

Dalit and their Products: An Anthropological Study among the Rishi Community

Supervised by

Dr. Zahidul Islam

Professor

Department of Anthropology

University of Dhaka

Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh

Submitted by

Sk Mashudur Rahman

Ph.D Scholar

Registration No: 08

Academic Session: 2012-2013

Department of Anthropology

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Dhaka

Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh

**This dissertation has been prepared for the fulfillment of the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Dhaka**

2018

DECLARATION

This Ph.D Dissertation has been prepared to submit to the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh in fulfilling the condition of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) program. All the materials embodied in this dissertation in original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other Diploma or Degree of this or any other university or institution at home or abroad.

Sk Mashudur Rahman

Ph.D Scholar

Registration No: 08

Academic Session: 2012-2013

Department of Anthropology

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Dhaka

Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh

Date: The 29th December 2018

CERTIFICATE

This is my pleasure that Sk Mashudur Rahman has prepared the dissertation entitled “***Dalits and their Product: An Anthropological Study among the Rishi Community***” for the award of PhD degree in the Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka. It is his original work and under my supervision, he has carried out the work.

This Dissertation is submitted in the fulfilling of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka, during the session of 2012-2013

Supervisor

Dr. Zahidul Islam

Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of Dhaka
Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh

DEDICATION

To the Rishis whose skill and knowledge are still un-recognized in the global market

Contents

Page No

Declaration	ii
Certificate	iii
Dedication	iv
Contents	v
List of Tables	xii
List of Charts	xv
List of Figures	xvi
List of Maps	xvii
List of Case Studies	xviii
List of Abbreviations	xix
Acknowledgement	xxi
Abstract	xxiii
Glossary	xxviii

Chapter 1

Problem and Understanding of the Dalit community

1-40

1.1	Introduction	2
1.2	Statement of the Problem	2
1.3	Historical Background of <i>Dalit</i> Community	11
1.4	Objectives of the Study	17
1.5	Rationale of the Study	17
1.6	Scope of the Study	18
1.7	Theoretical Framework	20
1.8	Theoretical Issues	27
1.9	Conceptual Definition of Important Issues	29
1.10	Conclusion	39

Chapter 2

Methods and Materials

41-65

2.1	Introduction	42
2.2	Methodology	42

2.3	Methods of the Study	43
2.4	Applied Techniques and Tools	46
2.5	Selection of the Study Area	48
2.6	Sampling and Sample Size	51
2.7	Data Processing and Analysis	53
2.8	Literature Review	53

Chapter 3		Mythological Connection of Different Occupations of Rishi Community	66-77
------------------	---	--	--------------

3.1	Introduction	67
3.2	Dwelling Pattern of Rishi	67
3.3	Different Mythologies about Rishi Community	69
3.3.1	Muni-Rishi	69
3.3.2	Rishi	69
3.3.3	Ruidash	70
3.3.4	Ruidash and Sri Krisna	71
3.3.5	The Rishi of Ruidash	72
3.3.6	Rishi and Dash	72
3.3.7	The Untouchables and the Origin of Rishi	73
3.4	Traditional Skill for Producing Different Products	73
3.4.1	The art of Skinning, Skin Trade and Commerce	73
3.4.2	The Art of Sewing and Making Footwears	74
3.4.3	The Art of Making Drums	74
3.4.4	Expert of Musicians	75
3.4.5	Porters and Coolies	75
3.4.6	Village Police or <i>Chowkidar</i>	76
3.5	Involvement of Different Contemporary Producers and ServiceProviders	76
3.6	Conclusion	77

Chapter 4		Socio-economic Characteristics of Different Produces among the Rishi Community	78-88
------------------	---	---	--------------

4.1	Introduction	79
4.2	Housing Structure	79
4.3	Sex and Age Group	81

4.4	Age Group and Marital Status	82
4.5	Educational Level and Age Group	82
4.6	Family Size, Land Holding and Food Intake	84
4.7	Family Occupation and Government Support	86
4.8	Conclusion	87

Chapter	5	Manufacturing Product and Service Based Occupational Profile of Rishi People	89-99
----------------	----------	---	--------------

5.1	Introduction	90
5.2	Main Products and Services	91
5.3	Involvement in other Type of Productions and Services	93
5.4	Learning Process of Making Products and Providing Services	94
5.5	Affected of Diseases by Involving Occupation Related Productions and Services	95
5.6	Going Outside for Selling Products and Providing Services	97
5.7	Conclusion	98

Chapter	6	Manufacturing Products of Rishi People	100-160
----------------	----------	---	----------------

6.1	Bamboo Craft	102
6.1.1	Introduction	102
6.1.2	Experience wise Hours of Work and Daily Income	103
6.1.3	Product wise Per Unit Cost, Values, Earning and Sale Procedure	104
6.1.4	Expert of Bamboo Craft Workers	105
6.1.5	Seasonal Calendar for Bamboo Craftsman	109
6.1.6	SWOT Analysis of Bamboo Craftsman	110
6.1.7	Conclusion	111
6.2	Cane Craft	111
6.2.1	Introduction	111
6.2.2	Income and Hours of Work	112
6.2.3	Product, Average Cost and Value	112
6.2.4	Experience wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product	113
6.2.5	Case Studies of Different Cane Craft Experts	114
6.2.6	Seasonal Calendar for Cane Products	118
6.2.7	SWOT Analysis of Cane Craftsman	118
6.2.8	Conclusion	119
6.3	Footwear	119

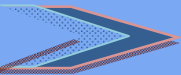
6.3.1	Introduction	119
6.3.2	Household wise Average Year of Experiences, Hours of Works and Daily Income	122
6.3.3	Average per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product	122
6.3.4	Production wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure	123
6.3.5	Story of Three Experts of Footwear Makers	123
6.3.6	Seasonal Calendar for the Product of Footwear Maker	126
6.3.7	SWOT Analysis of Footwear Makers	127
6.3.8	Conclusion	127
6.4	Drums	128
6.4.1	Introduction	128
6.4.2	Household wise Working Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income	129
6.4.3	Per unit Cost, Value and Earning by the Type of Product	130
6.4.4	Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product	130
6.4.5	Musical Instruments	131
6.4.6	Story of Some Expert of Drum Makers	131
6.4.7	Seasonal Calendar for Drum Makers	141
6.4.8	SWOT Analysis of Drum Making Product	141
6.4.9	Conclusion	142
6.5	Carpentry	142
6.5.1	Introduction	142
6.5.2	Experience Wise Working Hours, Daily Income and Material Collection Place	145
6.5.3	Place of Activity, Per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product	147
6.5.4	Story of Expert Carpenters	148
6.5.5	Seasonal Calendar for Carpentry Works	150
6.5.6	SWOT Analysis of Carpenters	150
6.5.7	Conclusion	151
6.6	Home Made Showpieces Production	151
6.6.1	Introduction	151
6.6.2	Average Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income	152
6.6.3	Sale Procedure by User of Product	152
6.6.4	Average Per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product	153
6.6.5	Story of Some Showpiece Workers	154
6.6.6	Seasonal Calendar for Showpiece Makers	158
6.6.7	SWOT Analysis of Showpiece Producers	159

6.6.8	Conclusion	160
-------	------------	-----

Chapter	7	Service Related Products	161-201
----------------	----------	---------------------------------	----------------

7.1	Semen Insemination through Male Goats Rearing	163
7.1.1	Introduction	163
7.1.2	Householdhead's Experience, Number of Male Goats and Numberof Crossing	165
7.1.3	Number of households' Daily Fostering Cost per Male Goats, Daily Incom and Earning	165
7.1.4	Story of Two Experts of Male Goats' Rearer	166
7.1.5	Seasonal Calendar for Semen Insemination Activity	170
7.1.6	SWOT Analysis of Male Goat's Rearer	17 1
7.1.7	Conclusion	171
7.2	Cattle Fattening through Cattle Castration	172
7.2.1	Introduction	172
7.2.2	Householdhead wise Year of Experiences, Number of Goats and Bulls Crossing and per Day Working Hours	173
7.2.3	Raw Material Cost, Perday Income and Alternative IncomeSources	174
7.2.4	Case Story of Two Castrators for Docile	175
7.2.5	Seasonal Calendar for Cattle Castration	179
7.2.6	SWOT Analysis of Cattle Castrator	179
7.2.7	Conclusion	180
7.3	Footwear Repairing and Polishing	180
7.3.1	Introduction	180
7.3.2	Householdhead wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work and DailyIncome	183
7.3.3	Per Unit Cost, Value, Earning and Place of Raw Material CollectionProcess	184
7.3.4	Success Stories of Expert Footwear Repairer	185
7.3.5	Seasonal Calendar for Footwear Repairer	189
7.3.6	SWOT Analysis of Footwear Repairer	190
7.3.7	Conclusion	190
7.4	Raw Skin Management	190
7.4.1	Introduction	190
7.4.2	Householdhead Wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work andDaily Income	192
7.4.3	Householdhead Wise Per unit Cost, Value, and their Earning byType of Skin	193
7.4.4	Place of Raw Skin Collection Process, Value and their Earning by Type of Skin	194

7.4.5	Number of Days for Skin Preservation, Value, Earning and SalePlace	195
7.4.6	Story of Skin Processor for Managing Raw Skin	196
7.4.7	Seasonal Calendar for Managing Raw Skin	200
7.4.8	SWOT Analysis for Managing Raw Skin	200
7.4.9	Conclusion	201

Chapter 8		Problems and Prospects: Rishi's Point of View	202-216
------------------	---	--	----------------

8.1	Introduction	203
8.2	Marketing Problems	203
8.3	Marketing Strategy and Marketing Elements	204
8.4	Obstacles in Professional Development	206
8.5	Major Observations Regarding Problems	206
8.6	Strategies for Removing Obstacles	208
8.7	Ways of Income Improvement through their Knowledge	209
8.8	Assistance Required for Income Improvement	210
8.9	Livelihood Promotion: Methods	211
8.10	Source of Capital	212
8.11	Causes of Inadequate Capital	213
8.12	Required Capital (TK.) of Households	214
8.13	Key Issues for Rishi Livelihood Development	215
8.1.4	Conclusion	215

Chapter 9		Conclusion and Way Out the Problems	217-000
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9.1	Conclusion	218
9.2	Way Out the Problems	218
	Bibliography	223-236
	Annexure I Checklist	237-238
	Annexure II Questionnaire	239-246
	Annexure III List of Rishis' Households at Tala Upazila	247-248
	Annexure IV List of Scheduled Castes (SC) and their Traditional Occupations in India	249-258

LIST OF TABLES

Table: 2.2	Age variation of the respondents	52
Table: 4.1	Distribution of housing structure by source of drinking water	79
Table: 4.2	Distribution of housing structure by type of latrine	80
Table: 4.3	Distribution of housing structure by source of water for other purposes	81
Table: 4.4	Distribution of age group by male and female	81
Table: 4.5	Distribution of age group (age 10 years and above) by marital status	82
Table: 4.6	Distribution of age group (age 5 years and above) by education level	82
Table: 4.7	Number of household, average household size & by land size (acre) per household	84
Table: 4.8	Household heads' occupation by food intake status and reason for not taking three times	85
Table: 4.9	Head of the household's occupation for receiving and getting Government support	86
Table: 5.1	Distribution of head of household's occupation by age group (18 and above years)	91
Table: 5.2	Distribution of main occupation age 5 years and above by income activity	92
Table: 5.3	Distribution of head of household's occupation wise other occupation	93
Table: 5.4	Distribution of head of household's occupation by learning process	94
Table: 5.5	Distribution of number of households having disease affected by income activity	95
Table: 5.6	Head of household's occupation wise affected diseases earlier & currently	96
Table: 5.7	Head of household's occupation wise going out of work & type of work for going out	97
Table: 6.1	Households' average year of experience, hours of work & daily income by years of experience for bamboo crafts occupation	103
Table: 6.2	Distribution of average per unit cost and their value by type of product	104
Table: 6.3	Distribution of sale procedure by sale place	104
Table: 6.4	The per Unit Cost, selling and selling place	106
Table: 6.5	Head of households' average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience for livelihood	112
Table: 6.6	Distribution of average per unit cost, value & earn by type of product	112
Table: 6.7	Distribution of source of raw material by years of experience	113
Table: 6.8	Distribution of sale procedure by sale place	114
Table: 6.9	Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of making footwear	122

Table: 6.10	Distribution of average per unit cost, value & earn by type of product	122
Table: 6.11	Distribution of sale place and sale procedure of footwear	123
Table: 6.12	Household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of drum makers	129
Table: 6.13	Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of drums	130
Table: 6.14	Distribution of sale procedure by sale place of drums	130
Table: 6.15	Name of drums, production cost and market price	133
Table: 6.16	Type of drum, making cost and selling cost of each product	137
Table: 6.17	Type of drum, making cost and selling cost of each product	139
Table: 6.18	Head of household's vs average year of experience, hours of daily income	145
Table: 6.19	Distribution of place of raw material collection by years of experience	146
Table: 6.20	Distribution of place of activity by years of experience	147
Table: 6.21	Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of product	147
Table: 6.22	Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of showpiece makers	152
Table: 6.23	Distribution of sale procedure by user of product	152
Table: 6.24	Average per unit cost (TK.), value (Tk.) and earn (TK.) by type of product	153
Table: 6.25	Material cost, market price and man days for showpiece product	155
Table: 7.1	Average year of experience of the household's head, number of male goats and crossing per goat by years of experience	165
Table: 7.2	Number of households, daily fostering cost per goat and daily income per goats by number of male goats per household	165
Table: 7.3	Number of households, average daily fostering cost, income & earn by number of male goats per household	166
Table: 7.4	Household's average year of experience, number of goats and bull crossing & per day working hour by years of experience of cattle castrators	173
Table: 7.5	Average per day raw material cost for castrator (bull & goat) castration income from bull, goats and daily income per households by year of experience	174
Table: 7.6	Distribution of additional livelihood options of castrators by year of experience	174
Table: 7.7	Skill and knowledge about castration	177
Table: 7.8	Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience for footwear repairer	183
Table: 7.9:	Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of product	184
Table: 7.10	Place of raw material collection by year of experience	185
Table: 7.11	Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience group for raw skin occupation	192
Table: 7.12	Distribution of average per unit cost, value and their earning by type of skin	193

Table: 7.13	Distribution of place of raw skin collection by experience (years)group	194
Table: 7.14	Distribution of number of preservation day by experience (in year)	195
Table: 7.15	Distribution of sale place day by experience (in year)	195
Table: 7.16	Purchasing, processing and selling price of the skin of cow	197
Table: 7.17	Purchasing, processing and selling price of the skin of goat	198
Table: 8.1	Having selling problem and faced problem for selling product by Occupation	203
Table: 8.2	Having marketing necessary and elements of marketing for sellingproduct by occupation	204
Table: 8.3	Distribution of professional development obstacles by occupation	206
Table: 8.4	Distribution of strategies for removing obstacles by income activity	208
Table: 8.5	Distribution of support services for improving income by incomeactivity	209
Table: 8.6	Distribution of assist improved of your income by occupation	210
Table: 8.7	Distribution of suggestion for better livelihood by occupation	211
Table: 8.8	Distribution of source of capital by occupation	212
Table: 8.9	Distribution of adequacy of capital and causes of the inadequatecapital by occupation	213
Table: 8.10	Required capital (TK.) for inadequate capital based householdheads' occupation	214

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart: 1.1	Research matrix	19
Chart: 1.2	The manifestations of the caste system	26
Chart: 2.1	Occupation wise studied areas of Tala Upazila under Satkhiradistrict	49
Chart: 6.1	Seasonal calendar of bamboo craftsman	109
Chart: 6.2	SWOT analysis of bamboo craftsman	110
Chart: 6.3	Seasonal calendar for cane products	118
Chart: 6.4	SWOT analysis of cane craftsman	118
Chart: 6.5	Seasonal calendar for footwear craft	126
Chart: 6.6	SWOT analysis of footwear craft	127
Chart: 6.7	Seasonal calendar of drum making instruments	141
Chart: 6.8	SWOT analysis of drum making product	141
Chart: 6.9	Seasonal calendar of workload of carpenters	150
Chart: 6.10	SWOT analysis of carpenters	150
Chart: 6.11	Seasonal calendar of homemade showpiece maker	158
Chart: 6.12	SWOT analysis of showpiece producers	159
Chart: 7.1	Seasonal calendar for the owner of male goats	170
Chart: 7.2	SWOT analysis of semen supplying through male goat fostering	171
Chart: 7.3	Seasonal calendar of cattle fattening through the process of cattleastration	179
Chart: 7.4	SWOT analysis of cattle castrator	179
Chart: 7.5	Seasonal calendar for footwear repairer	189
Chart: 7.6	SWOT analysis of footwear repairing and footwear polishing	190
Chart: 7.7	Seasonal calendar of raw skin process	200
Chart: 7.8	SWOT analysis of raw skin	200
Chart: 8.1	Aspects of Rishis' issues and specific issues	215

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure: 1.1	Conceptual Framework	28
Figure: 1.2	Context of Framework	29
Figure: 2.1	Methods of the Study (at a glance)	43
Figure: 2.2	Applied tools and techniques	46
Figure: 2.3	Sampling from different occupational groups of Rishi community	52
Figure: 4.1	Distribution of housing structure by source of drinking water	80
Figure: 4.2	Distribution of age group (age 5 years and above) by education level	83
Figure: 4.3	Family occupation and availing Government of Bangladesh(GoB) Support	87
Figure: 5.1	Distribution of main occupation against three categories of agegroup	92
Figure: 5.2	Distribution of occupation and learning process	95
Figure: 5.3	Distribution of households affected with disease (earlier and present)	96
Figure: 6.1	Sale procedure by sale place of bamboo product	105
Figure: 6.3	Sale place and sale procedure of drums	131
Figure: 6.4	Production cost and market price of different drums	134
Figure: 6.5	Experience and source of material collection for carpenter	146
Figure: 6.6	User of product and sale procedure of showpiece	153
Figure: 7.1	Experience and additional occupation of the castrators	175
Figure: 7.2	Raw material cost, value and earning by type of product	184
Figure: 7.3	Experience and place of raw skin collection of raw skin processor	194
Figure: 8.1	Having selling problem and faced problem for selling product by occupation	204
Figure: 8.2	Having marketing necessary and faced problem for selling product by occupation	205
Figure: 8.3	Livelihood promotion methods	211

LIST OF MAPS

Figure: 1	Map of Peoples of South Asia (Chamar or Rishi)	10
Figure: 2	Map of Bangladesh	48
Figure: 3	Map of Satkhira District	48
Figure: 4	Map of Tala Upazila	48

LIST OF CASE STUDIES

Case study: 6.1	Sapon Kumar Das loves to work as a bamboo craftsman	105
Case study: 6.2	Bamboo crafts is more eco-friendly than the plastic products- says Nitypado	107
Case study: 6.3	Story of Sree Bhim Chandra Das-Cane products are never old	114
Case study: 6.4	Cane products are going to be endangered soon- NirmalChandra Das	116
Case study: 6.5	Story of Vim Chandra Das, fitting man	123
Case study: 6.6	Story of Krisnapado Das, owner of footwear craft	124
Case study: 6.7	Story of Vovesh Chandra	125
Case study: 6.8	Story of drum player and drum maker Narayan Chandra	131
Case study: 6.9	Sukumar Das: maker of various rhythm instruments	133
Case study: 6.10	Story of Drum maker and player of Bijoy Kumar Das	136
Case study: 6.11	Story of Amal Das	138
Case study: 6.12	Story of Anando Sarker	148
Case study: 6.13	Story of Somen Das	149
Case study: 6.14	Showpiece worker Champa Rani Das	154
Case study: 6.15	Story of Bally Rani Dasi	155
Case study: 6.16	Story of Sheuli	156
Case study: 6.17	Story of Radha Rani Das	157
Case study: 6.18	Story of Basonti Rani Das	157
Case study: 6.19	Story of Kanchi Rani Das	157
Case study: 6.20	Story of Uma Rani Das	158
Case study: 6.21	Story of Konika Rani Das	158
Case Study: 7.1	Goat's rearer Krisno's story	166
Case Study: 7.2	Story of Dhanjoy	168
CaseStudy: 7.3	"I would like to make my business more dynamic incollaboration with the government animal hospitals"-mentionsMithun Sharker	169
Case Study: 7.4	Story of castrator Kongso	175
Case Study: 7.5	Cattle castrator Gostapado	176
Case Study: 7.6	Footwear repairer Bidhan Chandra Das	185
Case Study: 7.7	Shibpado Das: Footwear repairer	186
Case Study: 7.8	Story of Nokul	188
Case Study: 7.9	A success story of Piku Das (raw skin processor)	196
Case Study: 7.10	Rabindra Nath knows well how to operate skin businesssmoothly whole year	198

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB:	Asian Development Bank
BARD:	Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development
BSCIC:	Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries Corporation
BDERM:	Bangladesh Dalit and Excluded Right Movement
BDHR:	Bangladesh Dalit Human Rights
BBS:	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BRDB:	Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development Board
BDT:	Bangladesh Taka
CERD:	Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
CHT:	Chittagang Hill Tract
CSO:	Civil Society Organization
CVDP:	Comprehensive Village Development Program
CBO:	Community Based Organization
DTW:	Deep Tube Well
EBEK:	Ektee Bari Ektee Khamar (One House One Farm)
EU:	European Union
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
GoB:	Government of Bangladesh
HIPC:	Heavily Indebted Poor Community
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSC:	Higher Secondary Certificate
ICT:	Information Communication Technology
IDSN:	International Dalit Solidarity Network
IDI:	Indepth interview
IGA:	Income Generating Activities
ILO:	International Labour Organization
INGO:	Internationation Non Government Organization
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IRRI:	International Rice Research Institute
LEBs:	Local Elected Bodies

IVCA:	Integrated Value Chain Approach
KII:	Key Informant Interview
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
NEP:	New Economic Policy
NFPE:	Non-Formal Primary Education
NGOs:	Non Government Organizations
OBC:	Other Backward Class
PPP:	Private Public Partnership
RBA:	Right Based Approach
RSB:	Rural Savings Bank
SIDBI:	Small Industries Development Bank of India
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
SFYE:	Seven Five Year Plan
SMEs:	Small and Medium Enterprises
SSC:	Secondary School Certificate
SC:	Schedule Caste
SWOT:	Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat
TK:	Taka
UNO:	United Nations Organization
UPs:	Union Parishads
UN:	United Nations
V-AID:	Village Agricultural and Industrial Development
VGD:	Vulnerable Group Development
VGF:	Vulnerable Group Feeding

Acknowledgements

I owe a huge debt to the Department of Anthropology, university of Dhaka, for giving me the opportunity of completing this doctoral dissertation on traditional skills of *Dalit* Community under the title “*Dalits* and their Products: An Anthropological Study among the Rishi Community”. I acknowledge the great contribution of Dr. Zahidul Islam, Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka who supervised the entire period of my dissertation work. His comments and questions helped me to take the research toward a focused direction. He spent his valuable time answering my questions and solving the difficulties that I faced during fieldwork and writing this research work.

I am also grateful to Dr. Shahed Hassan, Dr. Md. Ahsan Ali, Professor Shaheen Ahmed, Dr. Saifur Rashid, Nasima Sultana, Professor Hasan A. Shafie, Dr. Farhana Begum, Dr. S. M. Arif Mahmud, Raasheed Mahmood, Dr. Shaila Sharmeen, Dr. Md. Rafiul Islam, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, Mr. Nurul Islam, former Joint Secretary and my younger brother Sk Abdullah Al Mamun for their valuable comments and supports concerning my research work.

I would also like to thank Dr. Shankar Chatterjee, Former Professor at National Institute of Rural Development and Panchayati Raj (NIRD & PR, Government of India), Hyderabad, Ms. Ceyyur Rani, Dr. C. Rani and Mr. Suriaprokash Gour at NIMSME, Hyderabad, Executive Director of Center for Dalit Studies at Hyderabad for valuable comments and suggestions regarding Dalit issues in India during my two months training on Training Methods and Skills for Managers (TMSM) at National Institute for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (NIMSME), Hyderabad, India in 2016-2017.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Mr. Md. Mashiur Rahman, former Director General of Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD) for providing official approval to conduct this research. My sincere thanks are due to Dalit related different organizations in the Southwest part of Bangladesh like Uttaran, Bhumija Foundation, Dalit, and Parittran for providing their support to reach the different activity related experts that are deployed in Tala Upazila. I must acknowledge my grateful thanks to the Upazila officials, staffs and representatives of local elected bodies for their active support in different phases of my research.

The people of Rishi occupied para, who gave me their valuable time during my fieldwork, deserve a special mention here. I will always remember them for their hospitality, time and patience during the interviews. My local hosts Mr. Basudev Das, Mr. Rotan Kumar Das and their family members not only provided me with accommodation, but also gave their valuable time and introduced me to many interviewees.

I express my deep appreciation to my wife Ms. Shimima Nasrin Nitu and my daughter Anitttri Rahman who stayed beside me during the stressful moments of doing this research and writing this dissertation, sacrificing their comfort. Without their sacrifices and cooperation, it would not be possible for me to carry out this dissertation.

Sk. Mashudur Rahman

Abstract

This is an anthropological research on Dalits and their products in South-western districts of Bangladesh. *Dalit* community are the largest politically, socially and economically excluded community throughout the Indian Subcontinent. They face numerous social stigma and are often classified as untouchables, a phenomenon which is deeply rooted in the history of the subcontinent. The social stigma they face across the subcontinent is often related to their work which is considered dirty in our society, which ranges from repairing footwear to cleaning human faeces. Bangladesh is no different either. Here around 5.5 million of *Dalit* people belonging 94 categories of *Dalits*, has very low standard of living (IDSN, 2006). The basic human rights as enunciated in the constitution of Bangladesh often elude them. They struggle really hard to meet their daily needs and their occupations are hardly included into the mainstream economy. The objectives of this study are to assess the present socio-economic condition, traditional knowledge and skill, key barriers of the occupation, way out of the problems and so on.

The study is divided into a total of nine chapters. In chapter 1 the research introduces the problem and the background of the study and also describes the importance, theoretical framework and conceptual issues. Chapter 2 focuses more on methods and materials, the current literatures on the topic to conduct this research. Chapter 3 states the mythology of different *Dalit* communities and their occupation. The current socio-economic characteristics of different *Dalit* communities are presented in chapter 4 of the paper. Chapter 5 analyses the product and service based occupational profile of the Rishi community. Chapter 6 focuses on different types of manufacturing products produced by the Rishi community, case study findings, and the SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis, seasonal calendar of each of the product. Similarly, Chapter 7 discusses the services that are provided by the Rishi Community. Chapter 8 then talks about the problems and prospects of the products and services that are being produced by the Rishi Community and finally Chapter 9 draws the conclusion and suggests way out the problems.

The present study has been conducted in Dhulanda Rishi para as well as other villages of Tala Upazila under Satkhira district, a south western district of Bangladesh. The present study chooses the Rishi para in my village Dhulanda for field work due to my familiarity with the *Dalit*

communities. In consultation with the local NGOs (Paritran, Bhumija Foundation and Uttaran) the present study was conducted among the 37 villages of 12 unions under Tala Upazila. This anthropological study has been conducted using different types of anthropological research methods and techniques conforming to the objectives of the study. An integrated approach (qualitative and quantitative) has been taken for the purpose of the study. The data has been collected, analyzed and presented at different levels like-individual, household, and community. This chapter is going to deal with some important aspects such as- methodology, methods and techniques, research design, literature reviews and other relevant issues

Theoretical framework is the foundation for understanding the research issues and linkage among the different variables. It helps as a guiding principle for analyzing the research issues. In this section the study focuses on some important issues related to conceptualization of the three phenomena such as class, caste and economic principles implicated in a social system, which is the major cause of caste inequality. The study further focuses on how these issues lead to the *Dalits* social deprivation. Karl Marx and Weberian theory, subaltern theory, capability theory and Ambedkarism have been used in this study. This framework helps to conceptualize the development paradigm in the context of *Dalit* communities in Bangladesh.

The comprehensive reviewing of the literature was an important segment for this study. Because it provides an up-to-date data for understanding the subject and identifying the methods used in previous research on the topic. Moreover the literary works provided information corresponding to the present research findings. The reviewed literature acted as a stepping-stone towards achievement of the study objectives. In fact, the literatures reviews provided a solid background to back one's investigation and helped to understand the nature of *Dalits* and their development.

The present study has attempted to examine the mythological connection of different groups of Rishi Community such as dwelling pattern of Rishi community, different mythologies, different aspects of Rishis background, untouchability and the origin of Rishi Community, traditional skills, skinning and skin trade, etc. They are of sewing and making footwear, drum and musicianmaking groups, and contemporary involvement of making different products and so on. The products produced by them are cane crafts, bamboo crafts, fattening of cows, goats, cocks,

breeding of cows and goats (semen insemination), making drums, manufacturing footwear, footwear polishing or repairing, making home appliances or showpieces, wooden products, raw skin processing, working as porters, barbers and village security persons.

Access to basic amenities such as safe drinking water, electricity, sanitation, health care and communication are imperative for a decent life. The need for these basic amenities has been universally recognized. In Rishi community majority of people who are residing in Kancha houses are using kancha latrines. Education level of the respondents is absolutely low and the average land size per household is only 0.13 acres. Majority stated that due to inadequacy of food they are unable to take food 3 times a day. The respondents in different occupations are relying on their own funds than on government support for operating their daily activities.

The main occupation of Rishi community and their products or services, their involvement of other type of products or services, learning process, selling process, income, disease due to occupation. Around 64% of the respondents are in the age group of 36-59 years, 27% in the category of 18-35 years and 10% above 60 years. It is interesting to note that 7.5% of respondents belonged to cane craft and raw skin processing while 7% belong to semen supply, drum making and footwear repairing. 4.5% in the age group of 18-35 years are involved in wood related works and raw skin processing. In the case of respondents with age above 60, most of them are involved in bamboo craft followed by drum making. Majority of respondents are in the age group of 18-35, 36-59 and above 60 are involved in some activity or the other. Regarding distribution of occupation with respect of age, the results revealed that majority (62%) of the respondents are in the age group of 36-59 years and 14% are involved in raw skin processing and 12% in cane craft and other dominant occupations are cattle fattening through castration and bamboo crafting. With regard to category of 18-35 years, which constituted 22% the dominant occupations, most of them were found to be engaged in raw skin processing.

Different types of household head's occupational profiles have been studied intensively and with special attention to the traditionally skilled people from Rishi community. In Rishi community chief employment lies in manufacturing product for use or sale using labor, tool, chemical or formulation. It is sometimes more precisely expressed as artisanal handicraft, a wide variety of

types of work, where useful and decorative objects are made completely by hand or by using only simple tools. It is a traditional main sector of craft for Rishi people and applies to a wide range of creative activities that are related to making things with one's hands and skill, including work with bamboo, cane, leather, jute, plant fibers, etc. In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss in detail 6 manufacturing related groups viz., bamboo craft, cane craft, carpentry, showpiece maker, footwear craft maker, drum maker and player. Case studies of successful people under each occupation are presented. A detailed seasonal calendar with SWOT analysis is given at the end.

Services are activities that are provided by a section of people in Rishi community, such as semen insemination through male goats rearing, cattle castration, raw skin processing and footwear repairing. According to economic theory, consumption of goods and services is assumed to provide utility (satisfaction) to the consumer or end-user, although businesses also consume goods and services in the course of producing other services. Services in a *Dalit* community have different dimensions. If you employ a person and pay them a regular wage or salary, they are an employee. If you negotiate a contract with an individual to provide a service, with that person billing you for services rendered, that person is a contractor. In general, a person who provides a professional service is called a consultant. In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss in detail 4 service providing groups. Case studies of successful people under each occupation are presented. A detailed seasonal calendar with SWOT analysis is given at the end.

The study has been carried out to unfold the development features of Rishi community. However, it was also needed to explore the social dynamics of Rishi community. Most of the Rishi Community people do not have any marketing strategy for their products. They lack capital, skills, modern technology, marketing facilities and financial inclusion which are identified as the key threat to their development. The research has also revealed that there is a need among the Rishi Community for enhancing their skills through various trainings. They also need capital support to sustain their industries and policy support from the government.

However, considering all these issues it is revealed that the Rishi Community in Bangladesh is largely ignored and kept aside in our society. Their products are being used by us everyday, yet the social stigma surrounding them decreases their market opportunities thus reducing their livelihood. This paper explores in details, the historical causes of the social stigma around the

Dalit population and took sample from south west coastal areas of Bangladesh to understand the current occupations they are involved in and the problems they are facing. It has been identified from the paper that the historical and cultural barriers are the biggest threat to the livelihood of Rishi community. Moreover, modern technology is also replacing their traditional occupation. Thus in order to bring the Rishi community in the mainstream economy it is very important to increase their market capabilities and protect and promote their traditional practices. The recommendations from this paper can be basis to start from, which can be further explored through more research to have definitive answers. I would like to conclude by reiterating Amartya Sen's famous quote "Poverty is not just lack of money, it is not having the capability to realize one's full potential as a human being".

Glossary

<i>Aadata</i>	Premature male goat or calves
<i>Abadi</i>	Cultivable land
<i>Abahela</i>	Neglect
<i>Abhabi manus</i>	Poor people/ needy persons

<i>Aktara</i>	Indigenous musical instrument made with pumpkin's cover
<i>Anabadi</i>	Fallow or barren land
<i>Andakos bhaji</i>	Fried testicle
<i>Angta</i>	Hook
<i>Antaj</i>	It is a Bengali term that signifies the untouchable community in Bangladesh
<i>Aori</i>	Indigenous grain storage made by bamboo
<i>Aratdar</i>	Wholesaler
<i>Arbasi</i>	One kind of bamboo made flute
<i>Asukh</i>	Diseases
<i>Atchala</i>	Eight-sided roof
<i>Athargondho</i>	Smell of glue
<i>Aturi patha</i>	Infant male goat
<i>Babthakurdada</i>	Forefathers
<i>Bachur</i>	Calves
<i>Bagha bet</i>	Large-size rattan or cane
<i>Baidic</i>	It denotes a society based on caste system and it was introduced in the last era of Veda especially at the time of 1000 BC.
<i>Baj a gondho</i>	Bad smell
<i>Bajander</i>	Musician
<i>Ba-kalam</i>	Illiterate person
<i>Barsakal</i>	Rainy season
<i>Barsha</i>	Pike
<i>Baser cata</i>	bamboo splinter
<i>Baser kaj</i>	Bamboo work
<i>Baser kanci</i>	Bamboo wicker
<i>Baser khunti</i>	Bamboo Cracks
<i>Baserkhil</i>	Bamboo cramp
<i>Basher topor</i>	Bamboo made hat
<i>Basi</i>	Flute
<i>Basjhar</i>	Bamboogrove
<i>Baskata</i>	Cutting bamboo
<i>Bera</i>	Bamboo fences
<i>Betcas</i>	Canecultivation
<i>Bhadralok</i>	Gentleman
<i>Bhag</i>	Part or portion
<i>Bhagaban</i>	God
<i>Bhalku bas</i>	Specific kind of bamboo
<i>Bharpurmausum</i>	Peak season workload remains very high
<i>Bhijano</i>	Wet
<i>Bhitamati</i>	Homestead land
<i>Bhokto</i>	Devotees
<i>Bhomor</i>	Augur
<i>Bhumihin</i>	Landless
<i>Bici</i>	Testicle
<i>Bij</i>	Seed breeding technology or Semen

<i>Bikolppo panna</i>	Alternative product
<i>Bit</i>	Bit
<i>Biyer badya</i>	Weeding music
<i>Biyer bajna</i>	Wedding music
<i>Borsha kal</i>	Rainy season
<i>Cakki Kath</i>	Wooden frame round the wheel
<i>Caluni</i>	Bolter
<i>Carar khaca</i>	bamboo enclosure to protect plant
<i>Casa</i>	Farmer or cultivator
<i>Chacerbera</i>	Fence made of bamboo
<i>Chagale chana</i>	Kitten
<i>Chaittramas</i>	The last month of Bengali year
<i>Chalani</i>	Sieve
<i>Chamarar gudam</i>	Leather warehouse
<i>Chamra dhora</i>	Catch burn or break the skin
<i>Chapano</i>	The act of pressing one thing on or into the surface of another
<i>Chasha</i>	Illiterate, uncouth, landless peasant
<i>Chatai</i>	Castrated
<i>Chetara</i>	Musical instrument
<i>Chip</i>	Fish line and hook
<i>Chokjola</i>	Burning in the eyes
<i>Chola</i>	Chickpea
<i>Choppal</i>	Slipper
<i>Choto dala</i>	Small-size bamboo made basket
<i>Chuck</i>	Round shaped wood
<i>Cokcok</i>	Glazed (making a surface shiny by putting a liquid substance onto it and leaving it or heating it until it dries)
<i>Copa</i>	Thump
<i>Dada</i>	It is a kinship term used among the Hindus in Bangladesh to address an elder brother
<i>Daka</i>	Call in
<i>Daka</i>	Mating time
<i>Dakadaki</i>	Call of duty
<i>Dala</i>	Small bamboo made basket
<i>Dala</i>	Tray
<i>Dali</i>	Bamboo made big size basket
<i>Damra</i>	Castrated bull
<i>Danka</i>	One kind of drum
<i>Danka</i>	One kind of drum
<i>Dari</i>	Rope
<i>Daripalla</i>	Weighing scales
<i>Data</i>	Matured male goat or ox
<i>Delpuja</i>	Four days long worship. On the first day of worship (Friday) the holy bath, worship of Hagra Tagore (Saturday), Niladul and date break (Sunday), and on the fourth day the festival will be celebrated and thus the worship will be completed.

