. Another potential limitation they mention is that of researcher bias. They note that, unless ethnographers use other methods than just participant observation, there is likelihood that they will fail to report the negative aspects of the cultural members. They encourage the novice researcher to practice reflexivity at the beginning of one's research to help him/her understand the biases he/she has that may interfere with correct interpretation of what is observed. Researcher bias is one of the aspects of qualitative research that has led to the view that qualitative research is subjective, rather than objective.

According to Ratner (2002), some qualitative researchers believe that one cannot be both objective and subjective, while others believe that the two can coexist, that one's subjectivity can facilitate understanding the world of others. He notes that, when one reflects on one's biases, he/she can then recognize those biases that may distort understanding and replace them with those that help him/her to be more objective. In this way, he suggests, the researcher is being respectful of the participants by using a variety of methods to ensure that what he/she thinks is being said, in fact, matches the understanding of the participant. Breuer and Roth (2003) use a variety of methods for knowledge production, including, for example, positioning or various points of view, different frames of reference, such as special or temporal relativity, perceptual schemata based on experience, and interaction with the social context—understanding that any interaction changes the observed object. Using different approaches to data collection and observation, in particular, leads to richer understanding of the social context and the participants therein.

Ostensibly, participant observation is a straightforward technique by immersing him- or herself in the subject being studied, the researcher is presumed to gain understanding, perhaps more deeply than could be obtained, for example, by questionnaire items.

Arguments in favor of this method include reliance on first-hand information, high face validity of data, and reliance on relatively simple and inexpensive methods. The downside of participant observation as a data-gathering technique is increased threat to the objectivity of the researcher, unsystematic gathering of data, reliance on subjective measurement, and possible observer effects (observation may distort the observed behavior).

I had some unique experience of the Fieldwork which I may call the Pains and Pleasures of the fieldwork. I am a student of M. Phil program in the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka. In partial fulfillment of the degree, I am to prepare a thesis in connection of which I have to carry on research in my chosen field of Weaver Community. In this connection I selected the village Kandipara under Belkuchi thana in the district of Sirajganj. I carried on my fieldwork there in the year 2013 in several phases. This fieldwork is very important endeavor for me as I am a reseracher of M. Phil degree.

During the specific period I had the occasion to gather varied experiences, which constitute my pains and pleasure of fieldwork. To any anthropologist or fieldworker experience of fieldwork is a very important matter, which persists throughout the life. In the same way this momentous experience means much to me. I feel that this eventful experience will be glittering in the firmament of my memory since this is the first serious endeavour of my career as a student of anthropology. The day on which I first entered the village is a red-letter day. I started from Sirajganj by bus and got down at Enayetpur K.G. Moar. From there I hired a rickshaw and started for the village Kandipara.

On my first entry into the village I was greeted by the rhythmic sound of shuttle. That was really a mysterious sound, which transported me into a different world. But the more exciting is the picturesque appearance of the village presented by coloured yarns of various shades. Never in my life I saw such a colourful village. There was only multicoloured yarn and yarn in the yard, on the two sides of village roads and vacant places all around the village. Bulk of yarn was spread on rows of horizontal bamboo poles for drying in the sun.

The air was full of a peculiar smell of dyed yarn. All these speak volume that it is a village of weavers. The interior of the weaving factories presents more colourful vista. The village appeared to be a vast garden where flowers of various colours blossomed – red, blue, green, yellow, orange, pink, violet and black.

I was accommodated in the house of one half acquainted one Alhaj Abdur Rashid Sharker a middle class weaver. He and his wife were the key informants of my study. I called him *Chacha* (uncle) and his wife *Chachi* (aunty). I conducted my intensive fieldwork staying at his house for the whole period. Development of a friendly relation with the family occurred imperceptibly. The only daughter of the master of the family Jharna Khatun aged about 17 shared room with me. She became very fond of me. She was of great help to me. During the first week of my fieldwork regarding household census she accompanied me. The housewife of this family was quite motherly towards me. My key informant and host Abdur Rashid Sharker and his four sons gave me the

information about weaving, weaving equipment, types of looms, the process of dyeing yarn and various other processes related with weaving and weaver community. They showed me round their factory to acquaint me with weaving practically. As a result I could acquire a firsthand knowledge about the craft. This was, beyond doubt, a great help in my fieldwork.

Rashid *Chacha* and *Chachi* provided me the necessary information about the community especially about the households, structure of the family and households, production of weaving cloth, looms, equipments of weaving, selling and marketing system of the produced weaving cloth. They also provided clear notion about the participation of both female and male members for weaving, role of the household members, actual position of female workers and also their subordination situation.

As I was staying in their house, I observed Mrs. Sharker (I called her *chichi*) at everyday work. She performed all the household works with his own hands like cooking, washing the cloths and utensils, cleaning the whole house, sweeping etc. At the same time she performed all the task of pre-weaving stage for the domestic production. Like spinning the yarn, boiling the yarn, applying glue to the yarn, drying it and processing it etc. I watched her cooking rice on one *chula* (oven) and boiling the bobbin of the yarn on another *chula* (oven) at the same time. And this is the illuminating picture of my research work that is subordination of women in weaver community. The housewife is doing normal household duties as well as economic activities at the same time. But she is not conscious about it and she does not get any wage for it and her work will not be recognized as economic work. Through this I got an essence about an internal household mechanism which I may call household politics.

Initially I faced some difficulties, as all researchers have to face as an outsider. I had to encounter an atmosphere of apprehension and distrust. The most pertinent questions were who I was, where from I did come, what was the purpose of my arrival in this village, why did I stay in this village. They wanted to assign and ascertain my position among them.

The volley of questions included where did I stay in the village, where did I stay in Dhaka, whether I was married, why I made their household census, why did I take their photograph, would I supply their photograph to them.

When I went to different households to collect data about their factory, looms, production, income, they were a bit panic-stricken. They took me for somebody of the department of taxes. Especially the rich weavers were reluctant to cooperate because they thought that mine was a fact- finding mission for imposing taxes.

With the passage of time there was rapport building with them and they came to know about the purpose of my work. Then and then only they gave up their restrictive outlook and suspicion. The path for gathering data and information about them was open.

The factory owners were much against my contact with the workers. Some of them told me, “why will you talk to them? They know nothing. May be they will give you the wrong information and speak ill of us”. This attitude basically expressed the presence of their exploitations of the labourers. On some opportune moment when I got the chance to talk with the workers unwatched, I came to know that exploitations existed there.

At a point of my stay a rumor was raised that my work was prelude to sanction financial help to deserving weavers from government or nongovernmental organization. This was due to some expectations existing in the sub-conscious mind of the marginal, poor weavers and labourers.

I enjoyed my work with village women a lot. I found them intelligent and humorous. Many asked me about my work, position and salary. Others wanted to know about my family, child, my relationship with my husband, and so on. That took me by surprise! One woman said, ‘everybody has eyes, me too! I can’t read but you can.’ She took my attention by what she said. She further said that she respected my work and liked my freedom.

I found the village children a source of joy and attraction. On my every visit to families in the village, the children surrounded and observed me from my head to feet. They were alert, hardly shy and always asked for candies that I used to carry in my bag. To many of them, I was “the aunty with candy.” This helped me in two ways: first, I could very quickly develop a social relationship with the weaver family: and second, while the children went away with candies I had quite time to talk with women of the weaver households. I collected much of my case material through lengthy interviews which also provided me opportunity to understand the various dimensions of domestic and non-domestic weaving work performed women in the village.

My fieldwork period coincided with seasonal heavy rainfall for some days. Roads and paths were naturally slippery and muddy and even submerged at some points. So my movement was difficult. It posed a problem for me. My mobility was restricted because of heavy rainfall. But this inconvenience did not last long.

One day a blood-curdling incident took place. I was returning, having completed household census in the *Paul para*. On my way home I was overtaken by torrential rain. I along with my key informants – Masud Rana and Alamgir, was compelled to take shelter in a goldsmith shop for 2 hours. When the rain ceased we started for home. In a low place on our way there was knee – deep water. I crossed the watery space. On reaching home I felt some pain around my left ankle. I saw that blood was tickling from two cut marks similar to those from snake – bite. There was a sort of overpowering fear that I was going to die for snake – bite. But the matron-like housewife told in an assertive manner that this could not be snake – bite. For in case of snake – bite I would not have survived such a long time after the bite.

Then she applied lime (*chune*), which is used in betel chewing. I did not know about this indigenous type of first-aid. This device stopped bleeding and gave me relief. This was the most terrible occurrence during the course of my fieldwork.

The hospitality and warm behaviour of the local people impressed me much. After the initial misgiving was over, they were quite close to me. Sometimes I had to accept their spontaneous offer of lunch and refreshment. Along with offer of food they came up with the offer of staying in their houses. I shall not forget the pampering taste of different types of pickles and juicy mango offered by them.

On the eve of my departure the marginal weavers and workers repeatedly requested me to focus their problems, exploitations by *Mahajans* in the hope of redress.

Finally I can say that in my fieldwork in the weaver community of the village Kandipara, I was rather a stranger to the local people. So they asked me many questions about my presence in this rural community. Somebody suspected me as a Government or tax agent or a donor agency member. Therefore, I had to face many problems in the field in the beginning and I had to maintain different types of relations with different types of people. Having both positive and negative relations, I had to proceed with my work. The beginning was painful but ultimately I was able to establish rapport with the people under study and finally I got their all cooperation and support. In this way after a series of ups and downs I could complete my task at last.

Informant interviewing to establish social rules and statutes. There may be systematic sampling of informants to be interviewed, content analysis of documents encountered, and even recording of observations in structured question-and-answer format.

The anthropological research concept is that by which an outsider researcher or a native researcher, through direct participation, observation and various techniques (rapport building, acculturation, assimilation, etc.) develops rapport and friendship, and establishes himself as a member of the society. When he describes the culture under study in written form, it is called ethnography. So ethnography is a description of particular culture applying the methods and techniques of anthropology or intensive fieldwork.

I lived in the village, Kandipara for long time for my fieldwork. I put up with Alhaj Abdur Rashid Sharkar a middle class weaver. He is also one of my key informants. I called him '*chacha*' (uncle) and his wife '*chachi*' (aunty). Both of them briefed me about every phase of work and weaving. They allotted me a small tin shed room furnished with a bed, a reading table and chair, and a dress stand (almaa). Every morning I used to go out for observation, investigation and collecting data and returned before dusk. I started my work from my host's house and factory. I got a clear picture of the situation of subordination and the relation of household politics and market strategy with it. I could see and observe from close quarters the operation of different phases of work in a handloom industry. Spinning and spinning wheel, dyeing of yarns, feeding of thread into reed, weaving of cloths etc. I also knew the weaver community from an advantageous position.

I conducted household census in the village, moving from door to door. This type of task seems to be very helpful for any particular fieldworker. Moving from courtyards to courtyards, from one *Para* (section) to another and meeting with the villagers have enabled me to be acquainted with them personally. I have also tried to explain the purpose of my wide visit with friendly and cordial behaviors have made me acceptable to them, though not in equal proportion everywhere. However, key informants both male and female have been selected from the target people. The whole village people are my research universe.

Took a socio-economic house hold census

In the second phase of the study, I took a socio-economic household census of the selected village. I visited 80 households and took a household census. To some extent it acquainted me with the weaver's actual living conditions and some of their cultural conditions and some of their cultural practices. Above all it helped to build rapport with the villagers. Each census ended with taking photographs of the assembled household members; it also helped me in building rapport.

Collecting Information

The first two weeks I spent my time by taking census, building rapport, finding accommodation and trying to be closer with them. After two weeks the villagers accepted me; thus I started my work observe as well as participate in the village life and collect information in a more ordered fashion.

I used three key informants Alhaj Abdur Rashid Sarker a middle class weaver and my host, his wife Rubia Begum, Zohura Begum, the housewives of the weaver household. In addition Renu Begum and Farida Begum were the two women informants who assisted me in understanding the role and position of women in the community.

I relied on the informants heavily for the hidden and deeper meaning of the things with I observed in weaver life. So, I often carried on long conversations with them, either individually or in a group. For information on certain matters such as birth, marriage, death rituals, I used informal interview technique. Having knowledge of their past and present I took case studies to some selected respondents. To get information about kinship terms and marriage pattern I used genealogical method.

Observation and Rapport Building

One of the most significant characteristic features of any anthropological research is to complete the study by conducting fieldwork. It helps in shaping the design set for the research to be carried on it. In this regard the most important element of fieldwork is being there to observe, to ask seeming stupid yet insightful questions and to write down what is seen and heard (Fetterman, 1989. p. 19).

Rapport build up is essential for a researcher. He must earn confidence, trust, sympathy and cooperation of the community of the research gradually and painstakingly. This calls for patience and endurance.

In the present study after getting the primary preparations of collecting materials and several other issues in regard to the problem of the study at hand I went on to work in the field to conduct the research successfully.

In present situation fieldwork of social anthropology helps in understanding the human society and culture effectively. But it is obvious that all sorts of anthropological fieldwork do bear some problems, constraints as well as successes. In a similar sequence the researcher of the present study also had some fieldwork experiences including some happiest as well as painful one while being in the field and some of these typical experiences are shared herewith in the name of pains and pleasures of fieldwork.

The beginning of the field works was a bit formal; it is in a sense that it was started with conducting a household survey. Thus an introduction was completed with the respondents from the very beginning. The purpose of fieldwork was informed among the respondents several times.

An introduction by a researcher is the best ticket into any community (Fetterman, 1989). Afterwards my initial entry as the researcher into each household was warmly accepted gradually it stepped forward through gossiping, nodding, exchanging greetings, ordinary discussions etc.

All these activities were geared as rapport building mechanism side by side, as a part of serious research endeavors, observation of life styles of the studied population, their clothing, food habits material aspects of the everyday life household utensils etc. were also undergoing. Attempt was made to gain an overall idea about the area or its production, processes, economic condition, social, cultural and environmental condition.

The fieldwork for the present study took the time period from the January to December 2013. I went to the field in several phases and collected data from different study areas. A routine has been maintained during the fieldwork and the time period taken for collecting data and getting interview of the unit of the study.

Both in case of definite questionnaire and formal interview as well as in case of informal interview on gathering they communicated and behaved well and talked very lively after passing some days with them about different aspects of weaving, their thought about this art, their wage and also potentiality and its future Their lively and joyful participations helped me a lot to understand the facts and to realize the reason of commercialization of weaving cloths and its fame.

Key Informant Technique

For the known of situation of female subordination in weaver community I used key informant technique. I selected several key informants for my study. They provided me information about their community, life and their living. Key informant technique was applied due to the following reasons as an aid to be familiarized with people and the environment and also as a strategy for deep observation.

1. To collect historical data, knowledge about contemporary intra personal relationships and a wealth of information about the activities of everyday life.
2. To understand local linguistic accent, culture, relationships through Etic perspective.
3. To be familiar with other members of the household.
4. To be acquainted rapidly with study area.
5. To acquire in-depth information within relatively shorter time.
6. To avoid use of long time in collecting data, especially during informal interview.
7. To encourage people to supply with concerted information for the sake of the study.

Several key informants were selected in the study. In doing so the following criteria were considered.

The following are among them with whom a bond of trust was built up.

1. People of the area that had idea about the villagers and was known as neutral.
2. People who had good notion about this involvement in various activities including the problem under examination.
3. The people who were acceptable in the area as philanthropic.
4. The people who were residing in the area for a long time.
5. The people who appeared to have been observation and interpretation capacity.
6. The people who had acceptable educational standards and had the ability to understand others correctly and express it.

I selected Rubia Begum, housewife of a upper middle class weaver family, Salma Khatun, house wife of a lower class weaver household helped me a lot by providing the actual and unique information of their everyday life. Female members of the weaver community who are engaged their activities with weaving and household work. They responded me at the time of their work. Because leisure period is absent in their life as they have to perform household works as well as weaving works.

Tools for Data Collection

The data collection strategy includes some tools for its own convenience. These are –

- 1. A Questionnaire for household census.**
- 2. A camera for taking photograph.**
- 3. Map.**
- 4. Taking field notes.**

During the fieldwork, the help of some minimum instruments were taken, without which the fieldwork would be impossible. The fieldwork tools were basically some necessary things, which were used during the data collection in the fieldwork time among the studies household. Diary, tape-recorder, camera-all the tools of research are merely extensions of the human instrument, aids to memory and vision. Yet these useful devices can facilitate the research mission by capturing the rich detail and flavor of the research experience and then helping to

organize and analyze these data. Research equipment ranges from simple pen and paper to tape recorders and cameras, proper equipment can make the researcher's sojourn in an alien topic more pleasant, safe, productive, and rewarding. The worth-mentioning data collection tools used in anthropological research are as follows:

Pen and Paper

The most common tools researcher used in this research are pen and paper. With these tools, the fieldworker records notes from Interviews during or after each session and outlines informal social networks. Notepads can hold initial impressions, detailed conversations,, and preliminary analyses. Pen and paper have several advantages: ease of use, minimal expense, and unobtrusiveness. I noted down with pen and paper in the weaver's household about the numbers of their looms, amount of land, business, profit etc.

Keeping Notes and Using Diary

The meaning of fieldwork is regular collection and analysis of information or data. And a researcher through recording of different types of notes accomplishes the task of data collection. The first task in anthropological fieldwork is to gather experiences from the daily livelihoods in the community, and the second task is to systematically record the acquired experiences. In this instance, I maintained field notes or diaries. Every day while writing the diary, detailed information regarding dates and times, individual instances, the names, the topics under discussion, marketing or wage etc. are maintained.

The places of recording are to be recorded very clearly. That is, while recording in the diary, I kept a number of questions in his mind, and the responses to those questions are to be recorded in the diary. For instance, when the diary was recorded, the topics of recording, about whom and

whoever else was associated to this, about the place under discussion, etc. are to be recorded in the diary. And all these mean that I recorded all the details of the place, event, activities, community and the topics under discussion and the summary.

Tape Recorder

Tape recorders allow the researcher to engage in lengthy informal interviews without the distraction of manual recording devices. Tape recorders effectively capture long verbatim quotations, essential to good fieldwork, while the researcher maintains a natural conversational flow. The tapes can be analyzed over and over again. In all cases, however, the fieldworker should use the tape recorder judiciously and with consent. Tape recorder can inhibit individuals from speaking freely during interviews. Individuals may fear reprisals because their voices are identifiable on tape. The researcher must assure these people of the confidentiality of data. Sometimes, easing into the use of tape recorders slowly avoids unnecessary tension. The use of tape recorder helped the research work to be conducted in a more symmetrical and systematic way.

Use of Camera (Photograph)

To make the condition of women subordination and their role both in household and in weaving alive to the readers I have taken some photographs from my study area. All those have made the real scenario of weaver community alive. Cameras have a special role anthropological research. They can be 'can opener' to provide rapid entry into the community or classroom (Fetterman-1989); they are a known commodity to most industrialize and too many unindustrialized groups. I use camera to help establish as immediate familiarity with people. Camera can create pictures useful in projective techniques or can be projective tools themselves. They are most useful however in documenting field observations. In this visual and technological world of communication the use of camera in collecting photographs on several

subjects of weaver community and its related issues is a live presentation of information and data in this study.

Basic methods for the management of field note

1. Field Jotting

A 'Jot Book' was kept at all time and being used to write when something was seen to be investigated later. It was also used to take quick note during casual conversation. It was a small notebook required by a researcher to keep constant account in the field.

2. The Log

The log was kept for running account of time and money and planning of the study. It was also a small notebook, which actually kept the amount and purpose of money spent and how the time was being used.

3. Field Notes

Field notes were recorded from those interviews conducted and informal interactions. Some interviews were recorded by the tape recorder and were taken in the written note forms later on. A notebook was used to record the key points of the informal interactions. Another strategy was taken to conserve the field notes, at the end of the each day; the important discussions were written in the notebook in the summarized form. So it was used to record the result of an intensive and productive personal interview with an informant. A large white pad was used to record the informal interview.

4. The Diary

A diary for personal account was kept during in my field study. The day-to-day experiences and observations notes were represented in the diary. My personal thoughts and own idea for the research were noted down there. The diary included personal planning about the research. Observations in the field were also noted down in the diary. This diary chronicled how the researcher felt and perceived her relations with the people in the field. I wrote my fieldwork experiences both pains and pleasure in a diary.

The Analysis of Data

To make the findings of the research more fruitful one of the most important tasks of the researcher is to configure out and organize the new data collected from the field and then to analyze them in a more definite and figurative way.

Most of the data were primarily processed and analyzed manually. That means generalization of data. I generalized data and described them in brief. Qualitative approach was applied to analyze the information. Qualitative data were interpreted and analyzed by supplementing through other information gathered by participant observation, informal interviewing, focus group discussion etc. Both the qualitative and quantitative data and information were gathered and analyzed, using some important socio-cultural variables and parameters. In terms of having an in-depth analysis about the weaver community the raw data and information were first gathered from the respondents in the field. Based on both primary and secondary sources of data collection I have interpreted the results with a fruitful qualitative analysis of data.

Each and every community has its own identity with different cultural elements, social and economic activities, religious beliefs and practices etc. Weaver community of the Village Kandipara also has a distinct cultural, social and economic identity. And through this unique cultural identity, the weaver community gets their identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROFILE OF THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

This is a study of the weaver community living in the Kandipara village of Sirajganj district of north Bangladesh. In this chapter I presented the physical environment of Kandipara and the research locale of the weaver community.

Geographical Situation

The district of Sirajganj is 195 Km. away from Dhaka. There are 9 Police Stations and 81 Union Councils in Sirajganj. Under Belkuchi Police Station there are 6 Union Councils. My research area Kandipara is situated in number 1 'Khukni' Union Council. This Village is situated 35 Kilometers. Away from District Head Quarter Sirajganj and 10 Km. from Belkuchi Thana Headquarters.

In this Village there are a sub health center, two Eidgah fields two graveyards, one primary school, one high school, one title Madrasah, one Coumi Madrasah and one Hafezia Madrasah, two Kindergarten schools, Four Mosques, One temple, a bank, one post office, Union Council Office, 3 coaching centers, one daily bazaar, College going students attend classes in Belkuchi College which is 10 Kilometers away from the village.

Study locale

The present study is conducted in the villga Kandipara of Khukni Union of Belkuchi thana in the district of Sirajganj. This village is inhabited by the weavers.

Table: 1 Location of the study village:

Village	Kandipara
Union	Khukni

Thana	Belkuchi
District	Sirajganj
Division	Rajshahi

Source: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

The Rural Community under Study: Location and Physical Structure

This chapter is an account of Kandipara village of my research area. It involves, first, a brief sketch of the location of Kandipara, geographic and cultural landmarks, and second, a more detailed analysis of its internal arrangement the settlement pattern, the disposition of metal and rural mud roads with regards to one another, the situation of mosques, temples educational institutions, chubs, markets and other important places, and so on. It is said that a physical structure of a village is a reflection of its social structure. Many of our renowned social scientists proclaim it in their research papers. I do not differ, but in Kandipara, this concept is not in an exactly similar application. It will be clear in the description of my research village Kandipar which is in Belkuchi Thana of Sirajganj District under the jurisdiction of Khukni Union *Parishad* (council). Actually, Kandipara is a part of ‘Khukni’ *Mauza*. Khukni is a large ‘*Mauza*’ with more than 15 Paras. These paras are scattered and can be observed as an island in the ocean of agricultural fields. How do the inhabitants of this locality determine a village? If anyone asks a villager where he/she is from, he/she will answer, I am from Khukni/ Kandipara or *Moddhopara*, so and so *para* (section). At first, they use to mention the name of their *mauza*, and next, they would mention the name of their para, which they called a village they only know *mauza* and village. But, according to the Bureau of Statistical Research, each para is not a village.

The authority has named the *mauzas* as villages as well as *mauza*. So, this can be said that Khukni *Mauza* itself is a village. And, if you ask a villager which union you are from, he/she will answer, I am from number 1 Union, or I am from number 10 Union. Or so and so as they mention their unions numerically. Most of the villagers know the alphabetic names of their own unions only, but can't say the alphabetic names of other. Unions of Enayetpur properly, as they are acquainted with the numeric names and

locations of other Union. The village Kandipara has seven constituent paras (section). Such as:

1. Uttar para (north section)
2. Dokkhin para (south section)
3. Purbo para (east section)
4. Poschim para (west section)
5. Modhya para (middle section)
6. Notunpara (new section)
7. Paul para (Paul section)

The residence of my host is situated in the Modhya para (middle section). I conducted my fieldwork throughout the entire village from that centrally situated residence.

There is a main *kacha* road through the village on which rickshaws, tri-cycle (vans), bicycle, motorcycle and some microbus are seen plying. Anyone walking down the road will hear the rattling sound of the shuttles and of the colourful threads of the warp.

Water System

Water resources in the area are poor as there is no perennial river system. Surface water resources are ponds, ditches, drainage channels and only a few low lying areas. Maximum rich and middle class weaver households have tube-wells for the supply of water.

The Hygienic condition

The hygienic condition is very poor. Especially the *kaal* houses (factories) do not have sufficient doors and windows so that sufficient air and light cannot enter. They live most in unhygienic condition. The inmates build houses with a small accommodation and this

is also jam packed with so many articles known as furniture. As a result the house becomes dark, uncolored and unhygienic.

Environmental Hazards

The climate of the area is conditioned by the general typical monsoon pattern of Rajshahi district. The Kandipara village is affected by a natural calamity like flood. But cyclone, tidal waves, salinity etc. is not present here. However, tract experience, frequent droughts have started showing signs of desertification. The area is considered as an ecologically fragile zone with extreme low vegetative cover. The soil is very low in organic matter and devoid of minerals. It is alleged that increased groundwater abstraction has reduced ground water availability for irrigation.

Various environmental concerns in respect of Kandipara are grouped the following environmental issues: Large scale deforestation, Large scale groundwater abstraction resulting in increasing uncertainty in the availability of irrigation water, Loss of wildlife, Degradation of a number of ponds, Degradation of soil due to loss of fertility, particularly organic matter and nutrient minerals, Removal of agricultural residue.

Population

Kandipara is an ancient and big Village, having a population of 5 thousand. Number of outsider labourers is 3 thousand, the workers coming from outside live in the accommodation provided by the factory owner. But they take their own food.

Table 2 : population Composition of the Study Village

Village	Population	No. of Household
Kandipara	540	80

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 3 : population Composition by Gender

Village	Male	Female	Total
Kandipara	278	262	540

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

It is apparent from the above table that the male population of the village is almost equal to female ones.