<i>Desi chagale</i>	Indigenous variety of goat
<i>Dhak</i>	One kind of drum
<i>Dhal</i>	Shield
<i>Dhama</i>	Rattan
<i>Dhaner kura</i>	Bran
<i>Dhani</i>	The person who possesses lot of land
<i>Dhol</i>	Drum
<i>Dhol banano</i>	Making drums
<i>Dholok</i>	Drummer
<i>Dhoni</i>	Rich farmers, owning a vast amount of land and hire labour
<i>Dochala</i>	Two-sided roof
<i>Dol</i>	Large size basket
<i>Dolna</i>	Rocking cradle
<i>Dud atha</i>	<i>Dud atha or milk glue is made from the white amorphous phosphoprotein occurring naturally in milk. It is frequently used in carpentry and joinery.</i>
<i>Dugi</i>	Drums that are used in theater Musical instrument
<i>Durbaghas</i>	Grass
<i>Durgapuja</i>	DurgaPuja, also called Durgotsava and Navaratri, is an annual Hindu festival in the Indian subcontinent that reveres the goddess Durga. It is observed in the Hindu calendar month of <i>Ashvin</i> , typically September or October of the Gregorian calendar.
<i>Ekpan</i>	Counting unit (eighty pieces)
<i>Eregaru</i>	Male calf
<i>Gabar phelanor jhuri</i>	Bamboo made basket for collecting cow dung
<i>Ganbajna</i>	Music
<i>Gangpar</i>	River bank
<i>Garu</i>	Priest
<i>Gavin</i>	Pregnant
<i>Gerasta</i>	Rich farmer
<i>Gha</i>	Hit/press something
<i>Gharer cal meramater kaj</i>	Repairing thatch roof
<i>Gherina</i>	Hate
<i>Gol jhuri</i>	Round shaped bamboo made basket
<i>Gomer bhusi</i>	Wheat bran
<i>Gondho batash</i>	Stinking air
<i>Gorib</i>	Poor, landless people
<i>Gorom howa</i>	Heat wave
<i>Gorom kal</i>	Summer
<i>Goru/ Chagole ar bichi</i>	Testicle of cow or goat
<i>Gurikath</i>	Root wood is the essential, fundamental or primary part or nature of something. It may be any part such as a rhizome or tuber that is similar to root in structure, function or appearance
<i>Guti</i>	Cube
<i>Haldi dala jhuri</i>	Bamboo made basket that is used for smashing/processing the

	turmeric
<i>Halun</i>	Young female-goat
<i>Halun chagale</i>	Young she goat
<i>Hasmurgi dhakar khaca</i>	Cage of duck and chicken
<i>Hat a hat a</i>	Selling the product by moving from one market to another
<i>Hatdhol</i>	Hand drum
<i>Jabarkata</i>	Chewing food while the animals are taking rest
<i>Jagadhatari puja</i>	Jagadhatari worship
<i>Jhap</i>	makeshift door
<i>Jhuri</i>	Basket
<i>Jhuri</i>	Basket
<i>Joggo</i>	Joggo worship
<i>Joggopuja</i>	Joggo is a worship of fire god
<i>Juta selay</i>	Shoe mending
<i>Juta shelay</i>	Making shoes
<i>Kabu haoya</i>	Become feeble
<i>Kacamal</i>	Raw materials
<i>Kalochagal</i>	Black goat
<i>Kanca bas</i>	Green bamboo
<i>Kanci</i>	Special kind of Scissor that is used for preparing the raw materials
<i>Kanka</i>	Musical instrument
<i>Kari</i>	Earthen pot
<i>Kasai</i>	Butcher
<i>Kasi</i>	Musical instrument
<i>Katcha chamra</i>	Raw skin
<i>Kather baksa</i>	Wooden Box
<i>Kather cauki</i>	Wooden stool
<i>Kather piri</i>	Stool
<i>Kavigan</i>	The traditional song sung in a competitive mode by two groups of singers
<i>Khaci/ Khaca</i>	container made of bamboo
<i>Khail</i>	Oil cake
<i>Khajna</i>	Annual land tax
<i>Khalipet</i>	Empty stomach
<i>Kharcapati</i>	Expenses
<i>Kharkuto</i>	Straw
<i>Kharoi</i>	Bamboo made fish pot
<i>Khasikora</i>	Animal castration
<i>Khatuni</i>	Toil
<i>Khejurpata</i>	Date palm
<i>Khole</i>	Hole
<i>Kholer hari</i>	The earthen pot that is used inside the drum
<i>Khomak</i>	Cracker
<i>Khud-saul</i>	Small piece of rice formed during milling of paddy (particle of rice)

<i>Khusra</i>	Retail
<i>Kirtan</i>	Religious song
<i>Krishok</i>	Farmer
<i>Kula</i>	Winnowing-fan
<i>Kula</i>	Winnowing fan
<i>Kuredhol</i>	Small size drum
<i>Kutu</i>	Straw
<i>Laksmir hari</i>	Small size rattan that is used for worship purpose
<i>Lathi</i>	Stick
<i>Lobon lagano</i>	Add salt
<i>Lokkohon</i>	Symptoms
<i>Macdharar cabi</i>	Bamboo made Indigenous instrument for catching fish
<i>Macdharar ghunci</i>	Bamboo made enclosure for catching fish
<i>Macherkata</i>	Fish bone
<i>Maharam utsab</i>	Maharam festival
<i>Majhaya byatha</i>	Waist pain
<i>Mal</i>	Goods
<i>Manasa puja</i>	Snake worship
<i>Mantrapath</i>	Recitation from scriptures
<i>Mara jinis khaoya</i>	Eat dead things
<i>Matha byatha</i>	Headache
<i>Mati tola jhuri</i>	Mud carrying bamboo made basket
<i>Matir hari</i>	Earthen pot
<i>Matir kari</i>	Soil clay that is used for making the drum
<i>Mela</i>	Village fair
<i>Mihi dhaner kura</i>	Fine powder-like substance that comes off while separating chaff from rice
<i>Mokam</i>	Local big market
<i>Mompalish</i>	Wax polish
<i>Mora</i>	Cane chair
<i>Muchi</i>	Cobbler
<i>Mukhysukhya</i>	Illiterate
<i>Muli, talla baira</i>	Different varieties of bamboo
<i>Munafa</i>	Profit
<i>Nagadkari</i>	Cash
<i>Naksi kantha</i>	Naksi kantha common Kanthar on the various kinds of special type made quilt design
<i>Napak</i>	Unholy or profane
<i>Narambajar</i>	Dull market
<i>Nicukaj</i>	Low paid jobs
<i>Niramis</i>	Vegetarian
<i>Ohbhab ar somoy</i>	Lean period
<i>Osukh</i>	Illness
<i>Paatlaa</i>	Bill-hook; sickle; chopper
<i>Pakhir khaca</i>	Cage of bird
<i>Palo</i>	Bamboo made indigenous instrument for catching fish

<i>Paner boroz</i>	Field of betel leaf
<i>Panicuni</i>	Means of subsistence
<i>Pasam</i>	wool
<i>Pata</i>	One type of bamboo made enclosure that is used for catching fish
<i>Patha Chagole</i>	He goats
<i>Pathaboli</i>	Sacrifice of goat
<i>Pathaowala</i>	He-goat owner
<i>Pathi</i>	Small size rattan
<i>Phita</i>	Ribbon
<i>Phuldani</i>	Flower vase
<i>Posa</i>	Pet
<i>Prothom parikharthi</i>	Students taking public exams for the first time
<i>Pujaparban</i>	Religious festivals
<i>Pujipata</i>	Capital
<i>Pulak</i>	Delight
<i>Raudre paye paye ghora</i>	Moving on foot in the sun
<i>Rin</i>	Loan
<i>Rujirojgar</i>	Daily earning
<i>Samaj</i>	It refers to a supra kin-based organization which has socio-political importance
<i>Sanai</i>	Musical instrument that is used during the marriage ceremony
<i>Sanaibasi</i>	Flute that is normally played on during wedding
<i>Sara bachar</i>	Round the year
<i>Saradin</i>	All day long
<i>Sarajiban</i>	Life long
<i>Saramulya</i>	High price or sacrifice (unclear)
<i>Selai</i>	Stitch , sewing
<i>Shakti</i>	Power
<i>Shit kal</i>	Winter
<i>Showkin</i>	delicate
<i>Shraddo</i>	Funeral rite
<i>Sibpuja</i>	Sib worship
<i>Sika</i>	A kind of fine handiwork made of jute hung from wall or ceiling
<i>Silli pathor</i>	Silli stone
<i>Silpata</i>	hail-stones in two pieces, which are mainly used for press
<i>Silpi jagat</i>	Artist world
<i>Srabanti</i>	Auditory
<i>Sraddha</i>	funeral ceremony
<i>Suc</i>	Needle
<i>Sudras</i>	People belong to the lowest position in the ladder of caste system
<i>Sun pathor</i>	Sun stone
<i>Talla bas</i>	Specific kind of bamboo (polymorph bamboo)
<i>Telpani pora</i>	Charmed oil and water
<i>Teri kath</i>	Teri wood is used for making drum
<i>Thana</i>	A small administrative unit with a police station; Bangladesh is divided into 570 thanas

<i>Totamukhi</i>	Foreign variety of she-goat
<i>Totamukhi patha chagale</i>	Foreign variety of goat
<i>Tuktak</i>	Trifle things
<i>Union Parishad</i>	The smallest administrative unit comprised of several villages; Bangladesh has 6888 Union Parishads
<i>Vedh</i>	Ancient literature on Hinduism especially on the basis of various religious songs that were written by several authors
<i>Vhorapet</i>	Filled stomach
<i>Videavad</i>	Discrimination
<i>Vishwakarma Puja</i>	Vishwakarma Puja is a Hindu religious festival. This worship is held in the hope of the god of the world
<i>Vitemati</i>	A tiny piece of land with a hut and small belongings
<i>Wajmahfil</i>	Wajmahfil is a religious gathering of the Muslims where clerics deliver sermons

CHAPTER 1

Problem and Understanding of the Dalit Community

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Statement of the Problem
- 1.3 Historical Background of *Dalit* Community
- 1.4 Objectives of the Study
- 1.5 Rationale of the Study
- 1.6 Scope of the Study
- 1.7 Theoretical Framework
- 1.8 Theoretical Issues
- 1.9 Conceptual Definition of Important Issues
- 1.10 Conclusion

Bangladesh is 158.9 million with a land size of only 147,570 km². This country forms part of the

South Asia, bordering the Bay of Bengla, in the south and sharing land boundaries with Burma and India in the east. With such geographical distribution Bangladesh has diversified cultural communities. But certain communities in Bangladesh especially *Dalits* are historically prone to exclusion that makes them extremely vulnerable. Many *Dalit* communities especially the Rishi people in Bangladesh with diverse occupational categories, cultural identities and ethnicities constitute a potential and yet a marginal lot. These groups are victims of human right violation, limited employment opportunities, fragile livelihoods and low social identity and status. If Bangladesh is to live up to the agenda of SDG the slogan of which is” Leave No One Behind”, Bangladesh will have to address the obstacles faced by *Dalit* communities on an urgent basis. If the present study can create a congenial atmosphere for marketing the products of *Dalit,s* especially the Rishi people, they can play a significant role to achieve SDGs by 2030. In the first chapter, the statement of problem is discussed. An overview of historical background of *Dalit* Community, objectives, rationale and scope of the study, theoretical framework and issues, conceptual definition of the issue are discussed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Anthropological research, or for that matter, any empirical research begins with the selection of a problem related to this man and society. The research problem that the anthropologist selects, guides him/her through the entire course of research. This study attempts to give a systematic and elaborate description of a particular *Dalit* community (Rishi) through multiple voices. Their traditional products and services have diverse and profound impact on socio-economic aspects of Bangladesh thus making substantial contribution to rural economy of our country. Nevertheless, the lives of the Rishi community represent a tale of unmitigated misery, neglect, discrimination, deprivation and marginalization. Therefore, some of their stories are recorded below:

His name was Nirmal. He is 48 years old, traditionally he is very skilful to make and repair various kinds of cane products particularly he can weave different cane products used in households like *dhama*, *pathi*, *pilay*, (big, medium and small size basket) scales and so on. He informed:

Now-a-days I cannot rely solely on selling cane products for running my family affairs as the customers of cane product prefer *bikolppo panna* (alternative product). At present most of the time I work in *paner boroz* (field of betel leaf). Only in the lean period (*Ohbhab ar somoy*) of betel leaf cultivation particularly in the month of December, January and February, I engage

myself in making cane products. I am observing that as the economic conditions of people are changing, the choice of people is also changing. Now- a- days people are showing their interest in using the cane furniture or cane products such as rack, rocking cradle, stool, bench, partition, flower vase and many decorative commodities. If I get training now when cane products are much in demand, I will be able to contribute in this field. By taking training I can produce this type of commodities. For doing that, on one hand, cane cultivation should be accelerated and on the other hand, marketing of cane products as well as the facilities of micro savings should be expanded. I believe that if the government introduces this kind of system, it will ultimately help the cane artisans overcome their marginality. Otherwise cane artisans of Rishi community will be endangered soon.

When I asked Champa Rani Das how long she has been engaged in making handicrafts using date leaf she answered:

About 14 years, I am associated with crafting activity. Actually I am a producer of palm leaf basketry. I can make drum, *srabanti*, box set, tray, pots, bucket, small round bowl set, coin set, round basket with handle, flower vase, worship pot and so on. My husband is basically a farmer and a raw skin dealer. I have acquired this skill from a local NGO to help my family affair. I observe that this type of work can operate around the year and to carry on this occupation there is no need for higher education. In the leisure time, normally I make different showpieces using date leaves.

Mithun Sharker Gora (28) is the owner of five different varieties of he-goats like Australian, Indian, Nepali, cross and local variety. Gora mentioned:

My grandfather was involved in this profession for about 20 years and he had only one he goat. I have been running my business for 6 to 7 years. Normally I do not keep the male goats after providing one year's service. I believe that after one year service the male goat can be affected by many diseases. In the month of August (during the snake worship) I sell them in Chittagong. Male goats are very much delicate (*showkin*), they can fall ill for trifle causes even due to the change of weather also. But I do not consider these issues as a big problem, actually I would like to make my business more dynamic in collaboration with the government animal hospitals, I want to contribute a lot in the arena of mutton production through providing the quality semen.

Castration business is the main means of earning source of Kongso who has been castrating cattle successfully over 55 years. He particularly focused:

I can castrate sheep, horse, pig, cock and so on but I never castrate the dog as it is the best friend of man. I think among two types of castrations [castration with a knife (blood) and castration with *burdizzo* (no blood)]. Knife method is easier and more successful and the wound heals (get better) very quickly. By using knife, every day I castrate more than 10 he goats and on an average I castrate 4 to 5 bull per day. I have no formal education, traditionally I learnt this skill from my father or grandfather and during my whole life no accident has occurred so far in my hands. However I think that there is no end of learning in the digital era. Veterinarians from animal hospitals can provide better training regarding our traditional knife method that can ultimately help to produce more cattle meats. This opportunity can create many permanent or institution-based job facilities.

Krisnapado Das (45) is the owner of footwear craft. He mentioned

For starting footwear factory, one needs to have license which costs a million. As a Rishi, I fail to manage this huge amount of money and in this respect if the government helps me to getting license at free cost, I will be able to build a big factory where many traditional shoe craftsmen will get the pay. I cannot run my business round the year at the same position. Sometimes I face the capital problem. Sometimes when I sell on wholesale, the buyer does not pay on time. If I have a big show room with well decorated furniture in Khulna and other cities, I can make more profit.

Entirely depending upon bamboo crafts activity Nitypado Das (47) lead his daily family affair. He mentioned:

By using my own hand and some scissors (2 to 3 type), I can make all kinds of bamboo made products. I can prepare different types of cages, fences; bamboo sticks (*sola*), baskets, fish catching traps, many materials that are used for different domestic purposes. It is my traditional belief that all the surrounding people hate us as a Rishi, even they do not choose our products and for this reason, we should try hard to overcome this social barrier or belief. And in this regard, I particularly focus on entrepreneurship development and proper utilization of self

generated labour among the Rishi community through utilizing modern technology, actually in bamboo craft those who will invest more labour, they will be more benefited.

Sukumar Das (60) is a maker of various rhythm instruments. Regarding the making of musical instrument he got a lot of practical training from his parents. He mentioned:

The customers of musical instrument are fewer. In rural areas basically the buyers of musical instruments are Hindus. However, the number of buyers is increasing day by day in the city areas. During the rainy season (*borsha kal*) the return is very low and that time I bear my family expenses by taking loan. In the month of *Chaitra* I begin to earn a little and start to pay my previous loans. Actually I am trapped in this vicious cycle around the year. Thus as I have no capital, I have no dream. By my earning, I can barely survive with my family. Demand of musical instruments comes from various places, but constraints of working capital have restricted the supply chain. On the other hand, they do not want to provide any advance; they claim that after my supplying the musical instrument they will pay the fair prices.

Bidhan Chandra Das is now 40 years old. His main occupation is to repair and polish the foot wears. For running his petty business he starts his journey in the morning at 7 am and returns home at about 7 or 8 pm. Laying out a sack, normally he sits in a corridor of the local market. He has been engaged in this profession during the last 25 years. Besides footwear repairing, he is also experienced in three types of polish such as mixture, candle and burnish polish. He particularly mentioned:

These works are basically the works of skilled hand, instead of machine. I have no formal training but I assume that footwear glazing is an art which totally depends on the own knowledge or brain. But I am in a dilemma during the lean period or in the rainy season whether I will have to continue payment or purchase rice. I cherish to arrange a permanent sitting place for myself where I can run business of my own choice and during the lean period I can run the tea stall along with his traditional business.

Rabindra Nath, leather merchant, he highlighted

My father and forefathers dealt in the leather business also. At just 15 years of age, I am associated with this business. Now I am 50 years old, I purchase skins from the market and for

processing this skin I use salt for preservation. Then within one week I sell these skins in the big whole seller skin market at Natore. Many people think that by investing money in short time, many returns may come from the skin business during the *Eid-Ul-Adha*. For this reason may new or inexperienced businessmen become more available to invest at this time. Actually they purchase the skin at a high price but sell it at a low price. But I take the appropriate decision by observing the whole situation of skin market during the Eid-ul-Adha.

Dalit Product means the ways of labour of *Dalit* for producing different kinds of goods. As a Dalit community, most of the Rishis are engaged in producing different types of products like Nirmal, Champa, Mithun, Kongso, Krisnapado, Nitypado, Sukumar, Bidhan Chandra and Rabindra Nath with taking limited resources, supports and interventions.

In order to contextualize the research, it is necessary to have a brief overview of *Dalit*, untouchability or social stigma and their products in Bangladesh. As the prime focus of the present study is on the *Dalit* product, the operational definition of *Dalit* product should be conceptually clear. “*Dalit* Product” means the ways of spending labour of *Dalit* for producing different kinds of goods like handicrafts, leather products etc. by them and these products are related to the society in multiple ways. They suffer from very poor housing and lack of employment opportunities, though they have a long occupational or cultural heritage status.

Bangladesh is a middle income country in the world with 142.31 million people living in a land area of 147,570 square kilometres, the density of population is 964 people per square kilometre (Bangladesh Population Census 2011). Around 90 percent people are Muslims, while the rest include Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, ethnic people and *Dalits*.

The term “*Dalit*” has different meanings for different people. The most common use of the term is to define people who were once known as “untouchables”, separated from the rest of society by the caste system. Caste may be defined as a small and named group of persons characterised by endogamy, hereditary member-pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system (Beteille, 2011:46). Most *Dalit* groups have their own traditional knowledge, skill and technology and such inherent occupational skills are the only way for many *Dalits* to solve their hand-to-mouth problems.

The word '*Dalit*' in Bangladesh is of recent adaption, and thus not yet well known. Before that, the Bengali term *Antaj* was used to refer to the untouchable community. Even that term, however, did not get widespread adoption. This point indicates that the *Dalit* movement is still in its infancy in Bangladesh. The *Dalits* are one of the largest socially isolated groups in Bangladesh likewise anywhere in the South Asia. Not only the economic plight and vulnerabilities; *Dalits* are marginally pushed untouchables in the dominant society. Their problems and sufferings are different from the mainstream poor class community. But most of the *Dalit* people are known to the mainstream people for their occupational or traditional skills that are generally considered to be menial by the mainstream people. In the past, people used local knowledge, skill and technology to perpetuate their lives which are called traditional knowledge, skill and technology. The importance of traditional knowledge, skill and technology is - they preserve our culture, tradition etc. Their goods are cheaper and easily available as they're produced locally environmental friendly and durable and are base for modern technology. Cultures, traditions, and technology are being modified as per the changing pace of time.

Unfortunately, all of these occupations associated with *Dalits* are considered to be of low social status. Most of these skilful people are not receiving fair value and social respect for their work and their economic status is thus poor. In recent days, due to the disrespect of their arts and skills, many *Dalits* are giving up their occupation, which is further worsening their livelihoods. In addition, lack of modernization and limited access to markets has diminished their occupations. Globalization and the flood of cheap international products have further threatened the *Dalits'* traditional occupations. Developing social respect for these occupations of *Dalits* and making them competitive in the market is a challenging issue for changing their economic and social status.

There is no specific data on *Dalit* people in Bangladesh. According to International *Dalit* Solidarity Network (IDSN), there are 5.5 million *Dalit* people belonging 94 categories live in Bangladesh (IDSN, 2006). According to Bangladesh Poverty Map 2010 (based on the Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2010 Data), the poverty head count rate of Satkhira district is 46.3%. This district is the 9th most poverty prone districts among the 64 districts of Bangladesh. One of the key reasons for this is that a big number of *Dalits* who belong to extreme poverty line, live in this district. Uttaran (a local NGO) conducted a survey in 1996 and the survey team

mentioned that some 20 minority groups of people settled in 317 villages Debhata and Tala Thanas of Satkhira district and Dumuria Thana of Khulna district. Total number of these groups was 175685 and the number of household was 28170 (Rahman Reza Shamsur, 1996). the name of 20 different communities are *Rishi, Kaiputra, Behera, Nekari, Jele, Namosudra, Pundrakhaistra, Dai, Dhopa, Hazam, Sikari, Rajbongshi, Munda, Bhogobania, Paroi, Rosuea, Bajonder, Shahajee, Patne* and *Teli*. Paritrans (a local NGO working in South West part of Bangladesh) mentioned that out of total Dalit's communities, the dominant community is Rishi and nearly 0.5 million Rishis are found in the southwest part of Bangladesh especially Jessore, Khulna and Satkhira district. Among these districts the highest numbers of *Dalits* are found in Satkhira. And in Satkhira district, the highest number of *Dalits* is found in Tala Upazala. Nearly 21,387 Rishis are found in Tala Upazila and out of them 10816 are female and 10571 are male (Annual Report of Paritrans (Local NGO), 2010, Satkhira).

Dalits have very lower access to capital assets. Negative attitude towards *Dalits* even spills over into the micro-credit programmes that have made Bangladesh world famous as a pioneer in the fight against poverty (Rahman, 2009). *Dalits*, having neither permanent jobs nor land for dwellings find it difficult to form groups and save the required small amounts every week for micro finance. They have often been termed "the missing communities", missing that is, in the development agendas of both government and non-government agencies (Annual Report, Bhumija Foundation 2012). *Dalits* in Bangladesh are also neglected by mainstream international development initiatives. This reflects that there is not enough promotion of *Dalit* livelihood options and problem beyond the Indian Subcontinent, they are politically disconnected and the dominant community and victim of dehumanizing social indifference.

The study shows that Rishi community is a self-attributed designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as untouchable and unsuitable for making personal relations. In the context of traditional Hindu society, the status of Rishi community has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as leathery work, butchering, or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses, and waste etc. Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individual, and this pollution was considered as contagious. As a result, Rishi community was commonly segregated, and banned from full participation in Hindu Social life. Father Luigi Paggi (1990: 03) expresses in his book "A Study of Rishi Community" that no word

evokes such bad feelings as that of Rishi because it refers to a group often described among other things as impure, dirty, trivial, uncivilized, greedy and pagan. This description is closely connected with their traditional occupations. Traditionally they handle animal skin, make and polish shoe, remove dirty things and also produce different handicrafts by using skin, cane and bamboo in their domestic sphere. For keeping the social harmony these types of works are crucial for our society.

In the long past, the Rishi community had a monopoly role for serving the mass people. But they were marginalized and their socio-economic condition was not viable. Their monthly income range is hardly 1001 to 2000 taka (Rahman, 2009:147). For plastic and tannery based commodities, their traditional occupation is on the verge of threat. They are now squeezing in our country. It is good news that in the globalization era many people are trying to search for their products as a natural form. In this respect, this group can play a significant role to uplift their per-capita income which will help to fulfil the Goal-1 and 2 of SDG that is intended to eradicate poverty and hunger through achieving productive employment for all, including women and young people.

From the Marxian perspective, class differences depend on the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production. The propertied classes because of their ownership of the means of production suppress the proletariat or non-propertied classes who have no access to the means of production. The Rishi communities of Bangladesh are being exploited not only because of their lower economic position; they are being exploited because of the lower ranking ascribed by the Hindu religious codes. Max Weber analyzed social stratification based on three social elements-class, status and power. Class means economic class which is further subdivided into three groups-upper, middle and lower class. Economic position is linked with status and power. Power means basically political power (Chowdhury, 1978). Judging the prevailing situation among the *Dalits* of the southwestern part of Bangladesh from the view point of Karl Marx and Max Weber, we may say that their economic situations as well as ascribed social position are equally responsible for their lowered, social position in the society as well as their lack of access to the available social and economic facilities. In this context if we can introduce their occupation based traditional knowledge and expertise to the

market, it will enable them to improve their potentiality. But, at the same time, we have to create a social space for them where there is no social discrimination.

This study will make an attempt to highlight their traditional knowledge, problem and prospect and promotion of their products in domestic as well as the international market. But their product is suffering the social stigma and face difficulties entering into the global market. Therefore, there is a need to initiate to find out the problem of social stigma for mainstreaming their product to achieving 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets particularly goal 1 (no poverty), 2 (zero hunger), 3 (good health and wellbeing), 5 (gender equity), 8 (decent work and economic growth), 9 (industry innovation and infrastructure), 10 (reduced inequalities) and 17 (partnership for goals).

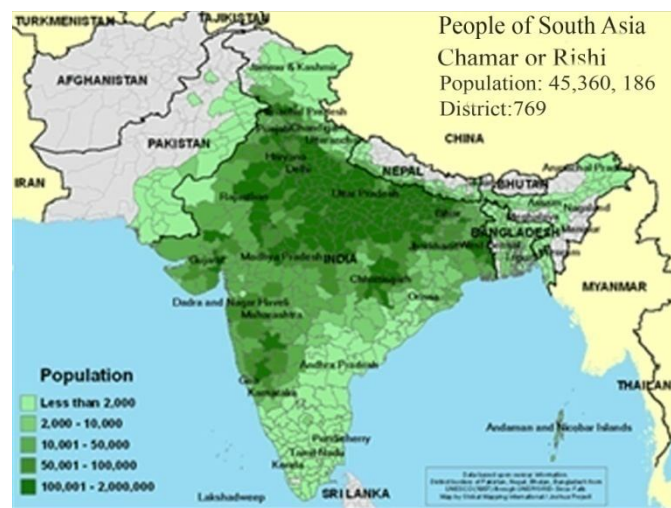
This collective journey has at its heart a promise to leave no one behind (UN, 2017). Undoubtedly the key to achieving the SDGs is to unlock the wisdom, creativity and productivity of the one billion individuals currently living in poverty – the vast majority of whom live in rural areas (Coonrod, 2016). Identification of major products of *Dalits* people and their contribution on the society and economy of Bangladesh is of paramount importance. Therefore to initiate any sustainable development program among the *Dalits* removing social stigma and establishing entrepreneurship with a view to mainstreaming the *Dalit* product is very important. This is the time to address and solve the problem by analyzing the empirical data.

This statement of the problem has to be developed and designed on the basis of bottom up approach for identifying the problem of the Rishi community about how they manage their problems. As an Anthropological research, the study has adopted a narrative approach to develop the statement of problem of the study. The problems of Dalits have been arranged systematically and scientifically to explore and explain by applying the appropriate tools and techniques from the anthropological point of view. It is mentionable that an attempt has been made to cover their problems holistically.

1.3 Historical Background of *Dalit* Community

Historically *Dalits* as we know today incited from the beginning of Aryans invasion in the Indian sub-continent. It received a major thrust from the Gupta period and got established by the 13th

century. The people who are identified *Dalit* are not still allowed to build up their residence nearer to the settlement of non-*Dalit* population; even they are not allowed to use common sources of water or food. This unsociability is usually found among the people of *Dalits*. If we want to understand the *Dalit* we have to understand the Hindu caste system. “Properly speaking, the full complex of attitudes, beliefs and activities that comprise caste are found only in India, although some of the processes inherent in the institutions are far more general” (Murphy, 1986:159). Caste stratification in Hindu community is based on *Varnasram* and there are four broad-based castes among the Hindu population, which are *Brahman*, *Khastriya*, *Vaishhayas* and *Sudras*. It is believed that among these major four castes the first two are the elites and the last two are the service provider groups. Again among the *Vaishhayas* and *Sudras*, the later caste is in the lowest position of the ladder in the caste system. These *Sudras* are considered as *Dalits*. It is considered as a sin to touch the *Sudras* or even to step on the shadow of the *Sudras*. The *Sudras* again divided into different sub-groups. Culturally they are so much neglected that they have always remained alienated from greater society. As a consequence, these *Dalit* people could never assert their inherent rights or demand and historically remained ever neglected by the greater community population.



Map-1: Map Chamar or Rishi of South Asia

Dalit-based social stratification is only found in the Indian culture. Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, values, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, Edward, 1920:1). We also trace some similar elements of social stratification in other parts of the world. But it solely depends on caste

system in India's social structure. And there is huge debate on penetration of caste into the social systems. Against this backdrop, we will discuss the origin and development of caste, the initiatives that were undertaken against it, current status of the developments and also explore if there is any way out.

The Indus Valley Civilization is also known as the Harappan Civilization, as the first of its cities to be unearthed was located at Harappa, excavated in the 1920s in what was at the time the Punjab province of British India and now in Pakistan. The people of the Indus Civilization achieved great accuracy in measuring length, mass, and time. They were among the first to develop a system of uniform weights and measures. A comparison of available objects indicates large scale variation across the Indus territories. Their smallest division, which is marked on an ivory scale found in Lothal, was approximately 1.704 mm, the smallest division ever recorded on a scale of the Bronze Age. Harappan engineers followed the decimal division of measurement for all practical purposes, including the measurement of mass as revealed by their hexahedron weights (Feuerstein and other, 2001:73). After the abolition of Indus-valley civilization within two or three hundred years, Aryans invaded the Indian subcontinent. After settlement, Aryans concentrated on the expansion of settlements and cultural development. Many scholars assumed that the *Veda* (ancient literature on Hinduism) was made in this process that took almost five hundred years. In fact, *Veda* was published on the basis of various religious songs that were written by several authors. During these five hundred years, society was known as the *Vaidic* society that does not feature any caste system. This caste-based system was introduced in the last era of *Veda* especially at the time of 1000 BC. Subsequently we did not find any *Veda*. Depend on this timeframe, the Brahmins begun to write many religious books and thus the *Vaidic* society had transformed into a religion-driven values for a society.

It is important to know that the root cause of *Dalit* based hierarchy system was based on *Varnasram* (caste systems). Popular belief was that *Brahmins* and *Khatriyas* were the elites deserving service from the rest two castes. Again, among the *Vaishayas* and *Sudras*, the later caste was in the lowest position of the caste ladder in the caste system which is usually known as *Dalits*. It was only during the later period that this caste-based social position was determined by birth – especially on the concept of religious purity and pollution. However, to

sustain this caste-based system, the Aryan Brahmins took many regular initiatives believed to be pathfinders of the caste-based tradition. These beliefs are discussed below

Endogamy marriage: Endogamy marriage is the social rule that requires individuals to marry within a culturally defined group of which they are members (E Adamson Hoebel & Thomas Weaver, 1979:377). Social or religious leaders assumed that if marriage was not allowed within the same clan, it was impossible to protect caste ‘purity’. So they attributed some rules and regulation on endogamy marriage. And this rule was imposed upon women population.

Early marriage: Another way to keep the caste system was to arrange for the daughter’s marriage at very early age – even before puberty. Early marriage can be defined as any marriage carried out below the age of 18 years, before the girl is physically, physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibility of marriage and child birth (Steaming Girls’ Chronic Poverty, Chronic Poverty Research Council:2010). If the marriage was arranged within this stage, they believed, there is no need to consult the women for decision.

Satidah: Early and endogamy marriages saw a rise in the percentage of women becoming widows. Leaders in the society thought if these widows begun to interact with members from other clans, it would be impossible to protect the pure-caste system. As a result, Brahmins started the practice of burning widows on their husbands’ pyre. This is known as *Satidah Protha*.

Widow marriage: A widow is a woman whose spouse has died, while a widower is a man whose spouse has died. The state of having lost one's spouse to death is termed *widowhood*. This term can be used for either sex, at least according to some dictionaries, but the word *widowhood* is also listed in some dictionaries. Occasionally, the word *viduity* is used. The adjective form for either sex is *widowed*. The treatment of widows around the world varies, but unequal benefits and treatment generally received by widows versus widowers globally has spurred an interest in the issue by human rights activists. Marriage of widows was prohibited for protecting caste-based system. And separate rules and regulations were attributed to the widows.

Separation of marriage: As per religious codes, polygyny marriage was accepted but any practice of separation or divorce was not tolerated because divorced women, they thought, ran the probability of mixing with members from other clans, thereby threatening the structure of the

caste-based society. Polygyny (meaning many wives in Greek) involves a recognized marriage between a man and two or more women (Victor Barnauw, 1978:97). In this situation a woman had no alternative to her husband. As a result, we still do not find any incident of divorce or separation among Hindus.

Inherited rule and the deprivation of women: Inheritance is the practice of passing on property, titles, debts, rights and obligations upon the death of an individual. It has long played an important role in human societies. The rules of inheritance differ between societies and have changed over time. Social leaders thought that if women became owner of asset through the inheritance law, they would be empowered. So it was thought better to deprive women from their inherited property.

Uponisad: *Veda* was divided into activity level and practical level. *Brahmins* supported the level of activity; they strongly believed that religion meant rigorous adherence to set activities. *Uponisad* was the first revolution against this social system and also to behavioural and mental change. The main philosophy of *Uponisad* was that actual knowledge was the image of God. And that through gaining ‘proper knowledge’, one can meet God – a consummation where all earthly discriminations were insignificant. There was no place of worship or caste in the philosophy of *Uponisad*.

Brahmmo religion: Raja Rammohon Roy was the founder of *Brahmmo samaj/society*. The followers of this society strongly protested the monuments of worship and the patterns of *Vedh* study. During Roy’s rule, general mass was not allowed to study the *Vedh*.

Buddho religion: To protect Hinduism, *Buddho* religion was emerged. As philosophy, *Buddho* religion spread among the common people and the main principle of this religion was to obey some moral behaviours. The mission of this philosophy was to build a peaceful society with no discrimination. In later stage, however, *Buddho* religion began retreating to the previous state of Hinduism.

Sufism: Building on love, affection, humanism and equity, a great philosophy developed in Bangladesh. History marks the rise as Sufism. The followers of Sufism constructed many ponds, roads, houses, shelters for the well-being of the commons. As a result, people, especially the ones from lower caste or socially ignored, got along with this philosophy.

Boisnab religion: To counter Sufism, *Baisnab* religion surfaced in the Indian subcontinent. Many scholars assumed that the main vision of this new doctrine was to protect the traditional Hindu religion. Sree Chaitonno Dev implemented this doctrine which was full of the passionate love of Krishna. Uttering the name of Krishna was the main principle of this era though, gradually, the concept of caste penetrated into this doctrine as well.

Humanism: In the middle age, some renowned persons emphasised more on 'the human' ignoring any particular religion or philosophy. The philosophy was based on love, humanism and denotation of God.

Boul community: The people of the *Boul* community introduced new philosophy against the caste-based system. This philosophy did not keep room for caste-based stratification. Underlying principle was that all human were equal and the spiritual consciousness was the main power to remove the social dogma and social inequality.

To remove the caste-system or dogma against the so-called '*Dalits*', various reformative movements were held. As a result, these movements were treated later on as political agenda.

The reformative movements were as follows:

- Spread of woman education against the abolition of *Satidah protha*, early marriage etc.
- *Matua* community started '*Namosudras* movement' against 'higher caste' Hindu during 1872-1873
- The role of Ram Krishna, Vivekananda were notable to sustain the existence of Hindu community when this society was divided into many segments by various social groups or social movements. They acknowledged the monumental worship and urged the people to show the positive attitudes towards women and the so-called untouchable community.
- The followers of Aryan-based *Vaidic* society maintained that they accepted the four caste of *Veda* but they denied the concept of social stratification or untouchability.
- Based on caste system, the first census of India was conducted in 1881. Generally, census is conducted on the basis of education, occupation or socio-economic condition. Later on, the so-called 'untouchable' or *Namosudra* people complained to British ruler that they were not *Chandal*, but that they were Sudras. As a result, the 'Report of 1911' accepted the term Sudras instead of *Chandal*.

- In the law of British Administration, a separate election system was implemented on the basis of communal sentiment. As a result, separate election system was introduced for various minority communities in India.
- In 1920, Mahatma Gandhi called non-cooperative movement encompassing 11 agenda. And one of the major agenda was to remove all forms of 'untouchable'.
- In 1927, the Nehru Committee provided many recommendations about reserved seats for various communities such as majority and minority group. This committee also ensured the constitutional guarantee for the advancement of education and economic progress for the so-called 'backward' community.
- As per rule of Indian Administration of 1935, the Governor General and the Provincial Governor General executed some considerable power and maintained some specific responsibilities such as protection of the legal rights of minority communities.
- After the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, Indian Constitution was implemented with the direct leadership of *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar* with a proposal to form a commission for the development of 'backward class' according to Article 340. In 1953, following a formation of a Commission comprising of 11 members, the group submitted a report that clearly identified a vast portion of people as 'backward' or lower class.
- In 1949, Pakistan General Assembly proposed some decision making issues which were considered as the foundation of their constitution writing. These proposals were identified as collective ideology; a proposal clearly mentioned that in Pakistan they were determined to protect the independence of the minority communities so that they could perform their religious activity according to their own choice and also developed their own cultural identity.
- The Mandal Commission, or the Socially Backward Classes Commission (SEBC), was established in India with a mandate to "identify the socially or educationally backward classes" of India. It was headed by the late B.P. Mandal an Indian parliamentarian, to consider the question of reservations for people to redress caste discrimination, and used eleven social, economic, and educational indicators to determine backwardness. In 1980, based on its rationale that OBCs (Other Backward Classes) identified on the basis of caste, economic and social indicators comprised 51% of India's population, the Commission's report recommended that members of OBC be granted reservations to 27

per cent of jobs under the Central government and public sector undertakings, thus making the total number of reservations for SC, ST and OBC to 49%.

The perception of general people about Dalit is deeply rooted in their socio-religious life pattern. We can find some negative attitudes towards *Dalits* people in the behaviour of so-called humanists. In fact, enculturation is a complex process, which was naturally not accomplished in a day but rather was a life-long process (Rahman, 2009). The *Dalit* people, traditionally, are identified with some abusive words used by neighbours. Through a bevy of theatrical performances, movies and books related to the lifestyle of the '*Dalit*', the condition of *Dalit* has changed, yet their socio-economic condition as well as their human rights condition is still alarming.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to assess the present socio-economic condition of Rishi community in detail. The specific objectives of the study are:

- i) to assess the present socio-economic condition of Rishi community;
- ii) to identify the traditional knowledge and skills possessed by the Rishi community;
- iii) to identify the key barriers to improve their occupation;
- iv) to know the way for enhancing their income by using their knowledge in the perception of people about their occupation;
- v) to develop strategies to improve their professionalism to perform their activities in more scientific, hygienic and socially respectable ways; and
- vi) to suggest policy recommendations for the professional development of Rishi

1.5 Rationale of the Study

The available information on *Dalits* in Bangladesh is mostly on their social and historical trajectories, lack of their access to basic services and the nature of their marginalization and its processes. However, research on *Dalits* in relation to a broader social, cultural and economic process is rare. No attempt has been made to understand the inner dynamics of *Dalit's* product and their potentialities that is important for any future program intervention. The present study provides systematic qualitative information about traditionally skilled *Dalits* residing in the south western part of Bangladesh especially in Tala Upazila under Satkhira district. This study has been designed to provide qualitative as well as analytical information for understanding their

products. It is expected that findings of this study will provide input to undertake an appropriate program for Dalits' product in future.

To achieve a truly national existence the state should consider the diverse human society positively and give equal opportunity to all. In this respect, this study will help to formulate a non-discriminatory society by proper and scientific investigation where everyone can live together in peace and with equal reorganization, without being of one homogeneous clan. To achieve the SDG it is high time to conduct this kind of study. There is no systematic or in-depth research on the problem and prospects of traditional knowledge and skill of cobbler community linked with their cultural heritage and improving their better socio economic condition.

The study has an enormous importance for the following reasons-

- Anthropological researchers and development practitioner's attention has not been drawn comprehensively in this particular area. Therefore, the above mentioned theme would be more relevant and significant study in anthropology
- The study will provide input for Development Organizations, Development Practitioners and Policy Makers with many directions to formulate future strategies for *Dalits* and to achieve the MDGs especially goal-1 "Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger".

This study will also help other researchers to study further on the prospects of occupational diversity in Bangladesh.

The overall findings of the study will help to explore more about the *Dalit* and the process of market system and its contribution to the national economy of Bangladesh.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study has been carried out in 12 unions of Tala Thana particularly focused in Dhulanda village of Magura Union Parishad in Satkhira District. What factors are responsible for the disadvantaged position of *Dalit* products? Is it mainly a result of their disadvantage in endowment-capacities in terms of education and skills? Do the labour market institutions and actors tend not to favour them for employment? Hence the focus is on the situation and the patterns of employment among the Rishi Community. Detailed scope of the study including key research questions, indicators, measurement techniques and important variables by study objectives are mentioned below-

Chart: 1.1 Research matrix

Objectives	Key Research Question	Indicators	Measurable Techniques	Important Variables
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To examine the present socio-economic condition of Rishi community	What are the present socio economic condition and trend of Rishi Community? Why they have been shifting their occupations? What types of problems they are facing?	Per capita income, caste and occupation status, land ownership pattern, occupational equipments, capital	Quantitative and Qualitative tools and techniques (Percentage, graph, pie-chart, and map (Social resource) Van diagram FGD Case studies Key informant interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihood • Population • Family size • House hold Income vs individual income • Caste or class , • Ownership of Assets, • Capital
Examine the traditional knowledge and skills of Rishi community;	What are the traditional expertises of Rishi community?	Knowledge on nature, occupations, techniques and skills;	Quantitative and Qualitative tools and techniques (Seasonal calendar, Ranking, Time line, Van diagram etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • indigenous knowledge on diverse products • behavioural practices
To identify the key barriers to improve their occupation	What are the key challenges and constraints of Rishi community?	access to Public Resource, cultural stigma, capital and market	Quantitative and Qualitative tools / techniques(Time line, Ranking, Van-diagram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • opinion of fishermen, • opinion of local leaders, Upazila fish officials, civil society and others
To explore the way for enhancing their income by using their knowledge in business	What are the possible potentiality and opportunities?	The Opinion of Rishi community, service providers (involved agencies) with regard to support, sustainability and complementary support	Quantitative and Qualitative tools (FGD, Ranking, Pie-chart, Mobility map, review of documents, SWOT analysis)	Opinion on the following <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • targeting of fishermen • need for support (Training, cash support, motivation), coordination, monitoring and supervision
To examine the perception of people about their occupation	Why surrounding people are not welcoming their traditional products?	Social behaviour	Ranking, Pie-chart, Mobility map, review of documents, SWOT analysis)	opinion of local leaders, Upazila fish officials, civil society and others
To explore the means and ways to improve their professionalism so that they can perform their same	What are the social forces of Rishi community?	Opinion of Rishi community, service providers (involved	Quantitative and Qualitative tools / techniques(Time line, Ranking, Van-diagram	opinion of local leaders, Upazila fish officials, civil society and others

activities in more scientific, hygienic and social prestigious ways				agencies) with regard to support, sustainability issue, complementary support		
To make recommendations on the basis of study findings.	What are possible potentiality and opportunities?	The	Opinion of Rishi community, service providers (involved agencies) with regard to support, sustainability issue, complementary support	Quantitative and Qualitative tools (FGD, Ranking, Pie-chart, Mobility map, review of documents, SWOT analysis)	Opinion on the following	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> targeting of fishermen need for support (Training, cash support, motivation), coordination, monitoring and supervision

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is the foundation for understanding the research issues and linkage among the different variables. It helps as a guiding principle for analyzing the research issues. This chapter presents a brief description on concept of economic empowerment of *Dalits* through promotion of marketing and establishes its cause-effect relation with socio-economic and inequality variables to understand the theoretical framework of the study.

In case of *Dalits*, Deliege (1992) argued that they are excluded based on geographical separation and social distance and their marginal social position is owed to their relationship to impurities associated with death and organic pollution. *Dalits* are denied the control of the means of production. Fredericks (2010) suggested that belongingness as experienced in everyday relations constructs the kinds of sentiments on which societies of exclusion (and inclusion) are based. Fredericks makes the case for the importance of the everydayness of belonging and attachment, and the memory and tradition it reinforces as means of appropriation and territorialisation. Dalit's exclusion by ascription has an economic dimension also through the way in which untouchables are "denied control of the means of production" (Deliege, 1992). Leach (1960) also suggested that caste classifications facilitate divisions of labour free of the competition and expectations of mobility inherent in other systems. Cohen (2016) argued that the dominant

understanding of social inclusion and social exclusion needs to go beyond the dyadic mode of reasoning in contemporary globalized societies. With special reference to migration and citizenships, he adopted nine perspectives at three different levels to understand social inclusion and social exclusion in contemporary global world. These are individual (micro), societal (meso) and structural (macro) levels. Dillard and Dujon et. al. (2013) argued that the meaning and application of social inclusion as a multi-level approach to the social aspects of the sustainability. By citing case studies from developed and developing countries, they explored inclusion in economic sector, community health and wellbeing and in community resources and resilience Burden and Hamm (2004) examine the exclusion of groups and policy response of New Labour. They argued, in some context, characterization of work, as an important form of social participation through which citizenship status and social inclusion can be achieved is itself potentially exclusionary. They argue that viewing work, as a moral obligation and a necessary part of self-esteem can be problematic where opportunities are low in some occupations and geographical locations. Rimmerman (2013) explored national and international perspectives on social inclusion of people with disabilities. He looked at biblical, theological and historical aspects on current views of inclusion. In addition, he explored effective strategies for promoting social inclusion and advocate for both human rights and social protection strategy by national and international bodies. He also emphasized declarative and abstract rights to be translated into domestic laws. At the end, he touched upon the role of media in both stereotyping disabilities and enhancing social inclusion of people with disabilities by campaigning through the media. Silver (1995) mentioned that France first adopts the term social inclusion in 1970s. Disabled and various destitute groups were referred through the lenses of social inclusion and exclusion. And contemporary meanings of social inclusion and exclusion are rooted in France. The concept of social exclusion gradually evolved to refer to the process that prevents individual or groups from full or partial meaningful participation in social, economic, political, cultural activities and life. (Duffy, 1995, 2001; Horsell, 2006, referenced in, Allman 2012) In the light of the emphasis on inclusion in Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Silver (2015) argued that social inclusion and exclusion are context-dependent concepts. Nation-states and localities have their own mechanisms which influence the process of economic, social and political exclusion. She reminds that while social exclusion is condemned as unjust, at the same time social inclusion or openness has its own problems too. Social inclusion means acculturation that can lead to the

decline of group ways of life, identity, language, solidarity, and group practices as well. She argues that while social inclusion is a good objective, it all depends on the context. There is a need to theorize *Dalit's* social inclusion/exclusion. The concept of social exclusion/inclusion was prominent in the policy discourse in France in the mid1970s. Then, the concept was later adopted by the European Union in the late 1980s as a key concept in social policy and in many instances replaced the concept of poverty (Navin, 2008). If I am allowed to do an oversimplification of popular and dominant ideas of social inclusions championed by scholars such as Silver, 1995; Rimmerman, 2013; and Cohen, 2016, by and large, most scholarships on social exclusions view that marginalized people need access to economic resources to become a productive member of the society, their marketable skills and knowledge can be utilized which in turn help them improve their socioeconomic conditions. These theories view poor or marginalized people as victims of larger social processes. Lack of state interventions, and dominance of market logics are viewed as two main villains for the domination and subjugation of marginalized people. They see marginalized people as victims of institutionalized domination and subordination without having any agency or power to fight back against it. Thus, they advocate a framework of inclusion through access to education, health and other basic services and the entitlements of them as human beings and citizens. Popular and dominant arguments of social inclusion championed by scholars such as Silver, 1995; Rimmerman, 2013; and Cohen, 2016 argued for social integration, social cohesion and advocate to remove barriers to social inclusion. The attempts to include *Dalits* in the mainstream society are driven by many national and international NGOs and donors. Lately, the government of Bangladesh is also taking minimal initiatives in the form of declaration of quota system to secure their jobs. Despite all, it is found that a viable framework of inclusion program is yet to be achieved. However, following a Bourdieuan model (1977), in contemporary market-based societies, three forms of capital such as economic, social and cultural are necessary for any individual to make a decent living. Dalits lack all three forms of capital. Dalits are in need of accumulating these capitals. Unfortunately, they have no guarantee to gain these capitals while dwelling in a bounded Dalit community. Generally, economic capital refers to individual's wealth such as land, money, and assets, ornaments that can be transferred into wealth. Social capital refers to the wide social relationships an individual gain through her/his patrilineal and matrilineal kinships ties, marriage and from other social/cultural institutions. And finally, cultural capital means individual's

linguistic and communicative skills and knowledge, both formal and informal, tastes and choices. Considering all three capitals, *Dalits* do not have a decent income for expenses to meet their everyday basic needs. They have no access to land, credits and loans from formal institutions, and cannot access other economic resources. They have limited social capital through kinship networks within their community. They are not allowed to gain social capitals through other cultural and social institutions such as schools, clubs, associations, alumni, etc. *Dalits* are eager but feel insecure to gain these three capitals from their family and other social and economic institutions. Lastly, cultural capital in this case refers to skills and knowledge that is marketable to make a living. Most *Dalits* lack those as they don't have enough education to get other jobs in such a competitive market such as that of Bangladesh. However, most *Dalits* dream of having a decent life one day. Like other scholars, the study observes *Dalit* community as a dynamic and complex social entity that is heterogeneous and requires a holistic understanding that can be attentive and informative to the theories of power, agency and resistance. Towards a very first step in that direction, the study tried to unpack the complex dynamics in *Dalit* community and suggested that *Dalit* community as a social entity deserves a long-term anthropological and sociological research which in turn might provide useful theoretical insights to reassessment of dominant theories of social inclusion or exclusion, market, and issues of power, agency. Therefore, any behavioural changes such as changes in their economic activities which the study aims at the *Dalits* requires an understanding of the community as a complex social, economic, political and ideological field where intersections of different fields constantly orient and reorient the norms, beliefs and consciousness of *Dalit* members in their daily life experiences.