Table 4: Population of the village and their average

Village	Population	Male	Female	No.of H.hold	Average
Kandipara	540	278	262	80	7.00

Sources: Field work in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 5: Population distribution according of sex and age of the village

Age	Male	Female
0 – 15	60	56
15 – 30	78	68
30 – 45	72	80
45 – 60	50	46

60 +	18	12
Total - 540	278	262

Sources: Field work in Kandipara, 2013.

Religion

Kandipara is predominantly a Muslim Village. But there is a small number of Hindus also. The entire Population consists of 87.5% Muslims and 12.5% Hindus. People of other religion are absent. The Hindus belong to the lower class with the profession of pottery and the business of betel leaf and other accessories. The only big businessman Dharma Paul has 200 looms. Another 2 Hindu households are lower middle class weaver. There is one blacksmith household in the village.

Muslims

Almost all the Muslims are devoted and religious- minded. There are many Hajjis in this village. Every year a good number of people both men and women perform Hajj, which is the fifth pillar of Islam. Of the 4 mosques in the village one is two-storied, one *pucca* and two semi-*pucca*. Congregation in 5 times in prayer is encouraging. Well-to-do people make liberal contribution in religious affair.

Religious fervor of women is stronger than that of men. Women abide by *purdha* system and wear hijab. They devote much time for prayer and counting of beads.

Hindus

There is a temple, which is almost dilapidated. At the arrival of dusk there is ringing of '*kashar ghanta*' (bell) in the temple and blowing of conch shell at every Hindu household. They worship (**puja**) their deity. The Hindus live in amity with the overwhelmingly majority Muslims.

The following table 6 shows the religion of the village Kandipara. Almost 87.5% people of the village are Muslim and the rest 12.5% are Hindu. There are no followers of other religions which clearly upheld in following table.

Table 6 : Religion of Kandipara Village

Religion	No. of H. hold	Percentage
Muslim	70	87.5
Hindu	10	12.5
Total	80	100%

Source: Field work in Kandipara, 2013.

Level of Education

Most of the people of older generation are illiterate. There are seven graduates among them two ladies. Literacy level is 40%, 10% being women. Among the modern generation there is a trend towards higher education. One of my informants Masud Rana is a student of English Honours in Sirajganj Government College. Two daughters of Haji Abdus Salam, a rich weaver and *mahajan*, are the Honours student of Sirajganj Government College. Some other students are also reading in Belkuchi College. There are one lady doctor, one male doctor and one major in Bangladesh Army. Though they do not live in the village, they occasionally make financial contribution for the welfare of the village.

Table 7 : Literacy Level of Kandipara Village

Literacy Level	Male	Female
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Only can put signature	68	64
Literate	148	90
Non literate	62	108
Total – 540	278	262

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 8 : Level of education

Criteria	Male	Female
Illiterate	62	108
Only sign	68	64
Primary (I -V)	52	48
Secondary (Vi- X)	48	22
S S C	32	14
H S C and Above	16	6
Total – 540	278	262

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 9: Pattern of literacy of the Household Heads

Level	Number	Percentage
Illiterate	19	23.75%
Below primary	52	65.00%
Below secondary	7	8.75%
Secondary	2	2.5%
Total	80	100%

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Household of a Family

A household denotes a group of persons bound by blood connection or marriage bond. They live in the same house and take meal together. We can see several households in a joint family or in an extended family. Both joint and unitary families are found in my research area. I found 3 extended families where people of three generations live together.

The types of household found in the village Kandipara are given below:

1. Husband - wife and children.
2. Husband - wife unmarried children, married son, his wife and children.
3. Husband - wife, their children, widow mother, unmarried brothers and sisters dependent on the husband.
4. Husband and wife, their children, old father or mother or both.
5. Husband - wife, their children, brothers and sisters of husband.
6. Husband - wife, their children, widow or divorced or deserted daughter and sister with children or alone of the couple.
7. Widow and her children.

A household has to pass through different time and situations. A household does not remain unchanged for all time.

Dwelling

Housing is the basic human need for any society. After food and clothing the two most important indicator of level of living is the type of accommodation owned by a household. The type of accommodation correctly depicts the standard of living and as such the status are possibly claimed in the society.

However, type of housing and design and use of construction material vary according to place, environment and culture of the respective society. People in the primitive societies also lived in houses. They made houses for themselves. In the study area that is in the North Bengal it is the common phenomena that all the weavers community live in tin shed houses with an attached weaving factory.

There may be separate dwelling houses, kitchen, storehouse, and cattle sheds in well to do families. But poor weavers cannot afford to have separate houses for those different purposes. In constructing houses, I found people of the study village take care and precaution mainly against rain and flood. Even the poor weavers have to repair the roofs of their houses every year.

Most of the houses of the village are south facing. I found an interesting belief about the south facing of their houses. They believe that the deities of wealth and happiness enter the house through south gates.

The construction of dwelling houses has a special significance. Almost all houses are built with a small room meant for use as a '*kalghar*' (loom-house) where beams are set for weaving, yarns are winded on bobbins and other equipments and materials are stored. Normally the outward house of the homestead is used as '*kalghar*'. The inside house is used as main dwelling one; normally there is a small house in the backyard for cooking. There are small *uthans* (court yards) in front of the houses, which are used for drying the yarns and turning the *charka* (spinning wheel).

On the issue of the dwelling house of the people under the purview of my research area my informant told me that about three decades ago one would come across thatched house made of bamboo, the roof being covered with a kind of grass which is locally called '*sone*'. But this type of dwelling house is extinct now. Because '*sone*' is very hard to find; for fallow land producing it has been brought under cultivation and other use on account of population pressure.

Very few people can afford to have brick built houses. Wealthy people live in brick-built *pucca* house. There are several multi-storied buildings. Other dwelling houses are semi-*pucca* with C.I sheet, having *kutchra* floor.

Most of the houses are well ventilated with window. No straw-built house is noticeable in the village. They informed that now-a-days straw is not available. Maintenance of straw-built house is difficult and costly because it requires periodical renovation and replacement of straw, which rot after a period of time. As a result this type of dwelling becomes uneconomic.

Generally people maintain separate house for kitchen. 80% of the respondent's household has separate place for cooking. In some cases it is used as dining room. But there are persons who cannot afford to have separate kitchen. In such cases courtyards and verandahs are used for the purpose.

Quality of the house construction depends mainly on the economic condition of the family. Poverty is the main reason for universality of low cost housing in the study village. Bamboo is cheap and locally available; villagers take advantage of this situation and make houses with the cheap material. Depending on the economic condition, houses are made of different combinations. It is the middle class who usually constructs tin sheds for their bedrooms with granaries attached to them. The *boitok khana* (drawing room) is decorated as nicely as possible. This is especially erected in the forefront of the housing complex. Its main purpose is to accommodate guests and servants when required. Some of the rich families have their drawing rooms called *kachari*. The maintenance of *kachari* gives them higher social status in the village.

Table 10 : Different types of Wall on the Households

Wall	No. of House	Percentage
Mud	18	22.5%
Straw	14	17.5%
Tin	40	50%

Bricks	8	10%
Total	80	100%

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 11 : Different types of Roof of the Households

Roof	No. of House	Percentage
Straw	20	25%
Tin	55	68.75%
Bricks	5	6.25%
Total	80	100%

Sources: fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Material Culture

Material culture implies material manifestations of culture and may be expressed by material needs and human behavior in adapting to and maintaining control over the biosocial environment. Material culture for mere survival and satisfying basic biological needs would consist of tools and appliances for subsistence and weapons for defense. However, human needs even for primitive societies are varied and more than mere subsistence and so material culture for human societies reflects various interests, emotions and behaviors. The material culture for the studied weaver community includes basic tools and weapons as required in the primitive societies as well as housing, clothing, means of producing food and many other materials described here.

Household Materials

Everything of a society is led by economy, knowledge of surroundings and atmosphere. A villager who always thinks of his sustenance and means of survival luxury and wealth all are beyond his thoughts and considerations. He just wants to obtain what is most needed to maintain his life. So in consideration of household assets also a weaver thinks in this way. Household materials in luxurious urban life are one kind of source of social prestige and status whereas a weaver only worries of earthen utensils and normal wood furniture. Household materials, which are used by the weavers, can be categorized in the following way:

1. Iron made cutting equipment
2. Aluminium and earthen utensils
3. Wooden furniture/ consumer durable.

Table 12: Distribution of households based on the value consumer durables

Value (TK)	No. of Households	Percentage
1-1000	42	52.5%
1001-2000	17	21.25%
2001-3000	11	13.75%
3001-4000	6	7.5%
4001-5000	2	2.5%
5001-6000	1	1.25%
6001-7000	1	1.25%
Total	80	100%

Sources: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

The table 12 shows the distribution of households by total value of consumer durables. It can be seen that most of the families have no consumer durables worth the name 52.5% of the households have consumer durables worth TK. 1-1000. More significantly, the

values represent low quality household furniture. Few have watches TV, radios and bicycle.

Dialect

Bengali is the mother tongue of the weavers. But there occurred some degeneration in their language. Their colloquial language lack polish. **Sheikh** is the title of a section of Muslims.

They call it **Hake-Haker Beta** (son of a **Sheikh**). Their dialect for **Loha** (iron) is **Noa**; **Lathi** (staff) is **Nathi** for them. They pronounce the Bengali letter **Lwa** (L) as **Naw** (N). Whenever they address their kith and kin, they follow the Hindu style. They address their father's elder brother as '**jatha**' (uncle) and father's younger brothers as '**kaka**' (uncle). They call their grandmother '**boromaa**'.

Dress and Ornaments

The weaver community has its own culture. So keeping pace with their culture, they put on dress. The type and dress style depend upon topographic and climatic conditions of the village. Differences and variations in dress are rooted in geographical factors.

1. panjabi (sometimes longer garments) and lungi
2. Panjabi – pajama
3. Shirt – pants
4. Shirt – lungi.

On special occasions of marriage or religious festival, the well-to-do villagers put on shirt or panjabi and trousers. The average villagers, of course, cannot afford to wear shirts and trousers or panjabi. The majority of the villagers always wear lungi and shirt. Old weavers do not put on shoes. Common men do not wear shoes except on special occasion. They wear cheap rubber sandal these days. Very old villagers wear panjabi and pajama. Shirt and pants are only used by the school and college going boys. Very recently some young weavers have started to wear shirt-pants. But most of the young weavers use shirt-lungi. Fotua-lungi is mainly used by the rich weavers and factory

owners. In winter the villagers put on a wrapper against cold. It is also a status symbol. But in working hours the weaver wears sweater and woolen cloths.

As for their dress the men folk wear *lungi, genji*, and shirt. They put a *gamcha* on their shoulder. On the occasion of two Eid festivals, marriage ceremony or any other social gathering the well-to-do people wear *pajama* or trousers, *Panjabi*. Children generally wear half pant (shorts), *lungi, genji*, and shirt. Students' wear trousers, *genji* and shirt.

Womenfolk wear saree and blouse and use *hijab* (veil). Some Haji ladies wear *shalwar, kameez* and *hijab*. Girl students wear *shalwar, kameez* and *dopatta*.

To mention ornaments womenfolk use bangles, nose studs, earrings and necklace of gold.

Food Habits

The people of the weaver community of the village Kandipara eat traditional Bengali food. They are fond of rice and fish (*bhatt-mach*). Rivers are the breeding ground of different species of tasteful fishes. *Dals* (lentils) of different species are also taken here.

They are the cheapest food and the only source of protein available to the poor. Muslims like meat. Rice and *dal* are common food to all. Fishes are found in plenty in the river but the price is comparatively high. People in the village have a preference for rice even at breakfast in the morning. The poorer sections of the rural people take '*pantaa bhatt*' (rice with water). On the occasion of festivals the well-to-do Muslims serve *polao*, roast and *beriani*. The villagers prefer milk. But the poor can hardly afford it. During my fieldwork, it was the season for *Hilsha* fish but the weavers scarcely ventured to taste the *Hilsha* fish as the price was extremely high

The villagers usually take meals three times a day. They cook *khir* (rice pudding) and *semai* (vermicelli) when near relatives visit them. They are very fond of *pitha* (cake). Several types of *pitha* are prepared by them in all the seasons of the year, such as *Chitai pitha, Vapa pitha, Semai pitha, Puli pitha, Teler pitha*. The fruits which grow abundantly in the village are mangoes, jack fruits, blackberries, palm, coconut, date, lichi, guava, plum, pomegranate etc. *Paan* (betel leaf) chewing is common to the majority of the people of the village Kandipara. The guests are served with betel leaf, betel nuts and

masalas (spices) immediately after dinner. Taking tea is also very popular among the well-to-do and educated sections and families of both rural and weaving village.

Smoking is found common among the weavers, weaving labourers. Several kinds of smoking stuff such as cigarette, *biri* and in a few *hukka* are in vogue in weaver community. They entertain their guests and neighbors with smoking at their leisure time. This is regarded as a sign of hospitality, which fosters good will and generates fellow-feeling among them.

Women generally prefer eating sour food especially *achar* (pickles) of green mangoes and tamarind and eat it with or without staple food.

Family as a Production Unit

In this village under my research each family is a productive unit. In addition to production of handloom the family may be considered as a separate productive unit from different standpoints.

Firstly from the biological standpoint a woman, bears child, gives birth, and brings up the child. From this point of view she is making one kind of production that leads to supply of manpower for weaver community in course of time.

Secondly the labour that the women folk put in handloom industry cannot be underestimated. It is a great credit that they contribute to the production effort along with household work. Their domestic service is no less important.

Thirdly in the weaver community endogamous marriage is predominant. It means that a female worker contributes to another family's effort of production. Moreover the dowry, which she brings with her, is utilized in production.

Fourthly enterprising women produce various types of vegetables around the homestead. This they do in addition to their work in handloom production and household work. In this way they are minimizing the financial burden of the family.

In view of the above discussion it may be deduced that each family is a production unit.

Youth Force

The young generations of the village are active and progressive – minded. To foster community activity they have formed clubs. They conduct welfare activities and observe important festivals by holding sports and competitions. The rich weavers extend liberal financial help to the clubs.

Village Administration

In addition to Union administration there is internal administration structure in the village to look after various issues in the village – petty quarrel, dispute, and clash of interest.

The organogram of the village committee is:

President – 1

Vice president – 2

Secretary – 1

Joint Secretary – 2

Members – 6

Total – 12

In this village propensity for crime is very limited. All the people lead peaceful life. Crime of grave nature never occurred. Litigation is absent. But when minor disputes arise the local committee settles them in an amicable manner. During the course of settling dispute the opinion of the villagers is taken into consideration. Judgment is given with the consensus of opinion. The village enjoys the goodwill that no police force ever entered the village.

Politics

Rural leadership as found in Kandipara village takes up two forms: the formal leadership and the informal leadership. Formally, since Kandipara is a Union Parishad most of the problems are solved by the Chairman and the members of the Parishad theoretically keeping space for all people's participation in these spheres. Informally, local councils or

'shalish boards' are found which are headed by the well-respected or known persons of the village. Any kind of problem is firstly tried to be solved by him and then if he fails, by the assistance of the Union Parishad. In this way the community peace is upheld. Ironically women are almost invisible on the political scene. The entire village being cushioned by a conservative social backdrop women's participation in the public sphere such as politics is seen as unusual and therefore, restricted. Though, women in the village have valid and equal status in suffrage, in its defectors sense it is highly influenced by their male heads.

The weaver community has the right of voting. They give vote in government election. But they have complains against the Member and Chairman. They do not do anything for the common people. They always exploit the weavers in many ways

Marketing of products

The haat (market) at Shahjadpur, Shohagpur, Enayetpur and Sirajganj are famous for wholesale transaction of woven products. These haats sit twice a week. Bales of woven g products are transported by bus and truck to different parts of the country. Dhaka alone absorbs 35% of production and Baburhat, Chittagong, Sylhet, Khulna, Jessore, Rangpur, and Dinajpur etc. absorb the rest. A pair of medium quality cotton saree sells at TK. 650-700. A single piece of this saree is sold in Dhaka at TK. 800-1000. a pair of special high quality saree sells at TK. 2200-2600 at wholesale price, which is much higher in Dhaka. Wholesale price of a '*thaan*' (four pieces) sells at TK. 500-1000. But in Dhaka a single piece is sold TK. 200-300. The *saree* produced here is sold with the tag of Tangail and lungi is sold with the tag of Pabna. These two places are very much popular and famous for *saree* and *lungi*. So their name is used for this type of tag.

CHAPTER SIX
HOUSEHOLD POLITICS, MARKET
AND SUBORDINATION OF WOMEN

Household Politics, Market and Subordination of women

The study examines the situation of women subordination which determined by the household politics and market strategy in weaver community of Bangladesh. In this traditional inherited occupational community the position of women in intra-household relationship is inferior because of the social construction of gender and construction of patrilineal society. In the weaving household both female and male members are engaged with the whole procedure of weaving. But female member's participation march with their household work. Male member's (who are responsible for running the family) participation recognized as economic and productive work. For the female it is very natural and as usual that at the same time they should cook rice on one (*Chula*) and on another she should boil the bobbin of yarn. And this is the actual picture of all most every household of the weaver community in kandipara village. The female members have to do the domestic work and economic activities same time in the household.

The special feature around weaver community developed through century old hereditary profession. It is a unique community where every member is closely connected with weaving and loom by birth. In marriage endogamy practice is found here. Marriages outside and changes of profession are not visible here. There is a local proverb "the son of a weaver becomes a weaver and the sons and daughters of weaver marry the sons and daughters of other weavers". In the weaver community I discovered that all the members of a weaver family spent a busy time in weaving related activities.

Centering this occupation of weaving a special type of household mechanism arises here. This I term "household politics" and the gender discrimination is the outcome of this mechanism.

My research is based on in-depth interviews with female and male weaver of the study village Kandipara. Fieldwork of first phase was carried out over a period of three months and about 80 household census and 50 women were selected for the purpose of in-depth interviews. The interviews covered a number of issues including family members, background of her father's family, types of their weaving related work (pre weaving, phase of weaving and post weaving), wages, expenditure for household, household work, children, decision making, recreation, visiting to relatives' house etc. In case of household census two visits were made to each household. During the first visit rapport was built when I shared my own personal life experiences with the housewives and the other female members of the family. During my field work, my preconceived idea and conventional theories were challenged and I saw a huge gap between my thought and what existed in reality in the life of the women. I thought that as in the weaver community female are engaged with economic activities at least they have minimum empowerment and bargaining power for challenging the traditional power relation of our society. I found that though all the female members of weaver community are engaged with their productive activities but have no recognition of their economic act rather their work meld with their domestic work at the same time.

- Who keeps the income and how is women's monetary contribution to the household perceived?
- Who makes the decision to purchase property?
- Who makes the decision to purchase household goods
- Who makes the decision to children should join?
- Who decides about family planning?
- Who controls women's mobility?

Men's power and women's dependence are inter gender diplomatic attitude have all interacted and kept the gender power relations alive.

The market and market system play a vital role for the weavers. Because their products such as *saree*, *lungi* (men attire), *gamcha* (towel) are sold in the market. Out of the profit

of sale proceed they maintain their family and bear other expenses. Some discrimination also exists in production and marketing system.

A universal characteristic of capitalism is that the owner (capitalist and the capitalist class by business owner having the capacity to manipulate production and market system) exploits the labourer. In this process rich weavers or owners or owners of the factory exploit the middle class, lower class and loom less weavers. The common weavers are being deprived because of the presence of the *mohajon* (capitalist) and the middle man. Here the total market systems strategy is based on exploitation.

If we consider a household as a production unit, we find both male and female worker doing their work. But strange enough the work of the male is looked upon as economic work but the task of female worker is not counted as economic work; rather it is considered as normal household activities and responsibilities. As a result women cannot earn wage and their role in the production becomes inferior which indicates their inferior social status. The women are actually performing double function of domestic work and weaving facilitating work. The latter work is an economic work. But this work on the part of women is not recognized as economic work and not being paid as such. So the paying work has been merged with unpaid household work. Through this status subordination of women in weaver community in Bangladesh comes to light. This prevailing situation is the creation of special kind of intra household mechanism (household politics) and market system. Like other village community of Bangladesh Kandipara village, the weaver community of my study area has specific social structure. Here division of labour is gender-based and women are expected to remain inside the house. One female weaver of Kandipara said “ we are destined to perform domestic activities and serve our men”. In this weaver community, men are involved in income-generating activities whereas women are unpaid houseworkers

Female workers of Kandipar

I channelized my endeavor to gather information about the socio-economic condition of women of weaver community in Kandipara. For this I did in-depth interviewing and took

the help of case study method. For this purpose I earmarked a few female workers belonging to upper class, upper middle class, middle class, lower middle class and distressed class. It may be mentioned that sometimes there is two sections of middle class weaver-namely- a. Upper middleclass and b. lower middle class. Upper middle class is some time visible and sometime mixed up with upper class. Also lower middle class is some time visible and sometime merged with lower class weaver. I held interview with the incumbent as well as the members of her family with observing their day-to-day lives. I came to know about their day to day duty and responsibility among the household work and the production. I gathered detailed information about their day to day duties and responsibilities in household chores and production unit system. They also talked to me about their un-married life and compared it with their married life. In married life they have to shoulder double function of domestic duty and economic duty.



Female worker is working at spinning wheel.

The position of women in the social setup especially that of the village is subservient. Kandipara is not apart from other villages. It is predominantly a village of handloom industry. So the women here have been integrated with this industry where they play a significant role. It is observed that many women have managed employment for themselves in the handloom industry or it may be put in another way – they have made an inroad into this industry.

Life history of women in weaver community of Kandipara is very clear in my study. When I talked to the women of the weaver family, they informed me about their everyday life. They freely talked about their day to day experience from childhood to womanhood. A girl in Bangladesh, from birth onward, is always treated inferior to a boy (Jahan 1975). Social-cultural values also discourage her from claiming equal opportunities within the family even when she is an adult, for example, equal access to education and employment. Thus, on the basis of gender roles, a woman’s status is always “secondary” to the opposite sex. The same situation is visible in the weaver community of Kandipara village.

Table: 13 Division Of Labour Among The Weaver Man And Woman

Man	Both	Woman
1. Weaving 2. Trading 3. To run small and big cloths -business. 4. Shop keeping 5. Trip to <i>haat</i> .	Weaving	1. Processing and Weaving 2. Household work 3. Cooking 4. Taking care of children. 5. Embroidery work like <i>katha</i> making.

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Female Labour Force in Weaving

In Kandipara village, I have almost all the village women work in the weaving process with male members of the family and household. Women are involved in the pre-weaving

phases like spinning the yarn by wheel, grueling the yarn, washing the yarn, dried the yarn, boiling the yarn, *shanabou* (rid), making kone of yarn etc. Sometimes they also weave the *lungi*, *gamcha* and *sharee* with handloom in their household. That means all the pre-weaving, weaving phase and post-weaving activities are performed by weaver female in kandipara as a forced work. Because they have to perform all the household chores like, cooking, washing, cleaning, looking after the children and old members of the household, supply the food for all members of her family.

Women play active role in the all steps of weaving. They do as well as male person are active their weaving phase and System of Production

In the first weaving phase male weavers are usually purchase the yarn, dyes and chemicals from the market. In second phase they bring it to the household for wash. Female of the households are responsible to wash this yarn. Sometimes male persons bring it in process mills for thoroughly washing. The work is done in the third phase by the female weavers and that is dying the yarn at home in hand dying mill. Sometimes male partners help them. In the fourth stage female members are of the weaver household drying up the yarn in the sun. Then in fifth phase they apply *Mar* and *Colop* (gruel) to the yarn in wet and dry condition besides their every day household works. In the sixth phase spinning is done in Spinning wheel by the female members of the household. Different methods are adopted for cotton and silk. In case of cotton yarn after drying it gruel of fine rice *colop* (gruel) is applied. Again it is dried up and, *Natai* is made in Spinning wheel. Thereafter it is again dried up, turned into bobbin and put to drum. Next stage is roller and Boa or *Sana*. Finally it is fed to the loom. In case of Silk yarn, yarn of Korea, Japan and India is used. It is processed direct from Mill and undergoes the fore – mentioned method before going to the loom.



Female member of household is making *shana bou* (rid))

In the seventh stage design masters make some design for production. Usually they are male person. They are versatile people who are assigned this vital task. If the design master can devise an excellent design, the product sells like hot cake. Sometimes designer takes cue from other's design and evolves a new design adding some colour, thread and with slight alteration. Design masters are salaried people. But I saw at Kandipara two persons father and son from Bogra, making design on graph paper in their own firm, covering *saree's* border, *anchal* (main end part) and embroidery on the texture. They live here in a rented room at TK 550/- per month. They have a show room in the bazaar (market).

In the eighth and last phase the weavers are ready to weave a finished product for sell. At this stage various types of *sarees* and *lungis* are woven. This is the final stage of production. Usually male weaver are done this phase of weaving. But female participation also seen in this phase as well as others phase of the whole process of weaving.

As one of my key informant Salma Khatun weave herself lungi for the necessity of her in laws family. Her husband is a poor weaver and works a power loom factory for the

wages. In their small household Salma has pit loom and she weaves lungi and gamcha on it. From the first stage to last stage all the procedure of weaving she can manages by herself. From the sun rise to sun set she does hard work only for the sake of her family. But she has no right to his earn because of the household mechanism of the village Kandipara.



My key informant Salma Khatun is weaving *lungi* on pit loom.

Through the procedure it is clear that weaving mechanism is the joint work of both male and female weaver. But in the weaver community of the village Kandipara, women's weaving related works are recognized as economic work rather than their duties of household works. They do not get any payment for their hard work as it is meld with their everyday household works and responsibilities. On the other hand men's weaving related work recognized as economic work. They earn through this work and run the household and bear all the cost of the household, for that reason they belong to the dominant group and superior position of the household as well as the community of weaver.

If any of the family has land for cultivation then women play active roles in post-harvest rice processing. When paddy (*dhan*) is brought home from the field, women immediately become involved in the processing. Normally, women start parboiling very early in the morning so that it is ready before sunrise. At this time, the courtyard is cleaned once again by women. The boiled *dhan* is then dried in the sun; it takes two or three full days consecutively if there is no rain. The dried *dhan* is now ready for husking (*dhan bara*). It is a labourious job and requires a team of at least three women. Two women operate the *dheki* and a third woman does the sifting. Finally, storing (*gola*) is also an important post-harvest process. Women use various methods to store both *dhan* and *chal* and to prevent loss from insects, dampness and rat.