From the Marxian perspective, class differences depend on the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production. The propertied classes because of their ownership of the means of production suppress the proletariat or non-propertied classes who have no access to the means of production. The lower caste population of *Dalits* in Bangladesh are being exploited not only because of their lower economic position; but also because of the lower social rank ascribed by the Hindu religious codes. Max Weber analyzed social stratification based on three social elements-class, status and power. Class means economic class which is further subdivided into three groups-upper, middle and lower class. Economic position is linked with status and power. Power means basically political power. Judging the prevailing situation

among the communities of Bangladesh from the view point of Karl Marx and Max Weber, the study may say that their economic situation as well as ascribed social position and their lack of access to the available social and economic facilities in Bangladesh are equally responsible for their lowered, humiliating position in the society. This situation is not new; it has existed from the historical past.

In traditional and formal sense, the caste system is based on three interrelated principles. These are predetermined social, cultural and economic rights of each caste based on birth; the unequal and hierarchical (graded) division of these rights among the castes and provision of strong social ostracism supported by social and religious ideology to maintain the Hindu social order. While the first two of them defined and laid down the framework of the caste system, the third prescribed the social mechanism of its enforcements. Third feature of caste system relating to the provision of strong ostracism for the enforcement of the system is quite important and crucial in providing the continuity of the system despite the changes in the in legal framework of social behavior of the Hindus. The social ostracism normally takes the form of numerous penalties, supported by social and religious ideology. The form of social ostracism varies from violation of social and economic rights to various types of physical violence to the low caste untouchables who challenge the traditional rules causing deprivation. To analyze these complex effects of violent conflicts that lead to changes in people's choices and consequently affect in their functioning and freedom, Sen's Capability Approach could be helpful to understand the process. The complex effects of violent conflicts can change both intrinsic and instrumental aspect of human capabilities (e.g. income, education, health, human rights, civil rights etc.) that permits people to achieve functioning. Through its recognition of this relationship, the capabilities approach makes strong and explicit links and as such is useful for understanding the processes surrounding violent conflicts and its effect of impoverishment. The capability approach to a person's advantage is concerned with evaluating it in terms of his or her actual ability to achieve various valuable functioning as a part of living. The corresponding approach to social advantage –for aggregative appraisal as well as for the choice of institutions and policy – takes the set of individual capabilities as constituting an indispensable and central part of the relevant informational base of such evaluation” (Sen 1993: 30). The capability approach to deprivation thus evaluates people's freedom or rights according to their impact on well-being. It asks whether people are being healthy, and whether the resources necessary for this capability. It asks

whether people are well-nourished, and whether the conditions for this capability, such as sufficient food supplies and food entitlements, are met. It asks whether people have access to a high quality education, to real political participation, to community activities, which support them to cope with struggles in daily life and which foster real friendships, to religions that console them and give them peace of mind. For some of these capabilities, the main input will be financial resources and economic production, but for others it can also be political practices, such as the effective guaranteeing and protection of freedom of thought, political participation, or social or cultural practices, social structures, social institutions, social norms, traditions and habits. The capability approach thus covers the full terrain of human well-being. Development and well-being are regarded in a comprehensive and integrated manner, and much attention is paid to the links between the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of life. The capability approach focuses on the information that we need to make judgments about individual well-being, social policies, and so forth, and consequently rejects alternative approaches that it considers normatively inadequate, for example when an evaluation is done exclusively in monetary terms. The capability approach also identifies social constraints that influence and restrict both wellbeing as well as the evaluative exercises. The capability approach can be used to measure poverty or inequality, or can be used as an alternative for traditional utilitarian cost benefit analysis. It is a perspective that can be applied to efficiency evaluations. It can serve as an important constituent for a theory of justice but, as Sen argues, the capability approach specifies an evaluative space and this does not amount to a theory of justice (Sen 1995). He stresses that a theory of justice must include both aggregative considerations as well as distributive ones, whereas the capability approach does not specify an aggregative principle. An important illustration of how the capability approach can be used as such a broad framework of analysis and evaluation, is Sen's own work with Jean Drèze on development in India (Drèze and Sen 2002).

To understand the process of marginalization, deprivation and development, the term “subaltern” is used in social science to mean the lower class and the socially marginalized groups in society. The subaltern identity is conceptually derived from the ‘cultural hegemony’ idea of noted Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci through his work on cultural hegemony, which identified the groups that are excluded from a society's established institutions and thus denied the means by which people have a voice in their society. Actually the term *subaltern* describes the lower classes and

the social groups who are at the margins of a society: a subaltern is a person rendered without agency by social status (Young, Robert J. C: 2003), the term *subaltern* describes the lower classes and the social groups who are at the margins of a society: a subaltern is a person rendered without agency by social status (Young, Robert J. C: 2003). In India the primary leader was Ranajit Guha who had written works on peasant uprising. Another leading scholar of subaltern studies is Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She draws on a number of theoretical positions in her analysis of Indian history: deconstruction, Marxism and feminism. In India, women, indigenous fishermen, rural, tribal and immigrant laborers are treated as subaltern. In Bangladesh, *Dalits* are the part of the subaltern.

To end the caste system Ambedkar fought against this iniquitous system in Hinduism that fostered inequality. Following are the manifestations of the caste system:

Chart: 1.2 The manifestations of the caste system

1.	Heridity:	The child belongs to the same caste as the parents
2.	Marriage restrictions:	Marriage outside one’s own caste is prohibited.
3.	Profession:	Taking up the work of another caste while giving up one’s paternally inherited profession is banned.
4.	Dietary rules:	Distinction is made not only between vegetarian and meat-based diets, but even touching the food and water of people seen as inferior, and from a different religion, is prohibited.
5.	Hierarchy:	Some castes are regarded as upper and others lower.

Ambedkar’s life and work were dedicated to the well-being of those whom society had boycotted. He thought about religion, economy, literature, politics, society, law and freedom in terms of the interests of the untouchables. He did not ignore these interests in his consideration of Marxism. While he held that there was neither caste discrimination nor untouchability in communism, he considered Indian Marxism to be incomplete because it did not think about ending caste (Ambedkar 1989, 47; Ambedkar’s emphasis). Ambedkarism is a modern idea for ending the caste system.

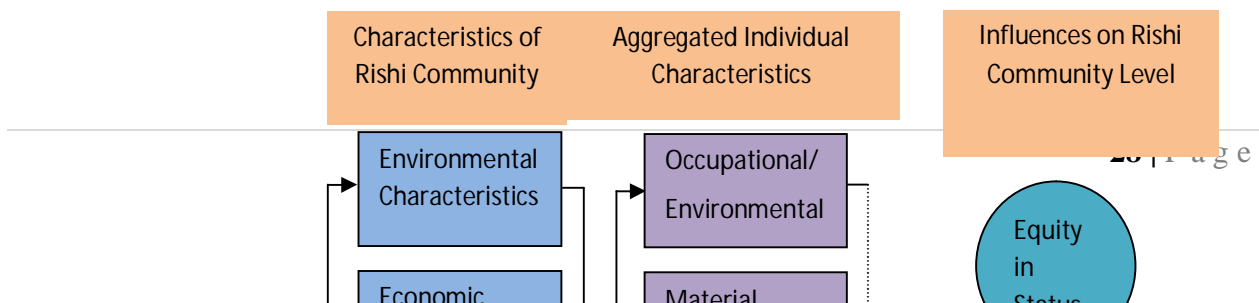
1.8 Theoretical Issues

In Bangladesh *Dalits* are marginalized and disadvantaged group in the society. There are many sub-occupational groups in this particular community. Their traditional occupational

performance is linked with their environmental, economic, social, psychological and behavioural practices. Socially and economically, they are left far behind the rest of the local communities. This deprivation is closely related to the ascribed identity they are born with. It is true that the issue of *Dalit* communities cannot be properly comprehended without understanding the caste issues. It is formed within the fold of religion underpinned by the principles of caste system in which the low castes/outcastes are treated as marginal compared to the upper ones. Denzil Ibbetson, J.C. Nesfield and recently Harold A, Goneel proposed that caste system had its origin in occupational structure; it evolved from the practice of occupational guilds which existed prior to the advent of the Aryans among the original dwellers to take the form of exclusive and stratified system of castes. There is a need for cursory attention to this as it will help to understand the reasons of backwardness of low castes and the untouchables of Bengal. From the development and policy context, we can say that if the state cannot patronize their traditional art and skills, most of their traditional expertise will fall in the risk of extinction soon. The research will facilitate to understand the dynamics of the life and livelihoods, identity and politics, social and cultural stigmatization, indigenous knowledge and their sustainability issues. This will also shed light on the ways to preserve the cultural heritage of *Dalit* community and will help to formulate a sustainable community development planning for them. Basing on the conceptual and theoretical understanding about deprivation and marginalization, the following conceptual diagram will help to understand the disadvantaged cultural position and potentialities of Rishi community (as a *Dalit* community) in Bangladesh.

Figure: 1.1 Conceptual Framework

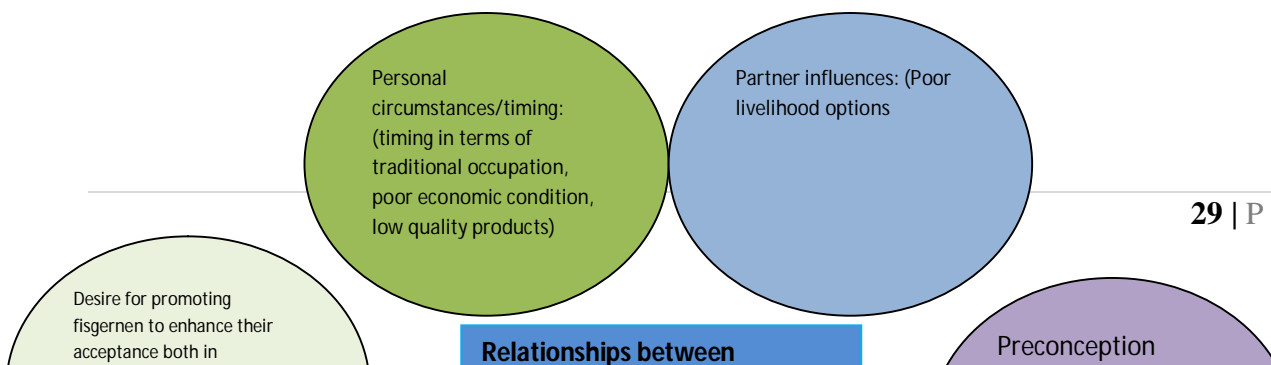
Conceptual Understanding of the Study



Causal/associative conceptual diagram

Figure: 1.2 Context of Framework

Context



Stance

Behavior

Descriptive/ structural conceptual diagram

1.9 Conceptual Definition of Important Issues

Dalit: The word "Dalit" does not appear in any sacred scriptures or historical texts of India. It is actually a word based on 17th-century European notions about the Indian caste system. The word is derived from Sanskrit, and means "ground", "suppressed", "crushed", or "broken to pieces". It was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the nineteenth century, in the context of the oppression faced by the erstwhile "untouchable" castes of the twice-born Hindus. Based on traditional occupation there is no list of *Dalits* in Bangladesh. K.S. Singh mentioned in his book named "The Scheduled Castes" that based on traditional occupations there are 340 scheduled castes in India. The list of scheduled castes and their traditional occupations has been presented in the annexure-IV

Traditional Occupation: Traditional occupation means those occupations that have been followed by successive generations of indigenous people and their communities and are rooted in customs and practices that were established prior to the colonial era of the region in the nineteenth century.

Product: Product is anything that can be offered to a market that might satisfy a want or need, in retailing, products are called merchandise. In manufacturing, products are bought as raw materials and sold as finished goods.

Society: Society is a group of people involved with each other through persistent relations, or a large social grouping sharing the same geographical or social territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations. Societies are characterized by patterns of relationships (social relations) between individuals who share a distinctive culture and institutions; a given society may be described as the sum total of such relationships among its constituent members. In the social sciences, a larger society often evinces stratification and/or dominance patterns in subgroups.

Community: The term community has two distinct connotative meanings: 1) Community can refer to a usually small, social unit of any size that shares common values. The term can also refer to the national community or international community, and 2) in biology, a community is a group of interacting living organisms sharing a populated environment.

Indigenous Community: Indigenous peoples are peoples defined in international or national legislation as having a set of specific rights based on their historical ties to a particular territory, and their cultural or historical distinctiveness from other populations that are often politically dominant. The concept of indigenous peoples defines these groups as particularly vulnerable to exploitation, marginalization and oppression by nation states that may still be formed from the colonizing populations, or by politically dominant ethnic groups (Coates, 2004:12).

Social Structure: Social structure is a term used in the social sciences to refer to patterned social arrangements in society that are both emergent from and determinant of the actions of the individuals. The usage of the term "social structure" has changed over time and may reflect the various levels of analysis within differing sub-fields of sociology. On the macro scale, it can refer to the system of socioeconomic stratification (e.g., the class structure), social institutions, or, other patterned relations between large social groups. On the other, it can refer to the structure of social network ties between individuals or organizations. On the micro scale, it can refer to the way norms shape the behaviour of actors within the social system. According to

Lopez and Scott, social structure is seen as comprising those cultural or normative patterns that define the expectations of agents hold about each other's behaviours and that organize their enduring relations with each other (Lopez and Scott, 2000:03)

Stereotype: Stereotype is fixed over generalized belief about a particular group of class of people (Cardwell, 1996). It is a thought that may be adopted about specific types of individuals or certain ways of doing things, but that belief may or may not accurately reflect reality. However, this is only a fundamental psychological definition of a stereotype.^[3] Within and across different psychology disciplines, there are different concepts and theories of stereotyping that provide their own expanded definition. Some of these definitions share commonalities, though each one may also harbour unique aspects that may complement or contradict the others.

Equity: Equity is the orphaned element of Sustainable Development. In 1996 the President's Council on Sustainable Development defined Equity as "equal opportunity, in a safe and healthy environment." Equity is the least defined and least understood element of the triad that is Sustainable Development, yet is integral in creating sustainability - balancing economic, environmental and social equity.

Equality: Equality is a state of affairs in which all people within a specific society or isolated group have the same status in certain respects. At the very least, social equality includes equal rights under the law, such as security, voting rights, freedom of speech and assembly, property rights, and equal access to social goods and services. However, it also includes concepts of economic equity, i.e. access to education, health care and other social securities. It also includes equal opportunities and obligations, and so involves the whole of society. Actually, equality refers to social, rather than economic, or income equality. "Equal opportunities" is interpreted as being judged by ability, which is compatible with a free-market economy. A problem is horizontal inequality, the inequality of two persons of *same* origin and ability.

Mainstream: Mainstream is the common current thought of the majority. The mainstream includes all popular culture and media culture, typically disseminated by mass media. The opposite of the mainstream are subcultures, countercultures, cult followings, and (in fiction) genre. Additionally, mainstream is sometimes a codeword used for an actual ethnocentric or hegemonic subculture point of view, especially when delivered in a culture war speech. It is often

used as a pejorative term by subcultures who view ostensibly mainstream culture as not only exclusive but artistically and aesthetically inferior. In the United States, mainline churches are sometimes referred to synonymously as "mainstream." also known as "straight" and "straights" for individuals.

Subsistence Economy: Subsistence economy is an economy which refers simply to the gathering or amassment of objects of value; the increase in wealth; or the creation of wealth. Capital can be generally defined as assets invested with the expectation that their value will increase, usually because there is the expectation of profit, rent, interest, royalties, capital gain or some other kind of return. However, this type of economy cannot usually become wealthy by virtue of the system, and instead requires further investments to stimulate economic growth. In other words, a subsistence economy only possesses enough goods to be used by a particular nation to maintain its existence and provides little to no surplus for other investments. Therefore, this type of economy aims to create economic stability so that capital can be accumulated and the inevitable economic surplus can be invested in other potentially lucrative business ventures. A subsistence economy also has no money of any sort.

Division of Labour: Division of labour is the specialization of cooperating individuals who perform specific tasks and roles. Historically, an increasingly complex division of labour is associated with the growth of total output and trade, the rise of capitalism, and of the complexity of industrialized processes. The concept and implementation of division of labour has been observed in ancient Sumerian (Mesopotamian) culture, where assignment of jobs in some cities coincided with an increase in trade and economic interdependence. In addition to trade and economic interdependence, division of labour generally increases both producer and individual worker productivity. Marx's most important theoretical contribution is his sharp distinction between the economic and the social division of labour. That is, some forms of labour co-operation are purely due to "technical necessity", but others are a result of a "social control" function related to a class and status hierarchy. If these two divisions are conflated, it might appear as though the existing division of labour is technically inevitable and immutable, rather than (in good part) socially constructed and influenced by power relationships. He also argues that in a communist society, the division of labour is transcended, meaning that balanced human

development occurs where people fully express their nature in the variety of creative work that they do (Marx, K. 1977:781-94).

Market: Market is a regular gathering of people for the purchase and sale of provision, livestock and other commodities. Actually, market is one of the many varieties of systems, institutions, procedures, social relations and infrastructures whereby parties engage in exchange. While parties may exchange goods and services by barter, most markets rely on sellers offering their goods or services (including labour) in exchange for money from buyers. It can be said that a market is the process by which the prices of goods and services are established. For a market to be competitive there must be more than a single buyer or seller. It has been suggested that two people may trade, but it takes at least three persons to have a market, so that there is competition in at least one of its two sides (Sullivan, Arthur; Steven M. Sheffrin, 2003: 28). However, *competitive* markets, as understood in formal economic theory, rely on much larger numbers of both buyers and sellers. A market with single seller and multiple buyers is a monopoly. A market with a single buyer and multiple sellers is a monopoly. These are the extremes of imperfect competition.

Taboo: The term "taboo" comes from the Tongan *tapu* or Fijian *tabu* ("prohibited", "disallowed", "forbidden"), related among others to the Maori *tapu*. Its English use dates back to 1777 when the British explorer James Cook visited Tonga. Taboo is a vehement prohibition of an action based on the belief that such behaviour is either too sacred or too accursed for ordinary individuals to undertake, under threat of supernatural punishment. Such prohibitions are present in virtually all societies. The word has been somewhat expanded in the social sciences to include strong prohibitions relating to any area of human activity or custom that is sacred or forbidden based on moral judgment and religious beliefs. "Breaking a taboo" is usually considered objectionable by society in general, not merely a subset of a culture.

Purity and Pollution: The notions of purity and pollution are critical for defining and understanding caste hierarchy. According to these concepts, Brahmins hold the highest rank and *Shudras* the lowest in the caste hierarchy. The Varna System represents a social stratification which includes four *varnas* namely- Brahmins, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas* and *Shudras*. The *Shudras* were allocated the lowest rank of social ladder and their responsibilities included service of the

three *Varnas*. The superior castes tried to maintain their ceremonial purity. The hierarchy of caste is decided according to the degree of purity and pollution. It plays a very crucial role in maintaining the required distance between different castes. But the pollution distance varies from caste to caste and from place to place. The concept of purity and pollution plays a very crucial role in maintaining the required distance between different castes. But the pollution distance varies from caste to caste and from place to place.

Stigma: Stigma is the extreme disapproval of (or discontent with) a person or group on socially characteristic grounds that are perceived, and serve to distinguish them, from other members of a society. Stigma may then be affixed to such a person, by the *greater* society, who differs from their cultural norms. Social stigma can result from the perception (rightly or wrongly) of mental illness, physical disabilities, diseases such as leprosy (see leprosy stigma), illegitimacy, sexual orientation, gender identity, skin tone, education, nationality, ethnicity, religion (or lack of religion) or criminality. Attributes associated with social stigma often vary depending on the geopolitical and corresponding sociopolitical contexts employed by society, in different parts of the world.

Untouchable: In Hinduism, the "Untouchables" constitute the "fifth caste" - those people who fall below the four principle castes or *varna* and are, in a sense, outside of the caste system altogether. Outcastes, in other words means being outside of the caste system means that they are also outside of society for all practical purposes. Traditionally, untouchables have only been permitted to live on the outskirts of villages and they have been prohibited from taking water from the same wells as members of higher castes. Many untouchables were only allowed to move around at night, lest the very sight of them pollutes someone from a higher caste and some carried around drums to make noise and warn others before they met.

Caste: The English word "caste" derives from the Spanish and Portuguese *casta*, which the Oxford English Dictionary quotes John Minsheu's Spanish dictionary (1599) to mean, "race, lineage, or breed". When the Spanish colonized the New World, they used the word to mean a "clan or lineage." However, it was the Portuguese who employed *casta* in the primary modern sense when they applied it to the many in-marrying hereditary Hindu social groups they encountered upon their arrival in India in 1498. The use of the spelling "caste," with this latter meaning, is first attested to in English in 1613. Caste is a form of social stratification

characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a style of life which often includes an occupation, ritual status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions of purity and pollution (Winthrop, Robert H. 1991:27-30). Its paradigmatic ethnographic example is the division of India's Hindu society into rigid social groups, with roots in India's ancient history and persisting until today. However, the economic significance of the caste system in India has been declining as a result of urbanization and affirmative action programs. A subject of much scholarship by sociologists and anthropologists, the Hindu caste system is sometimes used as an analogical basis for the study of caste-like social divisions existing outside Hinduism and India.

Social Stratification: Social stratification is a concept involving the "classification of people into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions ... a relational set of inequalities with economic, social, political and ideological dimensions." When differences lead to greater status, power or privilege for some groups over the other it is called Social Stratification.^[1] It is a system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy ^[2] Social stratification is based on four basic principles: (1) Social stratification is a trait of society, not simply a reflection of individual differences; (2) Social stratification carries over from generation to generation; (3) Social stratification is universal but variable; (4) Social stratification involves not just inequality but beliefs as well (Macionis, Gerber, John, Linda 2010: 224-225).

Discrimination: Discrimination is the prejudicial and/or distinguishing treatment of an individual based on their actual or perceived membership in a certain group or category, "in a way that is worse than the way people are usually treated." It involves the group's initial reaction or interaction, influencing the individual's actual behaviour towards the group or the group leader, restricting members of one group from opportunities or privileges that are available to another group, leading to the exclusion of the individual or entities based on logical or irrational decision making. Discriminatory traditions, policies, ideas, practices, and laws exist in many countries and institutions in every part of the world, even in ones where discrimination is generally looked down upon. In some places, controversial attempts such as quotas or affirmative action have been used to benefit those believed to be current or past victims of discrimination—but have sometimes been called reverse discrimination themselves.

Inequality: Social inequality is characterized by the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions or statuses within a group or society. It contains structured and recurrent patterns of unequal distributions of goods, wealth, opportunities, rewards, and punishments. There are two main ways to measure social inequality: inequality of conditions, and inequality of opportunities. Inequality of conditions refers to the unequal distribution of income, wealth and material goods. Housing, for example, is an inequality of conditions with the homeless and those living in housing projects sitting at the bottom of the hierarchy while those living in multi-million dollar mansions sitting at the top.

Dalit Movement: The *Dalit* movement is regarded by many scholars as the most influential social movement in Independent India. While in the wider sense of lower caste struggle against *Brahminical* hegemony, the '*Dalit* movement' has coexisted with the idea of caste itself; the movement as we know it – as a front of organized political resistance against caste oppression in Hindu society – may be seen to have emerged only in the colonial times. The British colonization with its bourgeois liberal ethos coupled with the imperatives of their ruling strategy created space for the working up of subaltern identities, mainly in terms of caste and religion. The changes during colonial rule – institutional, social, economic and cultural – gave an added impetus to the aspirations of the lower castes and created the environment for the emergence of an opposition to Brahminical hegemony on the basis of strong modern values of liberty, equality and fraternity; while the strategic compulsions of the British allowed an opportunity for deft political manoeuvring within electoral and representational quotas.

Aryans: "Aryan" is an English language loanword derived from the Sanskrit *ārya* ('noble'). In present-day academia, the term "Aryan" has been replaced in most cases by the terms "Indo-Iranian" and "Indo-European", and "Aryan" is now mostly limited to its appearance in the term "Indo-Aryan" for Indic languages and their speakers. Western notions of an "Aryan race" rose to prominence in late-19th and early-20th century racialist thought, an idea most notably embraced by Nazi ideology (see *master race*). The Nazis believed that the "Nordic peoples" (who were also referred to as the "Germanic peoples") represent an ideal and "pure race" that was the purest representation of the original racial stock of those who were then called the Proto-Aryans. The Nazis declared that the Nordics were the true Aryans because they claimed that they were more

"pure" (less racially mixed with non-native Indo-European peoples) than other people of what were then called the Aryan people (now called the Indo-European people).

Demography: “Demo” means “the people” and “graphy” means “measurement”, so, demography is the scientific study of human population primarily with respect to their size, structure, distribution and their development. In other words, demography is the statistical study of human populations. It can be a very general science that can be applied to any kind of dynamic living population, i.e., one that changes over time or space (see population dynamics). It encompasses the study of the size, structure, and distribution of these populations, and spatial and/or temporal changes in them in response to birth, migration, aging and death.

Household: A group of persons, related or unrelated, living together and taking food from same kitchen are considered as a household. Actually, the household is "the basic residential unit in which economic production, consumption, inheritance, child rearing, and shelter are organized and carried out"; [the household] "may or may not be synonymous with family". The household is the basic unit of analysis in many social, microeconomic and government models. The term refers to all individuals who live in the same dwelling. In economics, a household is a person or a group of people living in the same residence.

Village: Smallest geographic area in a rural/pastoral setting is known to the people as village. A village is always populated and has a known name.

Gender and Sex: Gender refers to socio-cultural definition of men and women; the way societies distinguish men and women and assign social roles. It is variable; it changes from time to time, culture to culture, even family to family. Sex refers to the biological difference which is universal and remains the everywhere.

Micro-finance: Microfinance, also called microcredit, is a type of banking service that is provided to unemployed or low-income individuals or groups who otherwise have no other access to financial services. While institutions participating in the area of microfinance are most often associated with lending, many offer additional services, including bank accounts and micro-insurance products, and provide financial and business education. Ultimately, the goal of microfinance is to give impoverished people an opportunity to become self-sufficient

(CDF.2017)Microfinance <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/microfinance.asp#ixzz5BdVVbjq5> (CDF.2001)

MDGs: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were eight international development goals that were officially established following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000, following the adoption of the United Nations Millennium Declaration. All 189 United Nations member states and at least 23 international organizations agreed to achieve these goals by the year 2015. The goals were:

1. Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger,
2. Achieving universal primary education,
3. Promoting gender equality and empowering women,
4. Reducing child mortality rates,
5. Improving maternal health,
6. Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases,
7. Ensuring environmental sustainability, and
8. Developing a global partnership for development.

Each of the goals has specific stated targets and dates for achieving those targets. To accelerate progress, the G8 Finance Ministers agreed in June 2005 to provide enough funds to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the African Development Bank (AfDB) to cancel an additional \$40 to \$55 billion in debt owed by members of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) to allow impoverished countries to rechanneled the resources saved from the forgiven debt to social programs for improving health and education and for alleviating poverty.

SDGs: The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a set of global development targets adopted by the member countries of the United Nation (UN) in September 2015. The SDGs will guide the global development agenda through 2030. The SDGs focus on five key elements: people, planet, peace, prosperity and partnership. The SDGs are more ambitious than the earlier Millennium Development Goals and embrace the view that development needs to be economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. Achieving the SDG will require action to address a broad range other issues at both the national and international level. The SDGs of

UNs include 17 goals and 169 targets and all of these are to be achieved by 2030. This collective journey has at its heart a promise to leave no one behind (UN, 2017).

Financial Inclusion: Financial Inclusion means individuals and business have access to useful and affordable financial products and services that meet their needs-transactions, payments, savings, credit and insurance- delivered in a responsible and sustainable way.

Financial Exclusion: Financial Exclusion refers to a process whereby people encounter difficulties accessing and /or using financial services and products in the mainstream market that are appropriate to their needs and enable them to lead a normal social life in the society in which they belong. Financial exclusion is either a cause or a consequence of social exclusion or both.

1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I intend to explore what forms of concepts or issues regarding *Dalit* exist in Bangladesh and how they combine together to determine for the *Dalits* the marginal or lower position in the ladder of the society. Firstly I use Ambedkar's theory to understand the *Dalit* issue. Ambedkarism is a modern idea for ending the caste system. Ambedkar fought against this iniquitous system in Hinduism that fostered inequality. The caste system has exploited the *Dalits* in the names of taboo, purity and pollution, stigma, untouchability, discrimination, etc. and imposed painful restrictions on them. Purity and pollution indicates the hierarchy of caste which is decided according to the degree of purity and pollution. It plays a very crucial role in maintaining the required distance between different castes. Stigma is the extreme disapproval of (or discontent with) a person or group on socially characteristic grounds that are perceived, and serve to distinguish them, from other members of a society. 'Untouchable' denotes a social outcast which in other words, means being outside of the caste system substantiating that they are also outside of society for all practical purposes. Consequently, there arises several layers of discrimination. It is the prejudicial and/or distinguishing treatment of an individual based on their actual or perceived membership in a certain group or category, "in a way that is worse than the way people are usually treated." Actually *Dalit* society was robbed of its social rights due to its weakness, poverty, stereotype, concept, traditional occupations and ignorance- causing Ambedkar to talk about bringing comprehensive change in *Dalit's* attitude especially building self-respect. He said that *Dalits* must gain the strength to take the reins of power and enact laws.

These were new and revolutionary ideas for *Dalits*, who had been living a life marked by helplessness and lack of options, subject to the slavery that was imposed on them. Side by side, Ambedkar's theory, some historical and socio economic concepts or definitions have also been used in this chapter like Aryans, demography, household, village, gender and sex, society, community, indigenous community, social structure, equity, equality, mainstream, subsistence economy, division of labour, etc. It has been over three years since September 2015, when the global leaders adopted the path breaking and transformative 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development as successor to Millennium Development Goals that began in 2000. From that perspective Microfinance, MDGs, SDGs, financial inclusion and financial exclusion have also been discussed as an important issue to make poverty free *Dalit* community.

CHAPTER 2

Methods and Materials

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Methodology
- 2.3 Methods of the Study
- 2.4 Applied Techniques and Tools
- 2.5 Selection of the Study Area
- 2.6 Sampling and Sample Size
- 2.7 Data Processing and Analysis
- 2.8 Literature Review

(qualitative and quantitative) has been taken for the purpose of the study. The data has been collected, analyzed and presented at different levels like-individual, household, and community. This chapter is going to deal with some important aspects such as- methodology, methods and

techniques, research design, literature reviews and other relevant issues important for any kind of research.

2.2 Methodology

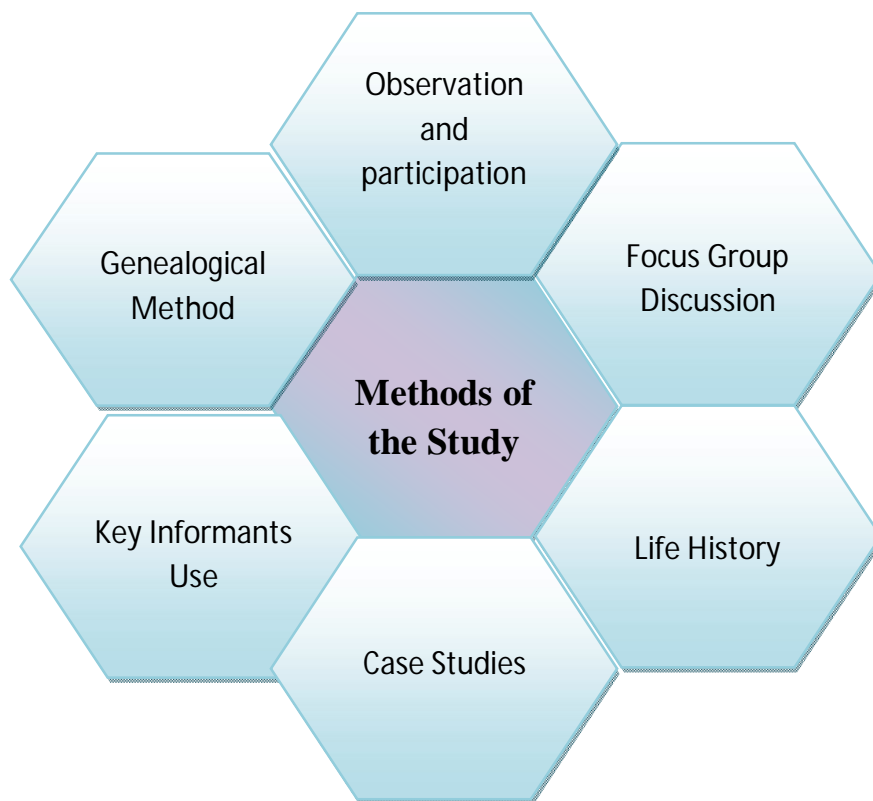
A method is a way of conducting and implementing research, while methodology is the science and philosophy behind all research. In this study the information has been gathered through micro-scale empirical study and intensive field work. In this anthropological research on the proposed theme and for a comprehensive understanding, different methods have been applied for collecting and interpreting data. All an integrated methodological approach (combining both the qualitative and quantitative methods) used in collecting and analyzing the data. Both primary and secondary data were collected from several sources using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Data was also obtained through participant and non-participant observation method. Primary data have been collected from traditionally skilled individuals as well as from key informants who have sound knowledge about the different occupations among the Rishi community. Specific information gathered through case studies and Focused Group Discussions (FGDs), SWOT analysis and seasonal calendar to supplement the data obtained from other sources. Therefore, the anthropological tools and techniques of this study was primarily based focused on qualitative one, on the other hand, quantitative methods have been used wherever needed and this has brought strength and comprehensiveness to this study.

However, as an anthropologist and a researcher the long term training in this field has helped me to develop an understanding for applying anthropological methods. What appears to be most important during the field work is that there are few things that helped generating the base of the methodological understanding and these are marginalization process through caste system, behavioral understanding, economic deprivation, limited access of their products in the national or global market, development dynamics and ethical consideration. Before going to the field it was very important for me to learn the application of anthropological research methods and techniques in order that the present study can be successfully carried out by the knowledge and experiences in academic and field work gained over a period of the last twelve years.

2.3 Methods of the Study

Anthropological method is a human instrument. Relying on all its senses, thoughts, and feelings, the human instrument is a most sensitive and perceptive data-gathering method. In the present anthropological research on the proposed theme with a comprehensive understanding and assessment of the different issues, many anthropological methods and techniques are required to collect, interpret and analyze the data. Different types of methods are used for collecting information from the different occupational groups of Rishi community during the field work. The methods which were applied to the respondents in the field are intensive field work and observation, Focus Group Discussion, life history case studies, key informants use and genealogical tree.

Figure: 2.1 Methods of the Study (at a glance)



Before going to the field and throughout many stages of study, various documents related to *Dalits* have been reviewed on the occupational culture of *Dalits*. Different types of written materials have been reviewed for this study and these are books, journal, articles, news papers, different annual report of local NGOs. One of the most important and extensively used methods is observation. As a field researcher, the study observed the day-to-day life of the different manufacturing and service providing groups of Rishi community under study

participating in it. In the present study the participant observation method has been applied whereby needed to observe the subjects according to the objectives of the study taking an active part in the situation under scrutiny and maintaining close contact with the Rishi people.

Fieldwork is the most characteristic element of any ethnographic research design. This approach shapes the design of all ethnographic work. Classic ethnography requires from 6 months to 2 years or more in the field. Fieldwork is exploratory in nature. (Fetterman, 2010:8) The field work of this study was conducted from April 2015 to March 2017; the study interviewed a wide variety of artisans and service providers of Rishi community to know their knowledge about their different products by following the checklist (Annexure-1). At the beginning of the research, the study used a big net approach, discussed by Fetterman (Fetterman, 2010:35) which suggests mingling with everyone in the field, who is accessible, in order to have an overall idea about the community. The first attempt of the researcher was getting a clear idea about the Rishi community by collecting information about the demographic compositions and physical structures of the households, occupation and education of the household members, landholding patterns, sanitation, source of drinking water, food habit, support system, per unit cost and selling price of the product, working experiences, raw materials collection, making and selling process, problems and potentials of their products and so on. Then the researcher went door-to-door to collect these data based on a close and open ended questionnaire. These data helped me better understand the Rishis and their holistic condition of their community. During the several visits to the Rishi community a rapport was established with Rishi people, facilitating collected the holistic information by using the close and open ended questionnaire about the households.

The study selected 31 owners of manufacturers and service providers for case study to describe the situation of *Dalit* community and their product in great details. This case study showcased the problems and challenges of their inclusion in the mainstream society. The case studies also provided the day-to-day experience of *Dalit* members and their future aspirations. The cases were selected on the basis of events in individual life that closely correspond with the major themes of the study such as process of marginalization and issues of identity among the *Dalits*.

The purpose of selecting these case studies from different categories was to see how their experiences varied.

To know about *Rishi's* experience of manufacturing and providing services, 10 SWOT analyses and 10 seasonal calendars were made to know the the problems and potentials as well as income follow over the year based on FGD and conversation. For primary data collection from male members, female members, Dalit leaders, young boys and girls, concerned NGOs and GoB Officials, Civil Society Organization (CSO) and local representatives were interviewed. Each FGD consisted of 8 to 10 respondents. The topic of discussion was in line with the objective of the study. Attempts were made to avoid any dominant respondent during FGDs. Furthermore, the researcher avoided sensitive, judgmental and leading questions. Besides, 10 KIIs were conducted with target stakeholders. The key informants were the female and male members of the Rishi community.

In recent years observation in an informal setting has become an important way to get valid and accurate information on the life of the Rishi people. In this study observation constituted an important means to collect qualitative information in a natural setting. Observation focused on Rishi life, their encounters with mainstream societies, household dynamics, male and female interactions, and children out doors.

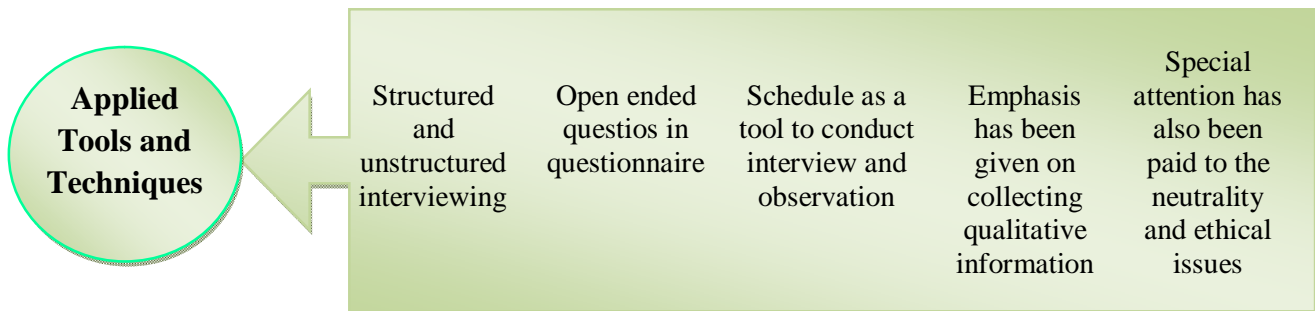
During field work the researcher has talked with local elected bodies, government and NGO officials working in the Upazilato collect documents about their services toward the Rishi people. Then the collected secondary sources of data such as survey reports, posters, and leaflets from three NGOs- Bhumija Foundation, Uttaran, Paritran and *Dalit* which have special programs for the *Dalits*. At the same time the oral history was gathered from some officials of these organizations. The researcher visited their offices and observes how they do counseling and provide services.

2.4 Applied Techniques and Tools

Anthropological techniques and tools help guide the researcher through the wilderness of personal observation and identify and classify accurately the bewildering variety of events and actions that form a social situation. This study used some techniques and tools for data collection, such as- structured and unstructured interviewing, open ended questions in questionnaire, schedule as a tool to conduct interview and observation. During the field work,

emphasis has been given on collecting qualitative information in order to comprehend dimensions of *Dalit* community and their products. Special attention has also been paid to the neutrality and ethical issues. Before going to the field the study prepared a questionnaire including 128 different questions. Open ended questionnaire has been followed considering the nature of the study; moreover the questionnaire has been divided in 14 segments so that in all aspect of occupational issues of Rishis were included, such as basic house hold information, socio-economic condition, occupational profiles, detailed information on 10 manufacturing and service providing occupational groups and their occupational development related questions following the line of the research objectives. The questionnaire was considered as the heart of this research because it was the main technique of data collection which was employed during the field work. The questionnaire (Annexure-2) has helped this research as a better instrument for obtaining information about personal life, feelings, expectations and occupation related other issues. However, the tools and techniques that have been used in under the study as shown in figure no 2.2.

Figure: 2.2 Applied tools and techniques



During the field work interviews have been taken from ten manufacturing and service providing groups of Rishi community at all the places like- at home, in the tea stall, in the working places, in the field, at the market places, at Union Parishad and also at offices (Government and NGOs) and at any where the respondent preferred. In simple term, interview means ‘conversation with a purpose’. It was a procedure used for collecting data through a person to person contact between present researcher and respondents. In interview, data collection was done mainly through verbal

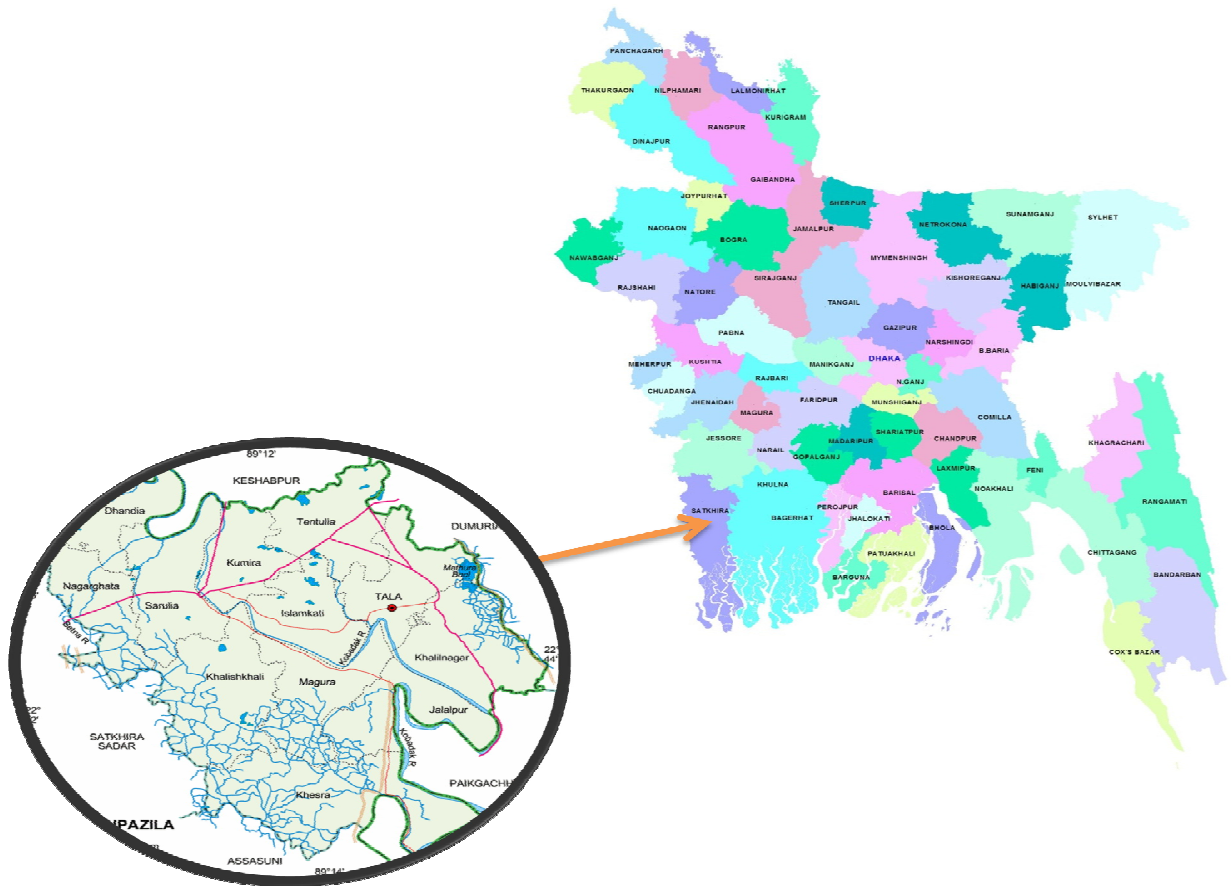
interaction between the respondents and interviewer. Moreover, many inside views and ideas of the respondents have been elicited through these interviews.

However, according to the nature and minimizing the objectives, the present research has been taken two hundred (200) interviews from different categories of producers and service providers of Rishi community. The respondents were selected by the randomly purposive selection process. The field work of this study was conducted in Dhulanda Rishi para as well as other occupational groups' occupied villages of Tala Upazila in Satkhira district, a south western district of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Government defines a village as an ensemble of several *paras*, however; the people defined a para, which is consisted of several close neighbourhoods with shared boundaries. There are forty Rishi households in my village. Among forty households 20 are directly involved with bamboo craft, two are involved in cane craft, one is carpentry, one is cattle castrating, two are involved in male-goat rearing two are involved in drum making activity, one household head isengaged in footwear repairing, two were involved in skin processing and nine household heads are involved as day laborer, van puller, CNG driver, bike driver and service holders. But showpiece maker and show craftsmen were not found in the Rishi para of Dhulanda village. The study has selected eight occupational groups in this Rishi para. In addition to get the clear idea about the whole occupational groups of Tala Upazila. The study has prepared a list of 4011 Rishi households from the 37 villages of 12 unions under Tala upazila(Annexure-3).Then the study has selected all occupational groups (nine) except bamboo craftsmen from the whole upazila. All bamboo craftsmen (20) and other 7 traditional occupational groups with total number of 11 household heads were selected in Dhulanda Village. The study has selected the 9 occupational groups from 169 households from the whole Upazila. Thus the study chose 200 Rishi households for conducting interviews.

2.5 Selection of the Study Area

The research questions shape the selection of a place and people to study. Ideally, the focus of the investigation shifts to match the site under study. Visual presentations are useful tools in anthropological research. Having to draw a map of the community tests researcher understands of the area's physical layout. It can also help the researcher chart a course through the community. The present study has been conducted in Dhulanda Rishi para as well as other

occupational groups' occupied villages of Tala Upazila in Satkhira district, a south western district of Bangladesh. From Dulundavillage, it takes around eight hours by bus to reach Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh.



Map-2: Map of Study Area

This village is consists of three paras and each para is occupied by three distinct communities (Muslim, Hindu and Rishi community).The total population of the village is about 2040 with approximately 1012 male and 1028 female(Field Survey, 2017)

Chart-2.1: Occupation wise studied areas of Tala Upazila under Satkhira district

Name of occupation	Para wise village name	Union name
Bamboo Craft	Dhulanda	Magura
	Manikhar, Senergati	Dhandia

Name of occupation	Para wise village name	Union name	
Cane Craft	Nagorghata	Nagorghata	
	Kasipur, Tailkupi	Sarulia	
	Dhulanda	Magura	
	Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha	
Footwear Craft	Kanaidia , Nehalpur	Jalalpur	
	Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali	
	Manikhar, Senergati	Dhandia	
	Nagorghata	Nagorghata	
	Kasipur	Sarulia	
	Hatbus	Tentulia	
	Kadikati	Khaliskhali	
Drum Making	Manikhar, Senergati	Dhandia	
	Nagorghata	Nagorghata	
	Kasipur, Tailkupi	Sarulia	
	Gonali-Horichandrakati	Khalilnagor	
	Dhulanda, Folyea, Bolorampur	Magura	
	Baliea, Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha	
	Srimontokati, Kanaidia	Jalalpur	
	Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali	
	Manikhar,Senergati	Dhandia	
	Nagorghata	Nagorghata	
	Kasipur	Sarulia	
	Modonpur	Tentulia	
	Kismotghona	Tala	
Carpentary	Barat	Islamkati	
	Gonali-Horichandrakati, Mohondi, Hazrakati	Khalilnagor	
	Dhulanda, Folyea, Bolorampur	Magura	
	Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha	
	Srimontokati,Kanaidia. Nehalpur	Jalalpur	
	Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali	
	Homemade Showpiecces Maker	Nagorghata	Nagorghata
		Kadikati, Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali
		Senergati	Dhandia
		Kasipur	Sarulia
Hatbus		Tentulia	
Amanullahpur		Kumira	
Semen Incimination	Kismotghona, Ataroi, Jatpur	Tala	
	Sujansaha	Islamkati	
	Mohondi, Hazrakati	Khalilnagor	
	Dhulanda, Folyea, Bolorampur	Magura	
	Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha	
	Srimontokati, Kanaidia	Jalalpur	
	Kadikati, Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali	
	Senergati	Dhandia	

Name of occupation	Para wise village name	Union name
Cattle Castration	Kasipur, Tailkupi	Sarulia
	Modonpur	Tentulia
	Ataroi, Jatpur	Tala
	Sujansaha	Islamkati
	Gonali-Horichandrakati, Nurullahpur, Hazrakati	Khalilnagor
	Dhulanda, Folyea, Bolorampur	Magura
	Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha
	Srimontokati	Jalalpur
	Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali
	Manikhar, Senergati	Dhandia
Reparing foot ware	Nagorghata	Nagorghata
	Kasipur, Tailkupi	Sarulia
	Ataroi	Tala
	Sujansaha	Islamkati
	Gonali-Horichandrakati, Nurullahpur	Khalilnagor
	Magura, Dhulanda	Magura
	Baliea, Khersha, Shalikha	Khersha
	Srimontokati, Kanaidia, Nehelpur	Jalalpur
	Kadikati, Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali
	Manikhar, Senergati	Dhandia
Raw Skin Management	Nagorghata	Nagorghata
	Kasipur, Tailkupi	Sarulia
	Ataroi	Tala
	Gonali-Horichandrakati	Khalilnagor
	Magura, Dhulanda, Folyea, Bolorampur	Magura
	Khersha, Muragasa	Khersha
	Srimontokati, Kanaidia	Jalalpur
	Kadikati, Khaliskhali	Khaliskhali

Source: Field Survey, 2017

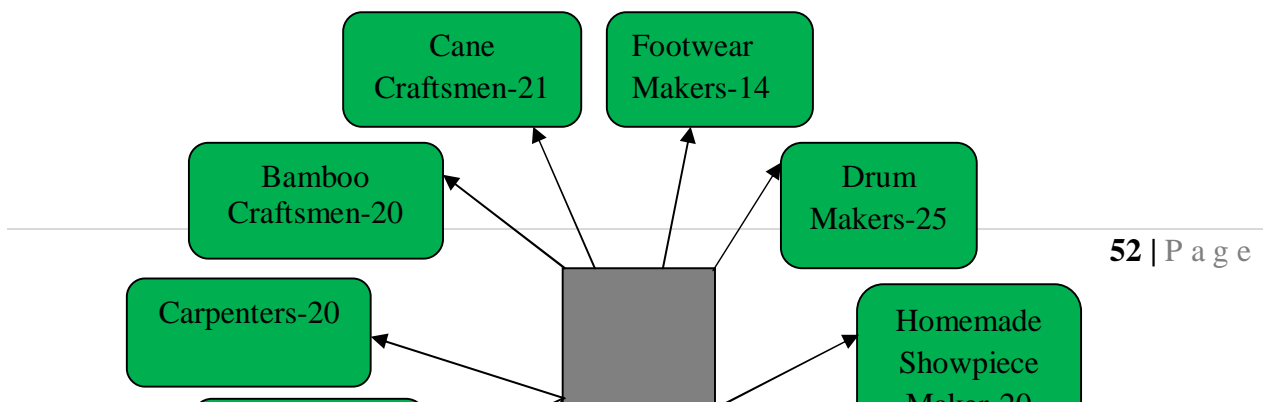
The present study chooses the Rishi para in my village for field work due to my familiarity with the *Dalit* communities. After completing MSS degree in Anthropology from Dhaka University, the researcher had an opportunity to work with a local NGO named Bhumija Foundation, the working area of this NGO was Tala Upazila and the main motto of this NGO is to develop the overall socio-economic condition of Dalit people keeping in mind the issue of untouchability or caste system. As I was born and raised in Tala Upazila, I was familiar with their diverse traditional skills within their very poor or limited resources. However, during the field work of my PhD dissertation initially many local people assumed that I was an employee of Bhumija

Foundation, which helped me to build rapport with them. With the consultation with the local NGOs (Bhumija Foundation, Uttaran, Dalit and Paritran) the present study was conducted among the 37 villages of 12 unions under Tala Upazila.

2.6 Sampling and Sample Size

A sample is a sub-set of population, and generally provides the data for research. An Anthropologist in a particular community needs to understand the nuances and culture of the population, to make sure that an equal chance of being sampled was given to each and every member of the population. In many instances, commonsense is the most important ingredient to a good sampling procedure (Madrigal Loren, 2012:9). In anthropology there are two approaches to select the sample members of the target population. First, choose who and what not to study and second, select who and what to study- that is, the sources that will most help to understand life in a given community (Fetterman, 2010:35). In this study the sample unit has taken the different occupational groups among the Rishi community of Tala Upazila under Satkhira district. The sample size of the study has been 200 among the different types of skilled Rishis under the study. 20 bamboo craftsmen household heads from eleven villages, 21 craftsmen household heads from eleven villages, 14 footwear maker household heads from six villages, 25 drum making household heads from fifteen villages, 20 carpentry household heads from nineteen villages, 20 homemade showpiece makers from three villages, 17 cattle castrating household heads from seventeen villages, 19 footwear repairing household heads from nineteen villages, 19 male goats fostering household heads from nineteen villages and 25 raw skin management household heads from seventeen villages were settled for this study. Total number of sampling size has been presented in the figure-2.3.

Figure 2.3: Sampling from different occupational groups of Rishi community



The respondents were divided in terms of age and sex. The table 2.1 has described the respondents in terms of their age variations.

Table: 2.2 Age variation of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent
18-35	53	26.50
36-59	127	63.50
60 and above	20	10.00
Total	200	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2017

2.7 Data Processing and Analysis

The collected information has been compiled, tabulated and analyzed systematically. Data has also gone through a comparative processing strategy with other published data. Both primary and secondary data have been processed for statistical inferences including quantitative and qualitative analysis with careful observation. In this regard the statistical method of SPSS has been utilized in coding, decoding and analyzing the primary data. After collecting, editing and

processing the data these have been put together for pre-designed one-way tables and further statistical analysis using other instruments. Most of the primary data has been presented on the tables and graphs then the table, graphs and figures were explained on the basis of data. Moreover, in case of using SPSS program the statistical analysis has been preceded in five separate stages, the stages were 1) data coding, variable naming and data classification. 2) statistical program writing. 3) data entry. 4) error checking and 5) data analysis. By reducing errors and lending more credibility to reports, plans, and presentations thereby increased productivity and better information for decision making this SPSS program was immensely helpful for the study. However, much information has been gathered through interviews, FGDs and from the Key Informants and this body of information has been ultimately presented in relevant chapters.

2.8 Literature Review

Literature is probably most useful, however, as a tool to help the researchers communicate their insights. In any research the role of literature review is important because it's helpful for gathering knowledge, ideas, presentation as well as theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. However, for the purpose of the study some literary works have been reviewed circumstantially which are relevant to this study. The comprehensive reviewing of the literature was an important segment for this study. Because it provides an up-to-date data for understanding of the subject and identifying the methods used in previous research on the topic. Moreover the literary works provided information about corresponding research and enabled comparisons to the present research findings. The reviewed literature acted as a stepping-stone towards achievement of the study objectives. Nevertheless, the literature review provided a solid background to back my investigation and helped me to understand the nature of *Dalits* and their development. Brief reviews of the related literary works are given below:

Since the eighteenth century, there are numerous literature, studies and documents related to the discrimination, deprivation and humiliation of *Dalits* in the than British India, Pakistan and now in Bangladesh, but most of the studies were conducted in India. As said by Dr. BR Ambedkar,, "Ethnic and or caste based discrimination is worse than slavery". Untouchability is the extreme level of human rights violation that disgraces the dignity of a human. According to available literature on caste, untouchable or *Dalit* issues are found in India. It is worth mentionable here that low caste, untouchable and *Dalits* are synonymous. The main focus of this chapter is to identify the knowledge gap in the field of *Dalit* and their products and its impact on society and

economy and also the contributing factors of *Dalits* through the review of different books, articles and research works conducted in this area.

Sekhon, Joti (2000) describes in his book *Modern India* that India in its modern state and how the history of the country has shaped it into what it is today. She provides insight on the history of the country, its religions, its social stratification system, its economic status and role in the global economy, gender relations, its political institutions, and social changes that have taken place in India. The book is very useful in retrieving information on India's history, its complex caste system, and how religion, economic, and politics play a role in shaping the stratification system of India.

Dumont, L (1970) wrote a book named *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*. It is a brilliant work in going into the depths of the caste system and specifically the Indian caste system. He discusses the definition of the word "caste" and continues to explain the necessity and undeniable need to have the caste in relation to Hinduism in India. He also explains the caste system and the role it plays in the division of labor in the Indian society.

Ostor and Others (1982) highlight in their book concepts of a person: Kinship, Caste, and Marriage in India the diversity of different parts of India in terms of kinship ties and marriage and the relationship of these cultural constructs with the caste system. The authors focus on Bengal, Tamilnadu, North India, Kashmir, and the West India, as well as providing information on the great plights of the "Untouchable". This book does a very good job keying into the individual's perspective in India and why the caste is accepted on an individual level. One of the most interesting parts in this book is the fact that it explains the various languages of India and how these languages include words that dominantly allude to hierarchy. I received tremendous help from this book in looking into it form a new or fresh perspective that is normally not looked at from when viewing the caste system.

Velassery, Sebastian (2005) provides a detailed explanation of what the caste system ideology is all about and connects it with the concepts of religion and human rights in his book *Casteism and Human Rights: Towards and Ontology of the Social Order*. He then focuses on the Indian perspective of the caste system and looks at "the issue of Human Rights as a contemporary mode of the ancient metaphysical wisdom built of reflection upon what it means to be Dharma and the ways of existing according to Dharma".He expresses the importance of this Dharma to Indians

and how it contributes to wide acceptance of the caste system in India. This book also provides deeper perspective of what the caste system is to an Indian on an individual level.

Smith, Brian K (1994) wrote a book named *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste*. In this book, Smith dives into the various aspects of division found in the caste system like food, gods, time, animals, and even seasons. The book goes into detail by describing how everything in the universe is classified from an Indian's point of view in relation to the Hindu religion. It also describes the origin of the caste system that have derived from cosmogonic myths, which carry considerable weight. They explain what could not otherwise be known; they relate how things were "in the beginning" and how this relates to why things are the way they are now. The time of beginning is considered the "time of perfection". Smith explains the "varnas or classes that comprise Indian society, as well as realms in the natural, supernatural, and ritual worlds, were supposedly created in the beginning, often by the procreative act of the creator god".

Bougle, Celestin (1971) wrote a book *Essays on the Caste System*. This collection of essays provides a detailed explanation of the Indian caste system as well as some interviews and feedback from Indians who support and oppose the caste system. Bougle discusses the caste hierarchy and priesthood, and includes the effects of the caste system on race, law, economic consumption and production, and literature. What I found very interesting about these essays is the discussion of how the caste system was affected through the Buddhist revolution and under the British administration.

Beteille, Andre (2011) does an excellent job giving the reader a detailed view on the physical structure of the village in India and an easy to understand the explanation on the caste structure in his book *Caste, Class, and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village*. He also highlights the economic organization of the caste system and social class, as well as an overview on the distribution of power within the caste system.

Ghurye, G. S. (1969) published a book named *Caste and Race in India*. This book gives a very thorough description about the characteristics of the caste system and the nature of caste-groups, as well as historical walkthrough of how the caste system came about. Ghurye goes into the relationship between race and caste, the origins of the system and even focuses on caste, sub-

caste, and kin. This book helps me enormously in understanding a thorough background of the system and also gives me the insight on the caste system as it existed during the British period and how politics plays a huge role in the shaping caste.

Hutton, J. H. (1963) gives us a detailed description of how caste plays a role in different parts of India in his book *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins*. He covers its structure, its sanctions, and its functions in the daily lives of Indians, including endogamous units of society, the avoidance of pollution through water, and the use of temples. He also talks about the traditional origins of the caste system. This book guides me to understand the traditional occupation of *Dalit* people and also through the vastly diverse cultures found in India and how the caste system differs in these villages.

Chalam, K.S (2008) discusses *Dalit* education and economic empowerment through the lens of the philosophy and writings of the Dalit activist Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of the authors of India's constitution and a preeminent figure in the early *Dalit* movement in his book *Modernization and Dalit Education: Ambedkar's Vision*. Chalam provides a comprehensive explanation of Ambedkar's philosophies on these subjects, linking them to historic and contemporary domestic policy impacting *Dalits* in India. The most useful element of the book is the nuanced analysis of contemporary economic and educational inequalities, including the relationship between policy and persistent caste inequality, and the impact on the Dalit population.

Hardtmann, Eva-Maria (2009) provides a detailed contemporary history and analysis of the *Dalit* movement in India in her book named *The Dalit Movement in India: Local Practices, Global Connections*. She presents a far-ranging study of the movement that includes: investigation of tensions within the movement; the national, international, and global contexts of the movement; the role of Indian government; academic discourses within India; the UN discourse; and the global justice movement. Hardtmann further analyzes the mechanics of various elements of Dalit movement-organizational structures, local practices, varying discourses, and the nature of the movement at different levels. The breadth and depth of information provided results in a comprehensive and useful picture of the contemporary *Dalit* movement in India.

Michael, S.M., ed (1999) published a book named *Untouchable: Dalits in Modern India*. This collection of essays looks at *Dalit* issues through a primarily sociological and economical lens. The volume is divided into four parts dealing with: the origins and development of untouchability within Indian society; the difference between *Dalit* and upper-caste visions of Indian society; the day-to-day realities of *Dalits*, focusing on social and political organization; and the economic condition of *Dalits*. Part three, which deals with *Dalit* and development, is particularly useful in understanding the entrenched inequalities facing *Dalits* today. One essay focuses on India's New Economic Policy (NEP) and details how current policy promotes systematic inequalities stemming from persisting social structures. Another essay focuses on rural case studies, by far the most dramatic examples of entrenched inequality at the local level. As a whole, this volume provides a variety of perspectives on many elements of *Dalit* discrimination.

Moon, Vasant's (2001) autobiography, *growing in India: A Dalit Autobiography* paints a vivid picture of one *vasti* (urban neighborhood or slum) of *Dalits* in Nagpur, Maharashtra during the era of India's independence (1947). Moon's account is useful both in understanding the lived experience of *Dalits* and elements of *Dalit* social movement from the local/micro level as opposed to the more prominently presented macro/ state or national level. His experiences depict historic and continuing legal and economic inequities on a very intimate level, in addition to describing in detail the far-reaching social inequality faced by *Dalits*. This account is particularly useful in contextualizing broader themes and trends discussed in prevalent literature on *Dalit* issues and political and social activism.

Thorat, Sukhadeo (2009) published a book named *Dalits in India: Search for Common Destiny*. This book is an extensive study-based compilation which presents socio-economic status of Scheduled Castes in India. It provides policies directed for the *Dalit* empowerment; in particular through changes in various indicators assumed to be the registers for mapping human development. The recognition of the problems of the Scheduled Castes is premised on historical processes of economic and social exclusion and discrimination based on caste identity. The book relies on micro-level studies and empirical evidences which is further supplemented with the analysis of the data. The structure of the book including tables, figures spread across 14 chapters weave a strong pattern of the discourse on *Dalits* and brings forth insight on various policy

directions. The floating discourse touched upon in the work on historical and structural deprivations, engages as bedrock for *Dalits* in search for a common Destiny.

Thorat, Sukhadeo and Others (2010) edited a book named *Blocked by Caste: Economic Discrimination in Modern India*. This book is a compilation of 13 essays, which investigate discrimination by focusing on the urban labor market as well as rural markets providing empirical evidences. This edited volume focus on the repercussion of caste-based economic description, both as it impacts Dalit populations and overall development and economic health in India. The authors use a variety of current data in painting a detailed picture of the discrimination *Dalits* face in various markets, particularly labor, and in the delivery of public services such as health and education. The data also portrays the consequences of caste discrimination as reflected in the inequality of access to capital assets, business, employment, education, health services, and widespread poverty. This volume targets the under-researched economic elements of caste discrimination, fostering a more holistic picture of individual *Dalit* realities and the impact of perpetual caste discrimination on overall economic progress in India.

Prashad, Vijay (2000) maintained in his book '*Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of Dalit Community*' that the jobs of removing and disposing human waste from dry and pit latrines, as well as collecting garbage and sweeping the streets and other public areas, are assigned to (indeed, effectively reserved for) members of so-called "untouchable" castes at the bottom of the Hindu social hierarchy. In Delhi, these "sweepers" are drawn almost exclusively from a caste that in the 1930s took the name of Balmiki, after the legendary author of the famous Hindu epic, the *Ramayana*. The book is original, and it addresses many important issues. It is however, marred by its overly polemical tone and the author's frequent failure to provide sufficient and appropriate documentary evidence for his assertions. It is, furthermore, not easy to read. Its organization is confusing, and Prashad's tendency to mention things in passing without providing adequate background information or explanation does not bode well for those unfamiliar with the details of recent Indian history. Especially jarring is Prashad's historical employment of the term *Dalit* (meaning "oppressed") to refer to the precursors of the Balmikis and other "untouchable" groups, even when he is writing about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, long before this term had been coined and adopted.

Satyani, Purbhu Lal (2005) is the author of the book named *Dalits* in Pakistan. He mentioned in his book that roughly 3 million Hindu populations live in Pakistan and out of them nearly 75% are *Dalits*, belonging to various castes. They reside mainly in southern Punjab and Sindh. Satyani provides startling details about the plight of the *Dalits* of Pakistan, which appears to be no different from that of the *Dalits* of India. He mentioned in his book that Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, declared that the Muslim League would protect the rights of the *Dalits*, and he assured them of full security. Accordingly, Jogendra Nath Mondal, a Dalit from East Bengal, was appointed as the leader of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and the first Law Minister of the country. This suggests, Satyani says, that Jinnah was genuine in his concern for the *Dalits* of Pakistan. However, things began to change after Jinnah's death, and in 1953 Mondal resigned from the Cabinet and migrated to India. This was an indication of the growing intolerance towards minorities in post-Jinnah Pakistan. Today, as Satyani shows, minorities lead a bleak existence in Pakistan, the worst sufferers among them being the country's *Dalits*.

Malhotra, Rajiv and Aravindan, Neelakandan (2011) mentioned in their book named *Breaking India: Western Interventions In Dravidian And Dalit Faultlines* that There are many threats to India's unity and integrity. Islamic terrorism that is linked to Pakistan, Maoist and Marxist radicals sponsored by China, and a third, more insidious threat that fosters the conflict from within. This is the Dravidian and *Dalit* divisions that are actually encouraged and fanned by various groups. *Breaking India: Western Interventions in Dravidian and Dalit Faultlines* that focuses on this third threat. The first two are recognized threats and there are active counter measures against them. But, the third one is not even recognized as a danger, and is in fact fanned by people within the country, with the active help of many Western organizations. The authors point out that if the Western organizations that are sponsoring these activities succeed in breaking up India, it will ultimately prove detrimental to the interests of the western countries. It will benefit the middle-eastern interests and Islamic extremist movement, which will in turn also pose a threat to the West.

The perception of *Dalits* is deeply rooted in their socio-religious life pattern. We can find some negative attitudes towards low-caste people in the behavior of so-called humanists. In fact, enculturation is a complex process, which was naturally not accomplished in a day but rather was a life-long process. The untouchable people, traditionally, are identified with some

abusive words used by neighbors, through a bevy of theatrical performances, movies and books related to the lifestyle of the 'untouchables'. Though the condition of untouchable has changed, yet their socio-economic condition as well as their human rights condition is still alarming. Many *Dalit* communities are also found in Bangladesh.

The *Dalits* communities like India may be hidden in the south-west part Bangladesh, the Catholic Missionary, Father Luigi Paggi works as pathfinder in this field. He has stayed a long time in this part for preaching the Christian Religion specially those who are socio-economically deprived. His views are almost anthropological because he tries to appreciate their small feelings from their perspective and also realize their measurable subhuman condition. While staying in these diversified people he is greatly influenced by observing their life, custom, beliefs and ritual etc. On the basis of these factors he begins to regard them as distinct group. He is very optimistic that through intensive field work it is possible to prove them as ethnic people like Chittagong Hill Tract (CHT) and North Bengal.

Luigi, Paggi's (1990) book *A Study of The Rishi Communities of Khulna and Satkhira* is a pioneer work for understanding the cobbler community. In his book Father Luigi Paggi expresses the concept of *Muchi* very nicely. He mentions that in the villages of Khulna and Satkhira, no word evokes such bad feelings as that of '*Muchi*' because it refers to a group often described, among other things, as impure, dirty, trivial, uncivilised, greedy and pagan. This *Muchi* is known as Rishi. They belong to such a religio-ethnic group, which is in Gandhi's word, "The last, the least, the lowest, the lost." As followers of Hindu religion they can not participate in the worship of other Hindu castes. But in the place of worship they engage themselves in blowing trumpets. Rishis are divided into *boro beghi* and *choto beghi* within the same *jati* (group). *Beghi* derives from the word '*bagh*' (part). *Boro beghis* are those who think themselves as the *Brahmins* category and traditionally they do not eat the dead cows' meat and do not involve themselves in skinning of dead cows. *Boro beghis* are big in number. *Choto beghis* are small in number and respect their traditional works. In the past it seems that the two groups neither ate together nor inter married. The *boro beghi* could always find refuge among the *choto beghi* in the case of excommunication, widowhood, adultery, etc. Today the distance between two is not so great. With the passage of time, *boro beghis* have changed their occupation and try to involve themselves in the activity of bamboo, cane and other works and

still these are their main occupation.

Rahman, Reza Shamsur (1996) mentioned in his study named *Religiohis study named Religio Ethnic Minority Groups of Southwest Bangladesh: A Preliminary Survey Report* that in order to understand the religio ethnic minority groups of south west Bangladesh, a baseline survey was carried out. It was believed that only this turn could enable us to address them and their development needs and concern in the fitness of things. Thus in late 1993 a micro level preliminary baseline social survey was carried out across the three Thanas of Khulna and Satkhira districts. The key objectives of the survey are to identify the religio-ethnic minority groups, to build up a primary data base on them and to initiate a process of action research in order to assess as well as address their development needs and concerns. The survey was involved an intensive field work for enumeration of households belonging to each of the minority groups, while visiting their settlements, administration of questionnaire and interviewing of key informants based on checklist. Secondary sources of information were also given their due importance. The survey identifies 20 religio ethnic minority groups. All of them are landless and shelter less. The literacy rate and income range are very poor among them. The survey emphasizes that though they are significant in number, they have no participation in the local elected bodies. These groups of people often face discrimination from the wider society.

Das, Ashoke (2008) mentioned in his book named *Deprived Dalit Community* that *Dalits* are untouchable. It is sin to touch the untouchable people. Actually *Dalits* are not considered as human. In his book, he presents the origin and development of caste system in India. He also discusses the origin of *Rishi* Community, their culture, social status, religious issue occupation and so many other issues in his book. He mentions that Gandhi tries to uplift the *Dalits* and treat them as Horizan. Since 1993 many movements are continuing for developing their social status or position.

Rahman, Mashudur (2009) mentioned more than 20 *Dalits* people in his book named *Human Diversity: South west part of Bangladesh*. In the southwest part of Bangladesh, metionable Dalit communities are considered as 'untouchables': Rishi, Kaiputra, Behera, Nekari, Jele, Namosudra, Pundrakhaistra, Dai, Dhopa, Hazam, Sikari, Rajbongshi, Munda, Bhogobania, Paroi, Rosuea, Bajonder, Shahajee, Patne and Teli. He found that traditionally the *Dalit* people consider

themselves as a weak or marginal population. To identify themselves they use some negative expressions like ‘We are not human’; ‘We are the last’; ‘We are the poorest and the ignored group’; ‘Everybody hates our position and nobody likes us’; ‘We do not gain anything through education because our fate is pre-determined’; ‘We are suffering because of the sins of our previous lives or incarnations (the Hindu outcast's view)’; ‘We are suffering because of an oppressive social system, while our religion (Islam) gives us equal rights (the Muslim outcast's view)’. Basically the untouchable communities suffer from a critical psychological problem, which is worse than their economic dependency. Traditionally they are not accustomed to taking education. They also think that education is not worthwhile for them, because, having education means becoming a *bhadralok* (gentleman) which they think should not be their aim. They opined, even if they become *bhadralok*, society at large will never accept them. Furthermore, they viewed that their forefathers faced much social discrimination, and in some instances, they were not even allowed to sit in the same bench with other students in the schools. The occupations that are engaged by the *Dalits* are not highlighted by the plainland people.

After 47 years of independence having a equity based, democratic constitution, and as Bangladesh being a signatory to many international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the ‘Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)’, still makes no difference to the lives of *Dalits* in Bangladesh. The part III of the Peoples’ Republic of Bangladesh Constitution, entitled “Fundamental Rights”, recognizes the right to equality before the law, equality between men and women and the prohibition of discrimination on grounds such as religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth’ article 28(1). It also recognizes, in article 15(a), that it is the responsibility of the state to provide for the basic necessities of the life. Despite the fact that, according to the eight amendments to the Constitution, Islam is the State religion, article 41 of the Constitution declares, “every religious community or domination has the right to establish, maintain and manage its institution”. The Constitution does not recognize *Dalits* as groups distinct from the Bengalis. However, the separate treatment of economic and social issues in the constitution reflects a boarder misunderstanding that economic, social and cultural issues are not claimable and enforceable, with serious implications for the full enjoyment of economic and social life.

Bangladesh is a signatory of UN Human Rights Convention and the convention on CEDR. CEDR's protection extend beyond the state discrimination and require to “ prohibit and bring to an end, by all appropriate means, including legislation, as required by circumstances, racial discrimination by any person, group or organization”, as stated in Article 2(1)(d). There is no Bangladeshi domestic law designed to protect *Dalits* from existing laws demonstration. Caste hierarchies and discrimination permeate the *Dalits* in Bangladesh, and perpetuate the poverty trap.

The Sixth Five Year Plan (SFYP) of the Government of Bangladesh (2011-2015) recognizes the pattern of discrimination against occupational groups related to caste system. There are some disadvantaged and stigmatized groups such as muchi or rishi, dhopa, napit and other traditional low caste people who are subject to social injustice and marginalization, and have little opportunities for overcoming the harsh realities. The vision for these disadvantaged and extreme poor groups is to include them into the mainstream of society by ensuring their participation in socio-economic activities and to promote and protect their human rights, reduce their persistent poverty, and ensure education and skill training for income generating activities (SFYE, 2011-2015:165). However the Plan does not make specific references to the situation of *Dalits* including any commitment for enforcement of existing laws and/or developing any new laws that establish the dignity of life for *Dalits*.

The core theme of the 7th Five Year Plan (FYP) is “Accelerating Growth, Empowering Citizens”. In this regard, the plan emphasizes on policies, institutions and programs that will support lowering of income inequality and empowering citizens. In fact, empowerment endorsed by this plan is the reduction of income inequality which facilitates growth acceleration on the one hand while raising the income of the poor and marginalized population while raising the income. The executive inequality can hinder individual empowerment because in more unequal societies, too many people lack the basic tools to get ahead decent nutrition, healthcare, education, skills, and finance. This can create a vicious cycle of poverty whereby economic insecurity causes people to invest too little in skills and education. It is also recognized in the 7th FYP that poor people's choice are extremely limited, both by their lack of assets and by their powerlessness to negotiate better terms for themselves with a range of institutions, both formal and informal (7th FYP, 2015: 45). The Government has adopted a new and strengthened National Social Security Strategy

(NSSS) with a view to lower poverty and vulnerability. The implementation of the NSSS will be major initiatives for reducing extreme poverty. In addition it will lead to future restructuring of social security system in Bangladesh (7th FYP, 2015: 51). The challenges of implementing these programmes are coverage issues, targeting beneficiaries, leakages and disparity in regional distribution. 7th FYP has a provision of linking these types of marginal or extreme poor people to enhance their skills and empowerment. As a marginal community, Rishi community will get the chance to contribute in income growth, as means to create assets and capabilities to facilitate their empowerment.

The UN's post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) ultimately provided us opportunity to initiate implementation of SDGs, while addressing some unfinished agenda of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The first goal of sustainable development is end of poverty in all its form everywhere, the goal-5 is to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, while the eight is to promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth full and productive employment and decent work for all.

The above findings of different studies imply that a large number of studies concentrated on assessing the origin of caste, functional perspective, and the hierarchal position of *Dalit* among the prevailing caste system of ancient and modern India. Some studies assessed the adverse effect of untouchability on the social and economic life of *Dalits* and described diverse menial role in different parts of India. Violation of human rights through caste system was also assessed by some studies. Moreover, some studies assessed the *Dalits* on the concept of low social status and lack of power in the arena of economic and political life. Some studies also analyzed the sub human status of *Dalit* communities indicating their traditional occupation. Occupation based hierarchy is deeply rooted and it is the main reason of social inequalities, social discrimination and social stratification. Therefore, it can be concluded that there are very few studies dealing with measuring the contribution of different *Dalit* people in the area of economic growth or change by removing prevailing obstacles for marketing their products in non-discriminative manner. The studies, which concentrated on assessing the effect of *Dalit's* empowerment through diverse products considered very few factors of *Dalit's* empowerment mainly economic and social mobility, access in free market with non-discriminative approach and autonomy in segregated way. Therefore, there is a knowledge gap on different products based on

diversified traditional skill or knowledge and overall social, economic and equity based development on *Dalit* issues. Different social researchers have suggested many recommendations for empowering *Dalit* people, particularly minimizing the caste discrimination. This implies that there is also a need for developing their social position by using their traditional skills on making different products and ensuring access of their products in the market through non-discriminative approach or system.

CHAPTER 3

Mythological Connection of Different Occupations of Rishi Community

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Dwelling Pattern of Rishi
- 3.3 Different Mythologies about Rishi Community
 - 3.3.1 Muni-Rishi
 - 3.3.2 Rishi
 - 3.3.3 Ruidash
 - 3.3.4 Ruidash and Sri Krishna
 - 3.3.5 The Rishi of Ruidash
 - 3.3.6 Rishi and Dash
 - 3.3.7 The untouchables and the origin of Rishi
- 3.4 Traditional skill for producing different products
 - 3.4.1 The art of skinning, skin trade and commerce
 - 3.4.2 The art of sewing and making footwears
 - 3.4.3 The art of making drums
 - 3.4.4 Expert of musicians
 - 3.4.5 Porters and coolies
 - 3.4.6 Village police or *chowkidar*
- 3.5 Involvement of Different Contemporary Producers and Service providers
- 3.6 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The English 19th century anthropologist Edward B. Tylor, regarded as a major pioneer in the fields of cultural as well as social anthropology, made a lasting impression on the research of mythology with his work *Primitive Culture*, published in 1871. Tylor's main theory, on which he bases his analysis of mythology as well as other cultural manifestations of what he calls primitive society, is that of animism, the belief that there is life in many or all objects and phenomena. This aspect dominates his book *Primitive Culture*. Tylor sees animism as the cause of mythology as a whole: "*first and foremost among the causes which transfigure into myth the facts of daily experience, is the belief in the animation of all nature, rising at its highest pitch to personification* (Edward B. Tylor, 1871, p-258). In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the dwelling pattern, different mythological stories of Rishi which give insight into the origin of this community. It points out that the origin of untouchability is attributed to Rishi. The traditional skills of Rishi community are also discussed briefly viz., skinning of animals, trade and commerce, sewing and making of footwear and drums. Some of the members in this community are musicians, coolies, and village *chowkidars*. The people of this community are also involved in making of bamboo crafts, home appliances and breeding of cows and goats.

3.2 Dwelling Pattern of Rishi

According to the Samsad Bengali Dictionary, the word Rishi or Muchi are synonymous to Charmakar, a professional low caste Hindu community who skin and treat animal hides. Members of this group are considered as untouchables by the upper-caste Hindus. Father Taggi Luigi defined the concept of Muchi very neatly. He observed: "In the village of Khulna and Satkhira, no word evokes such bad feelings as that of Muchi' because it refers to a group often described- among other things- as . impure, dirty, trivial, uncivilized, greedy and pagan (Luigi, 1990:3)." Muchis are also known as Rishi. They belong to a religio-ethnic group, which is in Gandhi's word "The last, the least, the lowest, the lost." Despite being followers of Hindu religion they are not allowed to participate in any social or religious functions with other uppercaste Hindus. But during any social festivals or religious functions, members of this minority community are employed to do all the dirty jobs such as cleaning of garbage, toilets, etc. They are employed as drummers to beat drums in religious functions. Rishis are sub-divided into *borobbegi* and *chotobhegi* sub-castes. The word *bhegi* means *bhag*(part). *Borobeghis* are those

who consider themselves superior than the *chotobhegis*. As the Brahmins among all Hindu castes are considered as superior, *borobhegis* likewise command the same position among the Rishis. Unlike the *chotobhegis* they neither eat the meat of a dead cow nor skin it. Among the Rishis, *borobhegis* are larger in number. Even in the near past these two groups strictly maintained social distance from each other. Neither were they together nor was there any form of inter-marriage among these two groups of Rishis. But interestingly, any outcaste member of the *borobhegi* group always found refuge among the *chotobhegis*. Nowadays, the situation has been changing rapidly, and inter-marriage is no longer uncommon among these groups of Rishi population. Due to economic pressure, Borobhegis have been changing their ancestral production and are becoming more involved in producing bamboo and cane related different kinds of products. At the same time they are also trying hard to retain their original type of production.

In the network of villages, the Rishi Para is usually well cordoned off. Traditionally this physical separation reflects their untouchable status. Moreover, the Muchi Para are often situated near a middle class Muslim Para giving them control over the public and private lives of the Muchi. The Rishi huts are no different from the huts of their countrymen. An elevated terrace and walls of mud make up the only room the house has enough space to keep the pots and pans, clothing, mats, bits of firewood etc. Those Rishi who can afford it possess a more spacious house with a veranda on all 4 sides and a tiled roof. The poorer families have the veranda only at the front side of the house and the internal room has neither window nor door. Straw from the ripe plant or *golpata*” (large leaves found in the mangrove forest) is used to make their roofs. Each year before the rainy season begins, these roofs have to be repaired and renewed to prevent inevitable leakage. The huts are usually built so closely together that there is no space left to organize a small vegetable patch or even to plant a fruit tree. The narrow walkways separating the huts become a convenient place for throwing rubbish, spitting and urinating. Even the ownership of these walk ways is a constant bone of contention. The actual structure of the hut has to be continually renovated. If they are not frequently plastered with *lepon* (made from mud and cow-dung) they simply crumble and cracks set in. The bamboo roof often rots. The walls fall victim to the rain and become unsafe. Rishi community has its roots in different mythological – like stories which also contain useful insights into their understanding of originality.

3.3 Different Mythology about Rishi

Rishi community has its roots in different myth related stories which also contain useful insights into their understanding of originality.

3.3.1 Muni –Rishi

One of these stories begins by stating that the Rishis were the religious personalities and sages of Old India. Even the writing of the Veda (most ancient Hindu scriptures) were attributed to them. One day Maharishi (the leader of the Rishi) was celebrating a *puja* (religious festival). Representatives of the four castes were invited to the *puja* and were asked to bring whatever was necessary. The invited ones consequently arranged for flowers, fruits, incense etc. On the appointed day, everyone met together, each bearing their offering. However one of the Rishis, known as Muni, forgot to bring an offering and when he saw that all the other *bhaktas* (devotees) had an offering, he began to look for something suitable. His search however proved futile. Along the road, he came across the carcass of a dead cow. In his anger, he quickly cut a piece of the dead animal and took it home with him. His wife, who was pregnant at the time, could not resist the temptation of cooking what her husband had brought home despite his protests. Finally, Muni (saint) too arrived at the *puja* with a piece of skin which he wanted to offer to *Bhagawan* (God). When the others realized his intentions, they spat on the ground in disgust and cried out: “*chi, chi, chi,*” (how shameful). Maharishi rebuked Muni and said “Muni may you and your offspring be cursed. The faithful of Bhagawan will hate and scorn you and your descendants and you will no longer belong to any of the four castes. You will skin the carcasses of dead animals and your name will no longer be Muni but Rishi.” So, historically there is a linkage between Rishi community and skinning the carcasses of dead animals and by using this they produced different kinds of skin related products. Due to curse, the rishi communities are involved in removing the carcasses of dead animals and are called Rishis instead of Muni.

3.3.2 Rishi

According to one story the Rishi are the descendants of Muni Rishi Ram Dash. In this mythical account the *dugdughi* (a small musical instrument made from leather and wood) of the goddess Shiva needed repairing. Ram Dash, a devotee of Shiva, wanted to mend the *dugdughi*, but did not have the leather to do the job. Shiva therefore advised him to cut a piece of skin from the leg of his cow to mend the *dugdughi*. While doing this Ram Dash fell into temptation and cut a bit of

meat from the cow's leg. When Shiva realized what had happened, she cursed Ram Dash and expelled him from the assembly of the Muni Rishi. As a punishment he was condemned to skin animals under the new name of Rishi Dash.

This version at least in the past seems to have had special signification for the relation between the Rishi and the other Hindu castes. During the *puja* or '*shradho*' (funeral rite), the Rishis were honored in a special way precisely because they were considered direct descendants of Muni Rishi. Others explain this honorific treatment not so much on the basis of a supposed relationship between the Rishis and some mythological character but on the relationship the group has with a historical figure that belonged to the Chamar-Rishi group the famous Ruidash. Ram Dash, a devotee of Shiva, was cursed and expelled from the Muni Rishi community and condemned to skin animals under the new name of Rishi dash.

3.3.3 Ruidash

The following extract is taken from the study of the Rishi written by John Fagan: "Ruidash was a follower of Ramayana (c. 1370-1440). The latter was a religious reformer who challenged caste divisions and questioned the traditional religious ceremonies. He is supposed to have had 12 principal disciples most of whom came from low caste. One of them was a right called Ravi dash or Ruidash. Ruidash was born at Benares late in the 15th century, came under the influence of Ramananda and afterwards became the founder of a widespread religious movement. He was a monotheist of pure faith following the general lines of Ramananda. He taught that the soul differs from God only in that it is encumbered with a body. For him God was everything and he gave himself over to passionate devotion believing that God is gracious to all and accessible to persons of lowly birth. God alone can save man from evil passions. His followers believe that at that age of 120 he attained a state of bliss and disappeared in the flesh.