Home –Based Productive Work of women

In weaver community due to socially structured gender roles, men's and women's weaving labour is divided: women's work is more home-based. Thus, they do all preplanting and processing activities that are carried out within the home (*bari*) compound. A brief discussion of women's *bari* based activities in Kandipara will reveal the nature of women's involvement in productive work. For example making some kinds of dry food like muri, chira, khoi and gur making and also making various kinds of pitha (rice cakea) etc. Village women are also engaged in other kinds of home-based but marketable products side by side their weaving. Usually, they make quilts (*kantha*) as bedding, mats (*pathi*) and hand fans (*pankha*). No capital investment are made to manufacture these materials which are primarily used by family. However, some women, particularly the poor and the widows, reported that they exchange (*kantha*, *pathi* and *pankha*) within the village for rice, and sometimes even cash. This can bring a modest income for the family. Rokeya, wife of a small weaver in the village Kandipara, told me that she earns some money by selling mats in the market. Thus, village women provide labour to generate cash income for the family besides her weaving works.

Grihini : Women as Houswives

A typical village woman starts her day before dawn. "we wake up with the light of the east", said one woman. In the weaver village, the day begins with early Morning Prayer

(*namaj*). However very few women perform their prayer from the lower class weaver households. I found that women from higher or upper class weaver households practiced *namaj* more often than not. It enhances their status in the community as “good women”. Village women perform some cleaning tasks for example – cleaning dishes, plates, glass and others utensils from the previous night, sweeping (*jharu*) the house, yard and the hearth (*Chula*) routinely in the morning. At this time they also clean the weaving room (*taant ghar*) and barn (*goal ghar*), fetch drinking water from nearby tube well or tank, and take out goats or any other small animals they may have. This is all done within the first two hours or so in the morning.

The next chore is making breakfast (*nasta*). In economically well-off and rich weaver houses, the breakfast may consists of *ruti* (bread), vegetable fry (*sobji vaji*), and occasionally tea. Often puffed rice (*muri*) is served with *gur* and tea for breakfast. In poor weaver households, rice from the previous night with chili, called *panta* , is a regular course. If fresh *ruti* is made, the quantity is always small and it served with *gur*, particularly during the winter. For many poor and marginal weaver families, the breakfast is the only meal until evening. Rice cakes (*peetha*) are made in some households for breakfast during winter months.

After the breakfast is over, poor women go out around the village or nearby bush to gather wood and straw of any kind for fire. In some households in the village, I found women making cakes from cow dung for fuel. It is often sold in the market to earn a living, particularly by poor weaving households. Then they go for work to rich weaver household for day long time. In contrast to this, a woman from a rich weaver household spends her morning making bed and breakfast. She is normally assisted in the kitchen by a maid. She also takes care of her children’s study and prepares them in the morning for school.

An important task of the day is preparing the mid-day meal. It is a major meal in Bengali culture. Village women spend hours cooking several courses, depending on the social courses of the households. The traditional Bengali proverb- “*Machhe- bhatey Bangalee*”

(rice and fish make us Bengali) – is the ideal meal. Women being to work for the mid-day meal around ten o'clock in the morning. At the same time they have to do work related with weaving. Poor families in the village rarely cook the mid-day meal as the female members of these households have to go to work in the rich weavers households. If there is anything left from the morning breakfast, the children in the family are fed at noontime.



Female are busy at household work.

After serving the meal to her husband and other members of the household, the housewife cleans the kitchen and washes the dishes. She then goes for a bath if she not does it previously in the morning, and then has her meal. Women are the last ones to eat; culturally, it is appropriate a “good wife” to wait until her husband finished his meal. They rarely dine together with other members of the household. After taking the mid-day meal the housewives engage with their weaving related work. Usually they are spinning the yarn with spinning wheel in this time. In the evening they prepare the evening meal. For poor weaver households, the evening meal is the only major meal after a long day of work. By nine or ten o'clock in the night, it is time for most villagers to go to bed. The

household activities described above may vary from season to season, from month to month, and even from day to day in a week. But the weaving activities are performed regularly. Village housewives wash their cloths at least twice a week. On a washing day, it means an additional three or four hours of work. Often women clean and plaster their homestead, walls, and also the kitchen with mud at least once every two weeks. I have found that many women in the village Kandipara do two or three tasks at the same time. For example, a woman who is nursing her child also dries grueled yarns on the road side or household courtyard. In another case, I found the housewives were boiling the coloured yarn for the legibility of colour also cooking the lunch for the household at the same time.

In a household there are several adult females such as wife, daughter, and mother-in-law. They share the domestic activities as well as weaving in the household. In extended families in the weaving village, the mothers-in-law normally take care of the children and perform other light tasks; the daughters-in-law are responsible for cooking, cleaning, and other heavy task, including weaving process and weaving. so it is visible in the village Kandipara that all the household chores and weaving related process work are performed by the female members of the household.

Child –care Activity

Child-care activity beings with pregnancy of a female. Vllage women, especially upon a first pregnancy are shy to talk about it. Nevertheless, in-laws come to know about it quickly. A pregnant woman may occasionally be relieved of heavy work in the family, particularly in the early period of the pregnancy. But it is not visible for the poor weaver household. After the child is born, ideally the mother is expected not to work for about forty days because it may endanger the life of the newborn by exposing her or him to many evil “spirits”. Mother is also considered “polluting” during the first forty days.

This, however, provides an opportunity for development of emotional bonds between the mother and the child; also, it allows necessary resting time for the mother. The mother is responsible for feeding, cleaning, health, well-being and protection of the child until he or she is about seven years of age. Women with multiple young children spend a lot of time on child-care activity.

Empowerment of Women

The conventional idea about empowerment of women is that earning on the part of women can lead to women empowerment. If woman earns and provides for the family and the household her status increases in family and social life. This is associated with women empowerment.

But I found in Kandipara that this situation does not exist. Women play actually a vital role in weaving that means in the economy. Some women perform household work and go outside and earn money by working in other's factory. Some women perform household work and do all the weaving related work in her own household. The above picture shows that the role of women for the community, weaving and economy is very important. But their role and their earning do not ensure their empowerment. And also no change occurred in the situation of subordination of women in this particular community. Bangladeshi households are based on a situation where women enjoy relatively separate and weak decision making power. Providing income is one of the ways of enabling women to acquire assets and become productive and it is a tool of emancipation of the feminine condition. Theoretically, income emerges as a self-motivated means of increasing women's capabilities. However, a number of social power relations shape the experiences of women in a different way, because there are inseparable connection between individuals and social relations. For empowerment women need to be assisted through holistic strategies and comprehensive programmes that not only address their lack of resources to productive resources but also their subordinate situation within household and society at large. To ensure empowerment of women and ending subordination of women means enabling women to express their potential as producers,

managers of resources and providers of services to the benefit and change of their household and communities.



Female worker is working in *Mahajan's* factory for wages.

Bangladesh is a patriarchal society in addition to being a class based society, as a consequence two economic differentiation occur in this society, one is the process of class formation which governs economic mobility in household, the other is the system of patriarchy which governs the economic mobility of women (Kibria 2008;406). I saw in Kandipara village that in most of the household male members are hardly willing to take more responsibilities but are ready to blame women members for any problem within the household. Economic independence is the most important factor for empowerment of women. Without financial strength empowerment of women is a misnomer. Although in the perspective of greater society of Bangladeshi women handloom industry offers a good scope for empowerment of women. An earning woman commands respect and carries weight in her family and in society. In my research area it was clearly revealed to me that quite a good number of women folk perform various works in handloom industry as

wages labour in other's factory incorporating various feeder aspects. But their role is not properly evaluated. That is why fully fledged women empowerment is absent here. The contribution of women labour is underrated, thereby denying women empowerment.

Female workers contribute to augment family income and sometime emerge as bread earner of the family. Farida's case is a unique example and exception also. There are more citable examples represented by Zulekha, Aleya bewa, Parveen who are maintaining their family with their hard earned money. There is a good number of others who are supplementing their husband's income by some subsidiary work in handloom industry. But they do not enjoy a position of respect and importance in the family and in the society also. The following criteria determine the level of position of the women in the household.

Household management expenditure

The first question arises from this data in this purpose that who keeps the money earned by the wives. I found in Kandipara village that most of the women of all classes gave their wages to their husbands. This was justified on the basis that a man is better than a woman in budgeting and accounting.

Female weavers are not able to view their work as real work or do not see their wages as an important part of household income. Women's needs and contributions are seen valueless than men, they accepted male dominance and cannot think of violating their husband's word and position. This shows the re-positioning in family diplomacy due to socio-cultural demands made on women in the weaver community. They cannot afford to disregard the social norms, no matter whatever the personal cost. Thus we see that while in the matter of own rights and status women are motivated by self interest, their dealings with other members of family is marked by inherently selfless attitude. In their own household women are deprived from their financial rights and waged employment allowed women to step out of the protection of tradition but did not necessarily strengthen their agency.

Decisions on Property and Purchase of Household Goods

Who takes decisions regarding property matters and buys household goods is a question that leads us to assess the relative status of the husband and wife in household politics and intra family mechanism in the village Kandipara. In the weaver household patriarchy posits property rights in men. Sometimes women purchase the short-term daily products,

which really do not have resale value. Nevertheless, in case of long-term products full authority were kept by husbands. In the context of Bangladeshi village environment, full authority was kept by husbands as well as male members of the household. Thus, men – who have more money, authority, control and power over the family and this kind of situation, determined my household mechanism which I called household politics in the weaver household.

Decision on family Planning

In response to the question of family planning process most of the wives of weaver household declared that their husbands have the right about for making their decision on this matter. There is a traditional thought is existed here that women have no decision-making power over any intra and outer household sector. But sometimes female take birth controlled pills provided by the family planning field workers without knowing to their husbands.

Decision on children's goin to school

Decision of children's go to school is another area for decision-making power in weaver community. Like other community in Bengali society, the weavers are also aware for their children's education. Will the children go to school or not are mostly determined by father. This is the part of family politics where women never receive any direct recognition.

Decision on marriage of son or daughter

Marriage decision about unmarried son or daughter usually taken by the father, elder male members of the households. There is no stable position of female members about this decision.

Control of Mobility

In the village community of Bangladesh mobility control is a strong device of this masculine set up. It is very common in the weaver household that husbands resorted to domestic violence to restrict women's freedom of movement. Housewives have no personal control over their outside mobility. Most of the male members believe that only husband can ensure wives secured life after marriage. They blamed that outside world is not a secured place for women. In the weaver community the power of 'purdah' lies more in limiting women's capabilities to challenge gender role prescriptions. Through the daily practice they developed, the horizontal relations of solidarity with one another shows women have adopted strategic silence. One respondent Shahana Begum aged 34 is not allowed to go out alone especially to the market. She also thinks that a respectable woman should never go to market because it is not a good place for women.

The above fact reveals that intersection between religion and class position created a culture that propagates dependency and a culture of silence. This interlocked women's lifecycle into the patriarchal framework. In our patriarchal society, role of bread winner is integral to men's identity, which automatically places women as a weak decision maker.

Ownership of property

In weaving community loom is the wealth. People scarcely possess agricultural land. Distribution of property among heirs is marked by the absence of woman. The custom in this society is that women are not in a position to claim their due. According to 'Family Law of Islam' the daughter is entitled to a portion of paternal property. She gets half of one brother.

But when she goes to another weaver family after marriage, father does not find any justification to award her portion of loom with her. The son is expected to look after his father's loom, to be associated with it and this very loom will be the means of his livelihood. This attitude is the dominating factor in selecting son/sons sole inheritor of looms. No women exercise authority in matters of handloom factory.

Under these circumstances womenfolk do not feel the necessity to claim their share in the face of social custom. In their sub-conscious mind this idea lurks that brothers are in real need of the paternal looms. Here subservience and curtailment of their right are obvious. Daughters get a portion of the homestead and landed property if there is any landed property. But they sell it to brothers or forego the right in their favour. *Nayor* system is an annual visiting system of the women to parents' house. This system serves a recreational facility and get-together that make life enjoyable. This system exists in the weaver community. In case of getting any loom as dowry which is sometimes seen, the incumbent has no claim to the products. The husband has control over them.

My informants pointed out an important matter. There are no valid and written documents of father's looms and factory. So question of claim on the part of daughters does not arise. The son does not leave father's house and as he has to look after his father's property, he enjoys the opportunity of owning it.

The village womenfolk are found disinterested if there is any discussion about the inheritance of loom. For social restriction and for their concern to maintain family peace they observe reticence.

Aleya Begum (40), housewife of a distressed family is a middle aged woman. Aleya Begum's joint family consist of her husband Shahjahan Pramanik (50) 4 daughters, 3 Sons and two brothers in law, one of them being mentally retarded. Victim of the erosion of the **Jamuna**, they were uprooted and settled in Kandipara. All around the house there is glaring sign of distressed condition. Her daughters do the spinning at home for the **Mahajan (owner of capital)**. Her elder son and one brother in law are workers in a factory.

Her sick husband is unable to work. In this big family she finds it difficult to make both ends meet. She is a victim of mal-nutrition and suffering from various diseases. She has faith in modern treatment. She wears talisman. She uses beyond the knowledge of her husband contraceptive pills supplied by health visitors. They also take recourse to herbal medicine, unanies and Ayurvedic medicine from the local *kobiraj ghor*.

Participation of women labor of Kandipara may be classified in different context

Table 14: Age wise participation of 50 female workers of Kandipara

Age	Number
05-10	05
11-20	14
21-30	16

31-40	10
41-50	05
Total	50

Source: Fieldworker in Kandipara, 2013.

In table 23 we can see that the participation of female workers in the weaving works. Here the highest number is the ages of 21-30 of the women are performances in work. That means young ladies are involved highly in the weaving work. Also women of all ages are engaged in work related with weaving.

Some female workers do weaving related all the works in their own household. Some female workers do rich weaver household for the wages. Usually the female of the poor weaver households do the paid work for wages in the rich weaver's factory and in households also. They break the yarn cone, spin yarn with spinning wheel, boil yarn, grueling yarn then dry in the sun. Some female worker make rid (shana bou) for the weaving share or lungi.



(Female workers are working at a printing factory for wages.)

Marital status of female workers

Participation in handloom industry takes place on the part of all types- married, unmarried, divorced, abandoned and widow.

Table 15: Marital status of 50 female workers

Age	Marital status	Number
05-20	Unmarried	14
20-50	Married	36
Total		50

Source: Fieldworker in Kandipara, 2013.

The table 24 shows the marital status of 50 female workers in the weaver community of Kandipara. Here we can see that out of 50, 36 female workers are married. So it can be said that the majority of the female workers are married.

Table 16: The status among the 36 married women

	Status	Number
1	Housewives	22
2	Divorced	03
3	Widowed	04
4	Deserted	07
	Total	36

Source: Fieldworker in Kandipara, 2013.

Children

Early marriage is not sanctioned by law. Yet as is usual in rural Bangladesh early marriage is the practice here. Early marriage leads to early child – bearing which is risky. Yet more often than not girls are given in marriage at an early age. This is the case with the female workers of Kandipara. Investigation has revealed that the female workers have on average 2 or 3 children. In most cases the responsibility of their maintenance devolves on the women. Widows or the deserted have to maintain the children themselves. When the children attain workable age, they are engaged in some sort of work in the weaving industry. Their income is merged with that of their mothers.

Notion of *Purdah*

In the weaver community adherence to *Purdah* is a remarkable feature. Unlike women of other Muslim community the womenfolk of this community scrupulously wear veil. Their face is covered in such a way that they have two tiny apertures adjusted to their two eyes for outside view. They do not appear unveiled before persons except husband, parents and siblings. Some of the workingwomen move unveiled but modestly dressed and using wrapper.

Haji Mariam Banou (38) a lady of Upper class and of assertive nature. Mariam Banou is better half of Haji Aminuddoula (52), a substantial figure; hers is a unitary family comprising a son (18) and two daughters (15 and 8). She hails from rich family of Kandipara. She adheres to strict *Purdah* system. Her husband married during his student life. This happy go lucky young man dissipated whatever property he inherited. Mrs. Mariam inspired him and made him enterprising to expand business. Throughout a period of two decades their business concern has attained this prosperous state. She is held in high esteem by her husband who even now seeks good counseling from her. It goes without saying that she enjoys an enviable position in the whole of Kandipara. In spite of this exulted position, she expressed her dissatisfaction at the social prejudiced prevalent in conservative society. She opined that it is not the be all and end all that the husband should have economic solvency. She is a lady with wide traveling experience as she performed hajj several times and visited different holy places of India and Bangladesh. This was possible, as her family possess solid financial base. She cherishes high hope about her daughter who is a S.S.C examinee.

Quite a good number of female workers are employed in their factory. She is quite sympathetic to them and stands by their side if need be.

Purdah and Female-Male Relations

The institution of *purdah* puts several restrictions on women's lives and defines the female-male relationship culturally in the weaver community. The first restriction is "the domestic boundary": a woman's world is inside home, and a man's world is outside home. *Purdah* clearly defines "separate worlds" (papanek 1973:298) for men and women based on sex. Thus, a woman does all the household activities – such as cooking, cleaning, washing, child -care – and also is responsible for feeding livestock. On the other hand, men work in the field, market all products (including those made by women) and have access to and control all public affairs for the households. This results in a social restriction in terms of public/private domains that eventually domesticates women within the household.

In the rural village Kandipara, a girl enjoys her freedom of movement until about the age of eight or, at the outside, ten years. After that, she starts to become aware of her social position. The moment a girl reaches puberty she is not allowed to talk to or even to see unknown males or prospective grooms (which may even include her cousins). In some cases, it is not uncommon to find girls dropping out of school if parents cannot take “proper” care, such as escorting them to school by a male guardian or by her female classmates. At this stage, parents start to look for a suitable groom. The consent of the girl is rarely sought; marriage is always arranged by the parents or other relatives in the weaver community.

After marriage, a girl must obey her in-laws. In the rural areas, a newlywed girl is not expected to talk to or see her husband in the presence of other relatives. As a cultural rule, the husband is considered above the wife, meaning that he is superior in ability and knowledge. Even the fate of a wife in the after-world is tied to her husband; there is a strong belief among village women that “heaven lays on the feet of the husband.” Thus, the husband-wife relationship is always unequal. A husband can pronounce the name of the wife, but under no circumstances can a wife reciprocate. The status and future of a marriage dependent upon the child-bearing. Due to patrilineality, the more sons a woman will bear, the more status she will earn in the house of her in-laws in the weaver community. Therefore, the most important choice for a married woman is to bear children. If she is childless after five or six years, the marriage is not only at stake, but the wife is considered infertile. This gives her husband a right to have a second wife.

In the village Kandipara, in a relative sense, a woman enjoys more freedom in her natal home. As a wife in her in-laws’ house, her movements are restricted in front of elderly in-laws. For example, she has to cover her head with her *sharee*, talk in low voice, and should eat only after serving the rest of the family members. A woman is considered “ideal” if her voice is not heard by any stranger; she can attain more respect by wearing a burqa (veil) if and when she needs to go outside the household. The less a woman goes outside of the weaver community, the more respect she gains.

Economically, the purdah system determines the sexual division of labour. Women are responsible for all sorts of work inside the house. Men are legally and socially responsible to support the family and therefore have to work outside. This division of labour clearly benefits men in terms of work hours, and also in the nature of their leisure and socialization. Women bear the burden of all household chores, raise children, and support home-based income activities.

In the weaver household, the purdah system therefore controls a woman's life in several spheres. However, the degree of its rigidity depends upon a number of factors such as age, status, wealth, education and locality. Older women, irrespective of socioeconomic status, have more freedom of movement than younger women. Also, the social status of household determines the pervasiveness of purdha. For example, the wife of a religious leader will never go outside without a burqa. The rich weavers are also very careful about their women wearing burqa. Women of poor and marginal weaver families do all the work by themselves. They do not wear burqa and they even work in the rich weaver's household with other workers and sometimes with male co-workers. Poverty thus curtails purdha restrictions and extreme poverty forces defiance of cultural norms and practices. Today, in the weaver community, purdah observance is more a status matter in the village. Some of my respondents said that even a wealthy weaver cannot earn high status in the village unless women in the household maintain complete purdah restrictions.

Renu Begum aged 33 is a housewife of unitary family. The family is composed of Moniruddin (40) her husband, 2 daughters and 2 sons.

Her husband, a marginal weaver has 3 looms. They have 3 spinning wheels. Renu Begum and her elder daughter work at the spinning wheel. The elder son works at the loom. The son and daughter also go to the local primary school.

Her husband does not consult with her in any business or family affair. She represents the typical conservation housewife who has profound faith in their husbands. She adheres to strict *purdah* system. The health visitors offer her contraceptives and suggestion.

Type of work and wage

There is division of labour among female workers according to age. Their work consists of unwinding the cone of yarn into small loose quantity – called ‘*polla*’. The weavers buy cartons of yarn. The carton contains 50 cones of 2pouads each. This unwinding is done by revolving machine run manually or by electricity. Applying gruel to yarn is to be done carefully. So female workers above 12 are entrusted with this task. Breaking of cone also is done by them.

Wage is proportionate to production. Difference of age does not create difference in wage .The local term for spinning one unit of yarn is ‘*mora*’. The wage for spinning one “*mora*” is Tk.4.50--5.00. A worker can spin 8-10 ‘*mora*’ a day. The operation of a spinning wheel being simple, a female child also can spin the same quantity. So female workers both adult and minor can earn around Tk 50.00 per day. Their wage is paid on weekly basis.



Manual breaking of cone is going on by a young girl at household.

Importance of the income of women

It is observed that the housewife does not claim the money she earns by spinning because she thinks that she is not required to make any personal expenditure. She is ignorant about any personal expenditure. It is seen that she has no control about her discretionary power. Again, she is some - time found to take the money as personal savings. In this instance also she hardly finds any purpose other than spending on her cloth, *saree* and family requirement. In these circumstances the income of a housewife and a well to do female labour does not carry so much importance in society of Kandipara.

But in the perspective of business the earning of a female worker is quite important and significant for herself as well as her family. Such female workers mostly belong to lower class and distressed class. Her income supplements the total family income for the maintenance of the family.

The case of widows, divorced and deserted woman is quite different from others. Because their income is dire necessity as they have to support themselves and their family with the hard-earned money. Here non-but she is the guardian of the family.

Farida Begum a widow of 34 lost her husband Abdur Rashid 8 years ago. He died at the age of 38. He had been suffering from cancer for about 6 years. He received Medicare at different places including Dhaka. A lower middle class weaver, Abdur Rashid possessed 16 Chittaranjan looms out of which he was compelled to sell 8 to meet the expenses of his treatment. But as ill luck would have it he died, leaving his wife and two daughters Rabeya Khatun and Rafia Khatun aged 3 and 1 respectively.

For genuine reason Farida had to lease out the remaining 8 looms left by her husband and this she did to her younger (*Debar*) brother-in-law. At present she receives 400 – 500 taka weekly on this account. To augment her income she started to spin yarn by manual spinning wheel. Through this effort she put by a small sum of money. Then she became a member of a local cooperative society and was able to save 10000 thousand taka. Now she owns a motorized spinning wheel run by electricity.

The Mahajan (capitalist) and well off dealer supplies her one carton of yarn, which she dresses and processes by her mechanized machine. She has to do it intermittently because she has to do the household work cooking, washing and looking after her old mother-in-law who is to be fed by her hand. She can finish the work in about 3 days.

She earns TK 250-300 by her work of the yarn. Her total weekly income amounts to 1000-1100 taka from leasing the looms and processing the yarn. She meets the household costs and educational expenses of her two daughters. Her elder daughter Rabeya is a student of class 7 of Zomela Model School. She won scholarship in talent pool. The younger daughter Rafia is a student of class 3 of the same school. Farida Begum cherishes some sweet hope of making her daughters' doctor or university educated. She plans to fulfill her dream through her daughters, her next generation. She told me "I was a victim of early marriage. I did not get any opportunity for higher education. I shall make up this deficiency through my daughters".

The air around her is full of dust particles while she works with the yarn. That is why she suffers from respiratory trouble. It causes profuse sneezing. Yet she adheres to it in expectation of good time. She has a plan to buy another machine, which will add to her income. With this end in view she saves little by little. The home is considered a moral sanctuary, and morality which flourished here is considered the work of women. It is women who shape future generations. Although their place is ideally limited to the domestic sphere, within that sphere women are charged with preserving and creating the moral fiber of society.

Control over female income

When asked about how they utilize and spend their income, most women reply that their income goes for the maintenance of family, food and clothing. This is the expectation of the families with limited income.

Men want co-operation of women in meeting the basic needs and look upon the income of the female members of the family with good grace. Middle class women spend almost their entire income for children's education and for family needs. Upper - middle class women spend a part of their income for their personal requirement. Lower class women cannot afford to save for obvious reason of family needs.

Women have no discretionary power to spend their own earning. Without the permission of husband they cannot spend. But the case of widow, divorced and abandoned women is quite different as they themselves are guardians of their family.

The income of minor girls is under father's control. In some cases it may be under mother's or brother's control. So the finding is that in the male-dominated family the income of the female members is directly and indirect controlled by male members while this income is controlled by female members in a family administrated by women. This is an apt example of intra-household politics in weaver community of Bangladesh.

Mollika Begum aged twenty-eight is the housewife of upper middle class household. She read up to class X. She discontinued her study because her father found a suitable matrimonial alliance. She belongs to a joint family, which consists of mother-in-law, husband, two children, brother- in-law, sister-in-law and their daughter. Father-in-law is not alive.

'People's Textile' is the joint factory where there are 100 looms. There are 125 workers of them 20 are women. Side by side and some time simultaneously with her household work Mollika Begum performs the subsidiary work of production as other housewives do.

Usually she does not get any wage but if she gets money any time, she entrusts it to her husband, as she does not find any justification for keeping it with herself. The husband's attitude to this earning of his wife is marked with fun. Her husband does not take her into confidence about important matter and business affairs.

He strongly feels that her activities will revolve round spinning wheel and household work. In household work Mollika shares it with her sister in law. Both work in turn. One week Mollika does the cooking and the next week her sister-in-law cooks in turn. The mother-in-law also helps in light work. In health matter she uses talisman. In family planning she adopts measures without consulting with her husband who does not lay importance on it. Subordination of women is strong in this family.

Social impact of woman's income

Kandipara is a handloom - dependent village where female labour is essential. As female labour has a good contribution in weaving, their work is being socially recognized a little bit but not to the extent it actually deserve. In this community I could discern that no man supports female ownership of looms. People cannot reconcile the idea that a woman will be the owner of a factory. According to them she is destined to perform household work and subsidiary work of weaving. They are born with inferior faculty.

The womenfolk of Kandipara make mentionable contribution to the production system different from other normal villages of Bangladesh. Yet they are not getting the appreciation and status as they are entitled to. They have to keep their latent quality suppressed in the patriarchal society. So here we can see the situation of women subordination on the basis of production and market system as well as household politics that means mechanism also.

Female Wage Labourers : The Case Studies

The following case studies discussed in this section will provide insights into the life histories of female wage labourers in the village.

Case -i – Tale of Salma

Name – Mst. Salma Khatun aged around 23. Hazrat Ali, her husband aged around 30 owner of one pit loom. Earlier he had 10 pit looms. But he was compelled to sell nine of them for poverty. Now he works in a power loom factory as a wages labourer. His income is insufficient for the expenditure of the house hold. This household belongs within the lower class weaver household.

Salma works at the remaining one pit loom and produces *gamcha* (towel) and sometime *Lungi*. She did the same type of work at her father's house as her father is also a weaver. Her husband took a loan of taka 30,000/- from an N.G.O three months ago whose recovery installment is taka 500/-per week. She has to pay the installment herself. When she fails her husband pays that and rebukes her. Every week she produces 7 to 8 *thans* (a roll of four pieces of *gamcha* or napkin in one bunch.)

She cannot increase her production because she has to do others household work at the same time. For this she faces difficulties in paying installment. She does not get any wage for her labour. Yarn, raw materials are managed by her husband. She only does the weaving the finished product is carried and sold by her husband. From the case of Salma we get a clear picture of alienation from the product.

The wholesale price of one than of *gamcha* (napkin) is taka 350. A profit of taka 15-20 come. This is quite meager. For this she faces difficulties to pay installment.

Last week she was able to produce only two *thans* on account of illness of her mother-in-law. So, she had to borrow money from a neighbor to meet the installment. This situation clarifies that her work and production is essential for her household.

She was married 8 years ago. Then she was only 15 years old. Her father gave taka 15000/-and5 *anas* (one *tola* of gold contains 16 *anas*) of gold for dowry. After marriage Salma lived with her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law in the same household. Her father-in-law died after 2 years. For initial 3 years she worked in the factory of a *mohajon* spinning yarn. She earned at that time 200-250 taka per week. She used to buy her dress and cosmetics for herself and utensils for household. The excess if any would be spent for the household also. That was her wage. Now she earns a little for the pit loom. I noticed the same thing in both the cases she has no rights over her income. All the time her income is snatched away so to say.

She rises early in the morning and does all the household work like cleaning, washing and cooking. Then she sits at the pit loom for her production and continues work up to afternoon. Then she takes her bath and meal. Again she continues weaving as long as she can see in the evening. As she has no child yet she can work hard in this way.

Though married eight years ago she could not give birth to child. Everybody thinks that she has some major physical problems. That is why she is taking treatment from the *kabiraj* (indigenous). He gave her medicines and told her that she will get child by his treatment. She cannot go to a doctor because of financial crisis of her family. She has to

tolerate adverse criticisms from her mother-in-law, husband, relatives, neighbours and other people of the society. She fervently wishes a child.

As she has failed to offer a child to the household, she wants to forget this through hard labour. Besides this she works hard all day long to keep up progress and happiness of the family. This is an undistorted and genuine picture of female member of the weaver community in kandipara village in Bangladesh.

Case –ii - Life of Momena Khatun

Momena Khatun is a simple housewife of a lower class weaver household of the village Kandipara. She is about 27. Her husband Sahjahan Ali Miah is 38 years of age. He is a labour at the *chittoranjan* loom factory of a local *mohajon* (capitalist-owner of looms). He earns 3-4 thousand taka per month. This is quite inadequate for a family of six members.

Momena Khatun is the mother of four childrens-2 sons and 2 daughters. The daughters are the elder children. Elder daughter Aleya is 10. second daughter Rabeya is 8. Elder son Robin is 6 and the youngest son Alim is 4 only.

The household is financially hard hit. So the children cannot go to school. In her own language “amagor maiara school ey jaitey partachey na ovaber laigga. Toi pola duidarey pathamu”. That means her two daughters cannot go to school for poverty. But she will send her two sons to school.

As her husband’s income is not enough to run the family so she has to go to mohajon’s house for spinning yarn. Winding a single cone of yarn she gets 2 taka. In this way she earns 25-30 taka each day. Some time the income is less and if unluckily she falls ill, there is no income.

Along with bearing the household expenses her income is also very important for the education of her children. She is unwilling to give birth to anymore child because she thinks that additional member of family leads to additional expenditure but not extra income. So she is taking birth control pills supplied from the workers of the local health centre.

Her daughters help her in all kinds of household chores like cleaning, washing, cooking etc. When she remains outside in the connection with her work, her daughters look after the younger brothers.

When she came to this village 12 years back as a bride the financial condition of her husband was better than the present. But as gradually time passes and the price of yarn, chemicals and daily necessities of life increases their life became harder and the household distress is clinging.

Case-iii - Profile of Shamsun Nahar Begum

Shamsun Nahar Begum from a lower class weaver household, a middle aged widow of 36 spins yarn in the house of *mohajon* (capitalist). She earns 400-500/-taka per week.

Her husband late Monsur Molla died of tuberculosis at the age of 45. He has been ill for 5 years and died 7 years ago. He had 8 pit looms which he inherited from his father. He had to sell the looms one after another to bear the expenses of medical treatment. He could not work and sat at house, Shamsun Nahar Begum started work at other's factory.

Her elder son Alam aged 22, works at a power loom factory of a rich *mohajon* (capitalist). He read up to class eight. He had desire to pass SSC but he was compelled to discontinue study because of father's death. The second and third children are two daughters Hashi and Khushi aged 20 and 18. Both are married in local weaver family. Shamsun Nahar Begum and her elder son saved from their income and bore the wedding expenses of the two daughters. She had to give dowry of taka 20000/- for each daughter. Altaf aged 16, the younger son of Shamsun Nahar Begum read in class 8 in the local high school. The dream of his mother and his elder brother is to see him doing good job after completing education.

When she came as a bride to this house hold the family was solvent. Her father-in-law was a middle class weaver. But after his death there was partition in the family. Each brother got 7-8looms and some landed property. Her mother-in-law lives with her eldest son's household. The youngest brother-in-law lives in his separate household with his family. The landed property inherited by her husband is under the system of crop-sharing system. The rice division received goes for 3-4months of a year. She has to purchase rice for the rest of year. She wants to have her son married, so, that the bride may help her both in domestic work and spinning. She expects that the daughter-in-law would respect her and act according to her direction. Now her thought moves round two things-the marriage of elder son and the education of the youngest son. In this way she is running her household with her hard work and practicable planning.

Case- iv- Story of Zomela Khatun

Zomela Khatun is a woman of 26 years from a lower class weaver household. The name of her husband Zahangir Miah aged 37 years is the owner of two pit looms. He set the loom at one corner of his room. He manufactures *lungi* and *gamcha* in this pit looms. Mainly *gamcha* is produced because it requires smaller capital. One year ago he took a loan of taka 15000/- from a local NGO on an interest of taka 250/- per week. He took loan to build up capital for his production. After the sell of their products they get meager profit because the price of yarn, dye etc. is high. But sell of the product is not proportionately high. That is why this household is going downward marginally to bear the burden of her husband's loan; she is compelled to work hard in the factory of *mohajon* (capitalist). There she spins yarn on the bobbin.

She has three children 2 sons and 1 daughter. Eldest child a daughter named Zahura is 10 years old. The second child Sumon is a boy of 8. The last one Sujon is a child of 5. For the case of poverty she does not send her daughter to school. The girl helps her mother in household work and pre-stage of weaving. Her strong desire is that she would educate the two sons.

Zomela is a glaring example of female role and subordination in weaver community. All the time she uses to do double work at her own household and in other's factory.

In the household she does all the household chores- like-rearing of children, cleaning, washing, cooking etc. Also her husband compels her to do all the pre stages tasks of weaving- like- spinning, coloring, boiling, grueling, drying and winding of the yarn. During the absence of her husband she also weaves *gamcha* in the pit loom.

She keeps Zahura – her daughter associated in her work. Because in this way Zahura will learn the trade of weaving and other accessories. Zomela herself also learned it in the same way in her father's house. This is the common practice of girls in weaver community.

Twelve years ago she was married. Her father was poor, so he could not give her any ornaments and jewellery. He paid only 20000/- taka for dowry. For this her mother-in-law harassed her time and again. During her lifetime the mother-in-law lived with her in the same household. Zomela suffered from oppression by her mother-in-law.

In the household there is a small room for living. At one side of it the two pit looms exist. There is bed for them on the other side. There is a small cooking site beside the room and a small yard in front. Her husband does not possess any other land except this paternal homestead. In this way their household is being run marginally.

Zomela's weaving activities at their own household is not recognized as economic activity and she is not paid for it.

But this same work that she performs outside from the house hold is recognized as economic work and this brings remuneration for her. This earning is spent for installment of loan and family expenses.

She is a victim of household mechanism and market strategy in weaver community. Here she is compelled to as forced work.

Case – v - Hope of Rubia Begum

Rubia Begum is a respected housewife of a middle class weaver household. Her age is 47. Religious injunctions are practiced in her household. She is conservative and practice pardha system strictly.

Her husband Md. Abdur Rashid Sharker aged 65. He performed Hajj five years ago. He is the owner of 25 chittaranjan looms. The factory is adjacent to their homestead. This self sufficient middle class weaver has 20 wages labour in his factory.

Rubia Begum has four sons and one daughter. Her eldest son Abdur rahman aged 29 performs the task of procuring yarn, dye and other necessary material. He passed SSC examination. His father depends on him on the marketing of production. He does efficiently the duty given to him. He married the daughter of his father's friend recently. The second son of Rubia Begum Abdul Malek is aged 27. He is a bit handicapped mentally. So he did not attend school. But he is expert at weaving. He works with other labours in his father's factory. He produces special type of *sharee*.

The third son of Rubia Begum Abdul Kuddus aged 25 is a Moulana, a product of Hathazari Madrasha. He is a junior teacher there.

The fourth son of Rubia begum Abdur Sharif aged 22 does the work of ironing, processing and packaging of *sharees*.

Jharna Khatun aged 15 is her only daughter. She reads in class 10 in the local high school. She is affectionate to parents and brothers. Her mother hopes that she will be married after graduation. She thinks that inconvenience of early marriage should not trouble her daughter.

Up till now Rubia Begum performed all domestic weaving related tasks of this weaver household alone. Now she is physically ill. She suffers from waist pain, knee pain, rheumatic pain etc. She visited a physician in Sirajganj town and took the medicines prescribed by him. But she did not get any good result. Basically her suffering is due to hard labour, lack of proper rest and lack of proper nutrition. Her new daughter-in-law and her own daughter help in household work. She has to do some additional work for weaving like-boiling yarn, grueling and drying yarn. Earlier she used to spinning the yarn with *charka* (spinning wheel). But now she has reduced this work due to illness and religious pursuit.

Four to five women are engaged to do this job on the basis of payment. Rubia Begum supervises their work. She does not get any wage for her heavy factory related work. She does not even think that she should be paid for it. Because she thinks that it falls within her duties. This is the deep rooted notion of the house wives of the weaver community in Kandipara. She is not consulted in any policy matter of her husband's factory nor is her opinion taken for any matter.

She hopes that her new daughter-in-law will gradually take over the task and she will get a relief. Her dream is to perform Hajj and to visit the land of the Holy Prophet (SM). She hopes that her second daughter-in-law will be helpful to her and bear responsibilities of the household. She will be more sensible as her second son is little bit handicapped.

Rubia Begum is a cementic force of this middle class weaving household. She is consciously aware and keeps a watchful eye on all the aspects of the household.

The review of above cases shows that there are domination and subordination in the household of the weaver community in Kandipara. There is a special kind of market strategy where every class of weavers are involved in borrowing loan. Everybody has to pay installment of the loan from their profit. It has become a chain system. This situation is pushing the lower class weaver to marginal extent. There is a special mechanism in the household of the weaver community. I compared this household mechanism with politics and termed it as household politics.

In every weaver household female members are always engaged with the weaving related work side by side with household chores. They do not get any wages. They have also no awareness about their claim to wages. This is a usual case that ensures women's subordination.

The home is considered a moral sanctuary, and morality which flourished here is considered the work of women. It is women who shape future generations. Although their place is ideally limited to the domestic sphere, within that sphere women are charged with preserving and creating the moral fiber of society.

Control over Income and women's perception about household expenditure

In some weaver household the husband is the only earning member. In this type of household, the household expenditure is a countable part. It is also noticed that most of the homemakers-women have little independent source of income if male relatives are essential to their well-being as in the case of Zomela Khatun. She works part time outside in other's factory to supplement family income. Zomela has no control over her income. Her husband takes it and pays the installment of loan and meets household expenses. Here we see that in weaver community female workers have no control over their income rather they are compelled to surrender the money to male members of the house hold.

Household management expenditure and purchase of household goods:

The study reveals that the male person of the household makes management policies. Husbands offer money and determine the purpose and amount of money to spend. The women have little right of claiming money for her personal use and interest.

In respect of purchasing household goods the husband is the sole authority. Importance is not given to the opinion of women. As a result the women are not willing to offer their opinion regarding purchases of weaving materials and equipments.

When the daily necessities of life are exhausted women members of the household inform the male members. They purchase the necessities. Females do not go to market usually in this village.

Decision on family planning:

Women get support from their husbands to take decision about family planning and family size. Most of the couples are taking family planning measures. They get necessity article from family planning fieldworkers.

Decision on children's going to school:

Children's admission in school is an important issue. Choice of school depends on the head of the household that is male person. On the economic side financial solvency plays an important function in children's going to school. Male child get priority over female child in going to school. Men's power and women's dependence is evident in this matter.

Control of Mobility:

There is some restriction for women to go outside at will. Whenever they go outside, they obey the “*Purda*” and use veil. The upper class and middleclass women are not allowed to go out alone to the market. It is thought that market is not a good place for women.

The lower class women go out for work for their necessity of household but in a modest way. In this patriarchal society it is natural that earning of livelihood is the part and parcel of men’s identity. This automatically makes women weak decision maker.

Women’s compromising control over income:

The household and institutional context is mostly unfavorable for women. Men’s freedom from household work and their duty to work outside as provider of families are important. The study shows that the female develops compromising attitude regarding their income. They surrender it to their husband for the sake of family needs and peace. They think about household necessities, husband’s loan and education of children. If they refuse to give her whole income complication would arise, such as physical and mental harassment, beating of children. As a result peace in the family would be hampered. That is why she has no ultimate control over her own income and she sacrifices it for her own household.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social Organization

Social life is an essence of human life. It grows out of constant patterning of social interaction and relationships among human being as such. The study of social organization of weaver community deals primarily with the significance grouping of individuals. Basically social structure refers to the complex network of relationships that exists among members of a society. I examine the village Kandipara the nature of relationships among the villagers in terms of household and family, marriage, kinship.

Man does not live alone and at the same time he has to meet his basic needs like food and shelter and social needs like companionship, recreation, religious activities, play etc. He, thus, forms a group or association with the help of other men and builds up certain institutions. With the help of that group or association he satisfies his need. Such associations are Family, Marriage and Kinship. And they are the main parts of social organization.

To grasp the existing and changing pattern of social structure and social relationship between intra and inter groups of a village in Bangladesh, it is indispensable to study some important institutions properly. No society is constant, and it changes in social norms and values, belief and rituals, roles, opportunities and activities of individuals, migration, movement, empowerment, and many other social economic factors. These changing components obviously change social as well as economic structures of a society. Like towns and cities, villages cannot cope with changes equally. Usually the wave or the pattern takes a little more time for the village. To conceive some of these changes in a Bangladeshi village, I have to discuss here three social institutions family, marriage and kinship in Kandipara.

Family

According to social anthropologist Nanda (2012), there are two basic types of families- the elementary or nuclear family and the extended family. A nuclear family is organized around the conjugal tie (the relationship between husband and wife) and consisting of a husband, a wife, and their children. In this type of family the conjugal tie is determined through the relationship between a husband and wife formed by marriage.

The extended family is based on consanguineal, or blood relations extending over three or more generations. That means this type of family based on blood relations extending over three or more generations and this consanguineal relationship related by blood. Here male or female kin and their spouses and offspring occupying a single household under the authority of a household head. An extended family is not just a collection of nuclear families; in an extended family system, lineal ties- the blood ties between generations such as father and son- are more important than the ties of marriage. (Nanda, 2012).

Household and the Family

A household or domestic group is not the same as a family. Although most households contain people related by blood or marriage, non kin may be included; conversely members of a family may be spread out over several households. (Nanda, 2012). Household composition is affected by the cultural rules about residence after marriage. Under neolocal residence rules, married couples create their own households.

Under patrilocal residence rules (sometimes called virilocality), the newly married couple live with the husband's family, whereas under matrilocal residence rules (also called uxorilocal residence), the couple lives with the wife's family. Two other rules are avunculocal residence, in which the couple lives with the husband's mother's brother, and biolocal residence, in which a couple can choose between living with wife's family or husband's family. (Nanda, 2012). In my research area I found mainly patrilocal residence rule and few neolocal residence. Basically the weaver households maintain

production of weaving with the members of the household both male and female. For that reason every member of the household are always engaged with weaving and has to perform own duties.

The household is a sufficiently universal and recognized unit of analysis in anthropological study. In my census, I defined the term household as a corporate body where members live and work together as an “eating” (*khana*) or cooking unit *Chula*. As fundamental thought, households are task-oriented residence units, whereas families are viewed as kinship groupings that need not be localized. The most common domestic unit consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried dependent children. This nuclear family type is the modal household from Bangladesh villages; however, the composition of households may vary due to many socioeconomic factors. It is the primary arena for sex roles, socialization and economic cooperation. Within each household there is a division of labour and division of authority. The oldest male- the father, the grandfather, the oldest brother or son- is usually the recognized head of the household. Only in cases of death, divorce or absence of the male head for a prolonged period of time, do women take responsibility as head of household.

Family is an integral component of the human society and the concept of family exist in all human societies. Anthropologists however defined ‘family’ in different ways.

Lowie (1950) considered family as an association that corresponds to the institution of marriage. Hoebel (1958) however, mentioned that in meeting the requirements of infant care and child development the sex difference of male and female are such that a cooperative division of labour makes for greater efficiency and skill in the work that is to be done. Radcliffe Brown (1941) in defining a “family” includes husband, wife and their child or children. They look after the children’s future and in the context of studied society even they have to look after the welfare of others besides their children. So a family consists of not only husband, wife or the children, it includes even parents, sisters, brothers, parents-in-laws and others too.

Family, as the basic social unit, attracts and helps its members to form an organization for creating a pavement to control and socialize themselves through some social norms and values. It is interesting to note that there are some dilemmas in defining the term 'family' in anthropology. Some raise the question of legitimacy of child bearing and legitimacy of relationship between husband and wife.

But it depends on the social structure of a society whether it should be raised or not. Some sociologists confine the term 'family' to a couple with offspring, using the word marriage to refer to the husband wife relationship by itself. According to this definition, a woman living with her illegitimate children has a family but not marriage. Is it then the male /female relationship not husband and wife that is the core of the family? (Collins 1987:28).

Some of our civilized members recognize marriage between same sex and homosexuality in the name of personal freedom. However, we have to accept a definition, which will not be arbitrary and acceptable to common society. 'The family is only one of the groups upon which individuals rely for material and psychological support in modern societies' (Ronald 1979: 250). The family is not merely necessary to reproduce the human species biologically, but even more centrally, to reproduce it socially. According to Sumner and Keller, the family is a miniature social organization, including at least two generations, and is characteristically formed upon the bond of blood.

The term, '*Parivar*' is used in Bangla as a synonym of the English word; family; of a marital group usually. This term indicates unit comprising all the members of genealogical and marital group. In the village context, when a villager meets his familiar

person on the way or in any place after a long break, one enquires after the others as well as his *parivar*'s health and welfare, asking the question, 'Is your *parivar* in good health'. For any research and census purpose, we apply the term '*Khana*' (household) to indicate the members living in one family, who usually take meal together from the same dish at a time or use the same hearth to prepare meals to be consumed together.

In the weaver community family is the ultimate socio-economic unit. Daily activities of each member of a family significantly influence the social, economic and religious life of the community. So we can say that family is the basic social unit and plays a key role in the social life of the weavers.

Types of Family in my study area

Throughout human history and in most of the societies today, family was never and is not a steadfast form, as it is changing itself. But, throughout a long time, extended family is the prevailing type as it has many advantages: 'shared wealth and power, protection, and a supply of potential grooms and brides for alliances with other families'.

Extended and joint family as traditional and it prevails mostly in typical non- industrial societies and the rural sectors of modern societies, whereas nuclear family as relatively an independent unit is modern. Nuclear families actually predate the industrial Revolution in many hearths of Europe and extended kinship groups proved functional in easing the adaptation of family members to the demands of industrial work schedules. The emotional ties between husband and wife remain there today, as does their sexual behaviour. Children are still born within the framework of the family, and receive within it care and security, something that seems to inculcate the survival of the family of the future. But the main specialty is that the nuclear families are now an independent and self-sufficient social as well as economic unit, which tries to fulfill all its demands.

Only a few decades back, in our country, especially in rural areas, the most prevailing types of families were extended and joint ones, which predominated over a long time.

But, in contemporary society, these patterns have changed a lot. It is really unfortunate for us that we do not have any study worth mentioning and about the changing patterns of our indigenous family types. Due to a paucity of historical data in Bangladesh we cannot produce a chronological ethnography. From among a few anthropologists who have emphasized on changing patterns of family in Bangladesh, I am citing here some comments of two of them.

But in Kandipara, I have found a clear majority of nuclear family. Family members are losing their tendency towards extended one. In some villages of Sirajganj district, I have found a mentality prevailing among the poor villagers specially the poor or marginal weavers, to separate their newly married son within a few months by building a new cottage on the same courtyard if space permits. Otherwise, they build it on a separate place.

The social custom is that after the separation of the same family, he is not responsible for his parents' food and clothing; he seems not to be bound to provide these. Most of the sons are having food when these parents are passing days without proper food. Society does not mind it. I have found a poor man (who was a poor weaver) unable to work due to his old age complication; so he used to beg along with his wife (who is an aged woman and is unable to walk far). This family lived on their own homestead land along with their only unmarried daughter. Three sons of that poor couple also lived on the same courtyard separately with their own families. On many occasions, the parents were passing days without food. The poor man used to cry loudly lying on his bed and used to ask for food and medicine from his sons. But, the sons never used to lend their ears to their father's cries. This picture is very common in Kandipara too, not only in poor family but also in the middle-class or rich ones. They separate their sons' families as early as possible. The aged villagers informed me that their society demanded such type of activities from parents. If distribution of looms is not possible, then most of the fathers allocate an amount of his arable land to their sons so that they can run their families. But some of the villagers are still living under the umbrella of their extended families.

There are three types of family in the Village under my study. They are:

1. Joint Family

2. Extended Family

3. Nuclear Family

Joint Family

Here, the kin of three or more generation live under the same roof and share all land and property (they own). Such a family normally consists of brothers their parents, sisters, wives and children. They cook at a common hearth. The head of the joint family is the eldest male member or some other responsible male member of the family.

Extended Family

The extended family is a group of nuclear families and related individuals from several generations who reside together in the same household, but their '*Chula*' (oven) is disintegrated. In this family, the constituting household units do not own the property commonly. Although they live in the same '*bari*' (homestead), each independent unit of the extended family is practically free from the control of the other units. Major decisions are, however, taken in consultation with the senior members of other units.

Nuclear Family

A nuclear family consists of a husband and a wife with or without children. It may also be a family of a widowed mother living together with his unmarried children. Nuclear families become extended through the children and other lineal collateral.

In Kandipara, though at present there is growing tendency to live in nuclear families the remnants of joint family still persist in different forms. If a joint family breaks down into a number of families, the control over weaving and looms also breaks down. In some cases agricultural property may remain joint. The control of the parents over their married

sons still depends on them. It is expected that the size of a family, be it fishing, weaving, farming or any other community depend on type of family existence in that community. In following table 13, we can see that in the weaver community of the village Kandipara most of the family are nuclear family and the percentage of its 62.5%. the numbers of joint family among 80 households are 18, extended families are 8 and others are 4 in number. So it is clear from this table that the trend of nuclear family is high in the weaver community.

Table 17:Types of the Family in Kandipara

Types of family	Number of Household	Percentage
Nuclear	50	62.5%
Joint	18	22.5%
Extended	8	10%
Others	4	5%
Total	80	100

Source: Field work in Kandipara, 2013.

For the purpose of better understanding of the weaver families, we have shown here the size of the weaver family.

Table 18: Family size of the Study Village

Family Size	Small (1-3)	Medium (4-6)	Large (7-9)	Very Large 10+	Total
No. of H.ho.	08	42	24	06	80
Percentage	10%	52.5%	30%	7.5%	100%

Source: Field work in Kandipara, 2013.

The size of the family shown in table 14. In 80 households 10% of families are small. 52.5% families are medium in size. 30% are large and 7.5% are very large in size.

In the joint family system a married son with his wife and children live together in the parents house. Income of the members of the joint family goes to a common fund to be used by the family according to the needs of its members.

Generally, the weaver people prefer a nuclear family primarily because of economic reasons. It is difficult for a person to maintain a large family. And of course within a poor joint family when one realizes that one contributes more to the family but gets less than one actually consumes. There is a tendency to break away from such a family. It is also likely that in such a family when one contributes less than one consumes, one is under per sure to leave.

The next important case is female discord. Female discord generally refers to conflict between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law and among daughters-in-law themselves. Such discord is also observed between daughter-in-law and unmarried brother or sister of her husband.

Chart 1: Causes of Household Partition

Causes of Household Partition
<u>Types of cause</u>
1. Economic pressures.
2. Female discord.
3. Marriage.
4. Lack of Accommodation.
5. Father's Death.

Family Relation

Family relation is the ascertaining factor in the cultural life of kandipara. Family has a binding and responsibility over the members especially the young ones. Cultural values in shaping their habits, moral attitudes and social organization are getting increasingly difficult to uphold.

The family is the smallest economic unit for long remained functionary for prayer or God worship and recreation. The joint family is founded on the basis of affection, dependence and is quite contrary to the competitive industrial spirit. In Kandipara, among the weaver marriage is sacred and its prime object is to perpetuate a family a patrimony and a faith. Marriage here is not only a means of one's individual pleasure or advantage but also the duty of procreation and of maintaining the integrity of a family.

Generally, the patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal elementary or joint families are the various family types found in Kandipara. Matrilocal residence has no existence and is largely confined to the cases of new orphans and children of very poor parents. In the village, domestic quarrels and dimensions are the root causes of separation in a family. But still a close relation is observed among the members of two agnatic ally related families even after formal separation.