The influence of the teaching of Ruidash has been sufficiently great to give him the place of teacher-Bramachari in the Bhakta mala (lives of the Vishnu saints). His followers are all Chamars and Rishis and many of them prefer to be known as Ruidashis, Ravidashis or Rishis. Ruidash was a monotheist of pure faith following the general lines of Ramananda. For him God was everything and he gave himself over to passionate devotion believing that God is gracious to all and accessible to persons. His followers are all Chamars and Rishis and many of them prefer to be known as Ruidashis, Ravidashis or Rishis.

3.3.4 Ruidash and Sri Krishna

There are many stories about the saintly Ruidash and his devotion to Sri Krishna, the eight 'avatar' (incarnation) of Vishnu. In one of these stories, Ruidash is even associated with the main characters of the Gita the most sacred book of the Hindu scriptures. The story goes like this: "Once there was a king named *Judhistir* who had committed three crimes: killing his 'guru' (spiritual master); running the like of his subjects and creating unfriendly relations with the other kings. He repented for what he had wrongly done and sought pardon from Sri Krishna who promised forgiveness of Sri Krishna. A bell would chime times each strike heralding the forgiveness of his sins.

Judhistir therefore ordered Arjuna the coachman of Sri Krishna to call all the Rishi of his kingdom. However among these Rishis there was no devotee of Krishna. *Judhistir* related what had happened to Krishna who answered: My most faithful devotee Ruidash Rishi prepared a banquet for him and your sins will be forgiven. Now when Arjuna was sent to invite Ruidash Rishi, he found him tanning a cow's hide. Ruidash listened to Arjuna but declined the king's offer on the grounds that he was not worthy of entering a royal palace and participating in a royal banquet. However he added he would accept the invitation if the king's messenger agreed to eat with him. Arjuna reluctantly agreed and was given a cow's hide to sit on while Ruidash prepared the meal. While the rice was boiling Arjuna decided to have his customary bath. Despite the stench produced by the hides floating in the '*pukur*' (pond used for bathing), Arjuna jumped in. While swimming the image of Sri Krishna appeared in the dirty, foul water and said to him: Arjuna you think you are my devotee. But I have decided to fix my dwelling place here because of the profound devotion of Ruidash.

The royal banquet took place the following day and Ruidash was the main guest. The queen herself had prepared the meal. Ruidash sat at the table and mixed his rice with the different '*torkaris*' (sauces with vegetables, fish and meat). In no time at all he had emptied his plate. *Draupati* the queen seeing how he ate his food, thought to herself: if this dirty Rishi can't even distinguish the flavors of different foods, how can he be a devotee of Krishna. Meanwhile *Judhistir* awaited the chimes of the bell, but to no avail. Again the king turned to Sri Krishna and was informed that the delay was due to *Draupati*'s secret feelings of hatred and disgust towards Ruidash. Following this Sri Krishna himself began to serve as his most faithful devotee. The bell immediately began to chime signaling that *Judhistir* had indeed been forgiven. Finally the entire court prostrated before Ruidash Rishi acclaiming him the greatest devotee of Krishna.

3.3.5 The Rishi of Ruidash

In the past it seems that the Hindus followed the practice of naming groups after famous personalities. This custom explains the reason for linking the Rishis to someone like Ruidash. Emile Senart in this book entitled “Caste in India. Defects and System” writes the following: “The names born by castes and sub castes are not always clear in their meaning. Apart from two or three generic and traditional titles, such as those of Brahman and Rajput, the greater number of those whose meaning can be discerned, trace their origin to one or other of the following four categories geographical names borrowed either from a mere locality or from a province professional names referring either to an occupation peculiar to the group or in the case of some of the Brahman castes a special feature in their sacerdotal functions names of objects or of agents or religious practices and lastly family names going back either directly or through a nickname to a supposed ancestor. As may be easily imagined the castes bearing names which seem to call for explanation are rarely at a loss for legends however improbable to account for their origin. In most cases the connection has to be reversed it is more usual for the name to have inspired the story than for the story to have given inspiration to the name. Proof that this particular Ruidash had been a famous personality connected with the Bhakti movement of Ramananda, Chantanya, Kabir and Tulsidash can be found in the beautiful poem of Rabindranath Tagore entitled “Premer Shona” (cf. vol 16 of Rabindro Rocioboli’)

3.3.6 Rishi and Dash

The name Rishi is also used in official documents dealing with land deeds and court cases. It designates both the surname and group of origin or belonging. If a Rishi is a witness to any official documents the term Rishi is usually added to his name. Today however, the use of the word Rishi can offend some and as a result many Rishi now prefer to use the term Dash which to a certain extent conceals most of the negative connotations found in either Rishi or Rishi. Even at school the children are now registered under the name Dash. The teachers at the local public school used to address the children of Rishi community with the title of Dash Company.

The few Rishis who manage to obtain a better economic position in life try to hide their origins by changing their surnames. Many of the Rishis who converted to Christianity adopted the same tactics. The surnames Rishi and Dash never practically disappeared among the Christians of Khulna and because of their association with Rishi. So, new surnames e.g. Mondol, Biswas, Sardar etc., have replaced the old ones and some have even chosen the surnames ‘De Rosario’ the surname of the local Bishop.

3.3.7 The Untouchables and the Origin of Rishi

The problem of the origins of untouchable has produced a wide variety of hypothesis. According to some the word Dash is the key reference point with which a historical research into the origins of untouchability (and of the Rishis) ought to be carried out. This theory sustains that the untouchables are the descendants of the Dravidic tribes, the aborigines of India. When the invading Aryans moved towards the South of India, they kept some of the defeated aborigines as slaves. The Dashu or Dash of the Vedic age would therefore be the first untouchables. Others refute this theory on the grounds that if the first untouchable were of the Dravidic tribes then they should have physical characteristics different from other Hindu groups and should display more affinity with other aboriginal tribes which have on the whole maintained their ethnic identity. Because these anthropological studies indicate that the argument sustaining links between the untouchables and Hindu castes is more convincing than the theory linking the untouchables with aboriginal groups. There are other interesting theories worth discussing. However, it is clear that, as yet no single theory suitably explains the origins of untouchability. We recommend the introduction of the book “At the bottom of India society” written by Fr. Stephen Fuchs and missionary.

3.4 Traditional Skill for Producing Different Products

With the limited resources and capacities, the Rishi dwellers produce different products. These products are the integrated part of their daily livelihood. But the stigma of Dalit imposes on the Rishi a series of discriminations. A proverb about the Rishi goes like this: “Muchi hater por ar kono hat nei” (The place where *Muchi (cobbler)* sell their products, is the last or isolated place of local market). The hat is the place where the weakly market is held. The “*hatbar*” is the local market day. All kinds of agricultural products and rural handicraft are available in these markets. The market is usually divided to group similar products together and the products of the Rishi were sold in the most remote corner of the market. Consequently, as the proverb says the market ends at the Rishi corner. Some traditional skills of Rishi community are mentioned below:

3.4.1 The Art of Skinning, Skin trade and Commerce

Skinning an animal is quite a skillful and artistic piece of work. Within a few minutes, the whole animal is perfectly skinned and the only instrument used is a small knife. The oily skin is then

left out to dry and a thin layer of salt is added to prevent the skin from rotting. The sight of these skins hanging over a bamboo pole is typical of the Rishi community. Animal skinned is considered as a raw product. During Muslim religious feasts, many cows and goats are slaughtered and this provides the Rishi with an opportunity to earn extra money. The majority of those involved in this business manage to sustain their livelihood at the barest minimum. Huge profits are not possible because they do not have enough money to make a sizeable investment at the start. Those who borrow money from the moneylenders and if they are wise while investing, can do well for themselves. They can afford to carry a leather bag under their arm, a watch on their wrist and wear clean clothes. Surprisingly, some even venture as far as Dhaka to conduct their business. This apparent financial stability notwithstanding, however, can easily crumble. If the moneylenders refuse to lend more money, the Rishi businessman is forced to return to his previous state of subsistence. In theory of course, some could save up and create his own capital. This does not happen simply because well earned profits usually end up paying for feasts and recreation etc.

3.4.2 The Art of Sewing and Making Footwear

Another two traditional professions of the Rishi community are: sewing and making footwear (*juta shelay*) and making drums (*dhol banano*). *Juta shelay* is considered one of the basest professions. Low opinion is held not only of the profession, but also of those who carry out the job. The Rishi cobblers who sit all day along the roadside are given little respect. Customers usually throw a few coins disrespectfully at them as a form of payment. Some are even capable of making new footwear. These experts should be able to secure a certain standing on the local market. That dream too is frustrated either because of lack of funds with which to invest because the idea of working in a cooperative is still very foreign to the Rishi mentality. Thus the potential of these workers remains hidden and they continue to sit in the markets enduring the insults freely bestowed on them by their customers. Financially the majority get by and no more.

3.4.3 The Art of Making Drums

Traditionally the Rishis produce the drums. The trunk of date palm tree is cut and carved with rudimentary tools. A long and very fine strip of skin is added to the trunk, and with that a harmonical body is produced. What we mean by a 'long and very fine strip of skin' is best explained by the following story. One of the more hardened Rishi who poisoned animals was asked what it would take for him to abandon the custom of poisoning goats and cows. He

answered that a piece of land as large as the skin of a goat would be sufficient. After which, he skinned a goat and with only one cut, produced a long and very fine strip of skin sufficient to encircle the perimeter of an acre of land!! The Rishi are the first to proudly narrate this story. Those who make drum can earn a decent living because there is fair demand for their products among the '*kirton dhol*', *the kibi ganer dhol* and the *jattra dhol* (different theatrical musical groups). Maximum production occurs at the time of the *mela* (village fair). A few months before the big event, a buzz of activity hovers over the Rishi community, even games, jokes, arguments and fights take second place for a change.

3.4.4 Expert of Musicians

Where groups make good instruments, it is normal to presume that they also produce good musicians. In almost all the Rishi community, there are good musical groups who are usually invited to perform at marriage or religious ceremonies. The most commonly used instruments are: harmonium, clarinet, trumpet and a collection of drums and cymbals. Their attire is usually eccentric. Some group of Rishi community, in an attempt to distinguish themselves from other groups dressed up in the following way: shirt, trousers, cap, glasses and a sort of diaconal stole with a cross as its coat of arms! Musicians are discretely paid for their services, but once again they are paid little respect. If they perform during the worship or some other religious festival, they are barred from approaching the place where the '*thakur*' (statue of the divinity being worshipped) is kept. If they perform during marriages, they are fed in the cow shed and their food is served not on a plate, but on banana leaves.....just so the plates are not contaminated!

3.4.5 Porters and Coolies

The Rishi who live along the banks of rivers can earn a living by unloading the boats that arrive at carrying goods such as rice, wheat, salt, sugar and cement etc. Whenever the tide is low, their task is a difficult one. They have to carry heavy bundles on their heads from the boat to the bank. Watching them struggle with the deep mud and sweating because of the weight they are carrying, reminds the description of slaves in forced labour. Other Rishi carry out the same job in different warehouses. Their managers supervise them suspiciously.....and avoid paying sufficiently proportionate to the number of labour hours put in. When road transport facilities exist, some Rishi have taken to driving two or three wheeled bicycles (vans or rickshaws). Few however actually own their own bicycle.

3.4.6 Village Police or Chowkidar

A *Chowkidar* is a sort of village policemen. In some of the community there are several of these *chowkidar* whose appearance is very distinctive: they have a stick for protection, a torch for the nights, an umbrella to cover them from the sun or the rain, a special uniform (*khaki style* trousers and shirt), beret and belt. Some of Rishi are employed as Chokidar. However, it is not clear why they are employed.

3.5 Involvement of Different Contemporary Producers and Service Providers

The traditional skills in producing products of Rishi community is categorized and presented below:

- Cane crafts
- Bamboo crafts
- Docile or fattening of cows, goats, cocks
- Product of natural breeding of cows and goats (Semen Producer)
- Making drums
- Manufacturing Footwears
- Footwear polishing or repairing
- Making home appliances/ showpiece
- Producing wood related different products
- Producing different kinds of drums
- Raw skin processing
- Porters
- Ensuing village security

3.6 Conclusion

Chapter 3 examines the mythological connection of different groups of Rishi Community such as dwelling pattern of Rishi community, different mythologies, different aspects of Rishi background, untouchability and the origin of Rishi community, traditional skills, skinning and skin trade, etc. They are of sewing and making footwear, drum and musicianmaking groups, and contemporary involvement of different making products and so on. The major findings of this chapter are as follows:

- Rishi or *Muchi* are a professionally low caste Hindu community who skin and treat animal hides.
- Members of this group are considered as untouchables by the upper-caste Hindus.
- They are considered as impure, dirty, trivial, uncivilized, greedy and pagan.
- Even though they belong to Hindu religion, they are not allowed to participate in any social or religious functions with other upper-caste Hindus.
- During social festivals or religious functions, members of this minority community are employed to do all the dirty jobs such as cleaning of garbage, toilets, etc. They are employed as drummers to beat drums in religious functions.
- They are skilled people and produce different products. They are experts in skinning of animals.
- Some people in Rishi community form good musical groups who are usually invited to perform at marriages or religious ceremonies.
- They make living by unloading the boats and carrying goods such as rice, wheat, salt, sugar and cement etc, some work as *chowkidars*.
- The products produced by them are cane crafts, bamboo crafts, fattening of cows, goats, cocks, breeding of cows and goats (semen producer), making drums, manufacturing footwear, footwear polishing or repairing, making home appliances/ showpiece, wood related different products, raw skin processing, working as porters and ensuring village security.

CHAPTER 4

Socio-economic Characteristics of Different Producers among the Rishi Community

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Housing Structure
- 4.3 Sex and Age Group
- 4.4 Age Group and Marital Status
- 4.5 Educational Level and Age Group
- 4.6 Family Size, Land Holding and Food Intake
- 4.7 Family Occupation and Government Support
- 4.8 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

Through the comparative study of many human cultures, past and present, anthropologists have gained an understanding of the basic characteristics evident in all of them. Every culture is an integrated and dynamic system of adaptation that responds to a combination of internal factors (economic, social, ideology) and external factors (environmental, climatic). Within a cultural system, there are functional relationships among the economic base (infrastructure), the social organization (social structure), and ideology (superstructure) [Haviland, 2008:47]. In this chapter general socioeconomic characteristics of the Rishis' such as housing, population, age, gender, education, occupation, marital status, household size, land holding, source of water, food intake etc. have been discerned. This chapter contains qualitative and quantitative information to provide an understanding about the background of Rishi's lives and livelihood.

4.2 Housing Structure

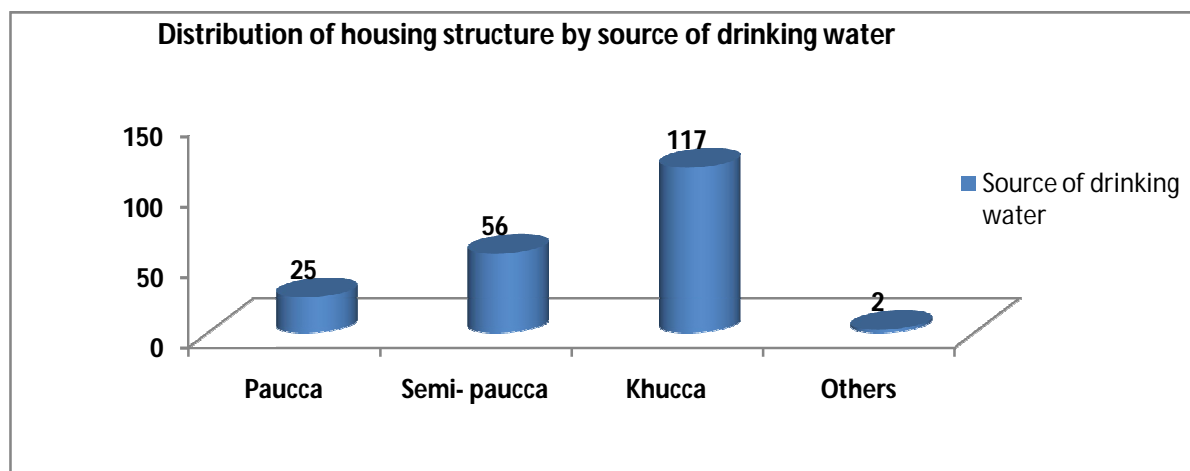
Table: 4.1 Distribution of housing structure by source of drinking water

Housing structure	Source of drinking water(%)			
	Total	Tubewell	Deep tubewell	Others (PSF)
<i>Pucca</i>	12.50	4.50	8.00	-
<i>Semi- pucca</i>	28.00	15.00	13.00	-
<i>Kancha</i>	58.50	32.50	25.50	0.50
Others	1.00	10.50	-	0.50
Total	100.00	52.50	46.50	1.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding distribution of housing structure by source of drinking water (Table-4.1), the study revealed that 58.50% lived in *kancha* houses and 28.00% lived in semi semi-pucca houses. As far as drinking water is concerned, 52.50 % is drawing water from tube-well and 46.50% is drawing water from deep tube-well.

Figure: 4.1 Distribution of housing structure by source of drinking water



Source: Field Work, 2017

Table: 4.2 Distribution of housing structure by type of latrine

Housing structure	Type of latrine(%)				
	Total	Pucca	Semi Pucca	Kancha	Others
Pucca	12.50	7.00	-	5.50	-
Semi- Pucca	28.00	2.50	5.50	19.50	0.50
Kancha	58.50	2.50	9.50	46.00	0.50
Others	1.00	-	0.50	0.50	-
Total	100.00	12.00	15.50	71.50	1.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-4.2 shows that 71.50% households use *kancha* latrine in comparison with only 15.50% use semi *pucca* latrine, 12.00% have access to *pucca* latrine and 1.00% use other source of latrine (open or hanging). The table also reveals that majority of the *Rishi* people who are residing in *kancha* houses are using *kancha* latrines.

Table: 4.3 Distribution of housing structure by source of water for other purposes

Housing structure	Source of water for other purposes(%)			
	Total	Tube well	Pond	Other
Pucca	12.50	6.00	6.00	0.50
Semi- Pucca	28.00	9.00	18.50	0.50
Kancha	58.50	41.50	17.00	-
Others	1.00	1.00	-	-
Total	100.00	57.50	41.50	1.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

A close look at the above table-4.3 regarding comparison of housing structure with source of water for other purposes reveals that 18.50% of people residing in semi *pucca* and 17% residing in *kancha* houses are using water from ponds. It also shows that the tube well contains 57.50% of the total source of water for other purposes followed by 41.50% in pond and 1.00% use in other source of water (river).

4.3 Sex and Age Group

Table: 4.4 Distribution of age group by male and female

Age group	Sex(%)		
	Both	Male	Female
00 – 04	5.07	2.42	2.65
05 – 09	7.60	3.34	4.26
10 – 17	19.47	9.45	10.02
18 – 35	36.87	17.40	19.47
36 – 59	25.81	15.90	9.91
60 +	5.18	3.00	2.19
Total	100.00	51.50	48.50

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding distribution of age group by male and female (Table-4.4), majorities are in the age group of 18-35 years and 19% of the sample constitute female and male constitute 17.40%. One fourth of the respondents are in the age group of 36- 59 and 15.90% are men and 9.91% are female. In the age group below four years has the lowest that means 5.07% among the six age categories or groups. It is noted that highest 51.50% population belong to the male population and 48.50% contain the female population. Field data shows that Rishi women are the most marginalized social groups among the marginalized. They face triple marginality first being a *Dalit* second being economically less fortunate and third as women.

4.4 Age Group and Marital Status

Table: 4.5 Distribution of age group (age 10 years and above) by marital status

Age group	Marital status(%)			
	Total	Unmarried	Married	Widow
10 - 17	122.30	22.03	0.26	-
18 - 35	42.22	10.03	32.06	0.13
36 - 59	29.55	0.13	28.76	0.66
60 +	5.9	-	5.15	0.79
Total	100.00	32.19	66.23	1.58

Source: Field Work, 2017

Kinship ties play a significant role in the lives and livelihoods of Dalits. Two forms of kinships are dominant among Dalits- kinship through marriage and kinship through blood. As a bounded community, marriage is possible among themselves preferably in line with their respective caste. Regarding distribution of age group (10 and above years) by marital status (Table-4.5) it is seen that out of 758 person, the highest 502 persons are married 66.23%, 244 person is are unmarried 32.19% and the rest of 12 persons are widow 1.58% respectively. Majority of the respondents' viz., 32% are married and are in the age group of 18-35 years which is followed by 29% who are in the age group of 36-59. It is heartening to note that the percentages of people who are married in the age group of 10-17 years are negligible 2.00%. Field data shows that the practice of dowry is very common in the marriage. The amount of dowry depends on various factors. Along with other material possessions such as wristwatch, cycle, television and phone, the transaction of cash as dowry is very popular among the Rishis.

4.5 Educational Level and Age Group

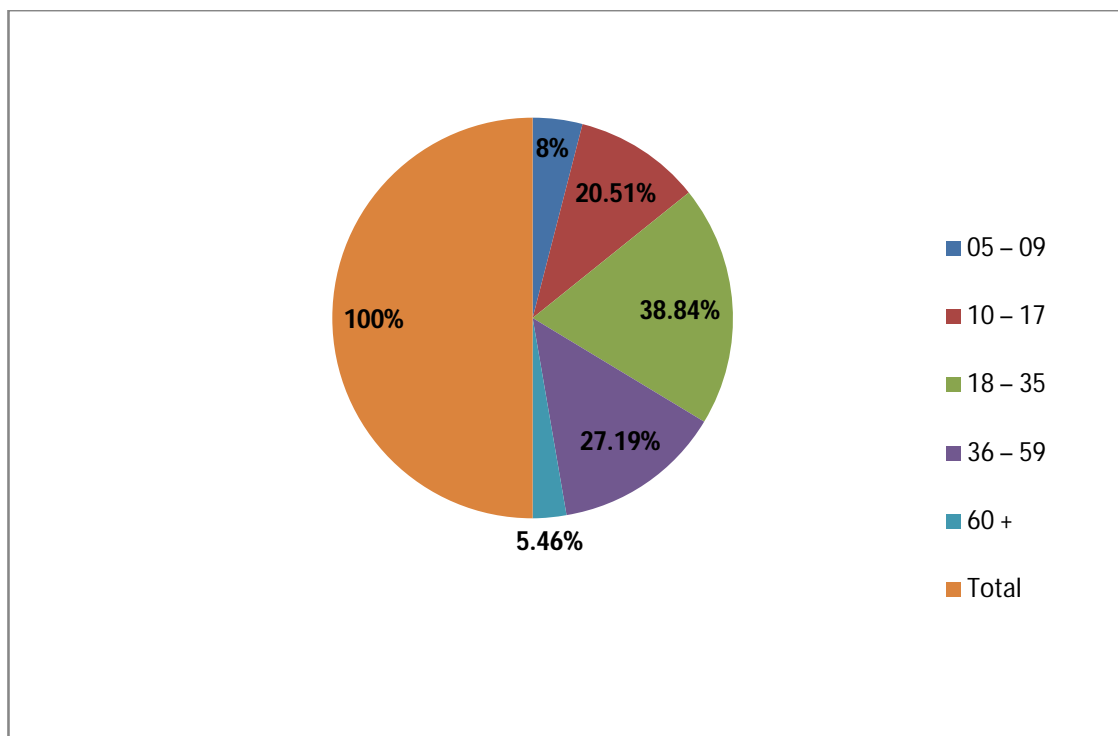
Table: 4.6 Distribution of age group (age 5 years and above) by education level

Age group	Education level(%)						
	Total	Illiterate	Only Sign	1 to V	V1 to 1X	SSC to HSC	Degree & above
05 - 09	8.01	1.21	-	6.8	-	-	-
10 - 17	20.51	0.49	0.24	6.93	10.8	3.28	-
18 - 35	38.83	5.58	9.74	8.92	7.02	1.69	2.68
36 - 59	27.18	4.40	14.44	6.10	3.28	0.73	0.20
60 +	5.46	0.85	3.52	0.73	0.37	-	-
Total	100.00	12.53	27.94	29.48	21.47	5.70	2.88

Source: Field Work, 2017

Population of five and above years of old by level of education has been presented in the table 4.6. It is observed from the table that, out of the total population that belong to age five years and above, 40.47% (12.53% & 27.94%) have no formal education and the rest 59.53% have educational attainment in different level of education. If we look at the distribution of age group versus education level deeply, it is disappointing to note that only 2.88% has done graduation and 5.70% studied up to SSC or HSC. Field data shows that the education level of the respondents is absolutely low. Due to their 'untouchable, social stigma, children experience discriminations in enrolments in schools. Only recently, initiatives by NGOs through lobbying and advocacy with government officials and Non-Formal Primary Education (NFPE) School activities by some local NGOs especially Uttaran, Bhumija Foundation, Paritrans and Dalit, School Management Committees (SMCs), and other powerful stakeholders, Dalit children's acceptance in schools has gradually improved. Along with social exclusion, poverty remains a crucial reason for school drop-outs.

Figure: 4.2 Distribution of age group (age 5 years and above) by education level



Source: Field Work, 2017

4.6 Family Size, Land Holding and Food Intake

Table: 4.7 Number of household, average household size &by land size (acre) per household

Occupation or different producers	Household		Average household size(%)	Per household land size (acres) (%)
	Number	(%)		
Bamboo craftsmen	20	11.00	4.55	0.06
Cane craftsmen	21	10.50	3.76	0.08
Footwear craftsmen	14	7.00	3.92	0.17
Maker & player of drums	25	12.50	4.48	0.18
Carpenter	20	10.00	4.4	0.07
Showpiece maker	20	10.00	4.35	0.13
He goats fosterer	17	8.50	4.41	0.1
Castrator	19	8.50	4.42	0.14
Footwear reparer	19	9.50	4.63	0.12
Raw skin processor	25	12.50	4.36	0.22
Total	200	100	4.34	0.13

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-4.7 regarding the number of different producer's households with average household size and land size the results showed that maker and player of drums and raw skin processor have got the 12.50% sample households and footwear craftsmen has 7.00% among the occupation. The table indicates that the average household size among the ten occupational groups is 4.34. And out of ten occupations, the highest average household size is 4.63 which is found in footwear reparer whereas the lowest average household size is 3.76 which is found among the cane craftsmen. Bamboo craftsmen represents the second highest 4.55 average household members and footwear craftsmen have the second lowest 3.92 household size among the occupation. Access to land is a common problem among the Rishi community in Bangladesh. It is disheartening to know that the percentage of land owned by households is meager, i.e. just 0.13 acres. Out of ten occupations, the highest land size per household is 0.22 acres which is found in raw skin processor whereas the lowest land size is found in bamboo craftsmen which are only 0.06 acres. Demographically speaking, the average household size corresponding to per household land size has indicated them under subsistence level in the society.

Table: 4.8 Household heads' occupation by food intake status and reason for not taking three times

Occupation	Food intake status(%)			Reason for not taking three	
	Total	Three time	Two time	Inadequacy	Habit
Bamboo craftsmen	10	10.00	-	-	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	5.50	2.50	2.50	-
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	5.00	1.50	0.50	-
Maker & player of drums	12.50	9.00	2.00	1.00	1.50
Carpenter	10.00	8.00	1.00	1.00	-
Homemade howpiece maker	10.00	9.00	0.50	0.50	-
Semen incimination	8.50	8.50	-	-	-
Castrator	9.50	7.50	1.00	1.00	-
Footwear repairer	9.50	6.50	1.50	1.00	1.00
Raw skin processor	12.50	12.50	-	-	-
Total	100.00	81.50	10.00	7.50	2.50

Source: Field Work, 2017

The table-4.8 regarding the number of times the food is taken versus occupation, the results revealed interesting facts. Around 12.50% belonging to raw skin processing community are able to consume food for three times and 9.00% of people belonging to maker and player of drums are able to take food two times. 9% households from showpiece maker community are able to consume food three times. An attempt was made further to study the reason for the household's by occupation incapable of taking food three times. Majority stated that due to inadequacy of food they are unable to take food 3 times a day. Only 2.50% household's belonging to footwear repairer and maker and player of drums mentioned the other reason as habit.

4.7 Family Occupation and government Support

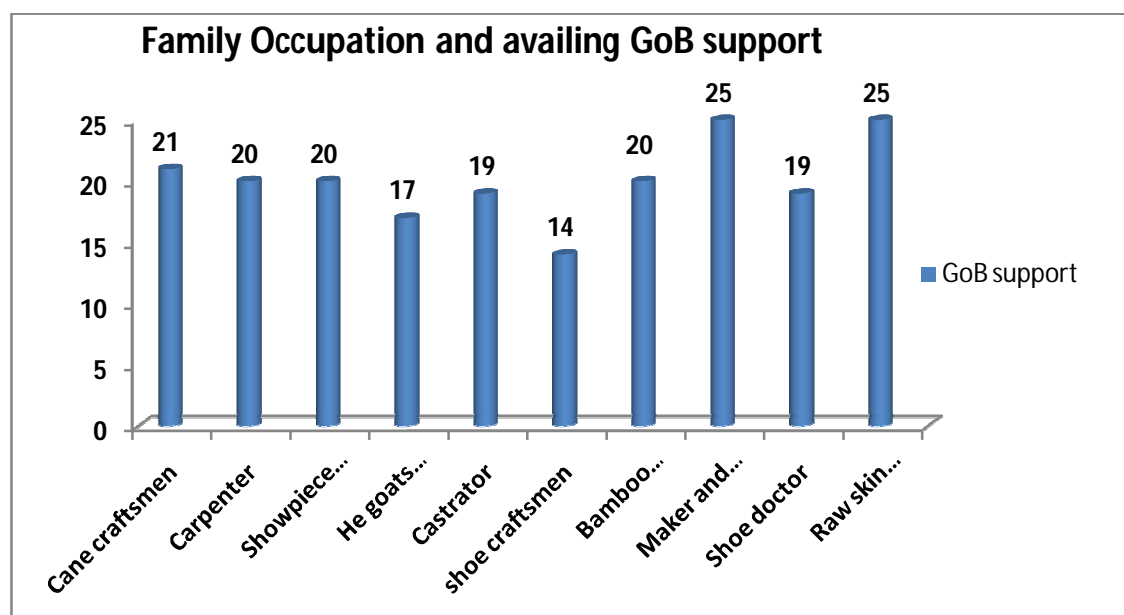
Table: 4.9 Head of the household's occupation for receiving and getting Government support

Occupation	Receiving support(%)			Type of support (%)		
	Total	Yes	No	Housing	VGF/ VGD	Others
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	6.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	5.50	5.00	0.50	5.00	-
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	3.50	5.50	0.50	2.50	0.50
Carpenter	10.00	5.00	5.00	0.50	3.50	1.00
Maker & player of drums	12.50	2.50	10.00	1.50	0.50	0.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	3.50	6.50	1.00	2.50	-
Semen incimination	8.50	6.50	2.00	2.00	3.50	1.00
Castrator	9.50	4.00	5.50	1.50	2.50	-
Footwear reparier	9.50	3.00	6.50	1.00	1.50	0.50
Raw skin processor	12.50	2.50	10.00	0.50	2.00	-
Total	100.00	42.00	58.00	10.00	28.50	3.50

Source: Field Work, 2017

Livelihood options for Rishis are very limited. The major sources of livelihood for Rishis are broadly manufacturing products as well as providing services. A close look at the table-4.9 on the number of households who had availed Government and NGOs support, it is interesting to note that 58% has not utilized Govt. and NGOs support. Most of the respondents in the field of maker and player of drums and raw skin processor have not used Govt. It clearly indicates that the respondents in different occupations are relying on their own funds than on government support.

Figure: 4.3 Family occupation and availing Government of Bangladesh (GoB) Support



Source: Field Work, 2017

The study also examined the type of support received from the Government of Bangladesh versus occupation. The results revealed in the figure-4.3 that irrespective of occupation, the support received is in the form of VGF/VGD (57) followed by house (20) and the other support in the form of debt, goat and being disabled is negligible.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has given a holistic picture of Rishi's life by exploring their housing pattern, gender, age group, marital status, educational level, source of water, family size, details of land holding, occupation food intake and Government support etc. The key findings of Rishi's socio economic conditions are:

- More than 50% of Rishi community lived in Kancha houses (58%) and *semi pucca* houses (56%). As far as drinking water is concerned, slightly more than 50% is drawing water from deep tube well.
- Majority of the people who are residing in Kancha houses are using *kancha* latrines.
- Majority is in the age group of 18-35 years and 19% constitute female and male constitute 17%. One fourth of the respondents are in the age group of 36- 59 and 16% are men and 10% are female.

- Majority of the respondents 32% are married and are in the age group of 18-35 years which is followed by 29% who are in the age group of 36-59. It is heartening to note that the percentages of people who are married in the age group of 10-17 years are negligible (2%).
- Almost equal number of people are residing in semi pucca (37%) and 34% are residing in kancha houses are using water from ponds.
- It is disappointing to note that only 2.6% has done graduation and 5.6% studied up to SSC/HSC. This clearly indicates that the education level of the respondents is absolutely low.
- It is disheartening to know that the percentage of land owned by households is meager i.e just .13. It is horrifying to note that 54.5% of the respondents are holding just 0.1 % followed by 28% who holds just 0.02%
- 28% of the household studied are with household size of 4 followed by 24 % of the households are with household size of 5.
- Majority stated that due to inadequacy of food they are unable to take food 3 times a day.
- It is interesting to note that 58% has not utilized government support. Most of the respondents in the field of maker and player of drums (80%) and raw skin processor (80%) have not used government support followed by footwear doctor (68%). It clearly indicates that the respondents in different occupations are relying on their own funds than on government support.
- Irrespective of occupation, the support received is in the form of VGF (24) followed by house (24) and VGD (7). The other support in the form of debt, goat and being disabled is negligible.

CHAPTER 5

Manufacturing Product and Service Based Occupational Profile of Rishi People

5.1 Introduction

5.5 Main Products and Services

5.3 Involvement in other Type of Production and Services

5.4 Learning Process of making Products and Providing Services

5.5 Affected of Disease by Involving occupation related Productions and Services

5.6 Going Outside for Selling Product and Providing Services

5.7 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

As an anthropological study how human societies provide the material goods and services that make life possible. In the course of material provisioning and during the realization of final consumption, people relate to each other in ways that convey power and meaning. It is a field that attempts to explain human economic behaviour in its widest historic, geographic and cultural scope. The major economic activity for Rishis is producing different products as well as providing different services based on their various types of occupation. They have been doing these occupations for generations. Thus, they have a better knowledge and skills that has been transferred from one generation to another. Different types of product and service based occupation plays an important role in their economic and social life. The common life of occupational members gives rise to a work culture, which is developed as a system of knowledge, techniques, attitudes, and behaviours appropriate to the performance of work and social interactions in a particular work setting. An anthropological approach is tied with culture and belief to fulfil human needs which are based on their habitat. There are different modes of works. Ten major categories of works are evident from the field. In this chapter an attempt is made to examine the profile of the *Dalit* people based on their livelihood. The empirical evidence on age group, their learning process, health condition and the type of work they take when they go out etc., are discussed through qualitative and quantitative information.

The common life of occupational members gives rise to a work culture, which Herbert Applebaum defined as a system of knowledge, techniques, attitudes, and behaviours appropriate to the performance of work and social interactions in a particular work setting (Work in Market and Industrial Societies, 1984).

5.2 Main Products and Services

Table: 5.1 Distribution of head of household occupation by age group (18 and above years)

Occupation	Age group(%)			
	Total	18-35	36-59	60 & above
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	2.00	5.50	2.50
Cane craftsmen	10.50	2.00	7.50	1.00
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	2.00	4.50	0.50
Maker & player of drums	12.50	3.50	7.00	2.00
Showpiece maker	10.00	3.50	6.00	0.50
Carpenter	10.00	4.50	5.00	0.50
Semen insemination	8.50	1.00	7.00	0.50
Castrator	9.50	1.50	6.50	1.50
Footwear repairer	9.50	2.00	7.00	0.50
Raw skin processor	12.50	4.50	7.50	0.50
Total	100.00	26.50	63.50	10.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-5.1 revealed that 63.50 % of the respondents are in the age group of 36-59 years, 26.50 % in the category of 18-35 years and 10% above 60 years. It is interesting to note that 7.50% of respondents belonged to cane craft and raw skin processing followed by 7% belonging to semen supply, drum making and footwear repairing. On the other hand 4.50 % in the age group of 18-35 years are involved in wood related works and raw skin processing. In the case of respondents with age above 60, it appears that they are involved in bamboo craft followed by drum making.

Figure: 5.1 Distribution of main occupation against three categories of age group

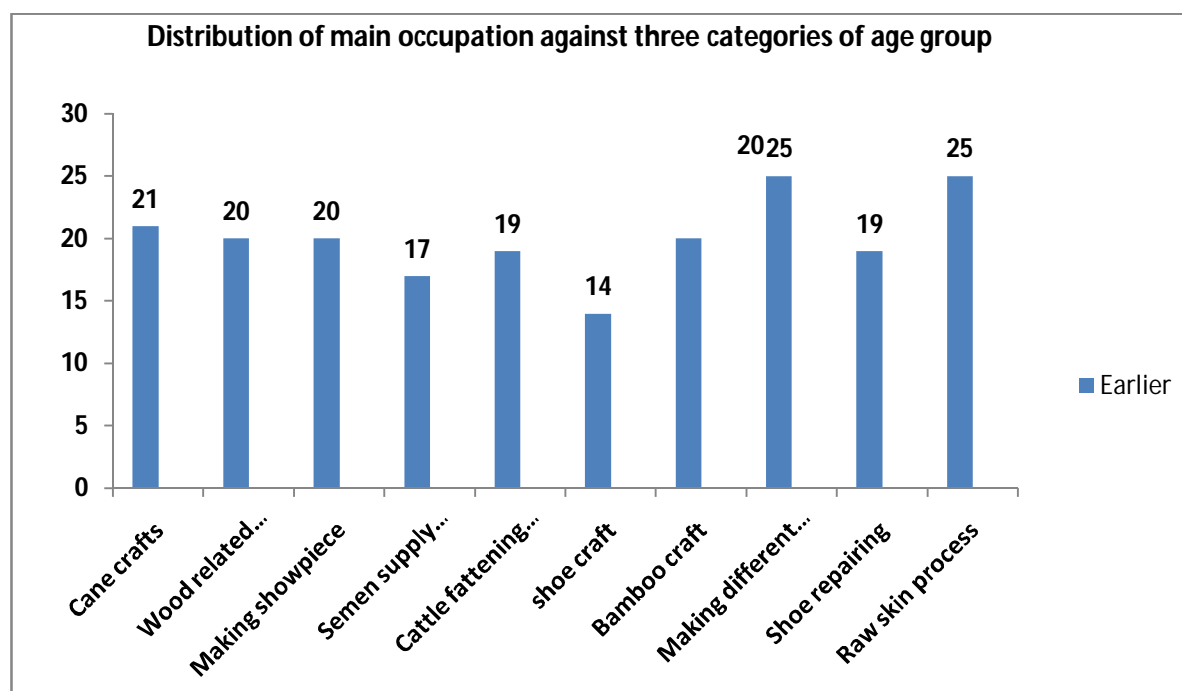


Table: 5.2 Distribution of main occupation age 5 years and above by income activity

Income activity	Total	Main occupation (%)						
		Service	Business	Agri. or labour	Handi crafts	House wife	Student	Others
Bamboo craftsmen	10.80	0.24	0.12	0.73	2.79	2.43	4.37	0.12
Cane craftsmen	9.22	0.12	-	1.07	2.80	2.92	2.31	-
Foot wear craftsmen	7.50	-	-	0.36	2.94	1.82	2.38	-
Maker & player of drums	12.99	0.24	0.74	-	4.00	3.4	4.25	0.36
Carpenter	10.07	0.47	-	0.12	3.28	2.92	3.28	-
Showpiecemaker	9.83	-	-	0.73	3.16	3.03	2.42	0.49
Male goats fosterer	9.50	-	0.13	4.03	0.49	1.82	2.67	0.36
Castrator	9.22	-	0.24	0.61	2.93	2.17	2.67	0.61
Foot wear repairer	10.44	-	-	0.49	2.43	2.67	4.85	-
Raw skin processor	10.43	0.24	0.66	0.84	4.00	2.16	2.40	0.12
Total	100.00	1.31	1.89	8.98	28.82	25.34	31.60	2.06

Source: Field Work, 2017

An attempt was made to study the main occupation of the population. The table-5.2 revealed that the highest 31.60% population are students followed by handicraft 28.82%, housewife 25.34%,

agriculture or labourer 8.98%, business 1.89%, others (Van or rickshaw puller) 2.06% and service only 1.31% respectively. There exists occupation wise variation in the main activities of the household members also. It may be mentioned that except maker and player of drums, all income generating groups are involved in agriculture or labour market.

5.3 Involvement in other Type of Productions and Services

Table: 5.3 Distribution of head of household's occupation wise other occupation

Different production/service	Occupation/Income activity(%)		Secondary occupation of the household's head(%)					
	Primary	Secondary	Total	Agriculture	Van/rickshaw puller	Business	Labour	Handicraft
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	8.00	8.00	1.01	-	-	6.40	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	7.50	7.50	1.01	-	-	1.36	4.70
Foot wear craftsmen	7.00	2.00	2.00			-	1.34	1.34
Making & player of drums	12.50	11.00	11.00	2.03	1.36	-	1.37	2.01
Carpenter	10.00	5.00	5.00	0.67	-	-	2.36	2.68
Showpiece maker	10.00	9.50	9.50	6.38	-	-	2.01	-
Male goats foster	8.50	7.00	7.00	1.34	1.68	-	3.36	2.01
Castrator	9.50	9.00	9.00	1.19	0.67	-	4.36	3.04
Foot wear repairer	9.50	4.00	4.00	0.67	-	-	3.36	1.34
Raw skin processor	12.50	11.50	11.50	4.70	1.68	1.34	3.72	2.01
Total	100.00	74.50	74.50	19.00	5.39	1.34	29.64	19.13

Note: Handicraft means bamboo craft, Source: Field Work, 2017

If the present study look at the distribution of the secondary occupation of household heads by main source of income activity, the results revealed that out of 200 household heads in the table-5.3, 149 households head are engaged in secondary occupations 74.50% excluding their main activities and the rest 51 household heads are engaged solely to their main income activity. The table further shows that the highest 11.50% raw skin processing activities household heads are engaged in secondary occupation followed by 11.00% making & playing drums activities household heads and cane craft activity 7.50% respectively. For the secondary occupation, out of 149 household heads, the highest percentage household heads 29.64% are engaged as day labour, followed by agriculture 19.00%, handicrafts 19.13%, van or rickshaw puller 5.39% and business 1.34% respectively

5.4 Learning Process of Making Products and Providing Services

Table: 5.4 Distribution of head of household's occupation by learning process

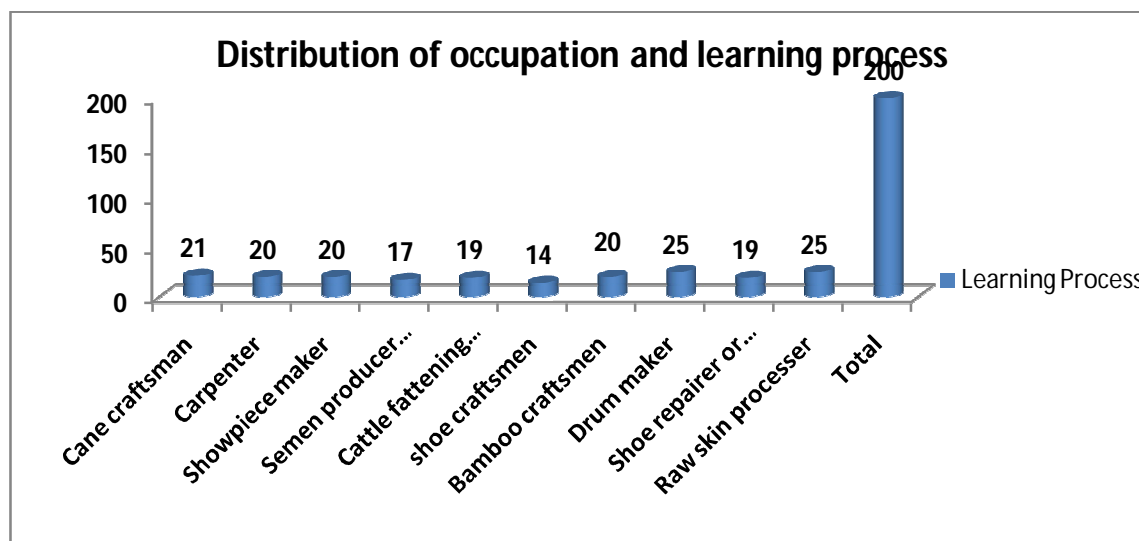
Income activity	Learning Process(%)			
	Total	Traditional	Relatives	Trainers
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	10.00	-	-
Cane craftsman	10.50	9.50	1.00	-
Foot wear craftsmen	7.00	6.00	-	1.00
Make & player of drums	12.50	11.00	1.00	0.50
Carpenter	10.00	4.00	0.50	5.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	5.00	3.00	2.00
Malegoats foster	8.50	6.00	2.50	-
Castrator	9.50	6.00	3.00	0.50
Foot wear repairer	9.50	4.50	5.00	-
Raw skin processor	12.50	9.50	2.50	0.50
Grand Total	100.00	71.50	18.50	10.00

(% has been calculated based on total no of 200 household heads),

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-5.4 regarding learning process with respect to occupation, the results revealed that 71.50% has acquired their occupation skill as tradition and 28.50% through relatives and trainers. Hundred percent of the respondents from bamboo craft occupation said that they got the skill as tradition. Respondents constituting 30% of cane craft drum maker and raw skill processor said they also got the skill as tradition.

Figure: 5.2 Distribution of occupation and learning process



Source: Field Work, 2017

5.5 Affected of Diseases by Involving Occupation Related Productions and Services

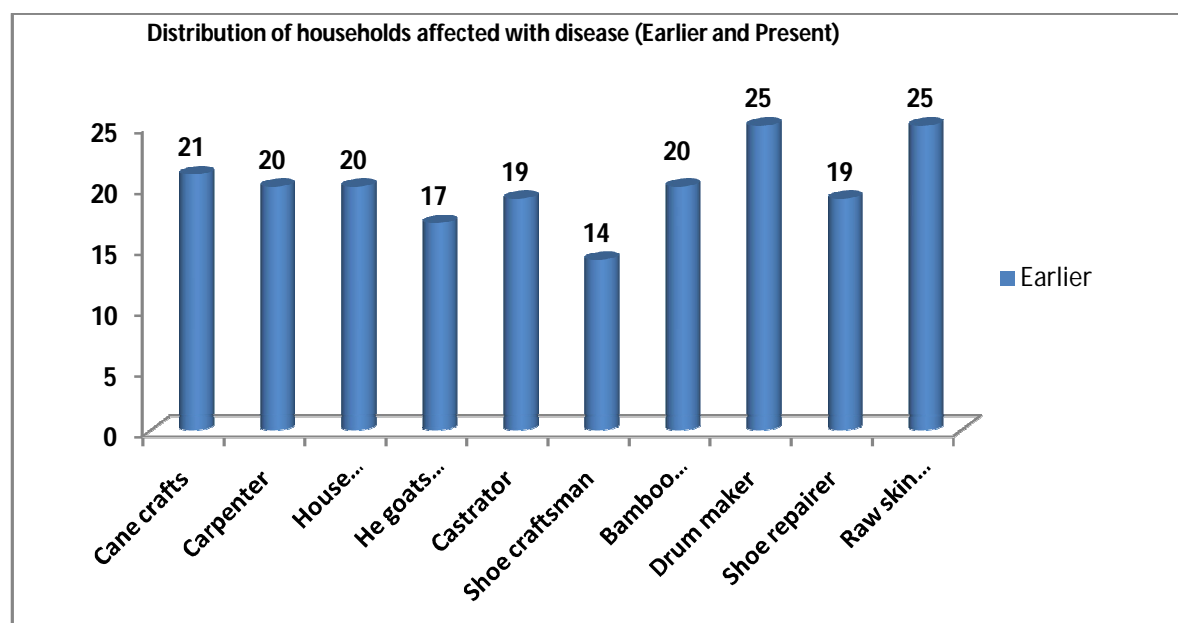
Table: 5.5 Distribution of number of households having disease affected by income activity

Income activity	Total (%)	Earlier (%)		Currently (%)	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	4.50	5.50	5.50	4.50
Cane craftsmen	10.50	1.00	9.50	4.00	6.50
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	6.00
Make & player of drums	12.50	2.00	10.50	1.50	11.00
Carpenter	10.00	1.50	8.50	4.50	5.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	3.00	7.00	5.50	4.50
Male goats foster	8.50	2.00	6.50	4.00	4.50
Castrator	9.50	1.50	8.00	3.00	6.50
Foot wear repairer	9.50	3.00	6.50	5.00	4.50
Raw skin processer	12.50	2.50	10.00	4.00	8.50
Total	100.00	23.00	77.00	38.00	62.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

A close look at the table-5.5 with regard to distribution of households affected with disease (Earlier and Present), it is understood that majority (77.00%) are not affected with any disease earlier and similarly 62% said that currently also they are fine and not affected. The respondents with house decoration, bamboo craft and footwear repairing said that they are affected now with some disease or the other.

Figure: 5.3 Distribution of households affected with disease (earlier and present)



Source: Field Work, 2017

Table: 5.6 Head of household's occupation wise affected diseases earlier & currently

Income activity	Earlier(%)			Currently(%)		
	Total	waist/stomach & headache	Weakness	Total	Headache	Weakness
Bamboo craftsmen	19.56	15.22	4.35	14.47	9.21	5.26
Cane craftsmen	4.35	4.35	-	10.53	10.53	-
Foot wera craftsmen	8.70	6.52	2.17	2.63	2.63	-
Make & player of drums	8.70	6.52	2.17	3.95	2.63	1.32
Carpenter	6.52	6.52	-	11.84	10.53	1.32
Showpiece maker	13.04	8.70	4.35	14.47	11.84	2.63
Male goats foster	8.70	2.17	6.52	10.53	1.32	9.21
Castrator	6.52	2.17	4.35	7.89	1.32	6.58
Foot wear repairer	13.04	8.70	4.35	13.16	7.89	5.26
Raw skin processer	10.87	6.52	4.35	10.53	5.26	5.26
Total	100.00	67.39	32.61	100.00	63.16	36.84

Source: Field Work, 2017

The respondents were asked to indicate the type of disease that affected them earlier in the table-5.6. 67.39% said that they were affected with waist or stomachache and headache. Around 32.61% said that they suffered a lot with weakness. The respondents were further asked to

indicate the type of disease that affected them currently. 63.16% said that they are affected with waist or stomachache and headache. The table further shows that the highest 9.21% of household heads from the male goats rearing activity suffered from weakness followed by 6.58% engaged in castrating activity respectively.

5.6 Going Outside for Selling Products and Providing Services

Table: 5.7 Head of household's occupation wise going out of work & type of work for going out

Income activity	Going out for work(%)			Type of work for going out(%)		
	Total	Going out	Not going out	Total	Service Providing	Collecting & selling skin
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	7.00	3.00	11.67	11.67	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	7.50	3.00	12.50	12.50	-
Foot wear craftsmen	7.00	7.00	-	11.66	11.66	-
Make & player of drums	12.50	5.00	7.50	8.33	8.33	-
Carpenter	10.00	7.00	3.00	11.67	11.67	-
Showpiece maker	10.00	-	10.00	-	-	-
Male goats foster	8.50	-	8.50	-	-	-
Castrator	9.50	7.50	2.00	12.50	-	12.50
Foot wear repairer	9.50	9.00	0.50	15.00	15.00	-
Raw skin processer	12.50	10.00	2.50	16.67	-	16.67
Total	100.00	60.00	40.00	100.00	70.83	29.17

Source: Field Work, 2017

The respondents were asked to mention whether they go out for work or not, if yes, for what type of work. The table-5.7 revealed that 60% household heads are going out for work and the rest 40% household heads are not going out for work. It is noted that the household head of showpiece making and he goat fostering activity are not going out for work, whereas the household head of footwear craft is going out for work.

Type of work for going out of the household heads has also been presented in this table. It is noteworthy to mention that 70.83% household heads are going out for their service providing activity and 29.17 % household heads are going out for collecting and selling for their products. It is important to note that the household head of castrating and raw skin processing activity are going out for collecting and selling skin and other households are going out for providing their service.

5.7 Conclusion

In the above, the study discussed the main occupation of Rishi community and their products or services, involvement of other type of product/services, learning process, selling process, income, and disease due to occupation. In this chapter we find the following key issues regarding product based occupation profile of Rishi community from the point of qualitative and quantitative point of view and these are

- Around 64% of the respondents are in the age group of 36-59 years, 27% in the category of 18-35 years and 10% above 60 years.
- It is interesting to note that 7.5% of respondents belong to cane craft and Raw skin processing followed by 7% belong to semen supply, drum making and footwear repairing.
- 4.5% in the age group of 18-35 years are involved in wood related works and raw skin processing.
- In the case of respondents with age above 60, are involved in bamboo craft followed by drum making.
- Majority of respondents are in the age group of 18-35, 36-59 and above 60 are involved in some activity are the other.
- It is interesting to note that 16% of respondents in the age group of 18-35 are housewives.
- Majority of respondents (9%) in the age group of 18-35 and 15% in the group of 36-59 are in handicrafts work and similarly 3 % in the group of 60 years are also in the same occupation.
- Regarding distribution of occupation with respect of age , the results revealed that majority(62%) of the respondents are in the age group of 36-59 years and 14% are involved in Raw Skin processing occupation and 12% in cane craft and other dominated occupations are Cattle fattening through castration and bamboo craft. With regard to category of 18-35 years constituting by 22%, the dominant occupation was found to be Raw Skin Processing
- More than fifty percent (58%) has acquired their occupation skill as tradition and 22% through other sources like training schools etc.Hundred percent (100%) of the respondents from bamboo craft occupation said that they got the skill as tradition.

- It is found that that majority (77%) is not affected with any disease earlier and similarly 62% said that currently also they are fine and not affected. The respondents with house decorative, bamboo craft and footwear repairing activity said that they are affected now with some disease or the other.
- About (34%) said that they are affected with waist/stomach and headache, (46%) said that they were affected with headache, weakness, Chest pain and Bronchitis. Around 25% said that they suffered a lot with headache.

It is interesting to note that 60% go out for work and 35 % work ashawkerand 32% for repairing and for providing service, 13 % for castrating and 18% for collecting and selling skin.

CHAPTER 6

Manufacturing Products of Rishi People

6.1 Bamboo Craft

- 6.1.1 Introduction
- 6.1.2 Experience wise Hours of Work and Daily Income
- 6.1.3 Product wise per Unit Cost, Values, Earning and Sale Procedure
- 6.1.4 Expert of Bamboo Craft Workers
- 6.1.5 Seasonal Calendar for Bamboo Craftsman
- 6.1.6 SWOT Analysis of Bamboo Craftsman
- 6.1.7 Conclusion

6.2 Cane Craft

- 6.2.1 Introduction
- 6.2.2 Income and Hours of Work
- 6.2.3 Product, Average Cost and Value
- 6.2.4 Experience wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product
- 6.2.5 Case Studies of Different Cane Craft Experts
- 6.2.6 Seasonal Calendar for Cane Products
- 6.2.7 SWOT Analysis of Cane Craftsman

6.3 Footwear

- 6.3.1 Introduction
- 6.3.2 Household wise Average Year of Experiences, Hours of Works and Daily Income
- 6.3.3 Average per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product
- 6.3.4 Production wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure
- 6.3.5 Story of Three Experts of Footwear Makers
- 6.3.6 Seasonal Calendar for the Product of Footwear Maker
- 6.3.7 SWOT Analysis of Footwear Makers
- 6.3.8 Conclusion

6.4 Drums

- 6.4.1 Introduction
- 6.4.2 Household head wise Working Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income
- 6.4.3 Per unit Cost, Value and Earning by the Type of Product
- 6.4.4 Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product
- 6.4.5 Musical Instruments
- 6.4.6 Story of Some Expert of Drum Makers
- 6.4.7 Seasonal Calendar for Drum Makers
- 6.4.8 SWOT Analysis of Drum Making Product
- 6.4.9 Conclusion

6.5 Carpentry

- 6.5.1 Introduction
- 6.5.2 Experiences of Household Head, Working Hours, Daily Income and Material Collection Place
- 6.5.3 Place of Activity, Per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product
- 6.5.4 Story of Expert Carpenters
- 6.5.5 Seasonal Calendar for Carpentry Works
- 6.5.6 SWOT Analysis of Carpenters
- 6.5.7 Conclusion

6.6 Home Made Showpieces Production

- 6.6.1 Introduction
- 6.6.2 Average Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income
- 6.6.3 Sale Procedure by User of Product
- 6.6.4 Average per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product
- 6.6.5 Story of Some Showpiece Workers
- 6.6.6 Seasonal Calendar for Showpiece Makers
- 6.6.7 SWOT Analysis of Showpiece Producers
- 6.6.8 Conclusion

Chapter-6: Manufacturing Products

Manufacturing products is the mirror of culture, tradition and aesthetics of the artisans who create them. It is sometimes more precisely expressed as artisanal handicraft which includes a wide variety of work where useful and decorative objects are made completely by hand or by using only simple tools. It is a traditional main sector of craft for Rishi people and applies to a wide range of creative and designing activities that are related to making things with one's hands and skill, including work with bamboo, cane, leather, jute, plant fibers, etc. Actually all known societies make gender distinctions, but the content of these distinctions varies from culture to culture. Anthropology studies cultures near and distant to understand and explain how people distinguish among genders in their beliefs and practices. An anthropological approach to gender seeks to demonstrate the role of culture and society in shaping specific gender distinctions, and the ways these gender distinctions in turn affect the culture and social organization of societies around the world.

The anthropology of art studies and analyses the wide range of material objects produced by people. These are considered not merely as aesthetic objects but are understood to play a wider role in people's lives. Anthropologists are interested in the symbolic meanings encoded in such objects, as well as in the materials and techniques used to produce them. In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss in detail 6 manufacturing related groups' viz., bamboo craft, cane craft, carpentry, show piece maker, footwear craft maker, drum maker and player. Case studies of successful people under each occupation are presented. A detailed seasonal calendar with SWOT analysis is given at the end.

6.1 Bamboo Craft

6.1.1 Introduction

The relationship between human beings and their environment has stirred reactions between nature and the development of mind and actions. Bamboo craft is one of the oldest crafts in Bangladesh. The present chapter attempts to highlight the scenario of bamboo craft of *Rishi* community in detail. The bamboo forms part of the lifestyle of Rishi people. In making bamboo craft, men generally go out for collecting bamboo, for cutting and splitting bamboo. These

having been done, most of the remaining work is done by women. During the seasons of heavy rainfall, the men are seen spending time at home and engage themselves in making bamboo items, indirectly assisting their female counterparts to accelerate their works in weaving various bamboo crafts. It has been observed that children help their parents in making bamboo products. By observing their elder working on bamboo, the children become apprentices and gradually learn the art of making bamboo products but girls show more interest in making bamboo products while the boys enjoy playing with their friends. Bamboo craft is thus an important livelihood options for the Rishis. An empirical data on bamboo craft making artisans' working hours, income, average cost per unit, value, place of sale and distribution channel is presented below.

6.1.2 Experience wise Hours of Work and Daily Income

Table:6. 1 Households' average year of experience, hours of work & daily income by years of experience for bamboo crafts occupation

Experience (Years)	No. of households(%)	Average(%)		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 10	10.00	9.00	7.00	175.00
11 to 20	40.00	16.25	8.75	176.00
21 to 30	15.00	30.00	6.33	170.00
31 +	35.00	37.85	7.00	175.00
All	100.00	20.12	7.60	174.65

Source: Field Work, 2017

In this occupation of bamboo crafts, the table-6.1 shows that the average year of experience was found to be 20.12 and the hours of work appears to be 7.60 hours and the average daily income come to be BDT 175 Taka [Bangladesh Taka (Bangladesh Currency)] 175 Taka. The table further shows that 11 to 20 years experienced bamboo craftsmen work 8.75 hours and their daily income is approximately 176 Taka which is higher than the other experienced group of bamboo craftsman respectively. A few elderly people both male and female who no longer can go to the works are found to prepare the bamboo strips or plaiting bamboo crafts at home.

6.1.3 Product wise per Unit Cost, Values, Earning and Sale Procedure

Table: 6. 2 Distribution of average per unit cost and their value by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Cost (Taka)	Value (Taka)	Earning (Taka)
<i>Jhuri</i>	80.00	250.00	170.00
<i>Dhala</i>	35.00	60.00	25.00
<i>Khula</i>	30.00	80.00	50.00
<i>khachi</i>	35.00	85.00	50.00
<i>Chalun</i>	50.00	110.00	60.00
<i>Kharoi</i>	75.00	160.00	85.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

A close look at the table-6.2 on distribution of average cost per unit and the value per unit indicates that the cost per unit for *Jhuri* is high (80 Taka) and value per unit (250 Taka) which is followed by *Khari* (75 Taka) (160 Taka) and *Chalun* (50 Taka) and (110 Taka). Earning by product varies from 25 Taka to 170 Taka. Bamboo product is culturally recognized activity and in this activity many women adopt and practice it. But they don't get to reorganization and value not in the economy and not in the household level.

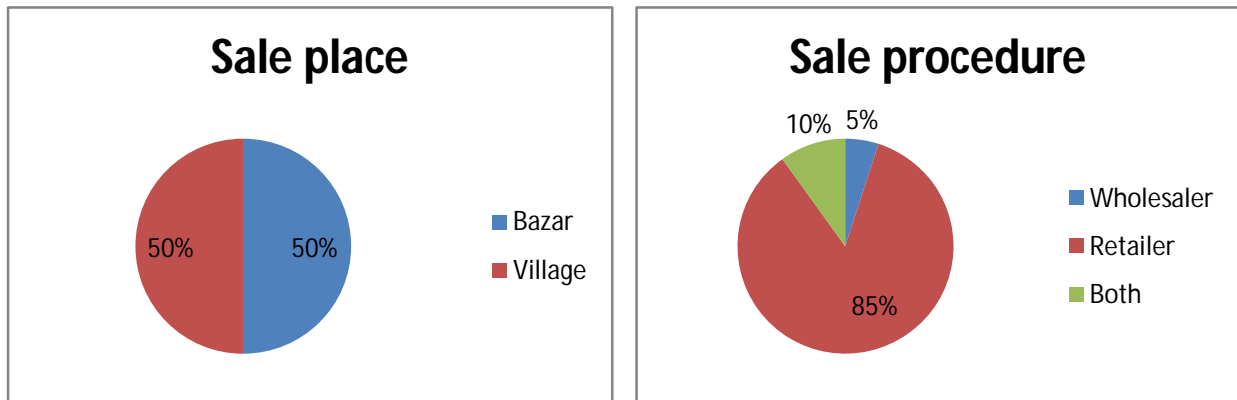
Table: 6.3 Distribution of sale procedure by sale place

Sale place	Sale procedure(%)			
	Total	Wholesaler	Retailer	Both
Bazar	50.00	5.00	40.00	5.00
Village	50.00	-	45.00	5.00
Total	100.00	5.00	85.00	10.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding Place of sale the table-6.3 highlights that 50 % of the respondents said that the sell in village and the remaining said that they sell in bazar. To the question on which procedure the respondents are selling their products, 85.00 % said retail method and 10.00% mentioned that they sell in both retail and wholesale procedure. The rest 5.00% sell their product entirely wholesale. During the study time no women were found in the market to sell their products but sometimes they are involved in the selling at home.

Figure-6.1: Sale procedure by sale place of bamboo product



6.1.4 Expert of Bamboo Craft Workers

Two case studies one on Sapon Kumar Das and other one on Nitypado Das are presented in detail.

Case study: 6.1 Sapon Kumar Das loves to work as a bamboo craftsman

55-year-old Sapon Kumar Das is engaged in bamboo crafting more than 16 years. Previously he was engaged in skin and leather business. After facing a major loss in skin business he has been associated with the activity of handicraft. His wife's name is Duli. They have two sons; their elder son is studying at 12 grades while their younger one is studying at grade-10. His aged mother is also with his family. His wealth is only 83 decimal of land and he produces rice on this small piece of land and this supports hoarsely for a period of the year.

Bamboo craft is the main activity of Sapon Kumar Das. He purchases a normal quality of bamboo at TK.70 or TK.80. The cost and selling price of per product of Sapon Kumar Das is mentioned below:

Table: 6.4 The per Unit Cost, selling and selling place

Products	Per unit cost (Taka)	Per unit selling cost (Taka)	Selling place
Basket for carrying mud	20-25	50-60	Local Dolua hat that is normally held in each Monday and Friday
Basket for carrying cow dung	20-25	40-50	
Basket for working in the field of betel leaf	30-35	50-60	
Big basket (Khachi)	40-45	70-80	Local Patkelghata hat that is normally held in each Saturday and Wednesday
Small basket (Chotokhachi)	40-45	50-60	
Big Kharo	90-100	300-350	
Small Kharo	40-50	100-150	
Taba	20-25	50-60	Home Village
Changari	20-25	70-80	
Dala	15-20	50-60	

Source: Field Work, 2017

Sapon Kumar mentioned that the advantage of this work is that it can be done together. As a raw material he uses green bamboo and its branches. Hook, sharp and hands are used for this purpose as the tool. He mentioned that business is good in April and May. This is the time of soil related works. This time is also the season of summer fruit and thus the demand of basket is quite high. During the monsoon the business is not good as sometimes the products are sold at a very low cost and sometimes products cannot be sold also.

The business also goes well in October and November. At this time, the demand for basket and *changari* is high. In the month of December, January and February, small, medium and large baskets are in great demand. Many funerals and the wedding ceremonies take place in these months. He thinks that the market of baskets has expanded compared to the previous time. Prior to that basket was sold at Tk 10-15, which is now being sold at Tk 40-50. However, compared to the previous time the amount of bamboo branch (*kunci*) has decreased. In September and October, new branches of bamboo are available and at that time, 5-6 pm *kunci* are sold at TK.10. He said that the two baskets can be made with a good quality of *kunci*.

In the month of June, July, August and January the demand of various types of bamboo made fishing pot is high. But the sad part he mentioned is that due to availability of plastic baskets, the

demand of bamboo made basket is falling day by day. The market of basket for carrying fish, mango is very temporary (25-30 days), this market has already gone out of their hand. Besides, with the popularity of modern scales, the traditional scales for measuring are disappearing. He mentioned that last few days he sold the various types of bamboo made products which is nearly worth TK.1100/1200 and he purchased the raw materials (green bamboo) at TK.300. He keeps TK. 50 per week to the *Grameen* Bank and he has taken TK.30000 from the Bank as loan.

In every week, he spends three days for searching the bamboo in his locality from morning until noon. Generally, he begins to work in the afternoon and continues till 10pm. Initially he makes bamboo slice in the afternoon and at night he operates weaving of different baskets and fish keeping pots. His wife helps him to accomplish the tasks. He mentions that for doing this type of works his veins are drying up day by day and for this reason he has to go to the local doctors when the problem is severe.

He added that healthy capital is required for the job. If he purchases the bamboo craft from the village then sell these to the villagers as retail then he can earn a lot of profit. He learned the things on his own initiatives he said, he did not get any training. He loves to work as a bamboo craftsman. The neighbors often say that his waist may be destroyed by his hard work but he continues his work according to his ability.

Case study-6.2: Bamboo made products is more eco-friendly than the plastic products- says Nitypado

Intensively depending upon bamboo craft's activity Nitypado Das (47) lead his daily family life. His wife's name is Purnima Rani Das. They have two sons, all are married and they live in separate dwellings. Nirapado resides in Dhulanda village of Magural Union. He has no formal education and his wife got the opportunity to read up to class 3.

Nirapado has only four decimal of land. His family members take their meals based on the selling of his bamboo made products.

Nitypado Das has learnt this particular type of livelihood pattern from his father and his neighbors since his early life. He is very well known as an expert bamboo craftsman, he added.

Some Rishis believe that it is not wise to cut the bamboo on Sunday but Nity mentions that only on the day of *Bishakarma puja* /worship he is not involved in any type of bamboo related works. He mentioned that by using his own hand and some scissors (2 to 3 type), he makes all kinds of bamboo made products. He can prepare different types of cages, fences; bamboo sticks (*sola*), baskets, fish catching traps, many materials that are used for different domestic purposes.

According to Nity, two species of bamboo (*Talla* and *Valku*) are available in their locality and only *talla* species are used for making bamboo made products. He further argued that a good quality of *talla* bamboo is sold at TK.120 and by using this bamboo he makes different products whose market value is nearly TK.400 to TK.500. He mentioned that in the month of April and May, demand of mango carrying baskets and big size of baskets named *Auri* is very high. And in the month of June, July and August, Nity is very much busy making and selling the different kinds of fish catching traps. From November to December he prepares different kinds of baskets that are used for carrying vegetables as well as turmeric. He further pointed out that whole of the year he sells mainly diverse types of baskets. He mentioned joyfully that “any type of product that is made from the good quality of *talla* bamboo, the quality is definitely higher than any kind of plastic product.” Side by side, he shares his bad feeling that before infiltration of the plastic product in the local market, the use of bamboo made products was huge, but now a day the availability of plastic made baskets is demising the demand of bamboo made baskets.

Nity sells his products in his own house as well as in various local markets (Tala Bazar, Jatua Bazar, Kapilmoni Bazar, Atharomile Bazar etc.). He collects the raw materials (*Talla bas*) from his surrounding villages. *Talla bamboo* is also available in the local markets particularly in Kapilmoni and Patkelghata Bazar. To create the bamboo made crafts he put in some recommendations.

- Impose ban or restriction on the use of plastic products
- Accelerate the production of *talla bas/bamboo*
- Providing interest free loan
- Involvement of educated Rishi people in this profession as entrepreneurs
- Advertising the bamboo made product through social media and ensuring the market access in the local as well as big market

At the end of his speech he emphasizes that “all the surrounding people hate us as Rishi even they do not like or buy our products and for this reason we need to overcome this social barrier or misconception.” And in this regard he particularly focused on entrepreneurship development and proper utilization of self labour, actually in bamboo craft those who will invest more labour, they will be more benefited.

6.1.5 Seasonal Calendar for Bamboo Craftsman

Chart: 6.1 Seasonal calendar of bamboo craftsman

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description of their products
April-May	Good	Busy making mud, mango, jackfruit and other type of carrying baskets and can be sold on wholesale and retail
June-July	Low	Selling the product by moving around the village or markets at a low price
August-September	Low	The demand is very low, selling rare
October-November	Good	The demand of different types of basket for carrying fish, turmeric, vegetables, paddy etc is very high
December-January	Average	The demand of different types of basket for carrying fish, turmeric, vegetables, paddy etc will continue but limited
February-March	Good	Small, medium and big size baskets are woven for different purposes

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.1.6 SWOT Analysis of Bamboo Craftsman

Chart: 6.2 SWOT analysis of bamboo craftsman

Strength	Weakness
<p>Artisan who have lot of patience can perform very well in bamboo craft</p> <p>Based on sex or age any type of adults can easily involved in this activity</p> <p>Lifelong working opportunity</p> <p>Choice based performing task</p> <p>Same work can be finished with other family members' support</p> <p>Need very small amount of capital</p> <p>Knife, axe and hand are the basic tools for making bamboo related diverse product</p> <p>Market is available in surrounding places</p> <p>Price of bamboo product is low</p> <p>Environment friendly product</p> <p>They can produce any type of bamboo made products</p>	<p>Low income</p> <p>Concentration focused</p> <p>Large size of product but small return (value)</p> <p>Market is situated in a distance place and transport is a problem</p> <p>Poor idea about the market</p> <p>Most of them are very poor</p> <p>Most of them are illiterate or have signing knowledge</p> <p>The longevity of bamboo craft is not up to mark</p> <p>Bamboo made products are less durable</p> <p>Market is going to be limited only to making baskets</p>
Opportunity	Threat
<p>Through high quality training, market demanding products can be made</p> <p>Bamboo related products can be exported through the entrepreneurship development training of Dalit people</p> <p>The scope of raw materials and its availability can create a new path through training and financial support from the government</p> <p>Lot of opportunity for treating as the eco-friendly product</p>	<p>Plastic goods are the alternatives of bamboo product</p> <p>Due to poverty, they cannot afford storage of their product</p> <p>Predominance of alternative materials</p> <p>Plastic made different types of baskets can be a threat for survival of bamboo made baskets</p> <p>Climate Change induced salinity intrusion can cause massive reduction in bamboo products which will threaten the total industry. Already we have seen that in high saline areas bamboo are not growing any more and many have shifted or shifting their livelihood</p>

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.1.7 Conclusion

It has been observed that bamboo craftsmen think that knife, axe and hand are sufficient tools for making bamboo related diverse products. It is also an environment-friendly product and needs very little amount of capital for making these types of products. Bamboo made products are less durable, whereas plastic goods are the alternatives of bamboo products, that's why the demand for bamboo made product is decreasing day by day. But we know that as a showpiece item it is in great demand in other countries as well as in the big cities in our country. In Bangladesh this product has good demand in the months of April, May, October and November. But climate induced salinity intrusion and an increase of disaster such as flood is a major threat for growing bamboo which might reduce the raw material for such crafts.

6.2 CaneCraft

6.2.1 Introduction

A traditional economic activity for the Rishi is weaving cane products. They have been doing this for generations. Thus they have a better knowledge and skills of weaving cane products that have been transferred from one generation to another. Cane product plays an important role in their economic and social life. Like bamboo, cane is also used to make a variety of household and fancy products including furniture. The cane craft tradition in Bangladesh has revolved around religious beliefs, local needs of the commoners, as well as the special needs of the patrons and royalty, along with an eye for foreign and domestic trade. The cane craft tradition evolved over the centuries, and encompasses the cultural diversity of several social groups of Bangladesh and Rishicommunity is one of them. This is mainly a home based craftsmanship, generating employment other than cottage industry. Bowl, bucket, boxes, bar chair, book rack, cane basket, corner table, cradle, cylinder, decorative partition, grain baskets, hand bags, letter case, lamp shade, mirror frame, rice pots, sofa set, tray, tourist hat, umbrella stand, walking sticketc are generally madefrom cane. Mostly Rishi people used to earn living by depending on cane crafts. Cane is a flexible plant, branch or twig used in weaving baskets or furniture. Cane is light yet sturdy; making it suitable for furniture that can be moved easily beautiful in shape, nature friendly, artistic, durable and lovely. Cane workers from Rishi community in Bangladesh continue to work in the style of their ancestors with the simplest of tools. The process of cane product making of Risi community is mentioned below:

6.2.2 Income and Hours of Work

Table: 6.5 Head of households' average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience for livelihood

Experience (Years)	Cane craft(%)	Average(%)		
		Years of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (TK.)
Below 6	9.52	5.00	6.00	200.00
6 to 10	23.81	10.00	7.80	220.00
11 to 20	33.33	16.71	8.14	188.57
21 to 30	28.57	28.00	8.63	208.33
31 +	4.77	35.00	6.00	200.00
All	100.00	15.20	8.75	203.33

Source: Field Work, 2017

In the case of cane craft, the above table-6.5 point out that 21 respondents were studied. Results revealed that the average years of experience was found to be 15.20, average hours of work was 8.75hours and average income was found to be 203.33 Taka. Out of 21 cane craft, the highest percentage of cane craft worker are belonged 11 to 20 years of experience (33.33%), followed by 21 to 30 years 28.57%, 6 to 10 years 23.81%, below 6 years 9.52% and 31 + years' experience 4.77% respectively.

6.2.3 Product, Average Cost and Value

Table: 6.6 Distribution of average per unit cost, value & earn by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Raw material cost (Taka)	Value (Taka)	Earn (Taka)
Hand fan	100.00	250.00	150.00
Basket	400.00	800.00	400.00
Rattan basket	900.00	1500.00	600.00
Laski's pots	300.00	500.00	200.00
<i>Khuchifor</i> measuring rice	200.00	350.00	150.00
Repairing tray	120.00	220.00	100.00
Scale	400.00	750.00	350.00
Small basket	150.00	300.00	150.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

The table 6.6 indicates that the average cost per unit for cane products, value and earn of the product was examined. The table clearly indicates that the average cost per unit (Taka) was found to be highest in case of Rattan basket, followed by Scale (400 Taka and Laski's pots (300 Taka). Regarding value of the product, results revealed that cost of Rattan basket to be highest (1500 taka) followed by Scale (750 taka) and Laski's Pots (500 taka). On the other hand, cane craft workers earned TK. 150 to TK. 600 for selling their per unit product.

6.2.4 Experience wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product

Table: 6.7 Distribution of source of raw material by years of experience

Experience (Years)	Cane craft(%)	Source of raw material(%)		
		Bazar	Village	Others
Below 6	9.52	4.76	4.76	-
6 to 10	23.81	19.05	14.29	-
11 to 20	33.33	23.81	23.81	-
21 to 30	28.57	19.05	19.05	4.76
31 +	4.77	4.76	14.76	-
All	100.00	71.43	66.67	4.76

N.B: Due to multiple responses, cane craft numbers have been increased from 21 to 30. Each cane craft reported that they sale place by one or more reported except below 6 years experience canecrafts. Source: Field Work, 2017

The study attempted to compare the experience in occupation with source of raw materials. Table-6.7 is solicited from twenty one respondents. The experience ranged from 6- 31 years. Results revealed that people with 11- 20 years of experience were able to collect raw materials at two places *i.e* Bazar and Village. On the other hand people with 21-30 years' experience also collected the raw materials at Bazar and Village. Results also showed that irrespective of experience people preferred collecting raw materials at Bazars. Noted that nearly 4.76% collected raw materials from other sources especially the local garden by exchanging money from the garden owners.

Table: 6.8 Distribution of sale procedure by sale place

Sale place	Sale procedure (%)				
	Total	Wholesale	Retail	Both	Hawker
Bazar	60.00	3.33	6.67	10.00	10.00
Homestead	33.33	6.67	13.33	6.67	6.67
Fair & others	6.67	-	-	6.67	-
Total	100.00	10.00	20.00	23.33	16.67

N.B: Due to multiple responses, household numbers have been increased from 21 to 30. Each household reported that they sale place by one or more reported except below 6 years experience household heads. Source: Field Work, 2017

An attempt was also made to examine and compare the sale place and sale procedure in a particular occupation with type of selling in the table-6.8. A close look at the table revealed that out of 30 respondents, the highest number of workers' (18) sale place is bazar 60.00%, 10 workers' sale place is homestead and the rest of 2 workers sell their product in the village fair. The table further shows the variation of existing sale procedures. It is found that 23.33% producers follow both type of sale procedure (wholesale and retail) followed by 20.00% in retail, 16.67% are hawking and the rest of 10.00% sell their products by following the wholesale procedure respectively.

6.2.5 Case Studies of Different Cane Craft Experts

Case study: 6.3 Story of Sree Bhim Chandra Das-Cane productis never old

Sree Bhim Chandra Das, age 63, is a cane artist by profession. For 35 long years he has been associated with this profession. His wife name is Jamuna. They have one son and one daughter, who are married. His son attended only class four who is continuing his livelihood as a mechanized rickshaw puller. Regarding land property, he mentioned that he has only homestead land (5/6 decimal). His household members use non-sanitary/ *Kancha* toilet. His dwelling house is made of brick and tin. His assets are only one television, one bull and a few ducks.

Bhim mentioned that cane crafting demands working the whole day. He purchases one *pon* cane (80 pieces) at the rate of approximately TK.1000-TK. 1200 from the *Patkelghatamarket* (name of local market). After purchasing the cane, he cleans these. Then he cuts the smaller length of

the cane by slice. Then he again cuts canes into appropriate slices and keeps these slices in the sun for drying. When dried he soaks these slices in water. 5/6 big size wicker bowls (caring 12 and half kilogram rice/paddy or similar things), or 5/6 pair of scales (for measuring 5 kilogram weights) can be made by using one *pon* cane and the market price of that rattan basket or a pair of scale varies from TK.400 to TK.600. Besides he can make *pathi* (small size rattan basket) for carrying 5 kilogram rice, paddy or similar things whose market price is from TK. 300 to TK. 400. He can also make the *lakshmi's* pot which is used for the purpose of worships. The cost for making *lakshmi's* pot is nearly TK. 200 and the market price of that product is TK. 350 to TK.400. In addition by using the bamboo slips he can make *kula* (winnowing fan) in different sizes and shapes. Normally he uses twilled design for a *kula*. The edge of the *kula* is made strong by fixing of two sets of one-inch wide bamboo pieces wrapped up in flexible cane stripes. The cost for making this type of *kula* is about TK.30 to TK.40 and the sale price is TK.80 to TK. 100 he added. Bhim is also expert for making *chalani* (sieve). It is woven with fine bamboo slips in a criss-cross way, keeping some open spaces between the different slips as required for different purposes. According to him *chalani* is a round shaped disc like object that is used for sieving rice, paddy and also for washing fish. In upper part of *chalani* there is a need to wrap up in a flexible cane stripes. The cost for making *chalani* is TK.70 to TK.80 and the selling price of that product is TK.100 to TK.120.

Large size cane is required for making the large rattan baskets as raw materials. By using the medium sizes of cane, scales can be woven and by using small size cane, *lakshmi's* pot can be prepared. The price of general quality of one *pon's* cane varies from TK.800 to TK.1200. On the other hand, the high quality of one *pon baghi* cane is TK. 3000/4000. He pointed out that in order to accomplish the above mentioned cane works, bamboo bar/ latch, auger, hammer and knife are essential tools. After making these products, he sells in his neighborhood house, sometimes in the local market and sometime hawking around the village. He learnt these skills from his father. He said that in the months of April and May, the demand for cane work is very low. Besides the rainy season, the work load is less in the months of June, July and August. He also added that the harvest season begins especially in the month of September and that work load increases and continues until the month of March. At that time various types of scales, rattan baskets, *kula*

(winnowing fan) and *lakshmi's* potare much in demand and there is an opportunity to earn TK.500 to TK.600 per day.

Bhim Chandra regretted that of late the use of wicker and cane cultivation has decreased and the tendency of plastic material use is increasing at a high rate. According to him fire is the main enemy for the plastic materials but the cane products are very durable. It can be easily repaired if it is damaged. For instance, he has been using a small basket (*pathi*) for a long 40 years. He also works as an *ojha* (down the snake venom). Before engaging this activity he was a cattle castrator (more than 10 years) but due to occurring of an accident (one bull's death) he has changed his previous occupation and thus he has been involved in cane craft. He has no capital but he has a dream to build a cane store in the roadside of his house or in the local market so that he can market these durable products to the customers.

Case study: 6.4 Cane products are going to be endangered soon- Nirmal Chandra Das

Nirmal Chandra Das (48) lives in Dhulanda village of Magura Union. Traditionally he is very skillful to make and repair various kinds of cane products. But now-a- days he cannot rely on this single profession for running his family affair as the customer of cane product is reducing gradually. At present most of the time he works in the field of betel leaf. Only in the lean period of betel leaf cultivation, particularly in the month of December, January and February he becomes busy with cane activity. In addition after returning from the field of betel leaf, at night he continues the cane activity. He has only 5 decimal of land and his house is made of mud and tin. His wife name is Khuku Rani. Nirmal got the opportunity to read till class 3 but his wife has no formal education. They have only one son (18) who is currently involved in the gardening of betel leaf. His son got the opportunity to read till class 5 only.

Nirmal can weave agriculture related different cane products like *dhama*, *pathi*, *pilay*, (big, medium and small size basket) scales and so on. He mentioned that a few years back cane was available in his locality, but now a day cane is rare. He collects the cane from big market like Cuknagor, Patkelghata and Kampilmoni Bazar. He added that depending on various size of cane, the rate of 80 pieces of cane vary from TK.600 to TK. 800, using this raw materials he can weave 8 to 10 *dhamas* and 3 to 4 *pathis* whose market value is nearly TK.5000. *Dhama*, *pathi* and *pilay* are used for carrying paddy and other domestic purposes particularly as a

measurement unit. According to orders from local people he supplies this product and some time he sells this product in the local market. A few years back he moved around the village by taking some slides of cane and did repair instantly their cane product. According to Nirmal those who are the real cultivator they still put emphasis on various size of *dhamas* for operating post harvesting activity. But as agricultural activity is going to be mechanized day by day, people are not interested to use *dhamas* as well as to cultivate the cane.

Nirmal is observing that as the economic condition of people are changing the choice of people are also changing. Now- a- days people are showing their interest in using the cane furniture or cane product particularly caning (furniture), rack, rocking cradle, stool, bench, partition, flower vases and many decorative commodities. If he gets training at this time of demanding cane products, he will be able to contribute in this field. By taking training Nirmal can produce that type of product. He mentions that to revive this cottage industry cane cultivation should be expanded. He adds that as we are facing difficulties in accessing or using financial services and products in the mainstream market that is appropriate to our needs and enable us to lead a normal social life in the society in which we belong. Otherwise cane based craft will not evolve as a cottage industry among the Rishi community, consequently cane artisans of Rishi community will be endangered soon.

6.2.6 Seasonal Calendar for Cane Products

Chart: 6.3 Seasonal calendar for cane products

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description of their products
April-May	Very poor	Due to sun mobility is reduced as it becomes difficult to move by carrying their products
June-August	Low	Product at a very small scale
August-September	Low	The demand of different scales, <i>ratan</i> baskets are (low) due to post production process of agriculture
October-November	Good	The demand of different scales, <i>ratan</i> baskets are high due to post production process of agriculture
December-January	Good	The demand of different scales, <i>ratan</i> baskets are high due to post production process of agriculture
February-March	Average	The demand of different scales, <i>ratan</i> baskets, <i>kula</i> , handy fan is found to be average

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.2.7 SWOT Analysis of the Cane Craftsman

Chart: 6.4 SWOT analysis of cane craftsman

Strength	Weakness
Compared to bamboo product, more finished or attractive products can be made by using the cane	Need to calculate perfectly to accomplish the task of cane product
Diverse scales can easily be made by cane	Cane cultivations are not found in all places of Bangladesh
Cane craft knowledge can be continued till the end of his life	Cane cultivation is reducing day by day
Cane products can also be made through the combined effort of family members	Due to high cost of cane product, normally people search for the alternative product
Experienced person can perform very well in this activity	The market of cane product is very low.
Cane products are very much durable	
And environmental friendly products.	

Opportunity	Threat
The demand for cane craft in the world market is very high	cultivation of caneInadequate for which this product may disappear from the market
If we produce high quality cane product, we can earn a lot of foreign currency by exporting this product	The maker of cane crafts will also disappear as alternative products of cane are available in the market
Cane related product is very useful for decorating house	Climate Change induced disaster (Floods and cyclone) and salinity intrusion severely disturbing the already limited cane cultivation.
It can be used for a long time by a little repairing and polishing	

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.2.8 Conclusion

In Rishi community, cane workers are capable of making more attractive products. And doing this task the family members assist the household head to make the products. These products are durable and environment friendly but market for cane is low. Due to high cost of cane products, people prefer alternative products. Consequently cane production is waning. We know that cane products have market throughout the world. Due to insufficient cultivation, this product may disappear soon. In the study area this type of product has good demand during October, December and January only.

6.3 Footwear

6.3.1 Introduction

The important traditional profession of the Rishi community is making footwear and this work is predominantly done by men. Some Rishis are even capable of making new footwear. These experts should be able to secure a certain standing on the local market. That dream is too unfulfilled either because of lack of capital investment or because the idea of working in a cooperative is still very foreign to the Rishi mentality. Thus the potentials of these workers remain hidden and they continue to sit in the markets enduring the insults freely bestowed on them by their customers. Financially the majority just get with little or no savings.