This is evident in ceremonies, feasts and festivals held in the village. In a joint family, the eldest member is generally regarded as the head. His wife or the next senior male is given the protocol next to him. An obedient son often takes his widow mother as the head of the family. In some cases parents are normally regarded as the head of the family. Their sons are more or less free to conduct the household business, look after family property and choose their profession according to their will. As long as father is the head, the internal management of the family remains with the mother. Sons are to obey her and their wives are expected to carry out her orders. The eldest male member shoulders the enormous family burden. The children may be nearly as close to their aunts as they are to their mother. The child is not responsible to a single individual. There are, of course, cases

where a domineering mother as the head of the joint family feels that she is charged with special responsibility for the children's upbringing. Quarrel between son's wife and his mother is not very uncommon. So familiar relation in the village under my study is passing through weal and woe. It is a combination of pains and pleasure.

Authority and Decision Making

The father or the eldest male member is the head of the family. The head of the household takes care of the family welfare. He is the bread-winner as well as the priest for the family, without any specific priestly name offer. He contributes to the community activities on various social and religious ceremonies. He is respected by all members of the family.

As the head of the family, the husband is mainly responsible for its proper maintenance. But the wife also plays no less an important role in this regard. Besides looking after children and household chores, she also assists the husband in the successful performance of social and religious ceremonies of the family.

Property rights and rules of inheritance

In question of property rights and rules of inheritance they follow the Islamic '*Faraz*'. After the death of the father; all the members of his family - mother-sons and daughters - get the share of the property according to Islamic law i.e. '*Faraz*'. Suppose one Md. Abul Kashem left behind his wife, a son and two daughters at the time of death. He had no debts. Now from the property the wife will get $1/8$, son $16/7$, two daughters $16/7$ from the whole property. But concessions are made in question of shares. Generally, the biggest '*ghar*' (room) sometimes goes to youngest son if he is minor; otherwise it goes to eldest son. After the death of the father the brothers are divided. The eldest brother takes the responsibility of the members of their family. So the sons inherit the property of their father in equal share. The daughters have right in their father's property. In the absence of son or daughter the property goes to the brother's sons and in their absence, to the closest male kin.

Marriage

In contemporary time about marriage anthropologists are not giving emphasis on its definition rather than the core and functions of marriage. Also they pay attention about the specification of marriage in human society and want to know about the form of the marriage in a particular society, in a particular community and in a particular time.

Serena Nanda (2012), states marriage –the customs, rules and obligations that establish a socially endorsed relationship between adults and children, and between the kin groups of the married partners. In addition to forming bonds between a couple, marriage extends social alliances by linking together different families and kin groups leading to cooperation among groups of people larger than the married couple. This expansion of the social group within which people can work together and share resources is of great advantage for the survival of the human species.

Marriage and family are cultural patterns though marriage and the subsequent formation of families in most of the societies rest on the biological complementarity of males and females in reproduction system. In this way they differ in form and function both among and within human societies and change over time with changing political and economic circumstances and the life stages of individuals. However, it is not universal, marriage, as a relatively stable union between a male and female that involves responsibility for children as well as economic exchange, because the basis for most human adaptation. (Nanda, 2012).

Marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that the children born to the woman are recognized as legitimate offspring of both partners. (Royal Anthropological Institute 1951, p.111). This definition is not universally valid for several reasons. For example, some societies recognize same-sex marriages. Also, in many societies marriages unite more than two spouses. In Sudan, a Nuer woman can marry a woman if her father has only daughters but no male heirs, who are necessary if his patrilineage is to survive. (Kottak, 2000).

The British social anthropologist Edmund Leach (1955) despaired of ever arriving at a universal definition of marriage. Instead, he suggested that depending on the society, several different kinds of rights are allocated by institutions classified as marriage. These rights vary from one culture to another, and no single one is wide-spread enough to provide a basis for defining marriage. According to Leach, marriage can, but does not always accomplish the following:

1. Establish the legal father of a woman's children and the legal mother of a man's.
2. Give either or both spouses a monopoly in the sexuality of the other.
3. Give either or both spouses rights to the labour of the other.
4. Give either or both spouses rights over the other's property.
5. Establish a joint fund of property – a partnership - for the benefit of the children.
6. Establish a socially significant “relationship of affinity” between spouses and their relatives.

Marriage is an important event in social life and marital tie is a very sacred one. In rural areas marriage is one of the best sources of creating relations. The concept ‘marriage’ began to be emerged with the civilization of mankind. In anthropology, traditional definition of the institution of marriage as a legal transfer of rights in people and property. Both of them work to perpetuate descent groups and to create the ties of alliance accompanied by an exchange of goods and services. (Ahmed, 2001).

In our society early marriage is culturally sanctioned because patriarchy is the most dominant feature here. From the patriarchal point of view it may also be seen as ‘rational’ within the frame work of the peasant community and weaver community system of production. In Bangladesh marriage is one of the most important strategies employed by the domestic groups to expand its labour resources. In marriage, the transfer of a bride of the groom's household adds to the labour force whereas the bride's side loses an important contributor of the labour force. As like in weaver community female members are play a vital role with their labour in weaving. The institution of marriage plays a central role in defining women's social entity. In the weaver household marriage places women that mean the housewives in a condition of extreme economic and social

dependence which in turn legitimates or even compels their marriage at a very early stage of their life cycle. In every weaver household of Kandipara village marriage regulates in a socially recognized form of the women's capacity to produce new life through child bearing, to maintain it through domestic services, and through those in productive activities. Through the marriage the women of weaver community takes on a full role in social and biological reproduction in regulating the women's capacities to produce and reproduce.

In my research area in Muslim community marriage is based on a contract between two consenting parties – the bride and the bridegroom. The contract is documented in the form of a *Kabin-nama* (legal marriage document) by *Kazi* (marriage registrar) along with two witnesses.

As there is a social class structure among the weavers, the selection of spouses is largely determined by the socio economic status of the families involved. The ownership of looms, factory, are still the major determinant of the status and power in weaver community. Marriage alliance carry one's *izzat* in society, and much stress is given to creating a powerful network of affinal kin ties.

In rural Bangladesh puberty is considered the correct age for marriage of girls traditionally. In the village Kandipara, at puberty, girls are considered very vulnerable, so every effort is made to get girls married off as soon as possible.

For our society especially in a weaver community in the choice of a mate many factors are taken into account: namely, the cultural background of the family, age, religion, education, and the economic prospects of the bridegroom. The degree of emphasis on each of these factors differs from family to family. Traditionally, the members of the family in most cases get the marriage arranged in our rural societies by the father or eldest person. Sometimes the guardians call on the matchmakers for negotiations. Arranged marriage is still the most prevalent custom, and violation of this custom is not well treated among the villagers.

In the case of Muslim marriage practice in the village community of Bangladesh the marriage proposal usually initiated by the bridegroom's party. When a girl is nearly puberty, her parents will start to look out for a suitable bridegroom but they generally will not make any direct approach since it is considered shameful to do so from the bride's side. Then the marriages are usually arranged by the parents, friends and relatives. Sometimes the marriage may also be arranged by professional matchmakers. The marriage usually takes place in the bride's home. Males from groom's side, often including the groom, may come to see the prospective bride. The prospective groom may reject the girl or agree to marry her. The bride often does not see her future husband until the wedding day. Upon marriage, in general, the bride moves to the groom's house. Sometimes the practice of *ghar jamai* (husband lives with wife's father's family and house) is seen in the village Kandipara. This situation is usually visible in the upper class weaver in the weaver community of the study village.

Age at Marriage

In weaver community, marriage decides the respective roles of females in the households. Women are regarded both as net producers and as biological reproducers of the future labour force (Boserup, 1970). So far for a poor weaver in a patriarchal society, there is no point in keeping an unmarried daughter who is not a net producer. At the same time her biological capacity should be transferred to another family as early as possible. In addition, through early marriage, a large number of children are ensured for future labour force. Despite this ideal, however, the age at marriage is dependent upon the availability of potential mates. The trend towards a rising age at marriage may be attributable to an increase in female education among the rich weaver households. Moreover with the increasing importance of dowry payments, marriage has become an economic burden for parents of daughters and a daughter is married only when the parents can afford it. Sometimes parents may incur heavy debts to get their daughters married. The increasing prevalence of female education in upper class rich weaver household in Kandipara village may be seen as an attempt to ensure that daughters achieve at least a certain standard before marriage as educated boys prefer educated girls. Education of girls takes place at least until their puberty. However, because of the Purdah system in the weaver community of the village Kandipara, some girls after puberty may not be allowed to go to school. Either they stay at home and help her parents in weaving or get married and take the household responsibility as a housewife as well as weaving activities of the in-laws weaving household.

Marriage Transactions and Dowry System

In the village community marriage transaction is very important. Dowry and *mahr* are included in the transaction of marriage. Groom and his family receive dowry and bride receive the *mahr* in the weaver community. The transmission of property in the context of marriage is a crucial indicator of balance of power between men and women in any peasant society. The transactions associated with marriage are conventionally distinguished as bride wealth and dowry, indicating broadly the transfer of goods from the groom's side to the bride's side and vice versa. Traditionally bride wealth in the form of bride price was common, both among Hindu and among Muslim population (in limited sense) in Bengal. It was associated with the idea of *Kanyadan*. In Muslim marriage *Mahr*... a certain amount is fixed during marriage negotiation to be paid to the bride from the bridegroom's side. At the time of marriage a certain amount is paid in the form of jewellery and clothing which is known as *oyasil* (*usul*). The remaining sum of *Mahr* is deferred to the dissolution of the marriage by death or divorce of the husband and the wife. *Mahr* may serve as possible deterrent to divorce or even polygyny (Ahmed, 2001). Though *Mahr* is still in practice in Muslim marriages, it has lost its significance. Ahmed and Naher (1987) observes that,...it (*Mahr*) is rapidly being replaced by a system where the groom demands payments in cash or in kind, from bride's parents at the time of marriage...some authors have referred to it as bridegroom price. Goody and Tambiah (1973) has termed *Mahr* as indirect dowry. It is however a debatable issue, which needs special attention and cannot be discussed in this, limited space.

In my research village Kandipara among the weaver community the institution of dowry plays a complicated role in marriage practice in all class of weaver households especially in the lower class and loom less weaver household. The payment of dowry has risen significantly. Popular gifts for the groom such as, television, radio, wristwatch, bicycles and most common cash or providing weaving looms for the bridegroom. The traditional role of *Mahr* is also undermined the dower system is replaced by dowry system. It is no longer associated with the idea of female status. Dowry inflation has become a common feature of marriage in weaver community as well as contemporary Bangladesh. Ahmed and Naher (1987) correctly termed dowry system as demand system, which has become a

pre condition for marriage. Demand system has become a new form of marriage among the rural and urban community in Bangladesh. It is not only works during marriage, but in most cases it is active after marriage. It seems to be a continual process that a series of demand is made by the son in law one after another to the daughter's parents. For fulfillment of the demand of dowry many lower class weaver become loom less or poor/marginal weaver. Thus the trend of marriage transactions most of the cases groom's party gets the privilege, which very often violates the human right of women. In majority of cases, the causes of violence against women are due to incapability of girl's parent's to cope up with the prevalent demand system. Sometimes women are victim of physical and mental abuse, which quite often lead to death or suicide. According to Ahmed (2001), the most crucial of these is that the role that Bangladeshi women play in biological reproduction in which their fertility becomes the property of the patrilineage and consequently they lose their mother right as termed by Engels. Women's loss of control over their reproductive right thus is one of the major contributing factors of low female status in rural economy. In the rural area the women see themselves as well as other members of the community as a burden to the household as well as society with inferior status, rather than blessings as the producers of the future labour force for the society.

Though dowry is being considered as one of the major social problems, it is in vogue in our Muslim society too. But this is the impact of the cultural diffusion of Hindu customs. A poor weaver often finds it impossible to wed his daughter owing to the prevalence of disguised dowry system. The quantity of dowry fluctuates between 5000 – 50000 in different poor, lower middle class and middle class families. Even the parents of a girl do not worry to sacrifice their last portion of wealth for the sake of his daughter's marriage. Land is also bestowed as dowry although it takes place rarely. Most of the parents treat their daughters as liability while dowry is absolutely prohibited in Islam.

One of my informants Abul Hossain (58) is father of two daughters. He is illiterate and a real laborious and intelligent person. He has inherited only 3 looms from his father, but due to his industrious effort, he now owns 40 looms. He, being an illiterate person, gives his children proper education. His elder daughter Hashi Khatun passed the Secondary

School Certificate examination and the younger daughter Khushi Khatun appeared in the H.S.C. examination. Both the daughters are married. Hashi's husband is a B.A pass and the only son of a middle class weaver family living in an adjacent *para*. Hashi's father-in-law is a middle class weaver.

During their marriage both the guardians negotiated the amount of dowry to be given by Abul Hossain to Hashi's father-in-law. Abul Hossain was committed to pay ten thousands taka in cash to his son-in-law, as the capital for looms. Besides this amount, he had to give gold ornaments, clothing and furniture. Khushi's husband is a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) of Bangladesh Army. Though the family is lower in status, yet the groom is considered valuable for his government service. His father is an idle person and the head of a poor weaver family. Abul Hossain considered his daughter's in-laws' family as lower than his own family. But, being a member of Bangladesh Army and a government service holder, the bridegroom has been considered more attractive than any other male. So, in the marriage market this type of government service holder is mostly wanted as groom. Following the prevalent custom, both the guardians had carried on negotiations between themselves to select the amount and pattern of dowry. Abul Hossain, as he has given an amount of money to his elder son-in-law, was committed to pay the same amount to his second son-in-law, but he paid just half of that amount. The rest of the amount will be given when he comes back home from abroad.

In Kandipara, dowry is common for every marriage of every class. Even the poor and marginal weavers must have to pay an amount of dowry, if they tend to get their daughters married. Paying dowry is obviously painful for the poor, but if their daughters remain '*aiburo*' (spinster), it is shameful for the bride's parents. This can be an issue of criticize. In these cases, the villagers have to sell out or to mortgage out an amount of property to arrange for the dowry. In most cases, they are not able to refund the money to get the land back. So, for the poor mortgage out means permanent loss of their property. Those who have no property to sell or to mortgage out must have to beg for their daughter's dowry. There is a tradition of humanism among the villagers that if any parent begs for monetary help to get his daughter married off and to pay an amount of dowry,

the villagers extend their full cooperation and sympathy to the poor parents. They donate in cash and in kinds according to their ability. Shekhor Paul (40) in Paul *para* is a marginal weaver he owned 3 looms. His primary occupation was weaving in his own loom, but to manage domestic expenditure of his family he used to do work as weaving labour in a middle class weaver's weaving factory. His yearly income is 24 thousands taka approximately. He is the only earning member of his family and other members are his wife, two young daughters and a son. He has given his elder daughter Mollika (15) in marriage to a boy who lives in the adjacent village. While the guardian of the groom visited the residence of Shekhor to choose the bride before marriage, both the parties discussed the marriage ceremony and amount and types of dowry. After the groom and his guardian chose the bride, they negotiated for the amounts and types of dowry. Shekhor at least promised to give 'phoenix' brand cycle, television (black and white), cutlery, gold ornaments including ear rings, bracelet, necklace and taka 20,000/-. From this amount, he has given taka 10,000/- to his son-in-law, and rest of the money was spent to purchase the ornaments. At his request the villagers from both communities extended monetary help including rice and others for the sake of his daughter's marriage. In spite of such cooperation and the money from property selling, he failed to fulfill his commitment.

He could not afford television and the amount of taka 10,000/- in cash. I asked the father of the groom his opinion about the dowry, which he had received and remaining amount of which he was still demanding. "Why should not I demand dowry for my son. I have expended a large amount to bear and educate him. This is our tradition, though I know it is very painful and a hard job for a bride's parents to arrange for the dowry claimed, but I shall have to follow the tradition. I shall not allow any type of discount from the committed amount of dowry". Sooner or later the bride's father has nothing but to pay the rest of the amount of committed dowry.

Failure in payment of the amount of committed dowry can be harmful for the daughter as well as for the parents. Dowry has been a condition in marriage. If her parents are unable to give the dowry or make any delay, she must have to face mental and physical torture

by her in-laws or husband. It should be noted that many of the cases of divorce and separation arose when the commitment of *joutuk* (dowry) by the girl's parents was not fulfilled.

In Kandipara, a total of three cases of divorce have been found, and all these cases took place for nonpayment of dowry. Rezaul Rahman (38) of Kandipara divorced his wife four years ago. As my informants informed, he got married about six years ago. He demanded taka 20 thousand in cash and a bi-cycle from his in-laws along with other items. Though his father-in-law committed, he could not give him the agreed-upon amount and bicycle at the time of ceremony. He committed to pay the dowry within the next season. Rezaul argued his father-in-law again and again, but he procrastinated. That made Rezaul angry and he used to beat and oppress his wife very frequently to collect the items of dowry. Sometimes he sent back his wife to his in-laws' house to bring the dowry with her but she used to return empty-handed. Once while Rezaul was beating his wife and reviling her and her father, the poor wife revolted against him showering abuse on him. In a fit of rage, he divorced his wife uttering the word '*talak*' (divorce) and sent back his wife forever.

His in-laws arranged for a *shalish*, but all in vain. Rezaul divorced his wife in front of the court finally. Other two cases are women and their respective husbands who, for not paying the committed dowry, divorced them. In spite of female education, the dowry expectations were not lowered. The majority of the female children felt a deep sense of obligation towards their parents, because they know they have been a source of financial anxiety to them. The more modern attitudes in caste communities have not in any way changed the dowry system. In fact, there are evidence to show that the more educated and well placed the boy, the greater were the demands of his family for a big dowry (Mehta, 1975).

According to Muslim law, "*Mahr*" or "*Moharana*" is one of the compulsory conditions for marriage. By this law, the wife becomes entitled to get an amount of money or wealth from her husband. It is a special right of the wife.

A big amount of dower usually discourages unilateral divorce. If a wife demands her Moharana, then it becomes compulsory for the husband to pay and if he disagrees to pay, in that cases the wife can refuse to live with her husband. “Among the poor, Mahr is required as the price and the bride’s male guardians often demand payment of a part of Mahr after the wedding ceremony; if a woman is married several times, her male guardians can collect more Mahr” (Jahan, 1975). In Bangladesh, the existing law recognizes the rights of women with respect to human rights, marriage, dower, registrations, divorce, inheritance etc. but, in practice, the rural women are not inclined towards getting support from legislation, in spite of their awareness.

Their lower socio-economic status and social insecurity stop them from exercising these rights. Though the existing law invites every Muslim couple to register their marriage, in rural areas still a portion of marriages remain unregistered. In the sphere of matrimonial alliance there is great prevalence of dowry. Affluent people provide a lot of dowry in cash and kind. It is looked upon as essential. Even the lower middle class also provide for dowry in the marriage of their daughter.

Exceptionally qualified bridegrooms are blessed with automobile, plot or flat. Alhaj Satter the owner of 500 looms provided his doctor son-in-law with a car and a flat in Dhaka. In Kandipara there are some cases of wedding, which stands unique because those had plain sailing. No dowry was offered.

In rural Bangladesh, ‘love marriage’ on the initiative of the partners themselves are uncommon and considered scandalous; marriage arranged by one’s parents are the rule. In Kandipara village, such an incident occurred during my stay there. Sarifur Helal (22), son of a rich weaver and ex-Member of Shahjadpur Union *Parishad*, Sirajul Kader Hazi of *Uttar para*, fled away with Rumana (17), the daughter of Md. Azizul Ali, a poor weaver. Sarifur used to visit Azizul Ali’s residence very frequently and gossip with Rumana. Azizul Ali’s wife Shahinur Khatun allowed them to pass time privately. The villagers understood that Azizul Ali and his wife had a direct consent to the love affair

between Sarifur and their daughter, and help them flee. The family knew that Sirajul Kader Hazi would never approve of his son's desire.

When Sirajul Kader Hazi came to know about the relationship developed between the two young persons, one of them being his son, he became furious. He hurriedly tried to get his son married to a girl from a neighboring village. Sarifur was clever enough not to protest and went through all the pre-marital ceremonies still maintaining relation with Rumana. On the night of his *gaye-halud* (this is a cheerful occasion before marriage ceremony when the relatives and guests smear turmeric on the forehead and face of the groom and the bride as a part of the ceremony but this is not compulsory for every case of marriage. The relatives arrange it to enjoy the moments before marriage.), he surreptitiously fled away, taking Rumana with him. Both the families and the villagers came to know of the incident on the following day. Some of the villagers took the incident as a shameful act while others took it waggishly. Azizul's family was quiet, but Sirajul Kader Hazi thought that his son's action was a blemish for his family, and angrily announced that there would be no relationship between the two families. Mannan Rahman, the eldest son of Sirajul Kader Hazi, even planned to beat Azizul because he held him responsible. The fact was found to be true, when Sarifur came back to the village at his in-laws' house leaving Rumana at Kandipara, Azizul's paternal house. Azizul kept on sending mediators to Sirajul Kader Hazi and his wife for the acceptance of the new couple, but Sirajul Kader Hazi was adamant in his decision.

Usually the young future couples are not in negotiations for marriage; especially, the brides remain isolated from all types of pre-marital decisions. However, in most cases, the young man and woman are simply told that they are to be married to the daughter or son of such and such a person. The young couple, aware of the cultural demands and generally adhering to the community values and beliefs, accept the proposals without grumbling or resistance" (Zaidi *ibid.*"50). In spite of western culture diffusion, actual individualism, public consciousness of women's freedom, empowerment, education and health, parents of both parties go for marital negotiations on their own levels.

Usually, the parents of a bride cherish for a groom of a comparatively higher economic social status. There is an old saying in vogue in the village community that when you are a father of a bride, look upper than your standard and when you are a father of a bride groom, look belower than you. Looking for a groom from a better-off family is not intelligible for bridal parents. They have to pay for this type of desire. Though dowry is common for every marriage, but in this case, it is a criterion to have a better standard groom, the amount of dowry both in cash and kind increases depending on the socio-economic standard. Karim Molla (47) is one of the rich weavers and influential persons of Kandipara. He is, in fact, illiterate, though he always tries to say that he has passed the primary school. Many years ago he was a weaving labour but, now he and his son became rich through their hard work and efforts. Karim Molla cherished a desire to make a relation with Mondol lineage and he has succeeded. He gave his daughter in marriage to Mahmudul Islam, a grandson of Sharafat Mondol; Mahmudul is a teacher of a local high school. Karim Molla donated land to the school (as a part of dower to Mahmudul), and influenced the committee to appoint him as a teacher. He is also a member of that school committee. But, it was his real misfortune that his daughter died, leaving behind a young baby. Though Mahmudul married again, Karim Molla continued his relation with that family through his grandson.

In general, marriage is a religious and social bond which allows a man and a woman to live together and to be get offspring. Marriage also permits to further reproduction in order to expand lineage.

Chart 2: Types of Marriage

Types of Marriage
<p>General Forms</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. monogamy 2. polygamy <p>Other Forms</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Levirate 2. Sororate 3. Widow / Widower marriage 4. Remarriage.

Marriage System**Muslim Marriage**

Muslim Marriage in Kandipara conforms to the Muslim wedding custom. The professional match maker (*Ghatak*) plays an important role in bringing about matrimonial alliance between two families. He acts as a go-between among the families of prospective bride and bridegroom (*Bar and Kane*) when the two families are introduced to each other by the matchmaker (*Ghatak*), the prospective bride groom's family visit the would be bride's house. An interview and inspection is held. Of course, the match maker (*Ghatak*) supplies beforehand the relevant information and particulars to both the families. Marriage is settled if liking of both the families coincides and terms and conditions are acceptable to both the parties after many rounds of negotiations and deliberations. The marriage is solemnized by a *Moulavi* after being registered by a govt. appointed Marriage Registrar. Amount of dower (*Den Mohor*-bride's right) is fixed in keeping with the bridegroom's financial standing. *Ijab Kabul* (proposal and acceptance) is conducted by two witnesses. They approach the bride and mention the stipulated amount of dower (*Mohar*) a portion of which is paid on the spot in the form of ornament, the remaining being due. One of the witnesses requests her to accept the bridegroom as husband.

The bride says *Kabul Karilam* (I accept him as husband). This is repeated three times. They return to the adjoining room and declare that the bride, daughter of so and so person accepted him as husband and now he is to accept her as spouse. The bridegroom also is required to utter his acceptance three times. The marriage being solemnized, “*Doa*” (prayer for well-being of the couple) is offered. Then dry sweetmeat is distributed.

The noteworthy side is that marriage invariably occurs within their own community. Bride and bridegroom may be chosen from the same village. Sometimes bride and bridegroom may be selected from the adjoining villages.

More often than not endogamous marriage takes place in my research area Kandipara. Cross community marriage is seldom found because these people are termed “*Jola*”. The people of other community, predominantly the agricultural communities look down upon them.

The dominant trait of their marriage is endogamous. Marriage among kith and kin is the striking feature. Cross cousin marriage and parallel cousin marriage is the dominant practice. (The case of cross cousin marriage is the marriage between brother’s daughter with sister’s son or sister’s daughter with brother’s son). They practice cross cousin marriage through wedding between brother’s daughter with sister’s son or sister’s daughter with brother’s son. Again they practice parallel cousin marriage through wedding between brother’s son with brother’s daughter or sister’s son with sister’s daughter.

Levirate marriage also is not unknown here. This is inspired from the feeling to retain the woman in the acquainted family. This may be due to generous feeling or with an eye to derive some gain. In my research area I came across an example of this type of marriage. Shahabuddin, a middle class weaver of Kandipara married his late elder brother’s wife, so that she could remain in the known household.

In another case, Farida Begum, a woman of 34 lost her husband 10 years back. But instead of marrying she remained a widow with her two daughters. She ekes out her livelihood by spinning yarn. She is much concerned about the welfare of her two daughters so she decided to forego her marriage bliss.

Along with this sororate marriage is also noticeable here. After the death of first wife the widower marries his wife's sister. This is more often found when the first wife leaves baby or small child. This is prompted from the notion that the kiddies would be looked after with affection by the new mother who happens to be the aunt of the children. Mohiuddin's wife died, leaving a one-year-old son. Mohiuddin married Maleka his sister-in-law so that his baby son would be well looked after. Both the levirate and sororate marriage is found in this village.

Normally there is absence of polygamy. Sometimes well- to- do weavers are found to take additional wife along with the existing one. In Kandipara Ajam Ali, a substantial weaver married for the second time since his former wife gave birth to six daughters and failed to bear male child.

After wife's demise marriage with different woman takes place apart from sororate and levirate marriage.

Endogamy is the traditional marriage practice of the weaver community. But recently a slight change is visible. Exogamy made a little inroad in the community. Bridegrooms from predominantly agricultural community marry brides from weaver community on consideration of substantial dowry. But such case is rare. Girls from agricultural background are hardly given in marriage to weaver society. Because weavers are stigmatized as "*Jola*".