Footwear is made of buffalo hide while fine goat leather is used for plaited stripes that decorate the upper portion of the footwear. The raw leather which is brought from traders is hardened by drying and grazing it. After the grazing is done the large pieces of leather are cut to the size as required by using templates. The leather is used either in its natural tan color or dyed deep brown or deep black maroon deepening on order and requirements. The sole which is the first part of the footwear to be made is cut and then the two pieces of leather are pasted together and stitched with leather thongs for added strength. Before the edges are hand stitched the two portions of the leather sole are temporarily stuck together with finely grained black clay taken from the rice field. Industrial glue is used only for sticking of rubber soles. Once the base of the footwear is ready, the main design is created. There are a number of designs that have evolved over time to cater to contemporary demands. The tools employed are less and each Rishi has around TK. 6000 worth of instruments like the stitching awl, punches, needles, chisel, cutting board, leather, scissors, knife, pinchers, pliers, a die machine for embossing, brushes and polish. Some Rishis possess a dye machine to make soles. However, though the machine is expensive, only a few can afford it. For this reason most of the footwear craftsmen work in the industry of footwear craft on a daily basis or target basis and this industry is possessed also by the Rishi people. Here most of the footwear craftsmen get the chance to work in the footwear industry all the year round.

<http://www.craftrevival.org/CraftArtDetails.asp?CountryCode=India&CraftCode=002256>

The social background of owners reflects their artisan root as most of them belong to the traditional cobbler group of Rishi community. Most of the owners have low education level and they started working as apprentice at home or in neighboring units and in course of time opened their own units. The production of footwear is less complex than complete footwear. So the skill level of artisans and major activities in footwear making are less than that of complete footwear. Workers use simple traditional tools and all processes are manual. The various occupation related to footwear are sole making, upper making, stitching, fitting, finishing and stamping. Some workers also specialize in embroidery work and making of paper designs of footwear. Patkelghata is the one of the oldest centers of tanning and leather processing. During the survey it was found that half of the units were more than two decades old. Only half of the units had some formal existence in the sense that they have trade licenses issued by the local authorities.

All units are family owned or under proprietorship and rest are partnership based. In most of the units, work is based almost on putting out system and workers in peak season work for 16 to 18 hours per day. Generally, for making footwear, soleman and upperman are fixed employees who are kept on job even in the off-season by producing minimum level of production at a lower margin. In the pick period they face a lot of pressure and earn a lot of money but in the lean time they get the less opportunity to work and earn very little money.

In terms of marketing channels, small firms in this cluster can be divided into three categories: (a) few subcontracting units who are linked to the reputed brands. The raw material of specified quality is supplied by parent units and whole produce is purchased. (b) most of the small units supply *chappals* of different designs and quality to few traders after showing sample to the traders. Small producers purchase raw materials on credit and supply final product to the traders. (c) some units do not keep fixed relations with any trader and sell to the retail stores or retail market straightway. Most of the producers do not have own designers. In most cases free-lance designers sell designs at the rate of Rs. 130 to 150 per pair. In sub-contracted firms, parent firm sometimes provide their own designs. Usually each unit prepares 10 to 12 pairs of various designs with each pair costing TK. 200 to TK. 250. Sometimes trader supplies to producers specific designs that it procured from one producer and thus reduces the margin of the original supplier firm. Normally firms in subcontracting relation propose designs twice a year. Parent firms keep check on quality by regular visit. These firms mostly operate throughout the year.

In this section, 14 respondents from footwear craft profession have been studied. The working hours, income, average cost per unit and value are examined. The place where their products are sold is presented.

6.3.2 Household wise Average Year of Experiences, Hours of Works and Daily Income

Table: 6.9 Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of making footwear

Experience (Years)	No. of households(%)	Average(%)		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 10	14.28			
11 to 20	42.86	16.33	8.50	383.00
21 to 30	21.43	28.33	8.33	383.33
31 +	21.43	41.67	9.00	420.00
All	100.00	23.28	8.50	389.95

Source: Field Work, 2017

The data from the above table-6.9 shows that the average experience in this occupation as 23.28 years, number of hours of work as 8.50 and daily average income as 389.95 Taka. Information was collected from 14 respondents. The table further highlights that 31+ years experienced footwear craftsman works 8.50 hours and their daily income is TK. 420.00 which is higher than the other experienced group of footwear craftsman respectively.

6.3.3 Average per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product

Table: 6.10 Distribution of average per unit cost, value & earn by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Raw material Cost (Taka)	Value (Taka)	Earn (Taka)
Footwear	150.00	300.00	150.00
Footwear	1000.00	1500.00	500.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding unit cost, value per unit and earn, results revealed that average cost per unit for footwear is TK.150 and value comes to TK. 300 in the table-6.10. In this process footwear craftsman is earning TK.150 from each of the footwear product. On the other hand, for footwear the unit cost is TK.1000 and value is TK.1500. In this way footwear craftsman is earning TK 500 from each of product of footwear.

6.3.4 Production wise Sale Place and Sale Procedure

Table: 6.11 Distribution of sale place and sale procedure of footwear

Sale place	Sale procedure(%)			
	Total	Wholesale	Retail	Both
Bazar	85.71	35.71	7.14	42.86
Village	14.29	-	14.29	-
Total	100.00	35.71	21.43	42.86

Source: Field Work, 2017

In the table-6.11, 14 respondents were asked to state the place of sale of their product. 85.71% stated that they sell their product in Bazar and 14.29 % mentioned that they sell in village. To the question on which procedure they sell their product, 42.86 % mentioned that they sell in both retail and wholesale. Only 14.29 % respondents said that they sell in retail only at village level.

6.3.5 Story of Three Expert of Footwear Maker

Three case studies on Vim Chandra Das, Krisnapado Das and Vovesh Chandra are presented in detail.

Case study: 6.5 Story of Vim Chandra Das, fitting man

Fitting man or sole man Vim Chandra Das (35) lives in Araji, Dumuria Sadar Upazila under Khulna District. His wife's name is Latica Rani Das. He has two daughters, his elder daughter is studying in grade-6 and his younger daughter is only 5 years old. His father, Hazari Das, works in a government storage house as a labourer. He has spent his last 25 years in the profession of footwear fittings. Basically he is the master for making gents leather *footwear*. For preparing 12 pieces' fittings, he gets 250 taka and normally in the peak period he can produce 3 dozens of footwear fittings per day. According to Vim within 3 and half hours, he can accomplish a dozen of *footwear* fittings. For preparing the structure of footwear he uses *thia*, *tari*, *guri*, *cakki* of tamarind wood and on the particular piece of the wood, he cuts the rubber according to the desired sole. For making footwear normally, he uses footwear glue, soles, leather, texon board, foam, silver pin and strong scissor. In addition he also uses forma, big size round glass, ink pounce, group pounces, pincers, hammer with wooden handle, longer, scale, gratified stone, chisel, fiber skin board, dice, sewing machine, spray machine etc.

For making *footwear* he uses three types of chemicals like milky glue, belly glue and pasting glue or solution. In the first step he cuts the insole to the desired size then inserts the glue on the foam for drying into the sunlight. In the second step, he applies belly glue on the sole. Then he waits till glue almost completely dries before joining the two glued surfaces. In the third step, he pastes the solution glue on the printing materials for sewing.

Before being involved in *footwear* making he was involved in footwear repairing and footwear polishing. The dark side for making footwear is that the smell of most footwear making chemicals are intbullicated and there is a little risk of becoming alcoholic if involved in this profession. If the smell of footwear making chemicals penetrates into the eyes then it irritates the eyes severely. Normally the footwear making labourer suffer many skin and cough related diseases.

Now he has one assistant who assists him for making footwear. The assistant will work six months with him and during this tenure Vim will also provide his food and other logistic support. Vim mentioned that when he entered in this profession initially he had to accompany his master for six months for learning footwearcraft without any payment. Master provided only food support for Vim. Vim added that at the entry level of this profession, the main challenge is the six months' probation period.

Case study: 6.6 Story of Krisnapado Das, owner of footwear craft

Krisnapado Das is a footwear Craftsman. The production cost of per dozen medium quality ladies *footwear* making is TK.1100 to TK.1200 and the selling price is TK. 1800to TK.1900. While the production cost of per dozen high quality ladies *footwear* making is TK.1300to TK.1350 and the selling price is TK. 2400 to TK.2500. The production cost of per dozen medium quality gents footwear making is TK.1500to TK.1600 and the selling price is TK. 1800to TK.1900.The production cost of per dozen high quality gents footwear making is TK.2400/2500 and the selling price is TK. 2300to TK.2800. The production cost of per dozen children's' footwear making is TK.1400to TK.1500 and the selling price is TK. 1700to TK.1800.

If we fail to provide the job for footwear craftsmen, it will create a problem. So, we should have a financial power for engaging in the footwear craft, but we have insufficient money. For starting footwear factory, one needs to have license which costs a million. Das says he cannot afford to

do that and in this respect if government helps, he will be able to build a big factory where many traditional footwear craftsmen will get the pay. Krisnapado Das says that he cannot run his business around the year at the same pace. Sometimes he faces the capital problem. Sometimes when they sell on whole sale, the buyer does not pay on time. If I have a big show room with well decorated furniture in Khulna and other cities then I can make more profit.

Raw materials: leather, foam, chemical, benzene, magic color or footwear shining color, rubber sole, thread, various types of monograms, stickers, bob machine, sewing machine, dices, scissor, various kinds of punching machines for different size of holes. During eid-ul-fitr, eid-ul-adha, Durga worship they are very much busy for making footwear. In the month of *Chaitra* and *Baishakh* they suffer market crises due to agriculture particularly IRRI cultivation. In the Bengali month of *Joistho*, *Asar*, *Sraban* and *Vaddro* (May to August) they face difficulties for producing and selling footwears if there are no religious or cultural ceremonies. Actually rainy season is the very dull season for this type of business. After rainy season, when the weather becomes warmer the business of footwear comes back gradually. They added that when new applicants appear for their SSC and HSC exam, that time the market for footwear goes up. Normally the month of *Magh* and *Falgun* are treated as worship, *joggo*, *mahfil* and that time market is good.

As footwear craft shop is full of chemicals, there is high a chance to catch fire. And if it catches fire the whole footwear crafting can be demolished within few seconds. So, electricity and fire turn out to be the main enemies for the *footwear* crafting.

Case study: 6.7 Story of Vovesh Chandra

Vovesh Chandra Das (45), son of Deben Das and Toronggo Rani, lives in Dumuria Sadar Upazila under Khulna district and is a Craftsman of upper side Footwear. He has one daughter and one son. The daughter studies in grade-8 and the son in grade-2. Vovesh got opportunity to study till grade-4 and at the age of only 10, he got involved as a craftsman of footwear of upper side. His trainer was Prodip Gosh who resided in Jessore district and initially Vovesh received his six months training from Prodip Gosh without any payment. Trainer provided only food and small allowance of Vovesh. The main activity of Vovesh is to prepare the upper straps that are used on the sole for making complete footwear. Both ladies and gents are involved in this activity. Upper straps are made by Vovesh and for doing his jobs he uses glue, foam, leather strap, repeat, buckles, and different types of beautiful attractive stickers. In a footwear craft, he

can make three dozens of upper strap that are fit for pasting on both ladies and gents' sole. When cutting out the patterns, he tries to be as neat as possible; he wants to avoid jagged edges. Using the patterns, he tries to trace the straps into the underside of the leather. He emphasizes that he has to remember to do 2 of each, one for the left foot and one for the right foot, and mark them accordingly. For preparing 12 pieces strap settings for *footwear* making, he gets 250 taka and normally in the peak period he can produce 3 dozens of straps per day. According to Vim with in 3 and half hours he can accomplish a dozen of footwear's straps. When asked how long was he working in this footwear craft for making straps, he replied that he is member of the artesian group and he has no fixed working place. If the owner of *footwear* craft pays me more, I choose to work there as I am a poor man and I have only skill for strapping that is used for making complete footwear.”

6.3.6 Seasonal Calendar for the Product of Footwear Maker

Chart:6.5Seasonal calendar for footwear craft

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April	Good	Celebration of New Bangali Year, village fair or other rituals or festivals, the sale of footwear is not bad at all
May-June	very low	No ritual no sale. In rainy season limited number of rituals
July-August	Dull	The demand is very poor, rare selling
September- November	Average	Occasion of <i>Durga</i> worship, dry season starts
December-January	Good	Appearance of new applicants at different grades, <i>joggo</i> worships, <i>wage mahfil</i> (preaching the Islamic thoughts or philosophy)
February-March	Good	Appearance of huge applicants of Secondary and Higher Secondary level, people pass their days in festive mode
Overall Comments: Business run very well in the big festivals of Muslims (<i>eid ul fithar and eid ul azha</i>) that depends on the lunar calendar, Source: Field Work, 2017		

6.3.7 SWOT analysis of Footwear Makers

Chart: 6.6 SWOT analysis of footwear craft

Strength	Weakness
Cheap labour	This type of work is not suitable for the unskilled or weak person
Availability of skin or raw materials	Have to stay all time in the smell of skin and chemical
The price of skin is low	Non-hygienic environment
Good job opportunity	Workers has to spend a few month as a trainee on voluntary service to learn this work
This profession is good for skilled and hardworking people	Limited capital
Need not have enough training for operating this type of work	Lack of state patronization
Opportunity	Threat
Through quality product of footwear, export oriented business can be started	Fire is the main enemy of footwear craft
Developing footwear making industries, many employment opportunities can be created	It is a health hazard prone job

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.3.8 Conclusion

In Rishi community, *footwear* craftsmen think that this profession is good for skilled and hardworking people. Making *footwear* depends on availability of skin or raw materials. It is a health hazard prone job and the environment of *footwear* making factory is non-hygienic. In the working time they have to inhale with the smell of leather and chemicals. Fire is the main enemy of *footwear* making factory. They think that lack of state patronization is a big problem but more employment opportunities can be created easily through this production. *Footwear* craftsmen mention that good market of *footwear* sale is found in the month of April, December and January to march due to festivals, job interviews and new enrolled students in new class.

6.4 Drums

6.4.1 Introduction

A section of Rishi people are expert in making the hand drums. For the smaller single-sided hand drums, a thinner frame or shell is used, and a rawhide surface is string onto only one side, with lacing across the other. The hand drum usually accompany is only one singer, but several people can play their hand drums together to create rhythms for a round dance, or a courting song. The round form of the drum represents the circle of life and the whole universe. In gatherings of celebration, it creates a sense of social and spiritual harmony. Historically, drums were made by Rishi people from the hides of buffalo. Today they are sometimes made from cowhide.

The drum-making process begins with soaking the hides for 24 hours or more. The hides are then stretched on a flat frame and the hair is removed with a metal scraper. In the 19th Century, the blade of the scraper may have come from the seat of a covered wagon or a buggy abandoned by immigrants and appropriated by Indians. The scraper handles were made from animal bones or horns.

Once the hair is removed from the hide, the hide must be cut and shaped and dried. If the drum is painted, natural paints made from ground-up earth powders mixed with water and applied using a brush made from bone. The drum making process is often accompanied by stories and legends that illuminate the significance of the drum's central place in ceremonial life.

Traditionally very few machines are used in making Indian instruments, most of the processes being carried out by hand. One necessary appliance is the lathe used in the turning of the drum shells. From the chopping and sawing of the tree right down to the carving and skin making, the rest of the job is done entirely by hand.

The *dhol* is a double-ended barrel shaped drum held around the neck and played with two sticks, one thin cane stick and a larger bent wooden stick for the bass end. Traditionally both heads would be made from goat skin laced together over the shell by one piece of rope which would be threaded through the edge of both skins. Double-ended drum, one head are tuned to generate the bass tones while the other head is tuned to generate the treble tones. For this purpose one skin is made slightly thicker than the other.

Sizes range from 12' to 27' deep, sometimes even 30'. The treble end ranges from between 12' to 14', but the most favoured head size is 13". The bass end is usually slightly bigger than the treble end. The shell of a *dhol* is normally made from one piece of mango wood. The harder the wood the sharper and clearer the sound. The drum is an important instrument for Rishi people, giving both rhythm and meaning to life. It provides the beat for dancers to proudly offer their thanks and praise to the Creator and the Mother Earth during ceremonies. The tradition of the drum is still very important today and is a way of bringing the People together.

In this section, 25 respondents in the field of drum making and drum playing are studied. An attempt is made to provide empirical data on the average working hours, income, average cost per unit, value, availability of raw materials and distribution of their products. Case studies of successful people SWOT analysis and seasonal calendar in these fields are also presented.

6.4.2 Household head wise Working Experiences, Hours of Work and Daily Income

Table: 6.12 Household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of drum makers

Experience (Years)	Number of households (%)	Average(%)		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 6	4.00	5.00	4.00	300.00
6 to 10	24.00	9.16	6.00	233.00
11 to 20	36.00	17.33	6.88	272.00
21 to 30	24.00	27.50	6.83	291.00
31 +	12.00	44.67	9.00	233.00
All	100.00	20.60	7.44	263.64

Source: Field Work, 2017

Information from 25 respondents has been collected in the table-6.12. The analysis of the above data indicates that the average years of experience as 20.60, average working hours as 7.44 and average income as TK. 263.64. It is interesting to note that one respondent with just 5 years' experience and 4 hours of work is able to earn TK. 300 per day. The table further shows that 31 plus years of experienced drum making worker works 9 hours and their daily income is TK. 233 whereas 21 to 30 years' experienced group working hour is 6.83 and their daily income TK. 291 respectively.

6.4.3 The Per unit Cost, Value and Earning by the Type of Product

Table:6.13 Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of drums

Type of drum	Average per unit in Taka		
	Raw material cost	Value	Earn
<i>Dhak</i> (one kind of drum)	1500.00	5000.00	3500.00
Drum	1200.00	2500.00	1300.00
<i>Tabla</i> (musical instrument)	1800.00	3000.00	1200.00
<i>Shani</i> (musical instrument)	2500.00	5000.00	2500.00
<i>Khole</i> (one kind of drum)	300.00	700.00	400.00
<i>Shatra</i> (musical instrument)	2000.00	4000.00	2000.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding the average cost per unit of six products studied in the table 6.13, it was found that the cost per unit is highest for *shani* (TK.2500), followed by *tabla* (TK.1800) and *dhak* (TK.1500). The value of per unit product differs from TK.700to TK. 5000. Interestingly the value of the *dhak* and *shani* products is found to be same (TK.5000) and *tabla* (TK.3000). The above table further shows that, drum makers are earning TK.400 to TK. 3500 for selling their per unit product.

6.4.4 Sale Place and Sale Procedure of the Product

Table: 6.14 Distribution of sale procedure by sale place of drums

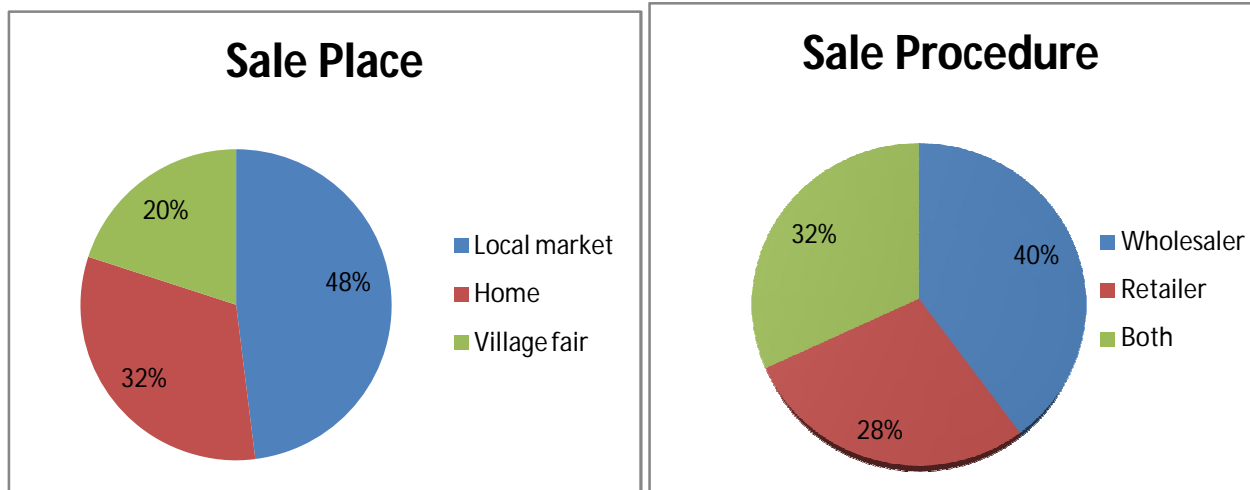
Sale place	Sale procedure(%)			
	Total	Wholesale	Retail	Both
Local market	48.00	4.00	20.00	24.00
Home	32.00	28.00	4.00	-
Village fair	20.00	8.00	4.00	8.00
Total	100.00	40.00	28.00	32.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

To the question on at which place they are selling their product in the table-6.14, 48.00% said that they sell at local market. 32.00% mentioned home as the place for sale and the remaining 20.00% stated that they are selling at the village fair. Regarding the sale procedure of their products, 40% said they are selling through wholesale market, 28% through retail and 32%

mention that they are using wholesale and retail market. Sale place and sale procedure can also be presented in the following figure.

Figure-6.3: Sale place and sale procedure of drums



6.4.5 Musical Instrument

22 inches or big size tom-tom making cost including raw materials is nearly TK.3000 and the selling price is TK. 4500 to TK.5000. This tom-tom is locally known is *dhol* (drum). 18 inches length tom-tom making cost is 2000 to 2500 and whose market value is TK.3500 to TK.4000. Length of 12 inches tom-tom making cost is TK.100 to TK.150 and the selling price of this tom-tom is TK.500 to TK.1000.

6.4.6 Story of Some Expert Drum Makers

Four successful case studies of *Narayan Chandra*, *Sukumar Das*, *Bijoy Kumar Das* and *Amal Das* in drum maker and drum player are presented.

Case study: 6.8 Story of drum player and drum maker Narayan Chandra

Narayan Chandra Das, aged 62, was born in Tipna village. His wife's name is Kabita (52). The total family members of Narayan Chandra Das is 6; the eldest son, son-in-law, a granddaughter, the younger son, his wife and himself. His eldest son is a motor rickshaw driver and the younger one is still unemployed. The father of Narayan was a skilled person at playing drum as well as a good maker of drum. When he was only 7 to 8 years old, he used to go to different places with

his father. Still in his house a wide variety of handmade drums are kept as memento that were made by his father. He cannot lose or sell these drums as these bear memories of his father. His sons think that playing drum is a humble profession and they do not want to engage themselves in this profession at any cost. They are trying to do better job where money is available.

Generally three types of drums are made by Narayan Chandra Das. These are large, medium and small. These drums are normally used in the ceremony of marriage and different types of worships and religious activities. The cost of making 18 inches' length large drum is TK.3000 and the market price of that drum is about TK.5000. The making cost of medium size or 12 inches length's drum cost is TK.2000-TK.2500 and the market price is TK.3000 to TK.4000. To make the frame of large or medium size drums, normally a carpenter spends 3 days and per day labour cost of a carpenter is minimum TK.300. The making cost of small size or 8 inches drum is TK. 150 and the market price of that drum is TK.500. Basically such drums are made only for the children. According to Narayan these drums are sold in a variety of village fairs. Large or medium size drums are sold in the month of *Chaitra (last month of Bengali calendar)* fair that is held at Orakandi of Faridpur district.

Narayan mentioned that for making any types of drums mango wood, leather, pieces of bamboo, iron wheel, leather straps or plastic straps are used as raw materials. The shell of drum is normally made from one piece of mango wood. The harder the wood, the sharper and cleaner is the sound. He continued that, drum making is not a professional work; actually it is a work of art. His main occupation is agriculture, but he has gained this specific knowledge from his father at the age of only 7 or 8. He pointed out that most of the processes are carried out by hand for making drums, traditionally very few tools or instruments like chisel, pincers, hammer, chopper, axes, and saws are required for making drums. For raising and downing the melody specific *kora* (iron ring) is used in drums.

According to his view, due to various worships and fairs especially the Orakandi fair and *Roth* trip in the month of March, April and May the demand of drum is very high. To perform these types of activities, one or two drums are enough for a village and five drums are sufficient to do the activity of worships or ceremonies. He regretted that the drums can be made through the use

of simple materials, but the market for drum is very much limited in Bangladesh though he has no knowledge about the demand of drums in the world market.

Narayan Chandra said that he is the chief of playing drums in a small group. There are 4/5 active members in his team. In an average his team earns TK.100000 to TK.150000 per year. Due to rainy season and agricultural activity, the demand is less. Drum playing starts in August and ends in February. March to July time is treated as a high season for playing and making the drums.

Case study: 6.9 Sukumar Das: maker of various rhythm instruments

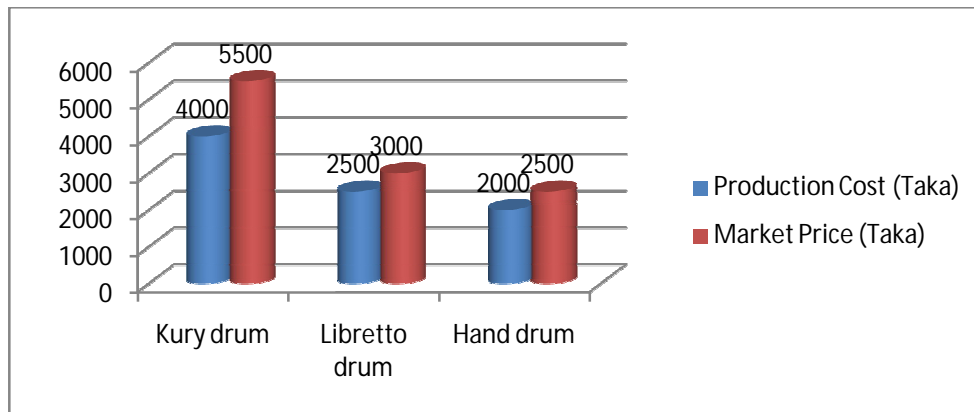
Sukumar Das (60) is a maker of various rhythm instruments. He has studied upto 4th grade. His wife name is Joshna (45) who helps him a lot for making diverse rhythm instruments during the peak season. He has one daughter and one son. His son studies in grade-6 and his daughter studies in grade-4. At the age of 14 or 15 he learned how to make rhythms instruments from his father. He rents a room in the local market where he makes and repairs drums, *tabla*, mono-cord etc. During the peak time his daily income is TK. 500 to TK.1000 or even TK.1500, but in lean time he hardly gets any work in a week or even in a month, at that time he takes loan to run his family. He can make three types of drums these are *kuraydrum* (for using poet song ceremony), hand drums and libretto drums. Production cost and market price of these three specific types of drums are mentioned below:

Table: 6.15 Name of drums, production cost and market price

SI	Name of drums	Production Cost (Taka)	Market Price (Taka)
01	<i>Kury</i> drum	4000	5500
02	Libretto drum	2500	3000
03	Hand drum	2000	2500

Source: Field Work, 2017

Figure: 6.4 Production cost and market price of different drums



To make drums, skin, mango wood, *Neem* wood and bamboo are used as raw materials. His father was a skilled player of *tabla* (Musical Instrument) as well as a craftsman. He has learned the *tabla* making knowledge from his father. Sukumar mentioned that *tabla* is regarded as the queen of drums and percussion instruments is the most popular Bangladeshi rhythm instrument. It consists of two drums, the *Bayan* (big bass drum) and the *Dayan*. The two of them are almost always played together. Both the two drums as a pair and also the *Dayan* on its own - as opposed to the *Bayan* - are called *Tabla*. Both drums have a body that is closed at the bottom. The open top is mostly covered with a goat leather skin. To the edge of this basic skin, a second skin (*kani*) is attached. The purchasing price of per unit fired clay is TK.60. The production cost of table (two units) is nearly TK.2500 and the market price of a *tabla* is about TK. 5000. According to Sukumar the creation of *tabla* is such a refined art that a single individual never handles all aspects of its fabrication; rather, four separate industries have evolved. These are fashioning of *theneem* wood, fashioning of the fired clay, preparation stage and final assembly. For loading and unloading the melody cocoon is fitted in *tabla*. For making *tabla*, normally it takes two days.

Sukumar can also make another drum making instrument named *khol*. It is a drum with a hollow earthen body, with drumheads at both ends, one far smaller than the other. The traditional version of this two-headed drum is made out of clay. Cow or calf skin is used as the tapping membrane on both its sides with shorter leather straps to tie these sheets to the neck of the drum and longer leather straps across the body of the drum. In some drums the body may be made of other materials, but the tapping membrane and straps used in them are made of leather. Raw skin, leather straps, fired clay, thread and colour are needed for making *khol*. The price of per

unit fired clay for making *khol* costs nearly TK100. The per unit cost for making *khol* is TK.1800 to TK.1900 and the market price of that instrument is TK.2500 to TK.2600. For making *khol* normally it takes two days.

Sukumar is also an expert in making *danka* (one kind of drum). It is a large hemispherical brass or copper percussion instrument with a drumhead that can be tuned by adjusting the tension on it. The hemispherical portion may be made of earthen material or plastic also. Tin, wicker, leather, rope and brass rings are needed for making *Danka*. In Bangladesh, during singing song in praise, different worships, PT time of school children, different types of sports and large pleasure processions these *dankas* are played. Normally one cow or calf skin is used for making a *danka* whose market price is TK. 100 to TK.150. Basically, *danka* is made by using hand only, side by side hand chisel hammer, plus, knife and hand drill are used for making *danka*. Per unit production cost of *danka* is TK.1000 to TK.1200 and the per unit market price of *danka* is TK1800 to TK.2000. Normally a single day is spent for making a *danka*.

About his business Sukumar mentioned that in the month of *Falgun*, *Chaitra* and *Boishak* (February, March and April), the workload will be heavy, because in these monthssinging, worship and marriage ceremony are held more and more is more. In Bengali month of *Jasthi*, *Ashar*, *Vaddro* and *Kartic* (May, June, July and August) there will be very little opportunity for work. At the time, there is less money in the hands of man. The drums are sold more in the month of *Ashwin*, *agrayana*, *Paus*, *Magh* (September, November, December and January).

The modern day trend with the drum is to have a plastic skin on the treble end, tensioned by metal tuning rods. The rope for the bass skin then fits around the lug boxes of the tension bolts so you still get the traditional rope on the outside of the shell. Sukumar says he personally prefer the goat skin on both ends.

Sukumar can also make the '*sitar*'. It is as important as drums. Originally the sitar's sound box is made from a pumpkin, and that the instrument, neck and all, is entirely hollow, while all the frets are moveable on the fret board and held on with bits of string. Wicker, cable tin and skin are used for making sitar. The production cost for making sitar is TK 150 to TK.200 and the market price is TK250 to TK.300. It is a laborious work but the profit is very little or minimum. In case of whole sale, the profit can be more, but due to capital inadequacy, he cannot operate on wholesale business of sitar. It is also a complex work for repairing the sitar. He takes TK.80 per sitar repairing.

Regarding the making of musical instrument he has got practical training from his parents. He has to pay TK600 for renting his shop.

He mentioned that the customers of musical instrument are fewer. In rural areas basically the buyers of musical instruments are Hindus. However, the number of buyers is increasing day by day in the city areas. During the rainy season the return is very low and that time he runs his family by taking debt. In the month of *Chaitra*, he begins to earn a little and starts to pay his previous loans. Actually he is locked up in this cycle around the year. Thus as he has no capital, he has no dream. Through his earning, he can barely take care of his family.

Demand of musical instruments comes from various places, but constraints of working capital have restricted the supply chain. On the other hand, they do not want to provide any advance; they claim that after supplying the musical instrument they will provide the fair prices.

He mentioned that basically this involves the deft coordination of both eye and the hand. He further said that eye problem was not seen before but now he is suffering from eye disease. That is why he has taken the spectacles. Glasses help him a lot to perform the minute work, finishing work and adhering the leather.

Ten or 12 years ago, the pressure of work was tremendous and that time he used to engage two or three workers. Now he does not engage any worker. During the season, he works day and night; sometimes his wife helps him a lot. His monthly expenditure is TK.12000 and his total family members are four. He mentioned that most of the customers are familiar and a very few customers are unknown. He has taken TK.20000 as a loan from an association and he pays TK.520 per week. He has also taken TK.6000 as a loan from public. After 3 or 4 month he has to pay TK.700.

Case study: 6.10 Story of Drum maker and player of Bijoy Kumar Das

Bijoy Kumar Das is a drum maker and drum player. For twenty years he is associated with these activities and he learned these activities from his grandfather and father. Twenty-eight-year-old Shaphali Rani Das is his wife. They have three daughters and one son, the eldest daughter is studying in grade-6 and the rest are the students at primary school. For involving in these activities, his average income is TK.500 to TK.600 per day. Bijoy is an expert for making three types of drums or musical instruments. Type of drum, making cost and selling cost of each product are given below.

Table: 6.16 Type of drum, making cost and selling cost of each product

Type of drum	Price in taka		
	Per unit making cost (Taka)	Per unit selling cost (Taka)	Benefit of Bijoy (Taka)
Aru or wedding music playing drums	2000-2500	4000-4500	2000-2500
Drum for playing <i>Durga</i> or Kali worship	3000-3500	4000-5000	1000-1500
<i>Danka</i> or Drums for religious or evening festivals	700-800	1000-1200	300-400
<i>Dhak</i> (specific type of drum)	1500-2000	5000-6000	3500-4000

Source: Field work, 2017

Raw leather, wicker of bamboo, rope, hooks and wicker ribbons are the essential elements for making any kind of drum. Raw materials apart from the rest of the skin, he collects these from village or local market. Normally he purchases the raw skin during the *eid-ul- Adha or korboni* (sacrifice of cattle). Then he dries these raw skins in the sun by adding some salt. After drying, he applies some limes on the upper part of the raw skin so that the wool is blown away.

According to him, the shell is made of cow's leather, and with the skin of goats, sheep and calves *dhak* drum, drum and *danka* are made. The estimated value of two goat's skin is nearly TK.100 to TK.150 and by utilizing these two skins, one drum can be made. An estimated value of a calf skin is TK.150 to TK. 200 and by using this material, two drums can be made. And for making a *danka* two calf skins are required. Without hand auger, *nin da* (specific knife), plus, wooden hammer for pulling rope and water for soaking skin are pre-requirements for making the drum. Besides making various types of drums, he also repairs the drums. In fact, he learned this knowledge from his father and grandfather.

Various rituals or worships-especially in the month of September, October, March and April for *durga*, *kali*, *dole* (swing worship), and celebration of new Bangla year, Bijoy Kumar receives many orders for making various kinds of drums from different places. Basically organizers of various worships or rituals, music artists are our customers. He mentioned that a few days ago, he provided 60 *dankas* to *Biharis* of Khalishpur of Khulna city for celebrating the *mahararam* festival. He also supplied twenty-seven *dankas* in Boyra Public College, Khalishpur, Khulna.

Bijoy Kumar regretted that the demand of various kinds of drums is decreasing and the tradition of handmade drums is vanishing rapidly. A wide range of keyboard, imported musical instruments are used for playing in different ceremonies or festivals.

However, he hopes that *dankas* are used for playing for PT and parades in many schools and colleges. But in many cases it is found that the authority of schools and colleges uses *danka* made by plastic instead of skin made *dankas*. The tune of plastic made *danka* is not good. The melody of skin made *danka* is very nice. Thus Bijoy urged that authorities should make it compulsory to use the skin made *danka* at the premise of schools and colleges. Otherwise, the unique product (skin made *danka* or drum) will be extinct soon.

Case study: 6.11 Story of Amal Das

Through drum making and drum beating Amal finds financial opportunity as well as mental peace. Amal Das (32) is a trumpet player and a drum maker by profession who resides in the village of Ranai of Kharniya Union of Dumuria Upazila (sub-district). For ten years he is involved with this profession. His wife is Rina Rani Das (25). Both husband and wife are illiterate and have only signing knowledge. They have one daughter and one son, the daughter is studying in grade-7 and son studies in grade-1. Their house is made of mud and tin and they have only the homestead land and the area is 3 decimals. The main source of drinking water and other household activities is the tube well and they use the sanitary (no water-sealed) toilet. Amal can make drums and other trumpet playing instrument nicely with the skill he gained over the years. Amal can make three types of drums like large, medium and small plus hand drums .The details of these drums are given below:

Table: 6.17 Type of drum, making cost and selling cost of each product

Type of drums	Materials	Size	Prince of product in Taka		
			Per unit cost (Taka)	Per unit value (Taka)	Apprbullimate benefit(Taka)
Large	Leather, leather straps, rope, bronze ring and glass of wheel	27 inch's length and 12 inch's mouth	5000-5500	7000-7500	2000-2500
Medium		18 inch's length and 10 inch's mouth	4000-4500	5500-6000	1500-2000
Small + hand drum		27 inch's length and 10 inch's mouth	3000-3500	5000-5500	2000-2500

Source: Field work, 2017

Amal can make the *dhak* and for making this, tin, slice of dried bamboo, rope, leather and iron rings are needed. In total, the cost of making a *dhak* is about TK. 6500 and the market value of that product varies from TK. 10000 to TK. 15000. *Dhak* is used in the any big worship or in *del*worship.

According to Amal, for making *danka* (trumpet) rope, tin, bamboo slice, iron rings, and skin are required. According to him, three types of *danka* can be seen in the market - large, medium and small. The cost for making the larger size of *danka* is TK. 1000 to TK.1200 and whose market price is about TK. 1700 to TK.1800. Spending TK. 700 to TK.800, a medium size of *danka* can be made and this type of *danka* can be sold at the rate of TK. 1400 to TK.1500 in the market. The cost for making the small size of *danka* is TK.500 to TK.600 and the market price of that product varies from TK.1000 to TK. 1200.

Amal has skillin making the site drum also. By spending TK. 3000 and using clay pot a large site drum (15 inches' long) can be made and the market value is nearly TK.6500. If the pot is bronze then the price of that drum site is much higher than the clay pot made drum site. He can also make the *khole* (one kind of specific drum) that is captured during the *joggo* worship celebration. To make a *khole* (shell) a clay pot is required which is purchased from a pottery by special order at TK.110 to TK.120. For making a 22 inches' long *khole* one has to spend approximately

TK.3000 and the market price of that product is TK.6000. In this regard he particularly mentioned that the whole of body of clay pot is wrapped by the leather straps. He opined that generally *khole* is made for personal use. To make a *khole*, hammer, auger, leather and bamboo spud is needed. He did not receive any training, neither in drum making nor trumpet playing.

Amal is a regular trumpet player in wedding ceremony of Hindus, worships, different festivals like *manic* song, *gazi* song, *pala* or turn song, poet's lyrics. He plays the drum sometimes alone, sometimes in group. There is a small group of them. For two days playing, 5 people can get TK.10000. And for two days playing alone normally, he gets TK.1500 to TK.2000. In maximum cases and free food is supplied from the owner's side during trumpet playing time.

Amal mentioned that huge trumpet playing pressure comes in the month of September and October in each year. Due to over pressure he cannot come home in these two months. The work load is also good in the month of November, January, February, March and April, he said. Some work opportunity will be there in the month of July but there is no work opportunity in the months of August and December, he added. Finally, Amal, said "this business is good, he can pass the time with the artists' world, by getting involved in this profession there is an opportunity to move to many places at home and abroad, and the mind is kept fresh".

6.4.7 Seasonal Calendar of Drum Makers

Chart:6.7 Seasonal calendar of drum making instruments

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
March-April	Very good	Due to celebration of Bangali happy new year, village fair, worship, marriage ceremony, arranging different types of folk music and rituals
May- July	Low	Only <i>rath</i> fair and Orkandi fair
August- September	Good	Due to rituals, especially Durga pooja and other rituals, market is good.
October- November	Average	People are engaged in agricultural activity
December- January	Very low	People are engaged in agricultural activity
February-March	Good	Worship, marriage ceremony, arranging different types of folk music and rituals

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.4.8 SWOT Analysis of Drum Making Product

Chart: 6.8 SWOT analysis of drum making product

Strength	Weakness
Poor quality of skin can be used for making drum	Intelligence is required for making the drum Tact is needed
The cost of making drum is very low Materials are available	Normally the demand of drum in our country is very low
In the leisure time one can make drums During school PT, many <i>danka</i> drum are played	Four to five drums are enough for playing in several villages. Very limited market Ritual based

Opportunity	Threat
The demand of drum in some specific countries is very high	Inadequate cultivation of cane, this product can disappear in the market
If we produce the high quality drum, we can earn a lot of foreign currency by exporting this product	The maker of cane crafts also disappear as alternative products of cane are available in the market
Many musical based institutions can be developed for evolving cultural creativity of youths	Plastic made <i>danka</i> drum are used in Schools whose melody is not up to mark
During PT time, <i>danka</i> drums can be played	

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.4.9 Conclusion

The market of drum is very limited but the cost for making drum is very low. Poor quality of skin can be used for making drum. In Bangladesh it is basically ritual based product. Demand of this product is high in some countries, they add. The sad part is that in Bangladesh plastic made *danka* drum are increasingly used in schools. Drum market is very good in the months of March, April and May.

6.5 Carpentry

6.5.1 Introduction

The word, "carpenter" comes from the Old French word "carpentier", which is again derived from the Latin "carpentries" or "maker of a carriage". A carpenter is a skilled worker who works with wood and other related material to construct, install and maintain establishments, furniture and other objects. The carpenter's work involves heavy manual labor and outdoor work. Carpentry is a skill that is gained through tough experience and study. This, too, is a male-dominated profession.

A carpenter can create, maintain and repair items like roof making of house, household furniture, woodwork, window casings, mantels, doors, making cow shades, making chicken or duck house, shop fitting, platform framing, timber framing, beam framing and so on. Many carpenters in the urban areas even work with advanced techniques such as shuttering and false-work, as in concrete construction.

The concept of carpentry even features extensively in Indian mythology. *Vishwakarma*, the Divine Draftsman, is considered the presiding deity of all craftsmen and architects. This Son of Lord Brahma drafts the whole universe and is the official builder of all the gods' palaces and other abodes. *Vishwakarma* is also said to have designed all the *Pushpakavimanas* or flying chariots of the gods, and even their weapons.

The Mahabharata, one of the greatest epics of Indian mythology, describes *Vishwakarma* as "The lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the most eminent of artisans, the fashioner of all ornaments ... and a great and immortal god." *Vishwakarma* is depicted as having four hands, wearing a crown and decked in goldsmith, holding a water-pot, a book, a noose and craftsman's tools in his hands.

September 16 or 17 of every year is celebrated as *Vishwakarma* worship. This is a time when workers and craftsmen resolve to increase productivity and gain divine inspiration for creating newer and newer items. This ritual usually takes place within the factory premises or a shop floor. Workers decorate their place of work on this day and fly colourful kites to mark the occasion. Incidentally, this occasion also marks the start of the festive season that culminates in Diwali.

Hindu mythology often talks about *Vishwakarma's* many architectural marvels. Through the four yugas or epochs, he built several divine places and palaces for the gods. In the *Satya* yoga, *he built the Swarga Loka*, or Heaven, where Lord Indra rules as the King of the Devas. *Vishwakarma* then built the Golden Lanka (the abode of the *Asura, Ravana*) in the *Treta* yoga, *the city of Dwarka in the Dwapara yuga and Hastinapur and Indraprastha in the Kaliyoga*.

There is an interesting tale about the construction of the Golden Lanka. When Lord Shiva married Pārbati, he asked *Vishwakarma* to build a beautiful palace for them to reside. In just a split second, *Vishwakarma* materialized a palace made of gold. Now, *Ravana*, though an *Asura* or demon, was a devotee of Shiva. He had many times pleased Shiva through acts of total surrender and devotion. Hence, Shiva invited Ravana to perform the Grihapravesha or the house-warming ritual. After the sacred ceremony was over, Shiva asked Ravana to ask anything in return as Dakshina or a fee. Ravana, overwhelmed with the beauty and

grandeur of the palace, asked Shiva for the golden palace itself! Shiva immediately gave in to Ravana's wish and that is how Lanka came to be Ravana's abode.