Marriage Rituals

Inspecting the prospective bride, turmeric ceremony, solemnization of marriage, post marital feast (*Bouvat*) everything is performed according to Muslim tradition. It is the function of the matchmaker to acquaint two families through a marriage proposal.

When the newly wedded bride enters her father in law's house the path up to the door of mother in law is covered with a new yellow coloured *saree* on which 50 – 60 pieces of garlic and same number of onion is spread. The new bridegroom collects and puts them in the '*anchal*' (end of the *saree*) of the bride. Then the relatives standing on the both sides ask '*ki khoto?*' (What do you gather?). The bridegroom answers '*haat bazarer sodai khuti*' (I collect commodity from market). Then the bride pours all the garlicks and onions to her mother in law. Then she offers her some cash according to her capacity, calls her "*Amma*" (mother) and touches her feet.

Thereafter the mother in law takes the bride on her right thigh and her son the bridegroom on the left. At this time she asks '*baba kothai gechila?*' (My son where did you go?). The son replies '*gonje gechilam.*' (I went to the town). Mother again asks '*Gonje theke ki ancho?*' (What did you bring from the town?). The son replies '*sonar khoni*' (gold mine). Mother asks again '*sonar khoni kar hate dela?*' (To whom did you give the gold mine?) Son again replies '*Maa-er hate*' (to my mother).

There is another ritual. The mother-in-law put three big metallic pots (*patil*) on the floor. Two of them is full of rice while one is empty. Then the bride is asked to put her hand inside the pots. The mother- in- law then asks '*vora naki ona?*' (If they are full or empty?) The bride will have to answer '*Vora*' (full) though one is empty. The next day morning the bride is to crush turmeric on grindstone in the kitchen, which is perhaps the first household work by the newly married bride in her new home. Turmeric is the symbol of good omen.

Game of Dice

This is a long-standing post marital ritual of weaver community. The elder sister or elder sister-in-law of the bridegroom organizes and runs the game. The game takes place in the morning of post marital feast (*Bouvat*). Locally it is known as '*Athury*'. The entire sport proceeds in the following manner.

The bride stands on a mat in the room. The husband carries her in his lap and outside and puts her on a slightly elevated wooden seat. The bride gets up and stands on the mat again and the husband again carries her in his lap and puts her again on the wooden seat (*Piri*). This is done three times.

Then water is put in an earthen pitcher. One gold ring and another silver ring, oysters, a piece of raw turmeric; a small piece of broken earthen pot and a few coins are put into the pitcher, which is covered with earthen lid. The couple then put their hand over the covered pitcher. Then the director announces in local dialect the name, address and father's name of bridegroom and bride. Then she poses a question as to who will win in the game of dice.

At once the contents of the piture along with water is poured in a hole, which is dug beforehand. Then the bride uses both hands and the bridegroom uses only left hand to collect all the articles. He who can collect more articles is the winner. Out of good gesture the husband allows the wife to be the winner.

Although the game of dice is a traditional post marital ritual of the weaver community oblate it is discouraged by those who are strict adherents of Islamic values. But some enthusiastic families practice it.

Hindu Marriage

In Hindu community marriage is also an important social institution. There was a belief in Hindu community for long that the parents who could wed their girls within teenage would be allowed to enter Paradise. The belief is still strictly observed in my study area. In Hindu community each caste must be bound in wedlock within the same caste. No

caste can perform marital festival beyond its own species. A Brahmin boy must marry a Brahmin girl and a Sudhra boy is obligated to wed from his own caste. If anybody turns this down, he is excommunicated from the society. Widow marriage is not prohibited but not in vogue.

According to Hindu religion marriage is performed keeping fire as the witness. The father of bride bestows his daughter to the groom and the groom accepts her weaver society believes a good deal of superstition. The girls are still getting married at the age of 12/13. Parents think to marry their girls at this age of 12/13 as a sacred responsibility. Girls are believed to pass their childhood in father's house, youth in husband's house and eldership should be based on well wishes of her offspring. The custom is well prevailing throughout the Sirajganj district. Hindu society is basically monogamous and endogamous. Exogamy is considered as taboo in Hindu society so it has no existence there.

Post marital ritual among the Hindus is '*Notun Bou-er mukh dekha*' (look at the face of the new bride). It occurs the next day of marriage. It is organized by the mother-in-law of the new bride. That day the relatives come and give to the newly married bride some presents and bless her.

Table 19: Distribution of household members (both sexes) by marital status

Status	Number	Percentage
Married	120	75%
Currently married	25	15.63%
Divorced	3	1.87%
Widowed	10	6.25%
Widower	2	1.25%
Total	160	100

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

In table 15 we can see the marital status of the household members. 75% people are married, 15.63% are currently married, 1.87% are divorced and 7.5% are widowed and widower.

Age at first marriage

In Kandipara most of the girls below the age of 18 are wed. The girls below 18 are comparatively untroubled to get married as because in most cases no Govt. registrar is invited rather *Imams* (priests) of mosques accomplish marital activities. There was a belief in Hindu community for long that the parents who could wed their girls within teenage would be allowed to enter paradise. The belief is still strictly observed in my study area. Govt marital rules and regulations are ignored and violated regularly by the Muslims and Hindus of the weaver community. There is a strong reason behind early marriage here and that is dowry.

The following table shows age at first marriage.

Table 20: Distribution of household members by Age at First marriage

Age at First	no. of Men and Women		Percentage (total)		Marriage	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
10-14	2	38	40	2.43	48.71	
15-19	18	32	50	21.95	41.02	
20-24	44	6	50	53.65	7.69	
25-29	12	2	14	14.63	2.56	
30-34	4	-	4	4.87	-	
35-39	1	-	1	1.21	-	
40+	1	-	1	1.21	-	
Total	82	78	160	100	100	

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

The upward table no: 16 shows the age at first marriage of 80 household's 160 members both male and female.

Kinship

'Kinship' is the term, which is much applicable for the societies of South Asia. Etymologically 'Kinship' is derived from 'kin', which is a synonym of 'kindred'. Kin means one's family and relations when it is used as plural. Kinship refers to a relationship among family members who are connected with consanguinity.

Kinship includes relationships established through blood, described through the idiom of blood and relationships through marriage. It determines the formation of social groups like families, is the basis for classification of people in relation to one another, structures individual rights and obligations and regulates behavior. (Nanda, 2012).

According to Marvin Harris (1971) "All persons whose relationship to each other can be described in terms of a combination of affinity or descent or a combination of both one is considered kin to each other. The domain of ideas constituted by the beliefs and expectations that kin share with each other is called Kinship".

The importance of kinship in village life is immediately revealed to an outsider. People are rarely called by their proper names; use of kin terms is part of everyday social relationship (Aziz, 1979).

Kinship is the paramount ideology of domestic life. Kinship plays an important role in the rural Bangladesh, especially in the village under my study. The people of weaver community like any other human society in the world are grouped together by various kinds of bonds; the most universal and the basic one is based on reproduction and inherent human drive, and is called 'Kinship'. But basically Kinship ties can be classified as consanguineous Kinship and affinal Kinship. The 'Kinship' terms of the weavers are the indication of the strong bond that exists among the family members of birth and family of marriage.

The villagers are mostly related to one another either by blood relation or through marital process. But one thing is important to note that all the villagers have fictitious relations. They are very much aware about their relations. As they feel for them, they feel for others too. Almost all the villagers are acquainted with one another not only that they are familiar by name. But, in recent times, the aged villagers are not acquainted with the youngest generation, so they first ask them to tell the names of their fathers. As the population is increasing, gradually their relations are changing from mechanical to organic type. Whenever I asked my key informant Abdur Rashid Sharker (my host) to tell the name of any household head, he felt discomfort to recollect the name but whenever I used to ask the name of their children, he took help of his sons. Where the population is bigger, a lesser acquaintance becomes the reality there. But, it is different in a *para* like *notunpara* (new section), where all the members are connected to garter by direct blood relation and are the descendants of late Aminul Mondol.

Three kinds of Kinship exist in Kandipara village.

1. Consanguine Kinship
2. Affinal Kinship
3. Fictive Kinship

Consanguine Kinship refers to all the kinds of relationships, which are not set up by blood or biological ties. Affinal kins are those who are strung with marriage. Fictive Kinship is oral relationships, which are not set up by blood or biological ties. Here two or more persons get together or maintain a relationship, which have no base comprising blood or marriage. They mentally intellectually and mutually contain the same will and therefore bear a tendency to the same point. Their views, aim, target, way are convergent. Fictive relationship is very much effective. In my research area, I found that, when weavers go to '*haat*' (market) with their production, they build a fictive relation among them. And this relation depends on mutual sacrifice.

Consanguine relationship is prevailing in Kandipara as it is in overall Bangladesh. When the bride is taken to her husband's house, she is returned to her father's house one or two days later. Then in initial stage she commutes between her father's and father-in-law's house every now and then, very frequently.

But time span of her duration in father-in-law's house increases gradually. Six months or one year after the marriage, the newly wedded wife returns to her father's house once in every 5 or 6 months. It is called '*nayor*' when she is brought to her father's house. '*Nayor*' comes to her father's house once every 6 or 7 months after bearing children.

Young children are fond of going to their mother's brother's or father's house especially on the occasion of two Eids and when other ceremonies are held. They remain in caress and affection of their *Khala* (aunt), *Mama* (uncle) and *Nani* (grandma) and *Nana* (grandpa) in that house. The house is called '*Nana Bari*' (grandfather's house). During vacation or Eid they come to '*Nana Bari*' (grandfather's house). "*Mama Bari*" (uncle's house) has an affectional tradition in Kandipara. Even the young children are called to sleep by the song of "*Mama Bari*".

Kinship ties are notable bond in Kandipara. Those who have affinal or consanguineous ties in inter village level are strong from manpower and someone in this relation does not care for others. Kinship ties are disrupted sometimes due to feud emerged from dowry or such problems but neighbors try to resolve this.

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Fictive ties are in other word called “*dosta*” when it is fixed between the two young men, they address each other by the term “*dosta*”. They meet regularly and go somewhere together. “*Dosta*” is actually a ‘Persian’ word but widely prevalent in Bangla and Hindi. I saw in the weaver community prevalence of this relation.

Chart 3: Kinship Types

Kinship Types
1.Consanguine Kinship
2.Affinal Kinship
3.Fictive Kinship

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

The kinship terms of the people of Kandipara are the indication of the strong bond that exists among the family. The kinship terms, which are frequently used among the people of the village Kandipara, are given below:

Chart 4: Kinship Terms

Relationship	Kinship Terms
1. Father's father	<i>Dada / Dadu</i>
2. Mother's father	<i>Nana / Nanu</i>
3. Father's mother	<i>Dadi / Buji</i>
4. Mother's mother	<i>Nani</i>
5. Father	<i>Abba / Baba</i>
6. Mother	<i>Maa / Amma</i>
7. Father's elder brother	<i>Jatha</i>
8. Father's younger brother	<i>Kaka / Chacha</i>
9. Father's sister	<i>Fupu / Fupi</i>
10. Mother's brother	<i>Mama / Mamu</i>
11. Mother's sister	<i>Khala</i>
12. Father's elder brother's wife	<i>Boro Maa / Jathi</i>
13. Father's younger brother's wife	<i>Kaki / Chachi</i>
14. Father's sister's husband	<i>Fupa</i>
15. Mother's brother's wife	<i>Mami</i>
16. Mother's sister's husband	<i>Khalu</i>
17. Son	<i>Beta / Geda / by name</i>
18. Daughter	<i>Beti/ Maa/ Gedi/ by name</i>
19. Elder brother	<i>Bhai / Bhaijaan</i>
20. Younger brother	By name
21. Elder sister	<i>Boro Apa</i>
22. Younger sister	By name
23. Husband	<i>Swami</i>
24. Wife	<i>Bou / Ginni</i>
25. Elder brother's wife	<i>Bhabi</i>
26. Younger brother's wife	By name
27. Sister's husband	<i>Dulavai</i>

28. Son's wife	<i>Bou-Maa</i>
29. Daughter's husband	<i>Jamai</i>
30. Husband's elder sister	<i>Jaishshash</i>
31. Husband's younger sister	<i>Nanad</i>
32. Wife's elder sister	<i>Apa</i>
33. Wife's younger sister	<i>Sali</i>
34. Husband's elder brother	<i>Bhashur</i>
35. Husband's younger brother	<i>Deoor</i>
36. Wife's elder brother	<i>Sumandhi</i>
37. Wife's younger brother	<i>Sala</i>
38. Husband's elder brother's wife	<i>Bhabi</i>
39. Husband's younger brother's wife	By name
40. Wife's elder sister's husband	<i>Dulabhai</i>
41. Wife's younger sister's husband	By name
42. Husband's father	<i>Shashur / Abba</i>
43. Wife's father	<i>Shashur / Abba</i>
44. Husband's mother	<i>Shashuri / Amma</i>
45. Wife's mother	<i>Shashuri / Amma</i>
46. Son's wife's father	<i>Bi-hai</i>
47. Daughter's husband father	<i>Bi-hai</i>
48. Son's wife's mother	<i>Bi-ha-en</i>
49. Daughter's husband mother	<i>Bi-ha-en</i>
50. Brother's son	<i>Bhaj-sta</i>
51. Brother's daughter	<i>Bhaj-sti</i>
52. Sister's son	<i>Bhag-na</i>
53. Sister's daughter	<i>Bhag-ni</i>
54. Grand son	<i>Nati</i>
55. Grand daughter	<i>Natin</i>
56. Grandson's wife	<i>Nati-Bou</i>
57. Granddaughter's husband	<i>Natin-Jamai</i>

58. Step father	<i>Satt-Baap</i>
59. Step mother	<i>Satt-Maa</i>
60. Step brother	<i>Satt-Bhai</i>
61. Step sister	<i>Satt-Bone</i>
62. Co-wives	<i>Satin</i>

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Post Marital Residence rules

The weaver community is the patrilineal and patrilocal community. After marriage the boy and his wife reside with his parents. In most cases the joint families' breakdown by separation as soon as a son gets married, due to economic pressure, female discord, lack of accommodation etc. In certain cases the married son is seen to stay with his parents until a child is born. Sometimes the married sons also remain in the parent's house until all other brothers and sisters are married.

Many communities, traditional and religious groups, inhabit Bangladesh. These groups are containing their own culture and values with some sorts of criteria. Each and every community has its own identities with different cultural elements, social and economic activities, religious beliefs and practices etc. Weaver community of the village Kandipara has a distinct cultural and social and economic identity.

The family is the ultimate unit in the social organization in this weaver community. Three types of families namely nuclear, joint and extended families are in existence in this society. Nuclear family is however predominant. Husband is the head of the households but wife's role in the family is also very significant and recognized. Kinship ties are quite strong in the weaver community and both affinal and consanguinal are in existence there. Among the kinship relationship namely respect, joking, avoidance and affection are in practice in this society. The property inheritance in general follows the Muslim law of inheritance. Sons and daughter inherit both parental properties. Son inherits father's homestead, looms, factories, weaving equipments etc.

In my study I found the description of traditional occupation of the weaver community and the occupation is weaving. Weaver community is busy all year around with weaving and weaving related work. In every weaving household, it is the common scene that every member is busy with their weaving related work. As the weavers mainly remain busy with weaving and other jobs related to weaving, they made *saree*, *lungi*, and *gamcha*. They sold these entire items in the local *haat*. They also sell their cloths in Dhaka by middlemen.

Dressing the “*suta*”(yarn) is usually done by the women. Men are usually engaged in weaving clothes. Women also do some works related to weaving like *shana bau* in their leisure time. Men also remain engaged in *Shana bau*. Most of the *shana* makers do it in their house.

The life cycle of the weaver people, that is the activities during the period from birth to death are centered on a number of rituals. They believe that birth, death and all activities during this period are the influence of supernatural power. They, there-fore, perform various rituals to satisfy the super natural power.

Marriage is a very important event of social life among the weavers. They practice endogamy. Cross cousin marriage and monogamy is predominant feature of this community. Polygamy is however not forbidden among them. The concept of child marriage is seen in this society; love marriage is also seen here.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Economic organization

Every society must have an economic system in the sense that each group of people must produce, distribute and consume. However cultural context determines what is produced and how it is produced. Cultures establish the way in which the goods and services are distributed and also cultural values are critical in determining the meanings of consumption. On the basis of economic behavior, economists assume that because human wants are unlimited and the means for achieving them are not, organizations and individuals must make decision about the best way to apply their limited means to meet their unlimited desires. (Nanda, 2012).

Organizing Labour

Labour force, their ability and organizing them get priority in the economic anthropological focus. Organizing labour is very essential for production and any economic organization. In small-scale preindustrial and peasant economies, the household or some extended kin group is the basic unit of production and of consumption (White, 1980). The household is an economic unit- a group of people united by kinship or other links who share a residence and organize production, consumption, and distribution of goods among themselves. A household is different from a family because it may include lodgers, servants and others. Household members use most of the goods they produce themselves. Households and kin groups do seek financial gain, but this is not their primary purpose. Their goals are often social or religious rather than monetary, labour is not a commodity bought and sold in the market; rather, it is an important aspect of membership in a social group. The labour that people both perform and receive situates them with respect to others in their family and gives them both a sense of identity and a sense of meaning (Nanada, 2012).

In economies where households are the units of production, there can be little economic growth. Households cannot easily expand or contract as the economy fluctuates. They cannot easily fire their members or acquire new ones. Thus, large-scale production and distribution systems tend not to develop under such condition. Also household social relations can play an important role in an industrialized economy.

Gender may also play an important role in organizing labour. In all human societies, some tasks are considered appropriate for women and others appropriate for men. At some level, the sexual division of labour is biological since only women can bear and nurse children. However, beyond this, the specific tasks define as men's or women's works vary widely from group to group. For example, in Aztec Mexico, weaving was a female task. Newborn girls were presented with tools for weaving, and weaving equipment was placed with women when they died (Brumfiel,1991). However, in most West African societies, weaving is considered men's work.

Distribution: Systems of Exchange and Consumption

In all societies, goods and services are exchanged. Some anthropologists have long theorized that the exchange of goods is one of the fundamental bases of culture. The French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (1990) theorized that societies were held together by patterns of giving and receiving. He pointed out that because gifts invariably must be repaid, we are obligated to each other because gifts invariably must be repaid, we are obligated to each other through exchange. And in many situations, it better to give than to receive.

The three main patterns of exchange are reciprocity, redistribution and the market. Although more than one kind of exchange system exists in most societies, each system is predominantly associated with a certain kind of political and social organization (Polyani, 1944).

Economic Organization of the Weaver Community

Economic organization is the main focus of my study. I concentrated on economic factors of the weaver community. In my fieldwork, I have made attempt to the best of my effort to recover the information regarding economy. Everyone knows that this span of time is too little to conduct anthropological fieldwork, as the holistic approach is the vital factor in this research. I followed the research method done by pioneer social anthropologists. I also made attempt to produce statistical graph and table to synthesize my data collected at

that time. To associate with the local people is a must in anthropological research for collecting relevant data. I have also carried that out to do my job as best as possible. Means of production, mode of production, relations of production and like other factors have been focused in this chapter. Side by side in this chapter attempt will be made to analyze economic status of the weaver community.

It is an undeniable fact that economic condition with their ecological settings determines the culture of a particular group of people. Economic organization of a community refers to the institutional and functional involvement of the people entered on the activities associated with the satisfaction of the material needs of the people. Every community has its own methods to meet the basic needs. Natural socio-cultural factors as well as the level of technology available and in practice condition the basic needs of the community. The economy of the people is broadly categorized as ‘production consumption’ economy. As is well known, the magnitude of incomes and the sources from which such incomes accrue are the important indicators of economic status. I was also aware of the fact that in a non-magnetized society where most of the things are produced not for market but for mere survival, it is not easy to arrive at a correct estimation of income. Besides the tendency to underestimate income and overestimate expenditures is a common phenomenon. Having considered the limitation of direct income estimate, I would try to put focus on the ownership of various types of assets and equipment, their accumulation, dissimulation over the time period, the contribution of labor and non-labor income, access to all other income earning avenues etc.

Source of Income, Occupation and Economy

The weaver community of Kandipara village follows their traditional occupation “weaving”. They get this type of traditional occupation from their ancestor. Besides weaving in Kandipara, I found some people engaged in other work. Some are traders, a little number of shopkeeper, schoolteachers, job employee, agriculturist and N.G.O worker. But the majority percentages near about 88% of people are engaged in weaving.

Table 21: Occupational Pattern in the Study Village

Occupational Pattern	No of Households	Percentage
Weavers	70	87.5%
Traders	5	6.25%
Job employee	1	1.25%
School teacher	2	2.5%
Shopkeeper	1	1.25%
N.G.O Worker	1	1.25%
Total	80	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

It can be seen from table 17 that 87.5% of the household members' occupation is weaving. Only 6.25% people of the village are engaged in trading. 2.5% are schoolteacher. And only 1.25% of people earn their livelihood by shop keeping, N. G. O work and job.

Family Economy.

The Family Economy is a term we use to describe products, goods, and services, mostly produced in the home and where the workforce consists of family members. It is the most basic but most hidden element of the pre-industrial community economy.



We can see the scenario, copied from a woodcut printed in *The Little Book of Early American Crafts and Trades* (first published in 1807) that illustrates the family economy at work in the home. The man is weaving at his loom. The woman is spinning yarn. One boy appears to be stripping wood from a log. The other is making a basket from the stripped wood. If those activities produced cloth or baskets for sale, that work would be part of the community's production economy.

As most tasks in pre-industrial society were labour-intensive, the early worldwide workforce suffered from a chronic shortage of labour. Bound (slave, criminal, orphan) and contract labour (indentures and apprentices) only solved part of the problem. Early Albany families were large and all members were expected to work in support of the family's subsistence and commercial activities. Since many families had large numbers of children, they performed many of the most basic tasks on an ongoing basis. Two decades into a marriage, the family economy typically would reach a high point with many children, adolescents, young adults, and even the elderly and infirm efficiently contributing to its production.

Almost all families included at least some children who grew up but never married. Physical and emotional reasons answer some of the questions as to "why not?" But younger sons and daughters of large families sometimes remained unmarried even though no health-related impediments were apparent. We believe un-married adult children who lived in their parents' home were a means to bolster the family economy as their experience, loyalty, and simply "extra hands" were great assets to a household's overall well-being.

Property and Ownership

The primary and most important asset in the family of weavers in the village of Handloom Industry is the loom. All the Endeavour and activity of the people of Kandipara revolve round loom. This vital possession is the symbol of wealth and influence. The more looms one possesses, the wealthier and more important he is. Consequently, he is held in high respect. Law of inheritance prevalent here is that only sons inherit the loom. Daughters do not get any share of looms. They inherit only landed property and homestead. In some cases it is found that sisters forego their claim in favour of brothers with the consent of their husbands. In this village land is scanty, unlike agricultural background.

The society of Kandipara is patriarchal. Sons inherit father's looms according to the law of inheritance. Muslim family law is operative here in the same way as landed - property is inherited. In no family women have title of looms. Nevertheless there are some exceptions in peculiar case like Farida Begum whose husband died, leaving her as a widow with only two minor daughters.

Title to landed property and homestead is an exception where daughters inherit father's landed property and homestead. But in most cases daughters forego title of homestead or sell the same to her brother/brothers.

Occupation and Division of Labour

As weaving is their occupation they are called weavers. Both men and women of this community are engaged in weaving work for earning their livelihood. The art of weaving is known to all of the people in the community. They learn this at childhood by way of playing with toy (equipment for weaving). In other community woman is a liability but in this community she is an asset. She is to play the double role as a housewife and as an assistant to her husband's work (weaving). She is to cook, cleaning, gathering firewood, to take care and feeds of her children, husband, father in-law and mother in-law and other family members. She is to supervise all the household works. She cannot eat, leaving any member unfed or unsatisfied. In our rural Bangladesh a housewife is to work like a devil. She has no rest and she cannot complain of her heavy work.

From economic point of view we can have five proper grades in this community. In the first order comes the loom less labourer class, in the second order comes the lower loom owning class, in the third order the lower middle class factory owners and cloth dealers, in the fourth order middle class weaver or owners of factory and lastly the rich/high class weavers and factory owners.

The loom less labourer class possesses no means of production. They sell their labour to the middle class and high-class factory (loom) owners. But they do not solely depend on this factory work. Whenever they get any job on the land in the harvesting period, they leave in a group for the seasonal work. It is a source of secondary income to them.

The loom owning lower classes are a bit well enough in their economic life than the loom less labourer class. They possess one or two or three looms and some bighas of land. Both the adult male and female members work in the loom. Boys and girls of 12-13 years also help in their parents work.

The weavers work from sunrise to sunset with a break of 3 or 4 hours for morning and afternoon meals and for marketing purposes. Generally they do marketing once or twice a week. There's a weekly *haat* (market) of Belkuchi, Enayetpur, Shahjadpur and Shohagpur where the weavers come to sell their finished product. Merchants and *Beparis* from Narayanganj, Narshindhi and Baburhat come to buy varieties of clothes like *Lunghi*, *Saree*, *Gamcha*, *Chadar* and so on. Business transaction of several million of taka takes place in those *haats*. The most important business season starts from the middle of October till the end of March. During rest of the months the demands for weaver's cloth fall to a considerable extent. During the two major harvesting periods of the year some do cultivation. But cultivation is their subsidiary source of income. During these harvesting periods, the girls, who usually do all the processing work of the yarn for setting it to the loom, take the task of spinning also. Of course, the girls of this community have been relieved from one important task of preparing the cotton yarn from the cotton. The mill made cotton yarn which had been supplied to them just from a quarter century back had had some economic advantages over the '*Charka*' (the thread machine) made cotton yarn. This economic advantage of the mill made cotton yarn compelled the weavers to leave up their age long technique of yarn production. The middle class factory owners possessed, generally more than eight (8) looms and land in a greater amount. Here, in these families, the women were exempted from their traditional processing work of the yarns. The hired labourers who are recruited mostly from the loom less labour class have taken over the tasks of these women. Like the woman the male members of this class works hard on the looms. Some of these families are the agents of the cotton yarn and the dealers of cotton products. The male members manage the factory products and the sale proceeds of their shops. They are called *Bepari*. Their numbers are very few. There are three or four big *Beparis* who have their business shops at Narayanganj.

Table 22: Grading of the Weavers in the Study Village

Grades of Weavers	No of Household	Percentage
Weaving Labourers	30	37.5%
Poor Weavers	24	30%
Middle Class Weavers	18	22.5%
Rich Weavers	8	10%
Total	80	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

We can see from the table 18 that 37.5% respondents are weaving labour in my study. 30% weavers are poor weaver. 22.5% weavers are middle class weaver and only 10% weavers are rich. So it is clear from the table that majority numbers of people in the Village Kandipara are engaged in work in the weaving factory as labour. After the next position are being the poor weavers. Very few weavers are rich.

Alhaj Abdur Rashid Sarker, my host and key informant (65) is an upper middle class weaver. Hailing from the village 'Barupur', he settled in Kandipara, marrying a local girl Rubia Begum. Coming here 30 years ago, this ambitious young man started his career as a trader and made a fortune. He had his business premise in Islampur, Dhaka. But after the destruction of Babri Masque in Oudh there was an outbreak of violence in Dhaka. The rampage made him a destitute. The small traders who took *saree* from him on credit somehow slipped away and did not pay him. He came back to Kandipara and worked for other weavers jointly with his wife. Gradually but patiently he started saving money and at a certain point bought two handlooms, which he installed in a corner of the shed of a generous person.

Now he owns 30 handlooms (Chittaranjan looms). He has two factories, one adjacent to his dwelling house and another 100 meters away. He has no cultivable land, as is the case with most of the weavers. The total establishment – homestead and 2 factories stands on 30 decimal lands.

A sizeable income accrues to him from the factories, which enables him to lead an affluent life with 4 sons and 1 daughter. 3 sons are fully involved in the business. His third son is the teacher of Coumi Madrasa. The only daughter is a student of class 10 in Government Primary School. Alhaj Rashid is a specimen of a self-made man. He told me that he did not receive any dowry in his elder son's marriage.

The weekly production capacity of his factories is 200 pairs of *fancy saree* that means 400 pieces of *fancy saree*, which entails a capital of 1, 50, 000 taka. The entire stock is not sold out altogether. There are some left out pieces of *saree*, which is sold subsequently. Weekly net profit after meeting production cost is 8000 to 10000 taka. Profit at this amounts to TK32000 to TK40000 monthly. But the picture is different on Eid and Puja festivals when profit may shoot up to taka100000 per month. Because at that time there is increased production with concomitant increased sale.

Production in Handloom : Raw Materials

There are a number of raw materials that are used for production in handloom. The following items are essential in this industry:

- a. Yarn
- b. Dye
- c. Hydrogen Peroxide.
- d. Bleaching Powder.
- e. Caustic Soda
- f. Lisapol
- g. Sky white (For glaze)

- h. Silicate
- i. Blue Acid
- j. Furnace oil or
- k. Firewood

Accessories of production

Spinning wheel
Natai
Bobbin
Drum
Roller
Zoom
Shuttle (*Maku*)
Hana (*Shana*)

Factory for production

- Handloom
- Power loom
- Hand Dying Mill
- Twisting Mill
- Processing Mill

System of Production

1st phase. Purchasing yarn, dyes and chemicals from the market.
2nd phase. Thoroughly washing the yarn in Process Mill.
3rd phase. Dying the yarn at home in Hand Dying Mill.

4th phase. Drying up the yarn in the Sun.

5th phase. To apply *Mar* and *Colop* (gruel) in wet and dry condition.

6th phase. Spinning is done in Spinning wheel. Different methods are adopted for cotton and silk. In case of cotton yarn after drying it gruel of fine rice *colop* (gruel) is applied. Again it is dried up and, *Natai* is made in Spinning wheel. Thereafter it is again dried up, turned into bobbin and put to drum. Next stage is roller and Boa or *Sana*. Finally it is fed to the loom. In case of Silk yarn, yarn of Korea, Japan and India is used. It is processed direct from Mill and undergoes the afore – mentioned method before going to the loom.

7th phase. Design Masters make some design for production. They are versatile people who are assigned this vital task. If the design master can devise an excellent design, the product sells like hot cake. Sometimes designer takes cue from other's design and evolves a new design adding some colour, thread and with slight alteration. Design masters are salaried people. But I saw at Kandipara two persons father and son from Bogra, making design on graph paper in their own firm, covering *saree's* border, *anchal* (main end part) and embroidery on the texture. They live here in a rented room at TK 550/- per month. They have a show room in the bazaar (market).

8th phase. At this stage various types of *sarees* and *lungis* are woven. This is the final stage of production.

Two important factors of production in Handloom Industry in any other industry are land and capital.

Land in Handloom industry

For setting up loom land requirement is not very high. Even the landless weavers can set up loom within small space. But according to classification use of land varies. Upper class weavers own from 300-5000 hundred looms. They require big space. Middle class weavers possess fewer looms so they require smaller space. But to establish a loom a space measuring 8 feet in length and 5 feet breadth is required.

Capital

Capital is a very important factor. The more capital an owner has, the more rich he is and the more looms he possess. A big factory yields sizeable amount of profit. For want of capital many weavers became distressed and their looms lie in an abandoned condition. Many among them could not repay the loan. Out of fear they do not approach for further loan. Grameen Bank does not give any loan to the weavers. This loan is confined among the village women. Centering round working capital a circle of exploitations has grown in weaver community.

There is a chain here. At different points of the chain exploitation is evident. The *Mahajans* who sell on credit extort a price that is higher than that prevailing in the market. Sometimes there is a contract to supply all the products to the *Mahajan* who offers price according to his sweet mill. The producers cannot sell outside. As a result they are deprived of the fair price.

Production technology

Handloom weaving involves various operational stages, which require special kind of skilled manpower. In another word it is a technology of very intensive labour. The term technology is commonly employed by anthropologists to refer to the ways people, time and materials are organized to produce, distribute and consumer goods and services. A cultural term for technology refers to all the multi individual customs for manipulating material entities and substances.

It includes techniques of manipulating raw materials to produce artifacts, way of handling or modifying raw materials to produce artifacts, way of handling or modifying artifacts and means of manipulating animal and human bodies, including one's own body. Conventionally, Anthropologists confine technology as an aspect of culture, mainly to the production and use of foodstuff, shelter, clothing that satisfies physical wants.

A significant feature of technologies in non-industrial cultures is the control and monopoly over technologies by resource communities. The resource communities are those categories of people who have historically acquired skills and knowledge to produce specific products. This specialization can enable them to, monopolize and internalize skills within their own community by successfully transferring technology from one generation of produces to the next. This monopolization over skills and technology symbolically separates one community from the other communities and groups (Foster 1973, p. 10).

The weaving production activity of Kandipara village has its own characteristics and emphasis with specific requirements and needs of its special kind of products. The weavers there have special cares in dyeing yarns and to match the set design.

Stages of production

The weavers of Kandipara produce various kinds of weaving products with the combination of yarn, colours, chemicals and other raw materials. Steps in the production process can be differentiated into three phases:

1. Pre weaving
2. Weaving
3. Post weaving

Pre weaving

The yarn is washed in boiled water and bleached and treated with caustic soda. As the fabrics under production are the combination of different coloured yarn, dyeing and starching work undertaken after bleaching the dyeing job, it is very delicate and conducted under the strict supervision of the most reliable skilled hand so that the set design specification can be achieved. Dyeing work is the most vulnerable task for the weavers of Kandipara where from the most risk for losing may crop-out. Because if proper dyeing is

not achieved and if this under specified yarn is used for weaving the fabrics the total lot would surely be rejected, incurring loss of material and financial loss.

The bleaching-starching-dyeing activities the materials under use nominally-hydrose, caustic soda, bleaching powder, brightening chemicals, acid, salt and various colours. The estimated cost of this part for a bundle of yarn is TK. 15000-18000/-. This variation is mainly due to low to high amount of colours and chemicals. After properly dyeing the next step is to dry the yarn under the sun by simply hanging on bamboo rods.

The pre-weaving activities take a day work to process half a bundle of yarn. The dried yarn is put on bobbins with the help of *charka* (spinning wheel), which takes about two days to wind half-a bundle. These bobbins are for use in preparing *tana* for warp and during weaving for weft respectively. For making the warp a bamboo case is used to put bobbins, one man walks up and down two poles with the bamboo case putting the threads alongside bamboo sticks stuck upright in the ground. In this way threads are stretched length-wise between two poles covering many yarns. How many times one has to walk up and down with the bobbins in the case depend on the set design of the fabrics to be produced. The warp making is very labourious task, as one has to walk quite a long distance, cumulatively even few miles.

After the warp is prepared the thread are winded on the bamboo sticks. These winded threads are then drawn through a bamboo comb (*shana*) equal in breadth to the loom. Then the warp is once more taken out and one side of it is attached to the *narad* (vim), the wooden beam of the loom. Raed or *shana* making is one of the important works in weaving. It is their paternal occupation (*paitrik peshha*). Some say it is their cast-occupation (*jat bebsha*).

Shana looks like a comb, but it is quite longer than a comb. Its length varies from 70 cm to 130 cm. and it is usually 5 cm wide. Shana is used both in handlooms and power looms. The variety of shana, which the weavers make, is made of bamboo. The bamboo-made shana is used in handlooms, not in power looms. Shana can also be made of steel and is used in power looms.

The function of shana is to control yarn used in handlooms. Yarn or threads pass through the comb-like shana. When weaving is in progress shana helps to regulate yarn and place them in proper order. Looms cannot work without shana, and as such, it is an essential part of looms.

Weavers need *jhuna* or *paka* (ripen) bamboo to make shana. In order to make shana, the weaver needs splinted bamboo, thread, chopper, knife and bobbin (*Natai*). One person can make a shana within 15 to 20 hours. The weaver male, female and even children of about 12 years take part in making shana.

Shana-making is one of the family-based cottage industries. Usually, the household members do this job together. There is no specific time or duration of this. Members of a household usually sit together to do this job whenever they think convenient. However, it is not obligatory for all the members to make shana in a group. One or a few of the members may do it independently, and others may engage themselves in some other type of works. When shana making is in progress in a household, fellow-villagers either male or female may come to chat with those who are engaged in shana-making. Such fellow villagers not only chat, but also start making shana with them. Depending on size and quality, the price of a shana varies from TK 200 to 300.

Putting the threads through the bamboo comb and rolling the threads on the *narad* are also labour intensive procedure. Five people are required to roll up the yarn round the beam. Two persons look after the threads when they are rolled and the strong man who has to hold the other ends of the threads bundle round his waist and walk slowly in the direction of the beam when it is rolled.

After the threads are rolled round the beam, it is placed in the loom opposite to weaver's seat. Then the threads again are passed through various numbers of combs depending on the set design of the fabric's. Finally the other end of the warp is fixed to the second,

small *narad* at the weavers' side. Now with a stock of bobbins to supply the shuttle, the weft can weave in to the warp, the weaving can start.

In Kandipara the *tana* and weaving are exclusively male activities. The other jobs like washing, dyeing, starching are also done by the male members. Operating *charka* and passing threads through the *shana* are done by women. Sometimes children and old people make *shana*.

If family labour is not available additional expenses are necessary to have these jobs done by others. The family labour is an important and money saving asset in home-based weaving.

Weaving Phase

For weaving *Chittaranjan* looms are used at Kandipara village mainly. Well-experienced male weavers having specific knowledge of weaving set design fabrics' work intensively on the loom. After certain yards of weaving a *thaan* of fabrics is cut out from the small *narad* for post weaving processing. This weaving task is very important to maintain desired level of quality standard of fabrics and design. If the weaver's skill is not up to the mark the fabrics woven by him may not pass the quality test and may cause loss of money and image for the owner. That is why continuous supervisory activity by impressing hands in the weaving phase is definitely maintained.

A weaver working on a designed warp earns on an average TK. 120-150 per *saree*, which is higher than normal designed *saree* weaving. This is a very good incentive for them to put intensive labour.

Post Weaving

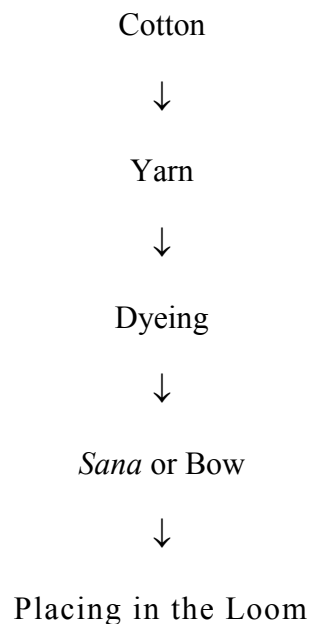
The woven fabrics are cut out in *thaans* from the *narad* for future processing. The *thaans* are handled carefully then ironed and packet and sent to *haat* for wholesaling.

Loom and Process of Work

In studying this community I think it would not be irrelevant to talk of the whole process of spinning. In the past when mill made cotton yarn was not introduced the women had to prepare it in the '*Charka*' (Spinning wheel). After the yarn was produced or purchased from the dealers they would make the necessary colouring of the yarn according to the demands of the customers. After colouring or dyeing sometimes the *Beparis* sell it to the market and the loom owner buys it from them. Sometimes loom owners also purchase cotton and dye it according to his choice. After it they set it in the *Tana* i.e. makes it suitable for weaving. Then they arrange it into the bow or reed according to the capacity of the loom. Then they arrange in the loom. Whatever they make, they make it in a pair. Usually weaving of each pair of *saree* takes three to four days approximately according to quality.

Regarding their tools or apparatus of weaving they have got wooden loom, earthen basin for colouring and two stands, for dyeing and processing the cotton yarn, which, they set at the loom. In the loom there is a shuttle. As regards their tools or apparatus of weaving they have got wooden tool, tool is fixed and they set it in their veranda or bedroom, the floor of which is earthen. I mentioned the production tools and process here in below.

Production Tools and Processes





Finished Product

Participation of Production

Male Workers

Weaving in loom is exclusively done by male. This task is quite tough, calling for stamina and endurance, which is unbecoming for a female. Being members of the fair sex women are not suited to this excruciating task. Of course, in this regard *Chakma* (name of an ethnic community) and other ethnic women are exception.

In the ethnic society women perform this tough job. The workers toil at looms from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm. There is respite at midday and at prayer time. Workers' wage accrues at piece rate. TK 250, 150, 120, 100, 85 and 28 is paid in keeping with quality and standard of a piece of *saree*. Workers are paid on weekly basis. There are two types of workers:

- Local
- Outsider

In the village Kandipara workers from Gaibandha, Kurigram and Nilphamary are found side by side with local workers. The outsiders are provided accommodation in the owner's homestead in separate shade. They have to make their own arrangement of food. The local workers return home after day's work.

Design Master and Drum Master are salaried persons. Drum Master gets a weekly pay of 500 – 700 while the Design Master gets remuneration according to design of a particular *saree*, varying from TK110 to 300. According to the volume of work he may earn a weekly income of TK800 – TK1000. Some owners are found to act as a designer himself. Handloom workers earn TK400 – TK600 weekly.

Female Workers

Female workers do not perform the task of weaving, as it is a very exacting task. A carton of yarn contains 50 cones, of 2 pounds each, weighting 100 pounds. A carton of yarn yields 10 *Moras* of yarn. Each *Mora* yields 400 *pollas* and 10 *Moras* yield around 4000 *pollas*. These cones are turned into *polla* by a 12 feet revolving machine. Those *pollas* are sent to processing mill. Women in the house of factory owner do this. The female workers do the dressing of yarn, putting on *Natai* and winding on bobbin.

Child Labour

More often than not one is sure to come across child workers. They perform work akin to that of women workers. The works of two classes are similar. Children also work in printing factory where they sit under the printing table and put sheets of newspaper on the roller to isolate each *saree* so that the printed *Sarees* are not spoiled.

They receive a wage of TK one a piece of *Saree*. They convey the *Noli* to the weaver at loom. The children also collect waste papers from the floor of factory and clean the premise.

Classification of Weavers

Four kinds of weavers are seen in my study area village Kandipara. They are:

Self-sufficient weavers

They make business self-sufficiently. They have permanent and running capital. But such kinds of weavers are rarely found in our country. The numbers of self-sufficient weavers are not available in the weaver community of Kandipara village.

Rokom weavers

They have stable capital but the lack of running capital. For that they have to adopt various types of strategies for loan. The numbers of them is more than self-sufficient weavers.

Loan earner weaver

Such kinds of weavers have only stable capital. They work for loan by exchanging their labour.

Worker weavers

They have no capital of their own. They work by the exchange of labour like the labourers of weaving factory. The number of these weavers is much more. The role of such weavers is very significant to contribute to the socio-economic development by their work. The percentage of this class is high for poverty.

Non-Weaving Assets

As mentioned before, the villagers have very little non-weaving assets such as agricultural land and livestock. Even in respect of weaving assets, the village as a whole (not individual households) is deficient, as will be seen from the table presented below. The paucity of non-weaving assets would imply that if the inhabitants of the village were to derive income from non-weaving activities, they must rely on the sale of labour. Three types of income generating non-weaving assets have been considered, namely

- a. Homestead and Agricultural land.
- b. Agricultural implements, including draft animals.
- c. Other animals and poultry.

Table 23 : Households by Homestead Land Owned

Land Size (Bigha)	No of Households	Percentage
0.5 – 1	73	91.25%
2 – 4	5	6.25%
5 – 7	2	2.50%
Total	80	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 24 : Distributions of Households by Arable Land Owned

Land size (Bigha)	No of Households	Percentage
No Land	11	13.75%
0.05 – 0.1	57	71.25%
0.1 – 0.2	3	3.75%
0.2 – 0.5	3	3.75%
0.5 – 1.0	3	3.75%
1 – 1.5	2	2.5%
1.5 – 2.0	1	1.25%
Total	80	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

It can be seen from table –24 that 90% of the households have their houses built on land strips measuring less than 0.05 acre, while none has houses covering more than 0.10 acre. This shows that the weaver families are cramped for living space. In respect of arable land ownership, the situation seems comparable. About 6% of the households do not own land exceeding 2 acres. Only one household owns more than 5 acres of arable land. Inadequate land ownership probably prompted some weaver families to lease in land from other owners, not necessarily belonging to the same village. This is reflected in table –21 which shows the distribution of households by sizes of arable land opened.

Economic classes

Allocations of resources were considered as the major indicator for the economic class. In this research the demographic factor was considered for determining the class structure. Because the size of the household influenced the allocation of resources. The resource that was adequate for a household having 3 or 4 members might be inadequate for a large household. So the process that was employed in this research to determine the economic class was the allocation of resources for each person in a household, that is, the per capita resource allocation of household and hence that was purely a qualitative one. Three economic classes were identified as given below:

Table 25 : Distribution of Weavers Household by their Economic Status

Classes	No. Of Households	Percentage
The rich household	8	10%
The middle household	18	22.5%
The poor household	54	67.5%
Total	80	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Kandipara, 2013.

Table 25 mentions the distribution of weavers households by their economic status. Here 67.5% of the poor weaver households, 22.5% of middle class weaver households and 10% of rich weaver households we can see. That means the majority number of poor weavers have their poor living condition.

Income and Expenditure

The weaver community has subsistence economy. Their economic activities are centred on production-consumption cycles. The concepts of income in true economic sense are reflected in the objective of economic activities of the weaver as the concept of competition and profit-making is present there. Likewise, the economic activities of the weaver in the study settlement have been observed to be competitive and profit-oriented. These income-generating activities are mainly for their subsistence and survival and profit. The income generating activities of the weaver of the studied weaver settlement include the following:

- a. Sale of produced *saree*
- b. Sale of produced *lungi, genji, gamcha*

- c. Sale of yarn, *polla, pari*
- d. Service-school teacher, trader, shopkeeper and Rented out cultivated land.

Economic Status of the Household members

Members of a household can be divided on the basis of age and gender. They are

- a. Aged male members
- b. Aged female members
- c. Male members capable of working
- d. Female component members and
- e. Minor boys and girls.

Taking these as a widely accepted classification, we can evaluate their economic contribution to the households. Because all members of a household are not involved in direct economic earnings, in most cases their economic contributions remain out of sight, and this cannot be considered to be partial, and can be mentioned as ‘indirect’ contribution.

Male adults who become incapable of physical labour have nothing but to be hopeless members in the household. They cannot enjoy economic freedom; for their livelihood, they have to be dependent on children, if they have any. Helplessness of one who does not own any arable land knows no bound.

Once these aged people had made great contributions to their households, but, now, as they are not earning and are not capable of doing any productive activities, they have become unexpected burdens for their own people. Those who are aged but capable of work or still holding the ownership of landed property and looms do not lose their economic and family status. Sons have nothing but to depend on them for landed property and weaving. As a result, the relations between father and son remain excellent.

Those who have no property but are capable of work, try to contribute something indirectly. They try to play various roles to earn, to work for wage for 2 to 3 months at reed (*Shana Bau*), and go for shopping to the market. In Kandipara, a tendency for nuclear family is prevailing, so, the parents let their sons be separated and separate from families after a few months of the marital ceremony. Usually a father gives a few looms temporarily to his sons, depending on his ownership, so that they can earn their livelihood. This is a social tradition practised by the villagers. On the other hand, aged parents stay with their unmarried children and are found to earn for them.

Aged women of the households, work according to their ability. They try to help in cooking and household work. In poor families, they perform various tasks, such as grazing of cattle, collecting firewood, growing different types of vegetables etc.

Such types of contribution can be treated as indirect economic activities. Aged widows despite having their capable young sons, have become shelterless, and have to depend on rich households and depend on begging, trading of fried rice (*muri*), working in the weaving factory and many others. They have to lead a lonely and miserable life.

The main focus of this chapter was to delineate the weaver economy of the village Kandipara. In order to portray the economy of weaver community I began my discussion with a brief note on weaver's economy. Then I briefly talked about the weaving occupation. This was followed by a detailed account of the different traditional occupation of the community. I have also tried to explain how the weaver community organizes their economic activities. Notion of property and law of inheritance of weaver community was also discussed in this chapter.

Kandipara village has got a long tradition of weaving activities. For generations together they are in this profession. Skill wise they are very good in their work. The weavers of Kandipara produce best quality *saree*, *lungi* and *gamcha*. they are undertaking the total activities on the basis of self sufficiency and self management. The interacting forces of these production phenomena are mutually dependent, causing the industry to run.

The input traders are a vital support to the community by giving materials in long run credit. The chain-store authorities are other vital parties as the guarantors of making the products. But these two groups take the lion's share of the profit. If the weavers could avoid the dependency on input traders and chain stores authorities they could grow fast in all respect.

Weaver economy is very much influenced by Power loom, impact of urbanization, impact of globalization and impact of modern technology. Adaptation of power looms by rich weaver the traditional egalitarian character of weaver community has been disappearing. As a result, economic differentiations among the members of the weaver community have been increasing very rapidly. The rich weavers gain more profit and the marginal and poor weavers become very poor day by day.

The Background of the Grameen Marketing System

The function of the marketing is to make intimate relation between production and consumption. Different anthropologists have defined marketing variously. According to the prominent marketing specialist P. D. Converse, "Marketing is the function of creating national utility according to time, place and proprietorship".

Here, the definition and the characteristics of the 'marketing system' described by the anthropologists are not completely applicable with 'marketing system'-adopted by the weaver community of Kandipara. But sufficient similarities are found with the marketing system at the weaver community of Kandipara to the marketing system adopted by the economists. Because they keep in contact with marketing life every day. These

conceptions have been circulated with rotation. The necessity of man is the greatest basic conception where the basis of the marketing has been composed or made.

Market

Market system in one form or the other is in existence in the economic activities of the weaver community under study. People of the studied area are found to have participated in the marketing functions in the context of the studied people include local trade in the village, regional trade involving wholesale trading to and from other big markets and trade in the secondary as well as urban markets.

Members of the weaver community go to the local bazaar for their daily need. They go to Enayetpur Haat, Shahjadpur Haat, and Shohagpur Haat for selling their products in wholesale rate. Weavers sell weaved materials to the whole seller.

Want is more corporal or concrete than necessity. When the necessity is developed with the help of concrete conception tightened by the socio-cultural emerging force, then marketing centres develop as we see in the district of Norshindi, Sylhet, Borga, Sirajganj, Barisal, Narayanganj, and Dhaka etc. in the district of Sirajganj there are some weekly haats where sizeable transaction occurs. The important haats are those of Enayetpur, Shahjadpur.

Ill organized marketing system

The weavers face great hurdle in marketing their handloom products. The weavers usually sell their handloom products in the nearby market or to the *furias*. They are deprived of the fair price of their products because of absence of organized market system.

Retention of specially and ensuring development of handloom industry depend to a large extent on developed and smooth marketing system. In my research area the marketing system is still going on in the age-old mode. Producers usually sell their products in markets that sit once or twice a week. Selling practice revolves round three mediums:

1. *Bepari* (Dealer)
2. *Mahajan* (capitalist)
3. Retail sellers (*Khusra Bikreta*)

The products reach the consumers through this tier.

Now-a- days situation has somewhat improved. Traders from Dhaka visit factories and directly purchase from the firm. Dealers in handloom products own showrooms and sale centers in Baily road Dhaka. To name some of them are Saree Kutir, Jhalak, Tangail Saree Kutir, Rumjhum, Tangail Saree Ghar, Nolak, and Bibiana etc. Aarong is also a big customer. The producers supply products as per order. The wholesale market of Islampur also deals in a sizable quality of handloom products. Improvement of communication system facilitated speedy transport of handloom products from one place to another. The weavers have markets for their products in Chittagong, Sylhet, Mymensingh, Jessore, Khulna, Rangpur, and Dinajpur etc. In connection of my research work I visited weekly *haat* at Shahjadpur and witnessed brisk business. Rows of vehicles both trucks and buses attracted my attention. On enquiry I was informed that those vehicles come to that *haat* (Market) from different parts of the country to transport *sarees* and other handloom products. In spite of all this the situation is far from satisfactory. For the welfare of the weavers well-organized marketing system should be built. Very often the weavers have to sell their products on credit in which case sometime the party turns out defaulter and the weavers have no alternation but to write off the amount. My informant and host Abdur Rashid Sarker several times fell victim to this condition and incurred great loss during his trading career. A sort of strong realization authority may be formed to recover this type of outstanding dues.

To popularize handloom products sales and display centers should be established in urban area especially in the capital city, six division towns, Cox's Bazar and Kuakata. In addition to this manufacture of check cloth and its use in the garment industry may be made and the product may be exported. With this end in view extensive propaganda

should be launched. Weavers should be prepared to participate in trade fair in home and abroad.

Enayetpur Haat in Marketing

Enayetpur *haat* sits twice in a week-Friday and Monday. *Haat* begins from 5:00 am to 5:30 am early in the morning. People gather there till 9:00 am and it breaks up at 10:00 am. Generally, *saree*, *lungi*, and *gamcha* are bought and sold at 9:00 am. Then the weavers buy their loom apparatus like yarn, dyes, shuttles, bobbins and *shana* (reed) from 9:00 am to 10:00 am. People, merchants and artisans come to this haat almost from all over Bangladesh. The weavers who are far away from the haat come before the haat day. They stay in various residential hotels in Sirajganj.

There is a Temple, which is opened early in the morning on hat day. There are thatched roofs and C.I. sheet houses. The features of those houses are C.I. sheet on the upper side and there is a gap around the house. Though the design of haat is not so large a lot of sarees are bought and sold here. There is a girls high school beside the haat. There are some retailers who purchase the *sarees* at wholesale rate from the local weavers and sell them instantly. Again, the weavers sell *sarees* to the common buyers directly. Various types of *saree* at different rates are sold. Those are made of thread, silk. There are also tesor, Kota, printed *sarees*, check *saree*, balu-chori, etc. Besides, various instruments of loom machine *noli*, *Chita*, *natai*, *charka*, *maku*, etc. are also sold. This locality is very noisy and crowded on haat day. People who belong to the different classes, different pattern, and different opinions are found here. Haat is found crowded on the *haat* time. Besides, there are some shops and a big banyan tree and other shady trees in and around the *haat*.

The presence of the weavers, of whole sale buyers, common buyers, and sellers are noticed. The wants of men are limitless but the necessary assets are limited for, alleviating wants. Wants are transferred to demand when wants fill up the conditions of the ability of purchasing.

The need, wants, and demand of men are accomplished to accept the commodity finally. The things having the abilities to alleviate the need or wants are called commodity.

The marketing function is accomplished when the buyers and sellers reach the optimum point and exchange occurs. Exchange is the way to obtain the desired commodity from others by offering something.

Where the exchange is the fundamental conception of marketing, transaction is the unit of measurement of marketing, it is the business of some value added between two parties. In the field of transaction, we can say that it is giving something to others in exchange of something.

The conception of market has taken out the complete circular to the concept of marketing. Marketing is the way of transaction so that man can perform the essential exchange process for satisfying his need and wants.

The demand of commodity produced by the weaver community in Kandipara village is treated as 'declining demand' according to the conception of marketing system. Because, the commodities are facing challenging gradual decreasing demand. The strategies of marketing system are not followed perfectly in the weaving locality of this area. The valuable characteristics of marketing system are:

- (1) To make the consumption of the consumer highest.
- (2) To make the satisfaction of consumer highest.
- (3) To make the opportunity of likeness highest.
- (4) To make the value of life style highest.

By observing the *Grameen* (rural) marketing system of the weavers of Kandipara locality, it is gathered that some similarities are present in this marketing system which conform to modern marketing. In fact this management is performed according to the demand of consumers and the weavers of this locality. The product produced by the

weavers of Kandipara village plays a vital role in two *haats*. Two *haats* are Shajadpur *haat* and Shohagpur *haat*.

Shahjadpur Haat in Marketing

There is a *haat* that is famous all over Bangladesh; its name is Shajadpur *haat*. This is a traditional *haat* of the weavers of Kandipara. The handloom made *saree*, *lungi* and *gamcha* are sold here which are produced by the weavers of Kandipara and other village of Belkuchi Thana. Most of sarees are marketed by the weavers of Kandipara. Whole sellers come to this *haat* to buy clothes on a large scale. (Those are called *Mahajans* according to language of local weavers). Generally the parties come from many places in this *haat* and whole buyers come to the *haat* the previous night, and wait for the next morning. They buy *sarees*, *lungis* on the wholesale rate from the weavers of Kandipara and they do not sell them in the *haat*. Even they do not sell them to the common buyers. Volume of transaction is very high in this *haat*. So the importance of this *haat* is much to the weavers of this locality.

Shohagpur Haat in Marketing

Shohagpur *haat* is situated on the east side of Belkuchi Thana road. This *haat* sits once in a week on Tuesday. The presence of the weavers, of wholesale buyer, common buyers and sellers are noticeable here. The whole goods produced by the weavers of Kandipara and other areas are marketed in this *haat*. Buyers and sellers come to this *haat* from various areas of country like the districts of Norshingdi, Sylhet, Bogra, Sherpur, Barisal, Narayangonj etc. The weavers of Kandipara sell the sarees, lungis and piece cloths in this *haat*. Sometimes sarees are sold with the tag with ‘Tangail Saree’ or ‘Pabnai Saree’. Because these tag are very famous throughout the country.

The functions which are accomplished for entire manner to supply the produced commodity to the consumers according to the demand of them with a view to getting profit is called marketing system. The weavers of Kandipara produce their *sarees* and *lungis* according to the demand of the buyers. They produce sarees and lungis, which are liked most by the subscriber, and the demand of Kota saree is more according to the ratio

of these clothes so that there is no problem in marketing and it becomes easier. They have to take ideas about market, that is to say, about the commodities of old market, about how the buyers are accepting new goods, about the characteristics of market etc. By keeping eternal vigilance on these points the weavers of Kandipara select their termination and adoption of production.

The classification of Marketing System in Kandipara

The weavers of Kandipara sell their produced commodity in three ways:

- a) Sale to the customer directly.
- b) Sale to the retailer.
- c) Sale to the whole seller.

Sale to the customer directly

In this regard the producer does not accept help from any mediator to sell his produced commodity. He manages himself to supply commodity to consumers. The weavers of Kandipara sell their produced *sarees* and *lungis* from their house through this process to the consumers. They sell *sarees* and *lungis* directly to the consumers who come from locality and far from the village through this process. Every house of weavers has show room where *sarees* are put in order beautifully.

Sale to the retailer directly

In this process, the producer sells his commodities to the retail shopkeepers directly. Whole sellers, moneylenders, middle men are avoided under this process of distribution. The weavers of Kandipara maintain strict control on the sale of their final commodity and they produce and sell commodity directly with a view to gaining details of dependable conceptions about taste, fashion, tendency of the consumers.

For this an agreement is made with shopkeepers. Most of the weavers of Kandipara are confined to several shops and dealers in Dhaka New Market and several shops in Bailey road under such an agreement. According to the condition of agreement, they do not sell

sarees anywhere as long as the agreement goes on. It is a popular distribution management to the weavers of Kandipara. This agreement stipulates colour, design and texture of the products which are to be strictly followed by the producer.

Sale to wholesaler

Through this management the producer supplies his commodities straight to the wholesalers and the wholesalers sell their goods to retailers. The weavers of Kandipara sell sarees and lungis to the whole sealers through this method. In this regard, the weavers sell their produced commodities through Enayetpur *haat*, Shajadpur *haat*, Shohagpur *haat*, Islampur market and Babur *haat*. The small weavers of Kandipara sell their produced commodities at home and haat-Bazar. This brings little profit to them. All these types of marketing are performed through Enayetpur *haat*, Shajadpur *haat*, Shohagpur *haat* and New market *haat* in Sirajganj.

The weavers of Kandipara produce *saree* and *lungi*, sometimes a little quantity of *gamcha* and three-piece. There are various kinds of sarees like *Bonkai*, *Entibuti Suthi baluchori*, *Tosr*, *Kota* etc. Two kinds of *sarees* are produced in Kandipara, such as thin and coarse. When the count of thread is 80/82 and if the saree is made of this thread it is called thin. Again, when the *saree* is made of 40 count yarn, it is called coarse *saree*. A coarse *saree* is sold at TK 150 or 200 and the thin or smooth *saree* is sold at TK 300 or 350. To make expensive sarees, its expenditure is TK 1800/2500. These sarees are sold at 2500 / 3500 taka.

The members of the family involved in Marketing System

As the production system in the handloom industry is run in Kandipara with the help of the family labours, the marketing system is also accomplished with the help of the members of the family. The marketing activity is accomplished with three processes:

- Sale to the wholesaler
- Sale to the retailer
- Sale to the consumers directly

The weaver family who has more looms produces more cloths; they sell their Products to the wholesalers. But those who produce less sell them to the customers from their home or going to market. In spite of having contribution of the younger and elder members of the family to make a *saree*, there is no role of all the members in the field of marketing. Generally, the head of the family and the eldest son of the family or male members of the family perform the marketing function. Most of the time, the eldest son of the family does not take part in marketing function directly. He only helps his father in marketing. But if the master of the family becomes sick, the eldest son of the family takes over this. Besides these, if the head of the family grows old, the eldest son of the family has to take over this function.

The Rural (Grameen) Marketing System is influenced by the Modern Marketing System

Marketing environment is such a kind of situation, as is made of this party, power and surrounding elements and directly and indirectly it is an institution. Modern marketing environment is different from rural marketing environment. Here I discuss how the rural marketing system of Kandipara is influenced by the modern marketing system. It will be inappropriate to indicate the rural marketing system as the only medium of buying and selling. Various customs and manners, faith, reformation, are involved in the rural marketing system and those are rarely found in the modern marketing system of the town. The men involved in the rural marketing system are found to abide by the customs and manners and they conform to the customs with respect. It is found in research that the men who carry out the custom and manners may be divided into several groups such as: A class among the traders/businessmen treats a particular day as an inauspicious day for trade and commerce.

A class among the Muslim traders attaches much value to the opinion and the order of *Peer Shaheb* in business transaction.

A class among the Hindu traders treats several customs to be nourished before starting transaction. A class giving more importance to honesty than selling the goods.

It is revealed in research that most of the ancient customs are extinct or faded away. Traders are not found to respect these customs like previous days. Impact of modern marketing system is responsible for this. A significant change has occurred with the touch of modern marketing system. Instead of sympathetic relation, competitive and dual relationships have been established. The quantity of production has been increased more than the quality of commodity.

Instead of old production management, modern techniques have been set up. As a result, the family involved in production has undergone some change coming in contact with urbanization. The pattern of buyers has also changed. Development of road and communication system has facilitated the arrival of individual customers and couples by automobiles in addition to wholesale buyers. As one of the guards wearing *gamcha, lungi* told me, “Mr. so comes with his wife by car from far away to buy *saree*”.

There was an internal connection from family to family about the loan of the weavers in earlier time. Breaking up these customs, loan system has been institutionalized. At present, the weavers have to be registered with co-operative club to get loan. Anyone can get loan under this registration.

For this reason, there are many projects that did not exist before. By establishing modern techniques, the business of the family has been increased and the numbers of people involved have increased also. At present 10 thousand people are engaged in the production activity of Kandipara. Earlier the quality and quantity of production was not high but now-a-days with the help of modern artistic skill, both the quality and quantity of production have improved and increased manifold. There was competition about the quality of production from family to family in ancient time. There were reputation and religious devotion behind this competition. There has been a rapid change in the faith and competition. Acquisition of more profits and tendency of occupying market are responsible for this. More production and the competition of rapid marketing have been established. On the other hand the exasperation of the weavers has been increased because of the developed communication system and open market economy. At present

the cloths, which are imported through the border of India, have come to the competition to occupy the market at Shirajganj and Shajadpur. As a result the weavers are facing two types of competition - domestic and external. These cloths imported from India are creating changes in the various aspects of Shirajganj, Belchuchi, Enayetpur, Shohagpur and Shajadpur market (*haat*) as well as creating problems. Firstly the amount of profits of the local producers has come down. On the other hand their production expenditure has increased. Necessary thread and dyeing are imported from outside the country to produce *saree* and *lungi*.

Now- a-days, the design of the *saree* is bought. Modern marketing system provides this design buying from India, Pakistan, Iran and other countries. There has been change in the field of artisans. Artisans were made in the familiar environment before. But now the modern trained salaried- artisans have occupied this place. The custom of home learning is being abolished and environment is also going to be changed. A young man, Saiful Islam aged 24/25 passed B.A. Examination last year. He has taken a short training to open a drug shop in the town. His house is situated on the west side of Kandipara market. According to his version, he will not be involved in *saree* trading with his uncle. It is 20/25 years since his uncle was involved in trading sarees. They have no loom. They buy *sarees* not only from the weavers but also from *haat* (market). People come to them from the district of Pabna, Sylhet, Bogra, Tangail, Chittagang, Nator, Dhaka etc. to place order for *saree*. They sell on cash and sometimes on credit. Currently the threats of hijacking and terrorism have appeared with various bad symptoms. Some rascal boys take subscription from the weavers in the *haat*. As a result of extortion many weavers have altered their venue *and* the buyers also go there. Such kinds of hijacking, extortions could not be imagined before. With the passage of time and expansion of market business have been increased. Everyday new buyers are emerging. Now bond of friendship between the buyers and the sellers has slackened. In ancient time men moved on foot, and carried commodities by horse carriage or by van. Now-a-days commodities are carried for short distance by van,rickshaw, tempo and for long distance by minibus, bus and truck. With advancement of time the patterns of the commodities of the *grameen hatt* (rural market) have been changed. Not only this, new developed commodities are delivered to *grameen*

haat (rural market) which could not be imagined before. Threads and the apparatus of loom are sold including *sarees* and *lungis*. The threads coming from abroad are also found in these markets because of modern marketing system. Now-a-days, the marketing activity of the weavers of Kandipara is not confined to *haat* and market. But it is spread in the town. The *sarees* and *lungis* produced by the weavers of Kandipara are found in every shop of new market in the town of Sirajganj. These are known as Tangail *sarees*. The weavers of Kandipara provide these produced commodities into two kinds in these shops.

1. They themselves supply commodities through an agreement.
2. They sell the shopkeepers through Shirajganj *haat*, Belchuchi *haat*, Enayetpur *haat*, Shohagpur *haat* and Shajadpur *haat* (market).

Besides, most of the weavers of Kandipara supply their produced commodities to Dhaka New Market, Islampur Market, Aarong and some shops of Bailey Road.

This marketing activity is accomplished by agreement. According to the condition of agreement they cannot sell *sarees* anywhere during agreement. Generally, the best and expensive *sarees* are sold through this agreement.

Md. Najrul Islam (64) is owns of 25 '*chittaranjan*' looms. The household of Najrul Islam includes his wife, married son, daughter-in-law and two grandsons. They lived in two old houses made of corrugated iron sheets and with *pacca* floors. Najrul Islam's father who died more than 30 years ago was like his grandfather, a trader. His grandfather and his father had looms and they had a good income. In the 70s the family suffered a few setbacks. First, the father failed to collect several capitals for the looms. Second, after his father's death, Najrul Islam had taken over the business as he is the eldest son of the family. Then their house, weaving factory and weaving products were robbed, they never recovered that. He bought another 2 looms by hard work. The joint family separated and Najrul tried to continue his father's weaving products supply business. That time he supplied his weaving products only to Shahjadpur *haat*. But he ran into losses and had to sell 3 of his looms. But he never gave up, operating looms with the help of wage

labourer. He got loans from his friends and relatives. Gradually he becomes the owner of 25 '*chittaranjan*' looms. In 1989 he was involved with the chainstores of Dhaka and Cittagang and started production for them. Now he gets the order for the whole year. Now his son Monirul Islam and wage labourers are operating the looms. He and his son are involved in marketing their weaving products. They sell their products in Shahjadpur *haat*, Enayetpur *haat*, Belkuchi *haat* and Shohagpur *haat* . Now Najrul Islam becomes a solvent middle class weaver. He and his son are involved in production of *saree*, *lungi*, *gamcha* in their own factory. They themselves also sell their products to local *haat*, town and capital city also. They have an urban-linkage for the marketing of products.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND MAJOR FINDINGS

Conclusion

This study focuses on the nature of household politics, market strategy and subordination of women in weaver community in the village Kandipara of the district of Sirajganj, Rajshahi division of Bangladesh. Female participation and involvement in weaving industry is significant. Practically pre-weaving task facilitating the running of loom is exclusively performed by women. The tasks include boiling yarn, applying glue, drying in the sun and processing, spinning by “*charka*” (spinning wheel). They also make “*shanabou*”. A new dimension has been added to the task of women. They produce *gamcha* (napkin) and *lungi* in a special type of loom called pit loom.

In this way they contribute to the income of the household. This task does not curtail their normal domestic task of cleaning, washing, child rearing and cooking. They have to keep their household clean and tidy.

In community other than weaver community participation of women in economic activities is negligible. For this their position is looked upon as subordinate in the household and it is quite natural. But the case with the women of weaving community is different. They play an active role in the economic activities. Yet they do not occupy a prominent role rather they act completely a subordinate role in the household.

A special type of market strategy is visible in the weaver community. Primarily the finished products are marketed by the owner and labourers are responsible only for production according to specification. Exploitation goes on in different levels here. Upper class weaver or the capitalist or the rich *mohajon* exploits the middle class and the lower class weaver and the labourer weaver. Sometime middle class weaver exploits the lower class and loom less labourer weavers. A class of middle men exercise upper hand in the *grameen hat* (rural market system). All classes of weavers are ultimately exploited by them. The weavers sell their products to the middle men on whole sale price in the local *hatt* (market). These classes of middle men sell the goods in urban markets and sometimes in capital at a much higher rate and make high profit. Through this practice the weavers are deprived of real price of the product.

As the owner of product gets low price from the market, he also make lower payment to the workers and still much lower to the women workers.

Here we see the situation of domination is caused by market system upon the owner of the products directly and the labour both male and female indirectly.

A unique type of household diplomacy is present in the weaver community of Kandipara. In this diplomacy there is a situation of male domination and women subordination. The female performs in the household all the tasks of pre-weaving and sometime weaving also. But they do not get any wage for that work though it is economic work. They get wage only when they do the same kind of work in other's factory. This is an aspect of subordination which is under the control of household politics-a special kind of household mechanism.

In the village Kandipara I found women subordination arising out of two spheres. One is the market which determines subordination in an indirect way. The other is the family or household mechanism which determines subordination in a direct way.

The concept of women subordination is universal. But we observe some variations of this specific concept from society to society, culture to culture. My study locale kandipara is a dominant weaving area. This colourful and budging area offers an appropriate sphere of the study of women subordination. Because women are intimately associated with the weaving industry rather they are an integral part of weaving. The culture, tradition, customs, sense of values, practices evolved, being greatly influenced by their inherited profession.

This special type of circumstances makes them different from other communities. I made an endeavour to focus on the situation of women subordination obtaining in the particular weaver community of Bangladesh.

The conventional idea is that earning on the part of women can lead to women empowerment. If a woman earns and provides for the family and the household her status increases in family and social life. This is associated with women empowerment.

But I found in Kandipara that this situation does not exist. Women play actually a vital role in weaving, that means in the economy. Some women perform household work and go outside and earn money by working in other's factory. Some women perform household work and does all the weaving related work in her own household. The above picture shows that the role of women for the community, weaving and economy is very important. But their role and their earning do not ensure their empowerment. And also no change occurred in the situation of subordination of women in this particular community. Liberal feminist theory advocates that male and female should get equal opportunity in social, economical, religious, political, legal, educational, cultural field, property, family life, human rights etc. this condition will lead to equality among male and female in the society. In this situation women subordination and male domination will be curbed.

This situation is lacking in the weaver community of Kandipara. Because not only the housewives but also the earning women are not given proper importance both in family life and in social life. It appeared to me that the situation of women subordination is fixed and rigid in this weaver community.

The situation of subordination will not vanish unless there comes a change in the notion of ideology, sense of values, way of thinking, self - education, practice and customs etc. in the society. This over all change will go a long way to minimize and put a change to the situation of women subordination prevalent in weaver community of the village Kandipara in Bangladesh.

This anthropological study aims at creating necessary information base about the weaver community in particular. Such information base is a necessary pre-condition for understanding aims, hopes and aspiration of the people as well as resources base and development potential of the area for socio-economic development and welfare of the

people. Such anthropological understanding of the weaver community is of particular importance for maintaining peace and development of this community. This study on weaver community is an attempt to create awareness among the planners, policy makers and administrators of the country.

Major Findings

- Gender division of labour commonly assigns unpaid domestic activities to women. Importance is not attached to female labour. They have to perform household chores and labour of weaving. Though it is economic work they are not paid any wage for it. This type of exploitation is found in the household of weaving community in Kandipara.
- There is a situation of intra household mechanism-where men domination and women subordination is present. This I term as “household politics”. This politics is found in weaver community of Kandipara. Women are kept confined with weaving related work. But they do not get any wage for it. They are not aware that this work is apart from normal household work and deserves wage. This may be looked upon as domestic exploitation. This whole matter is included in intra household mechanism.
- There are three major classes in weaver community-upper class, middle class and lower class.
- Women are engaged in the house hold work - both domestic household chores and all the related works of pre-weaving.
- Women do not get any wages for their work related with weaving in their own household.
- Women work in other’s factory at low wage to bear household expenses and repay husband’s loan.
- Women are regarded as less creative agent in the weaver community as their act is not reorganized as economic act unless they do the same work outside on wages basis.
- Market economy of exploitation is operating in this community.

- Inequality between men and women and the subordination of women are existing in the household of weaver community.
- Poverty makes conjugal conflict and leads to domestic violence.
- I noticed here women's acceptance of their position of subordination. Women do not assert themselves because they fear that this may lead to breach of peace in the family.
- Male domination is a complex interaction of cultural tradition as well as the economic circumstances. Male domination is quite obvious here. Outside work and marketing are done by men, causing to importance and domination of male.

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APPENDIX

Appendix – I

Check List

1. Personal acquaintance: Name, age, education, number of family members.
2. How village clustering took place.
3. How many wards (*para*) are there.
4. The number of weaver household.
5. Population of the village.
6. Who are the weavers, classification?
7. Whether the weaving profession hereditary.
8. History and legend of this industry.
9. Economic condition of the weavers.
10. Various phases of production.
11. Accessories of production.
12. Type of work of the weavers and classification.
13. Numbers of looms owned by an individual.
14. How and wherefrom the raw material is collected.
15. Pattern of homestead.
16. Use of traditional machine or modern improved machine.
17. Marketing of products.
18. Position of middlemen.
19. Condition and system of local market.
20. Social condition of the weaver community.
21. Relation of the weaver community with the greater society.
22. Reasons for leaving the profession.

23. Their religion and religious practices.
24. Weaver's social organization.
25. Empowerment of women.
26. Weaver's education level.
27. Various problems relating to this profession.
28. Their notion about their own entity in relation to society.
29. About House hold, Family and Kinship
30. What kind of household, family and kinship structure they follow?
31. What kind of family structure (nuclear, extended, joint) they follow?
32. Who is the head of the family?
33. In family what is the view of male-female to each other?
34. Who is the decision maker?
35. Domination by male to female
36. Domination by female to female
37. Torture (physical-mental) at home
38. Who earns money?
39. What is the portion of women's income?
40. Who solve intra-family disputes?
41. What is the relationship between husband and wife (respect/ fear)?
42. What are the duties of male and female member of the family?
43. Is there any female headed family?
44. How the son and daughter are treated in a family?
45. What is the view to son-in-law and daughter-in-law?
46. How the bride and groom are chosen for marriage?
47. Marriage age for male and female
48. Polygamy, separation, divorce, widow marriage
49. Dowry
50. Recreation for male and female
51. Economic decision making
52. Household decision making
53. Who decides how to spend money?
54. Who makes final say on making household purchases for daily needs?
55. Food to be cooked each day
56. Decision on family planning

57. On visits to family or relatives
58. Does female goes outside the village/town/city alone?
59. Does female goes to shopping alone or with somebody else?
60. Practice of ethics for women and men to maintain a healthy conjugal life?
61. About Economy
62. What is their main occupation?
63. Types of weaving
64. Division of labour
65. Role of male and female in production
66. Does both paid equal?
67. Who are the entrepreneurs?
68. about Political Sphere
69. Participation in national politics
70. Participation in local politics
71. Male – female ratio in local non-political organization
72. Who is the leading position of local social welfare committee?
73. Who is the decision maker?
74. Who solves local disputes?
75. About Health
76. What is the practice to handle health problems?
77. Do both men and women receive same treatment?
78. Female own health care
79. Child health care
80. Decision on family planning
81. Does female goes to a health Centre or hospital alone?
82. Birth control (who take decision?)
83. About Education
84. What is their view to take education?
85. What kind of education they prefer(religious/general)?
86. Ration of male-female in educational institutions
87. Preference of combined/separate educational institution?
88. About Law and Inheritance
89. Men –women ratio and decision maker
90. Property inheritance
91. Who solves the local disputes?
92. Who are the members in local disputes solving authority?
93. About Rituals
94. What are the rituals practices?

95. Who performed the most valued role?
96. What kinds of rituals are performed in the pregnancy of women?
97. Is there any taboo for pregnant women?
98. What are rituals for baby boy and baby girl?
99. How weavers view at the puberty (boy and girl)?

100. What are the initiation rites for the girl?

101. Does marriage change position women and men, how?
102. What are the marriage rites?
103. The role of male and female members from bride and groom sides
104. What is their view to death?
105. What are the important factors to notice in the death of husband or wife?

Appendix – I I
Glossary of Selected Local Terms

Adarsha Gram -	Ideal Village.
Alu-bharta -	Dish of boiled and smashed potato.
Alur-dal -	Curry made exclusively of potato.
Alu-	Potato.
Anna parshan -	The ceremony of giving rice to a child for the first time.
Barolok -	Rich person.
Bazaar -	Local Market.
Blouse -	Short shirt for women.
Byabobsha -	Business.
Dhoti -	Unstitched clothing for covering the lower portion of the body, mostly used by the Hindu people.
Durga -	One of the goddess of Hindu community.
Ganjee -	Vest for men.
Grameen -	Pertaining to village.
Gram Sarker -	Village administrative and judicial body.
Haat -	Village market.
Imam -	Muslim religious leader who leads the prayers.
Kabiraj -	One who medicates with the help of herbal medicine.
Kamij -	Clothing for women to cover the upper portion of the body.
Kancha -	Polluted.
Karma -	Deeds assigned by God.
Kendra -	Centre.
Khana -	Household.
Khandan -	Aristocratic descent.
Kolikal -	Present age of the world.
Lungi -	Stitched cloth for covering lower portion of the body, mostly used by the Muslim community.
Maa -	Mother.
Mahar / Mahorana -	Amount to be paid to the bride.
Matbar -	Headman.

Mauza-	Lower level revenue unit.
Moulovi -	Muslim religious person.
Orna -	Modesty scarf for women.
Pacca -	Pure.
Panjabi -	Men's upper garments.
Para -	Small residential area of the villagers.
Paribar -	Family.
Pon -	Pon implies marriage money.
Petticoat -	Garment to put on under the <i>saree</i> .
Puja -	Worship, adoration.
Purdha -	Veil.
Rickshaw -	Paddle three wheeler.
Sadar -	Headquarter.
Salish -	Informal village court arranged and participated by the villagers.
Salower -	A type of loose garment for women.
Samaj -	Society.
Samity -	Association.
Sanatan-	Hindu religion and tradition.
Saree -	Long cloth for women's wearing.
Sardar -	Leader.
Talaq -	Divoce.
Thana -	Police station / lower administrative unit of the Government.
Upazila -	Lower administrative unit of the Government (upgrade name of the thana).
Union –	local council, a Union Board.
U.N.O. –	Upa-zila Nirbahi Office (Upazila Executive Office).

Appendix – I I I

Maps