Dwarka is the capital city, where Lord Krishna Dwarka is the capital city, where Lord Krishna lived and undertook his activities. The Mahabharata records that Krishna had lived in Dwarka, making it his Karma Bhoomi or center of operation. This is why Dwarka is still considered a holy pilgrimage for the Hindus.

The town of Hastinapura was the capital of the Pandavas and the Kauravas, the warring families, during the era of the Mahabharata. After the Pandavas won the battle of Kurukshetra after an enormous struggle, Lord Krishna installed Dharmaraj Yudhisthira as the ruler of Hastinapura.

The Mahabharata records that the blind King Dhritrashtra offered a piece of land called Khaandavprastha to the Pandavas, for their residence. Yudhisthira obeyed his uncle's order and went to live in Khaandavprastha with the Pandava brothers. Later, Krishna invited Vishwakarma to build a capital for the Pandavas on this very land, which he renamed Indraprastha.

Indraprastha was a place full of architectural marvels and beauties. Floors of the palace threw out a reflection like that of water, and the pools and ponds inside the palace gave the illusion of a flat surface with no water in them.

Once the palace was built, the Pandavas invited Duryodhan and his brothers, to visit Indraprastha. Not knowing the wonders of the palace, Duryodhan was flummbugled by the floors and the pools, and fell into one of the ponds. Draupadi, the wife of the Pandavas, who witnessed this scene, had a good laugh. She boldly stated that "the son of a blind man is bound to be blind" -Duryodhan's father was the blind King Dhritrashtra. This remark of Draupadi annoyed Duryodhan so much that it went on to become a major cause for the great war of Kurukshetra described in the Mahabharata.

According to Hindu mythology, Maya or Mayaasura was an *Asura* or demon King, presiding over the Asuras, Daityas and Rakshasas. He was revered as the main architect of the netherworld. Maya designed the three flying cities, collectively known as the Tripura. Though the cities prospered immensely and gained power and dominance over the whole world, they

were ultimately torched out of the skies by Lord Shiva, due to the bad behaviour of the resident asuras. Maya, though, escapes the destruction, as he is a devotee of Lord Shiva. Mayaasura, the father of the beautiful Mandodari, wife of Ravana, built a capital that he called the Maya Rashtra, now, Meerut.

Krishna and Arjuna save Maya's life during the destruction of the Khandava forest. In return, Maya offers his services to them. Krishna commands Maya to construct a beautiful palace hall for Arjuna's elder brother, King Yudhisthira, at Indraprastha. Maya does so and this large and absolutely fabulous hall becomes the Mayasabha. The Mayasabha too, just like Indraprastha, had reflective floors, deceptively flat surfaces that were actually pools of water and so on.

(https://www.google.co.in/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=Aw1AWKnKEqHv8wfb2ZOgBg#q=Life+of+traditional+carpenters+in+India)

The second sub occupation studied was Carpentry. About 20 households were taken to examine their years of experience, average hours of work, income, details of raw material purchased, per unit cost and value and place where their activity is carried out. The results are presented below.

6.5.2 Experience Wise Working Hours, Daily Income and Material Collection Place

Table: 6.18 Head of household's vs average year of experience, hours of daily income

Experience (Years)	Carpenters(%)	Average(%)		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 6	15.00	5.00	6.00	283.33
6 to 10	25.00	9.60	7.60	310.00
11 to 20	55.00	15.72	7.72	300.00
21+	5.00	25.00	6.00	300.00
All	100.00	13.05	7.35	300.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

In the case of carpentry, 20 respondents were studied. Results revealed in the table-6.18 that the average years of experience as 13.05 years, average hours of work was 7.35 hours and average income was found to be TK.300. Respondents with 6 to 10 years' experience were found to be earning more than respondents with 16 years who are earning TK.300. On the other hand 11 to 20 years experienced group work more hours (7.72) but their daily income is less than 6 to 10 years experienced group of carpenter.

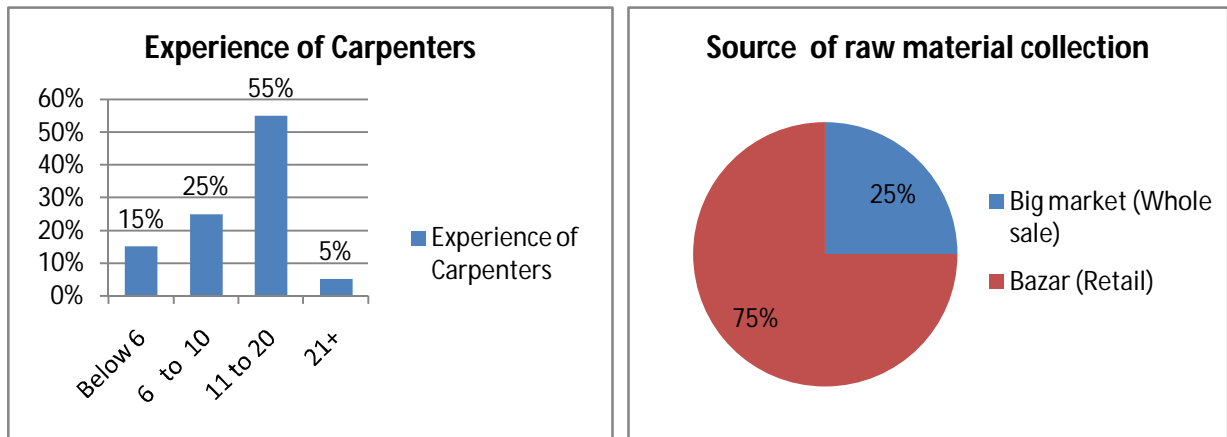
Table: 6.19 Distribution of place of raw material collection by years of experience

Experience (Years)	Carpenters(%)	Source of raw material collection(%)	
		Big market (Whole sale)	Bazar(Retail)
Below 6	15.00	-	15.00
6 to 10	25.00	10.00	15.00
11 to 20	55.00	15.00	40.00
21+	5.00	-	5.00
All	100.00	25.00	75.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding collection of raw material, comparison was made with experience. The analysis revealed in the table-6.19 that people with 11 to 20 years' experience preferred retail bazar. It was also found that irrespective of years of experience, 75.00 % of respondents' preferred retail bazar. It is further explain that raw material is collected generally through retail price from bazar and wholesale price is done from big market. Experience and source of material collection has been presented in the flowing figure.

Figure: 6.5 Experience and source of material collection for carpenter



6.5.3 Place of Activity, per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product

Table: 6.20 Distribution of place of activity by years of experience

Experience (Years)	Carpenters(%)	Place of activity(%)	
		Village	Outside
Below 6	15.00	15.00	10.00
6 to 10	25.00	20.00	15.00
11 to 20	55.00	50.00	25.00
21 +	5.00	5.00	-
All	100.00	90.00	50.00

N.B: Due to multiple responses, carpenter numbers have been increased from 20 to 28. Each carpenter reported that the place of activity by one or more reported. Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-6.20 shows the distribution of place of activity by year of carpenter experience. The table shows that the place of activity in village contain 90.00% and 50.00% of the carpenters go outside for operating their activity. It is also seen from the above table is that those who have 11 to 20 years working experience they work both in village level as well as outside of the village.

Table: 6.21 Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Raw material cost (Taka)	Value (Taka)	Earn (Taka)
Plough	1000.00	1500.00	500.00
Chair	350.00	500.00	150.00
Table	500.00	900.00	400.00
Stool	200.00	400.00	200.00
Divon	1500.00	2500.00	1000.00
Door	2000.00	3500.00	1500.00
Bed	1500.00	5000.00	3500.00
Rack	500.00	1000.00	500.00
Box	200.00	500.00	300.00
Banch	300.00	500.00	200.00
Showcase	3000.00	5000.00	2000.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

A look at the table-6.21 showing average cost per unit, value and earning from the product showed that cost per unit was highest in the case of door (2000), followed by divan and bed (TK.1500) and plough (TK.1000). On the other hand, the value of bed was found to be highest (TK.5000) followed by door (TK.3500), *divan* (TK.2500). Carpenters are earning TK. 150 to TK. 3500 for selling their per unit product. The price of carpentry products vary and the biggest earning comes from making beds.

6.5.4 Story of Expert Carpenters

Two cases of successful carpenters, Mr .Anando Sarker and Mr. Somen Das are presented.

Case study: 6.12: Story of Anando Sarker

Anando Sarker's, dream is to make or repair the structure and roof of the house. He is 42 years old, a carpenter by profession. His wife is Sita Rani (32) who is basically a housewife. Anando had a chance to study only at grade-10, and his wife passed only grade-7. They have two girls and one son, girls are in grade-8 and grade-2, his son is in grade-5. Their house is *semi-pucca* (brick-tin) and they have just five decimal homestead land. They use their own shallow tube-well (STW) for drinking and other domestic purposes. The carpenter and his family members reside in the village of Jatpur under the Union of Tala Upazila.

Anando has nearly twenty years' experience as a semi-skilled carpenter. He works from dawn to dusk and earns TK. 300 to 500 per day. There is no seat or his own shop, he usually works at home of his own community as well as adjoining villages as a day labourer. He can do almost all types of wood works. Particularly he makes or repairs the structure and roof of the house that is made by mud-thatch/tally/tin, brick-tin, tin, kitchen, cowsheds, poultry houses etc. For a need based owner of the household, he can also make the doors, windows, large wooden box, stool, bed and so on. For operating the wood related diverse works, all the raw materials have been provided by the owner of that household. However, in many cases the owner takes him to the local market to purchase the necessary material for wood work.

To manage the wood related works, different kind of saws, hammer, different types of chisel, *nin-renda*, *rayada* (knives), drill machine, *sarkali* (drilling by hand), plus, nail, ribbons, including other things are required. He learnt the skills from his uncle and in this regard he mentioned that "*my father was a carpenter, I'm a carpenter, my uncles are carpenters, and for generations we have been carpenters*". In the months of October, November, February, March and April, Ananda

engages himself in a very busy life. In this particular time, local people try to build new houses or repair their houses more as a precaution of bad weather (storm, rain, over rain etc) especially those who live in raw or semi-pucca houses. The workload is less in the months of August and September and the rest of the year, especially in the month of June- July, there is no carpentry work at all. At that time, he ekes out his living as a day laborer.

Case study: 6.13 Story of Somen Das

Somen Das, age 28, is the inhabitant of Kadikati village under Tala Upazila of Satkhira district. The name of his wife is Tumppa Rani Das (19). He is married for a year and does not have a child yet. He got opportunity to read only up to grade 5 and his wife studied grade 10. They have only 10 decimal of land including his homestead land. Their house is made of mud and tally. For domestic and other purposes, he uses the shallow tube well water (STW). His wife works at bamboo craft at home.

For 15 years somehow, he is passing his life as a carpenter and he has learned this work from his relative. He has only one asset that is a rickshaw van and in the evening or at leisure time or run-of-season he pulls this to earn money. During peak time he earns TK.350 to TK.400 per day as a carpenter. Making and repairing the structure of house with wood or bamboo is the main activity of his daily life. If the owner supplies the raw materials (wood and other things), he can make bed, box, rack, doors, windows, tables, stool etc. Generally, he does not do wood related design works and the work of coloring on the wood work. He has no equipment that are required for designing and colouring the wood works. He added that he did not get any training to make the artistic work of wood. To learn such kind of creative or artistic wood work, one needs to spend one or two years with a well-known carpenter without payment. During this period, the master carpenter provides small allowance with food support. But at this stage it is not possible to take that advantage, he said.

Somen mentioned that some NGOs are operating credit programs in their village, but they did not provide any training program that will enhance their skills. If the initiatives of trainings are taken by the government, they will be benefitted more. In this regard he continued that he heard that there is a big demand of carpenters abroad. He added that if he gets the capital and market, receive the proper patronization of the government, he can expect a change in his fate by doing work day and night. In the current market, many alternative materials can be seen but he strongly believes that there is no alternative of wood for making wood related different furniture. He quoted that “everyone must understand the importance of our profession through providing capital, training and expanding the market. Our traditional profession will be guaranteed by taking such steps.

6.5.5 Seasonal Calendar for Carpentry Works

Chart: 6.9 Seasonal calendar of workload of carpenters

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April-May	Very high	Pressure of making the structure and roof of rural house is high
June-July	Very low	Very limited workload and hence work as a day laborer
August-September	Low	Work load is limited
October- November	Good	Work load is limited but satisfactory
December-January	Average	Limited works
February-March	Average	Limited works

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.5.6 SWOT Analysis of Carpenters

Chart: 6.10 SWOT analysis of carpenters

Strength	Weakness
All aged people can be involved in this profession	In the lean time there is no scope of work
Need very little knowledge or education	Their working area is almost confined within the families of hard core poor, poor and lower middle class families
Raw materials are available	Due to lack of capital they can not operate the wood related business
Demand for work is not bad	
Need very low amount of capital	
Opportunity	Threat
Plenty of opportunities are there to work as a carpenter and agricultural day laborer	During work, accidents may happen (they may fall from the roof and get injured)
By getting appropriate training they can produce export quality product	Continuously performing sedentary jobs, often result in back pains
Heavy demand is there in foreign countries	

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.5.7 Conclusion

No education required, age is no bar for making carpentry products. Need to invest low amount of money to run this production. The sad part is that there is no work in lean time and work is confined only within families. Due to capital they can not expand their business but they know that the demand of skilled carpenter is very high in abroad. Most of the household head mention that continuous work leads to back pain. They also mention that they can operate good business during April and May for making structure and roofs in rural areas.

6.6 Homemade Showpieces Production

6.6.1 Introduction

In terms of contribution in making homemade showpieces, the present research finds that purely Rishi women do this type of work in their homes. Home based work has represented an important economic action for women. They have a great workload in their lives; they have a double burden, to earn income from their work and also have to fulfill their domestic responsibilities. But most working women handover their earnings to their parents or husbands. Some women in Rishi community are becoming expert to make the different showpiece product by taking appropriate training and support from different NGOs like Rishilpi, Uttarn, Bhumiya Foundation and Parittran. The target group of this type of work is young, married and adult women. They collect all sorts of raw materials from the NGOs and sell their product to these NGOs. The NGOs sell their products both at home and abroad. It is the additional source of income of Rishi women. After completing their daily routine work, they engage their idle or leisure time to produce the different types of showpieces. Normally they get up very early in the morning and spent two or three hours for this purpose. Then they prepare their time for cleaning the courtyard and preparing food for breakfast. Then they go outside for generating income. After taking lunch they again involve themselves in this type of action. Sometimes in moon light they work till middle of the night. During the rainy season the opportunity of working outside becomes limited, that time they engage their time more to produce showpiece. A lot of women artisans make and market crafts through the support of different NGOs. Embroidery, wheat straw, palm leaf and jute sections provide work for poor women from rural villages who have been widowed or abandoned. Women artisans make products from wheat straw, palm leaf, jute, leather and wood. The study collects information from 20 women artisans who make different types of showpieces.

The third sub occupation studied was showpiece maker. About 20 households were taken to examine their years of experience, customers, per unit cost and value and distribution method. The results are presented below.

6.6.2 Average Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income

Table: 6.22 Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience of showpiece makers

Experience (Years)	Number of showpiece worker(%)	Average(%)		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 6	60.00	3.42	5.33	47.50
6 to 10	15.00	8.67	5.67	54.00
11 to 20	20.00	12.50	5.00	50.00
21 +	5.00	22.00	4.00	50.00
All	100.00	6.95	4.05	49.10

Source: Field Work, 2017

In the case of show piece making, 20 respondents were studied. Results revealed in the table-6.22 that the average years of experience as 6.95 years, average hours of work as 4.05 hours and average income was found to be TK.49.10. Respondents with 6-10 years' experience was found to be earning more than respondents with 11-20 and 21 plus years who are earning TK. 50.

6.6.3 Sale Procedure by User of Product

Table: 6.23 Distribution of sale procedure by user of product

User of product	Sale procedure(%)			
	Total	Wholesale	Retail	Both
Foreigner	25.00	25.00	-	-
NGOs	55.00	55.00	-	-
Local customer	20.00	5.00	10.00	5.00
Total	100.00	85.00	10.00	5.00

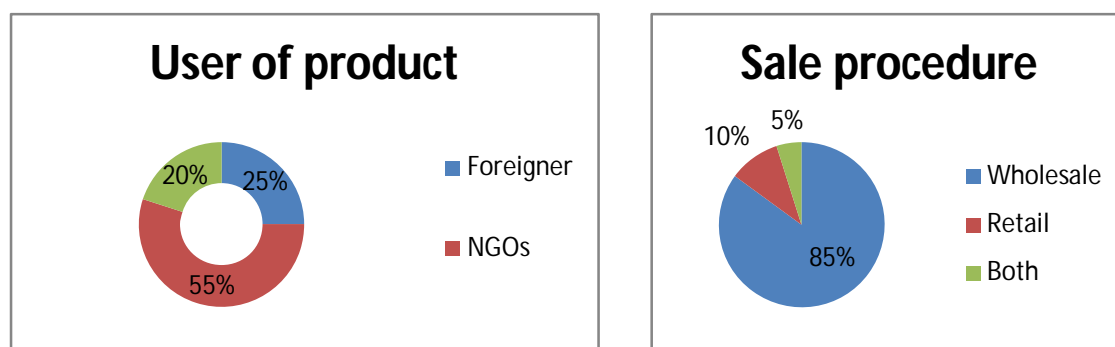
Source: Field Work, 2017

An attempt was also made to examine and compare the user of product with the type of sale procedure. A close look at the table revealed in the table-6.23 that the highest percentage of showpiece making households (55%) sell their showpieces to non-government organization ,

25.00 % sell their product to the foreigner and the rest of 20.00 % household have direct connection to the local customer respectively.

The sale procedure of household is also presented in this table. It is seen that out of all sale procedure, 85.00% are wholesale, 10.00% are retail and 5.00% are both (retail and wholesale). The table further shows that foreigner and non-government organization purchase the showpiece by following the wholesale procedure only. User of product and sale procedure of showpiece can also be shown in the following figure.

Figure: 6.6 User of product and sale procedure of showpiece



6.6.4 Average per Unit Cost, Value and Earning by Type of Product

Table: 6.24 Average per unit cost (TK.), value (Tk.) and earn (TK.) by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Raw material cost (Taka)	Value (Taka)	Earn (Taka)
Box	30.00	130.00	100.00
Drum	60.00	170.00	110.00
Shiki	50.00	140.00	90.00
Bag	80.00	340.00	260.00
Cap or topor	20.00	80.00	60.00
Tray	35.00	120.00	85.00
Khula or Dhala	40.00	200.00	160.00
Fuldhani	70.00	180.00	110.00
Mahala	30.00	90.00	60.00
Balti	60.00	225.00	165.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

A look at the table showing average cost per unit, value and earning of the product revealed in the table-6.24 that cost per unit was highest in the case of bag (TK.80), followed by *fuldhani* or flower pot (TK.70) and drum and *balti* (TK.60). Regarding, the value of the products, bag was found to be highest (TK.340) followed by *khula* or *dhala* (TK.200), *Fudhani*(TK.180).The table again highlighted that, showpiece workers are earning TK. 60 to TK. 260 for selling their per unit product.

6.6.5 Story of Some Showpiece Workers

Case study: 6.14 Showpiece worker Champa Rani Das

Champa Rani Das aged 40 years has about 14 years' experience and is associated with crafting activity. Basically, she is a producer of palm leaf basketry. Her husband's name is Sibapada Das (50) who is basically a farmer and a raw skin businessman. His eldest son is studying in grade-8 and the youngest daughter is in grade-5. In his family there are five members including her one widow sister (65). Her family members live in the village of Kadikati of Kolishkhali Union of Tala Upazila. Their house is made of brick-tally and they use deep tube well water for drinking purpose and use pond's water for other domestic purpose. They use non-sanitary or *kancha* latrine.

Champa learned this skill from a local NGO. Besides training, she needs blades, needles, date leaves, colored date leaves, straw for accomplishing her task. Normally she collects different types of date leaves from the office of Rishilpi (NGO) and the price per kilogram of date leaves is approximately TK. 60. She added that every month she goes to the office for collecting the date leaves. She mentioned that she got two months' long training from an NGO and also learnt from her neighbors how to make different showpieces by using the date leaves.

Table: 6.25 Material cost, market price and man days for showpiece product

Products	Material Cost (in TK)	Market price(in TK)	Men days(in TK)	Other remarks
Drum	30-50	170-300	2 to 3 days	
<i>Srabanti</i> (basket)	30	90-130		
Box set	30	130	1 day	
Tray	70-80	150	3 to 4 pieces per day	Investing of labour more but profit is very minimum
Hari (pots)	12	50	3 to 4 pieces per day	
Bucket	12	50	3 to 4 pieces per day	
Small round bowl sets	10-15	70	3 to 4 pieces per day	
Poisa set (coin set)	10-15	70	3 to 4 pieces per day	
Round basket with handle	10-15	70	3 to 4 pieces per day	
Flower vassal	30	200	4 to 5 days	Need to invest more labour
Lakhir hari (worship pot)	30	200-250	5 to 6 days	

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table shows that the material cost of Drum is more and the market price varies from TK.170 toTK.300 which is followed by flower vase and *Lakhirhari* (worship pot). In the case of both products the material cost is the same but the price varies between TK.200 toTK.250.

Champa mentioned that this work can operate around the year and to be engaged in this profession there is no need for high education she added. She also mentioned that in the leisure time, normally she makes different showpieces with date leaves. Those who are skilled, can earn a lot. A local NGO organized a fair of date and jute made products and there her product (*srabanti*) has been selected as the number one product and got TK.2000 as prize money. She wants to learn more and more to in sharpen her skill weaving different kinds of showpieces.

Case study: 6.15 Story of Bally Rani Dasi

She is a pioneer in showpiece making in the village of Kadikati. Twenty Five years ago, Bally Rani was the only woman in the village of Kadikati who got six months long training on sewing as well as showpiece making from anNGO.Initially she sewed the cloth. Performing this kind of activity continuously was a problem as she was afflicted with eye problem and the remuneration

was low. Over the last ten years she was involved in the activity of date leaves and made different products. She is 48 years old, has very little education. Her husband's name is Gopal Krisno (58) who is basically a day laborer. They have one son and three daughters. All daughters are married and her only one son is studying in grade-8.

Bally can weave different types of baskets, buckets, trays, disco bowl set, mat, Christmas mat, jar, *srabonti* (different type of rectangular baskets), mini box, kit box, table mat and so on. She works just 4-5 hours per day working in her leisure time. She mentioned that in the month of April-May she is busy in the agricultural activity as a day laborer and earns TK.150. During this season she can work for one to two hours at night. In the month of Jun, July, August and September (rainy season) she gets more and more order from the Rishilpi and works most of the time weaving date leaves made materials. Normally during these months they have no opportunity to work as a day laborer in the agricultural sector. In these months she earns TK.3000 and more depending only on the date leaves made showpieces. During the month of October to January (harvest season) she is again involved with different types of pre and post agricultural activity as a day labourer and cannot manage enough time for weaving the showpiece. But after the end of the monsoon, she gets the chance for engaging in the activity of showpiece making as a full time worker, particularly in the month of February and March.

The good thing is that in the dull season, she can get chance to be involved in this activity and normally when she is free, she is involved this type of activity but the sad part is that, this product still depends on the foreign market and we cannot sell these products for our natives. There are many showpiece markets in the big cities and through linking with these markets we can earn more.

Case study: 6.16 Story of Sheuli

Sheuli is a skilled worker in Jute made handicraft. Sheuli Rani Das (50 years) is old. She has been working for 14 years. Her husband is a day labourer and he faced severe difficulties to run his family of 6 members. She is giving support to her husband to run their family affair smoothly. It was hard to feed them through only one's income. At that time, she went to Rishilpi (a local NGO), got training on jute made product which was the only source for surviving. She sells this product to the Rishilpi as well as to the village dwellers. Now she is weaving only the *shika* (for

holding something in this product) and on an average, she can weave 25 to 30 pieces per day. She sells per piece at the rate of \$0.075 only, provided the raw materials are supplied by the Rishilpi authority. Thus she earns monthly \$ 50 to \$ 60 on average. Her three girls got married and two sons have settled. Now they are self-reliant, she purchases her clothes, food, medicines with her own income. Even she helps her daughter and son financially.

Case study: 6.17 Story of Radha Rani Das

Radha Rani is 62 years old and skilled producer of Rishilpi's Jute section. She has been working for 32 years. She lives with her husband and has 6 children. Her husband is getting aged and cannot do anything. One of her daughters has completed Bachelor degree by getting Rishilpi's support. Other children are settled. She is very happy to work with Rishilpi because she does not take any financial help from her sons. Rather, she helps her children and purchases her necessary house ware. She is happy and feels proud for the opportunity she got from Rishilpi in spite of her age. Her daughter also makes jute bags with her. They are getting monthly average income of \$ 50. In 3-4 days, she completes 1 jute bag. During Nov-May, they can earn more as sufficient work is available.

Case study: 6.18 Story of Basonti Rani Das

Basonti Rani (45 years) is a producer of Rishilpi. She lives with her husband and children. Her husband is a day labour. Her children are settled. She has been working here for 29 years. She loves to work with Rishilpi. She earns \$ 26 per months in average. Sometimes, she gets more and purchases her necessary house ware. She feels proud that she is independent and never borrows money from her sons and ever sometimes she helps them.

Case study: 6.19 Story of Kanchi Rani Das

Kanchi Rani (55 years) is a producer of Rishilpi. She lives with her husband and children. Her husband is getting aged and cannot do anything. She has one son who works in a shop. She also has 4 girls and they are married. She is expert in macramé and sample making. In 4-5 days she completes one jute bag. Her monthly average income is about \$ 32 but from Nov-May she gets more when Rishilpi gets more order. She purchases house ware, dress and necessary items with her earnings.

Case study: 6.20 Story of Uma Rani Das

Uma Rani(30 years) is a young producer of Rishilpi. She lives with her husband and children. Her husband works in furniture shop. She has one daughter who studies in class VII and her son is in Class I. She bears all educational expenses from her earnings. She is happy and says that without Rishilpi's support she would not have continued her children's education. Her monthly average income is about \$ 30. If Rishilpi provides more production order, she can earn more.

Case study: 6.21 Story of Konika Rani Das

Konika Rani (58 Years) is an old producer of Rishilpi. She has been working here for 25 years. Her husband has a small grocery shop. She lives with him. She has seven Children. Everybody is settled except one. He is studying in a Public University but he depends on her mother. It is becoming difficult to bear his educational expenses from her income. Thereafter, she is working only for her youngest son and his future. Her monthly average income is about \$ 25-28. Sometimes she gets more. She dreams, once her son gets job, she will be happy.

6.6.6 Seasonal Calendar for Showpiece Makers

Chart: 6.11 Seasonal calendar of homemade showpiece maker

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April-May	Very low	Busy in agricultural activity, work as a day laborer, only at night time and very limited number of works are available
June-July	Very high	They get more order, in this time, work load of other activity is less due to rainy season
August-September	Low	Due to workload of making showpiece is average
October-November	Average	Getting order for making different types of showpieces is limited
December-January	Average	Getting order for making different types of showpieces is limited
February-March	Average	Getting order for making different types of showpieces is limited

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.6.7 SWOT Analysis of Showpiece Producers

Chart:6.12SWOT analysis of showpiece producers

Strength	Weakness
<p>Leisure time job</p> <p>Needs very small amount of money</p> <p>Women at different ages can easily work in this profession</p> <p>Sitting in any place this type of work can be done</p> <p>Does not require training</p> <p>Raw materials are available</p>	<p>Their product is not very attractive to the rural people</p> <p>Urban or city centered marketing</p> <p>Need to invest more labour and needs to have patience in dealing with labour</p> <p>Payment is very minimum compared to labor investment</p> <p>Marketing of the showpiece product is limited</p> <p>Demand oriented</p>
Opportunity	Threat
<p>There is an opportunity to export this type of product</p> <p>The demand of this product is very high to the indigenous people as well as foreigners</p> <p>If market oriented training is provided more quality product can be produced</p> <p>Various quality of product can be made by using the wastage or unused or useless materials</p> <p>Good entrepreneurs can accelerate based on homebased showpiece production</p> <p>There is a huge work opportunity in the month of rainy season</p>	<p>Inappropriate marketing system</p> <p>Chance to affect eye and are prone to eye related diseases</p> <p>Chance to get frequent headaches</p> <p>Ageing can create problem for carrying out this type of job</p>

Source: Field Work, 2017

6.6.8 Conclusion

Production of showpiece by using local materials does not require huge investment. Women can be involved. No training is required. It is labour oriented work but there exists no rural market. If training is given quality product can be produced. There is huge demand for showpiece in foreign countries. Eye related problems, frequent headaches and ageing are the key problem of this profession. The respondents mention that their income is high in the rainy season especially in the month of June and July.

CHAPTER 7

Service Related Products

7.1 Semen Insemination through Male Goats Rearing

- 7.1.1 Introduction
- 7.1.2 Household head's Experience, Number of Male Goats and Number of Crossing
- 7.1.3 Number of households' Daily Fostering Cost per Male Goats, Daily Income and Earning
- 7.1.4 Story of Two Experts of Male Goats' Rearer
- 7.1.5 Seasonal Calendar for Semen Insemination Activity
- 7.1.6 SWOT Analysis of Male Goat's Rearer
- 7.1.7 Conclusion

7.2 Cattle Fattening through Cattle Castration

- 7.2.1 Introduction
- 7.2.2 Household head wise Year of Experiences, Number of Goats and Bulls Crossing and per Day Working Hours
- 7.2.3 Raw Material Cost, Per day Income and Alternative Income Sources
- 7.2.4 Case Story of Two Castrators for Docile
- 7.2.5 Seasonal Calendar for Cattle Castration
- 7.2.6 SWOT Analysis of Cattle Castrator

7.3 Footwear Repairing and Polishing

- 7.3.1 Introduction
- 7.3.2 Household head wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income
- 7.3.3 Per Unit Cost, Value, Earning and Place of Raw Material Collection Process
- 7.3.4 Success Stories of Expert Footwear Repairer
- 7.3.5 Seasonal Calendar for Footwear Repairer
- 7.3.6 SWOT Analysis of Footwear Repairer
- 7.3.7 Conclusion

7.4 Raw Skin Management

7.4.1 Introduction

7.4.2 Householdhead Wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income

7.4.3 Householdhead Wise Per unit Cost, Value, and their Earning by Type of Skin

7.4.4 Place of Raw Skin Collection Process, Value and their Earning by Type of Skin

7.4.5 Number of Days for Skin Preservation, Value, Earning and Sale Place

7.4.6 Story of Skin Processor for Managing Raw Skin

7.4.7 Seasonal Calendar for Managing Raw Skin

7.4.8 SWOT Analysis for Managing Raw Skin

7.4.9 Conclusion

Chapter-7: Service Related Products

Services are activities provided by other people in Rishi community, such as semen insemination through male goats rearing, cattle castration, raw skin processor and footwear repairer. According to economic theory, consumption of goods and services is assumed to provide utility (satisfaction) to the consumer or end-user, although businesses also consume goods and services in the course of producing other services. Service in *Dalit* community has different dimensions. These dimensions are concerned with understanding the individuals in the context of their daily lives and framing their behaviours within the environment and Rishi community that surrounds them. The point is to focus on capturing and understanding the service provider's daily life, personal background as well as their repertoires and activities they undertake within the space. It is a complex job and it requires patience. In this chapter an attempt is made to discuss in detail 4 service providing groups. Case studies of successful people under each occupation are presented. A detailed seasonal calendar with SWOT analysis is given at the end.

7.1 Semen Insemination through Male Goats Rearing

7.1.1 Introduction

With rapid increase of population in Bangladesh the pastoral land for cattle grazing is going to be extinct day by day. A few decades back in every corner of Bangladesh, agricultural land was used only one time around the year and the rest of the time of the year this land was used for cattle grazing. That time naturally these cattle met and give birth to babies. Due to modernization of agriculture, land is used round the year. Consequently the number of cattle has decreased. Now tending cattle that is almost limited to rearing the goats. To produce more cattle, it is urgent to develop the cross breeding system. But traditionally and from religious point of view the upper caste Hindu and Muslim people did not like the semen supply business through male goats and bull rearing. In that connection, there is a correlation between untouchability and male goats rearing. As a low caste people, Rishi community took this occupation as an alternative livelihood to produce baby cattle by rearing the male goats and bulls. During the mating time of cattle, the farmers normally go to the Rishi *parato* inseminate the goat and cow by male goats or bull within 12 to 18 hours for proper conception. Almost in each Rishi *para* in

the south west part of Bangladesh there is one or more bull or male goat that normally supplies the semen to inseminate resulting in the birth of calves or baby goats. Sex and gender roles have always been a vital part of any anthropological research. In this study the researcher found that for male goats rearing the involvement of women are maximum in the operations like feeding, cleaning the shed, intensive care of male goats. The children also assist their parents in daily routine operations related to male goats rearing. In this way, men, women and children collectively contribute to run this occupation.

Black Bengal goat is a very useful small livestock in Bangladesh. It is also a great source of income for the poor people in Bangladesh. Black Bengal goat has a broad chest and horns are small or medium. Their body is tight and relatively shorter than other goat breed. The hair of the skin is smooth. This category of goats starts producing baby goat at their 12 to 15 months of age. The female goat becomes pregnant twice a year. With proper care and management they can produce more than 2 kids each time. For getting good results, goats should be bred at the age from 14 to 18 months. During that time goat farmers normally take their female goats to the house of *Rishi* who rear the male goats for transforming the semen. Now- a -days many Rishis are rearing foreign variety of male goats for crossing the female goats with a high rate. With some training this particular section of people can serve to produce high variety of goats through institutional arrangements or supports.

In this section an attempt has been made to examine the male- goatentrepreneurs' years of experience, services per goat, daily fostering cost, average income etc. The empirical data is collected, analyzed and presented.

7.1.2 Householdhead's Experience, Number of Male Goats and Number of Crossing

Table: 7.1 Average year of experience of the household's head, number of male goats and crossing per goat by years of experience

Experience of male goat rearing(Years)	Number of male-goat(%)	Average		
		Year of experience	Noumber of goat	Crossing per goat
Below 6	29.41	2.94	2.00	3.25
6 to 10	29.41	9.20	3.20	2.75
11 to 20	23.53	16.00	2.00	2.50
21 to 30	11.76	27.50	3.00	3.50
31 +	5.89	40.00	3.00	4.00
All	100.00	12.92	2.52	3.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

In the above table-7.1, distribution of goats and crossing per goat as per experience is studied. Results showed that with average experience of male-goat rearing is 12.92%, average number of goat is 2.52% and average crossing rate of per male goat is 3.00 respectively. It may be mentioned that 6 to 10 year experienced male- goat fosterer have average 3.20 goats and the average service rate of per goat is (2.75) lower than other experienced group of male goat fostering.

7.1.3 Number of Households' Daily Fostering Cost per Male Goats and Daily Income and Earning

Table: 7.2 Number of households, daily fostering cost per goat and daily income per goats by number of male goats per household

Number of male goat per household	Household(%)	Daily fostering cost (TK.) per goat	Average daily income (TK.)	
			Per goat (TK.)	Per household (TK.)
2	64.71	28	90	504.00
3	23.53	30	10	900.00
5	11.76	30	85	1275.00
All	100.00	29.00	91.59	787.22

Source: Field Work, 2017

Table: 7.2 depicts the information on daily fostering cost per goat, and average daily income per goat and per household was collected from 17 households. Results showed that daily fostering cost per goat has come to TK. 29, average income per goat is TK.91.59 and income per household has come to TK.787.22. It is noticeable that when the number of male-goats of per household increases, the average daily income of per household increases horizontally.

Table: 7.3 Number of households, average daily fostering cost, income & earn by number of male goats per household

Number of male goat per household	Household(%)	Average daily		
		Fostering cost (Tk.)	Income (Tk.)	Earn (Tk.)
2	64.71	56.00	504.00	448.00
3	23.53	90.00	900.00	810.00
5	11.76	150.00	1275.00	1125.00
All	100.00	75.05	787.22	712.17

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-7.3 described the distribution of number of households, average daily fostering cost, income and earning by number of male goats of per household. The table indicates that the average daily fostering cost of per household is TK.75.05, income is TK. 787.22 and earning is TK. 712.17 respectively. It is mentionable that when the number of he goat per households increases, simultaneously the average daily fostering cost, income and earning increases.

7.1.4 Story of Two Experts of Male Goats' Rearer

Two successful case studies of Kisno and Dhanjoyare presented below.

Case Study: 7.1 Goat's rearer Krisno's story

Due to financial crises, Krishno has not expanded his semen supplying business. He is 57 years old. His wife's name is Safhali Rani Das. His mother Batul Dasi is staying with Krisno. He has five daughters and one son. Three daughters are already married. The remaining two daughters are studying at grade-3 and grade-1. His only one son is in grade-7. 10 years ago he was a van puller but now he leads his life as a semen supplier. Now he is the owner of two male goats. One goat's (cross) market price is TK.17000 and the other one (local) is approximately at of TK.8000 to TK.9000. In case of cross male goat, the customer of female goat pays TK.100 per beat and in case of local male goat, the customer of female goat pays TK.50 per beat. If the female-goat fails

to get pregnant, then, in the second time, the customer need not pay again. For fostering two male goats, Krisno spends TK.50 to TK.60 on an average for purchasing rice, straw, *khud* (rice polish) etc. According to Krisno, on an average, 8 months are treated as peak period and in this pick period 3/4/5/6 even 7 female goats come to his house for one time beat. Pregnancy period of female goat and lactation time of kid are considered as lean period. For increasing breeding capacity there is a need to push two injections to male goat and the cost of two injections is nearly TK.200. If he does not push this type of injection then there is a chance of death. Besides, there is a need to feed them with adequate vitamin, calcium and saline for quick recovery of energy and power. Krisnoopined that “I am very much conscious about the disease of male goats, if I ignore this disease they may not survive and for this reason I always keep the mobile number of veterinary doctor so that when I call him, he can come to my house promptly.” He further stated that sometimes customers demand male goat for beat and in most cases they demand more times, but goat sometime become tired for passing semen. In that case, if they have more than 5 male goats, they have an opportunity to earn more and can also supply semen. In addition, the cost of fostering 2 male goats and 5 female goats are almost same.” In case of caring issue, he said that those who take care of the male goats are liked and the rest malegoats try to hit them severely. He mentioned that he bought the kid of cross variety at only TK.9500 from the Khulna city and bought the local variety of male goat at only TK.3500 from his own locality. He further commented that one male goat can serve well up to 4 years. After 4 years servicing, it is better to change the male goat. In this regard, Krisno told a different story regarding the male goat. In the Bangali month *Sraban* to *Vadro*(July to August) there is a tradition of male goat sacrifice in the Chittagong division. That time the price of male goat is very high. Many people do not like the very youngmalegoat, they think the aged male goats are better for religious purpose. He can easily change these during this particular time he added. He also quoted that “male goatis my pride, I have only 7 decimal of land and if I had no male goat, I would have migrated to India, I also think that it is one kind of occupation, so why my neighbors insist on my leaving this occupation. It is good to create awareness among the neighbors”. Krisno mentioned that rearing female goat is very profitable for the owner of male goatalso. Because for beating female goat there is no cost, on the other hand female goat produces 2 to 4 kids at the same time. He had a female goat and that goat was pregnant. But one day when the female goat ate grasses in the swamp area at that time two dogs attacked the goat and ultimately the female goat died. After that event he did not rear the female goat at all.

Case Study: 7.2 Story of Dhanjoy

According to Dhanjoy rearing baby goats is a good profession as they can sell meat, earn more income. Dhanjoy, 70, is associated with male- goats rearing business for 5 years and runs his family solely depending on this profession. Before involving in this activity, he worked in agriculture as a day laborer. Due to age, he cannot involve himself as a day laborer. He has three daughters, two sons and all are married. All of them dwell in separately. Dhanjoy's family consists of his daughter-widow, 10 to 12-year-old grand-daughter, disabled son (30), son-in-law and his wife Bilati (60). His total amount of land is 33 decimals. His house is made of brick-tally. He uses deep-tube-well water for drinking and uses pond water for other domestic purposes. He uses non-sanitary or kancha toilet. To manage the current activity of semen supply he has ten local variety or species of male- goats and two foreign varieties (*totamukhi*) of male goats. There is a separate semi-pucca room for male goats where male goats stay at night. Usually this house is locked at night.

A little away from his residence, there is a little house that has been made with mud and thatch, which is also surrounded by fenced banana leaf. Basically, the task of beating of male goats is performed in this place. After beating, the female- goats twice by a male- goat, sometimes the customer needs more beats. For beating two times by the foreign variety of male- goat, he gets TK.400 and in case of local variety of male- goats, he gets TK.50.

He spends nearly ten thousand taka for rearing his 12 of male- goats. This includes the cost of polished particle, bran, gram, cake, thatch, sex increasing injection, soap, antiseptics etc. He mentioned that to avoid *bazaghondho* (bad smell) from the body of male goat, he washes these male- goats with soap and dettol with water at least once a week. The foreign varieties of male-goats are very much sensitive, they become easily weak or ill and for this reason, there will be a need to call veterinary surgeon frequently. For visit of a veterinary surgeon he has to pay at least TK.500. He mentioned that he can easily rear a male- goat for five or six years and then he can sell it at high price (TK.20000 to TK.25000). According to Hindu canonist, the tradition of sacrificing aged male-goats is old and this tradition persists in Sitakunda Temple of Chittagong division at a special time and that time we used to sell this type of aged male- goat at high price. Through fostering male- goats, the semen supply business is not bad at all. He continued that by involving in this activity, many people come to his residence from many places and there is lot of opportunities to talk or discuss with them. His widow daughter basically looks after them. Fresh or new female- goat (*halun*) cannot be beaten by the foreign variety of male- goats and in that case, the death incident of new female-goat can occur. Adult female goats become hit almost all the year but during the month of April-May, there is less opportunity to beat the female- goat

because in this period of time most of the female- goats become pregnant. In the month of June-July most of the adult female- goats are warmed. From the month of August to March, female-goats become warmed less or more. He continued that for this reason the semen supply business vary from month to month. Many people comes from distantplaces taking matured or adult she goats with a view to cross a variety of foreign male- goats.

Dhanjoy mentioned that the owner of female- goats gives more attention to the foreign species (*totamukhi*) for beating, but there is a limit for the foreign male- goat. Normally male- goats can beat 2 or 3 times per day. Out of two male- goats one's one leg has been broken and for this time in maximum cases that male goat cannot pass the semen to the female-goats appropriately. During the interview, he informed that on that day he got an opportunity to supply semen to the eight adult female-goats by using his both foreign (2) and local variety of male- goats(5) and the total income is TK.1050. He mentioned that in the near past the neighbors opposed that this type of activity cannot be operated in their locality. That time one locally representative of local elected bodies indicated that he has the government license for operating this type of activity. He also mentioned that the government veterinary doctors at local level help him enormously that means when he reported the veterinary doctor came to his house instantly. He mentioned that to reproduce the baby goats this profession is crucial and in this respect he urged the appropriate government's favor or intervention to run this activity smoothly.

Case Study: 7.3 “I would like to make my business more dynamic in collaboration with the government animal hospitals”-mentions Mithun Sharker

Mithun Sharker Gora (28), professionally male-goats fosterer for supplying semen to the female-goats. The name of his wife is Kajoli Rani. Their only son, aged two years, the name of their son is Nirama. Their house is made of tin. They use tube-well water for domestic purpose and use the ring slab latrine for domestic purpose. Mithun is the owner of five different varieties of male goatlike Australian, Indian, Nepali, cross and local variety. He purchased the Australian variety at TK.25000, Indian variety at TK. 21000, Nepali variety at TK.22000, cross variety at TK. 17000 and local variety at TK, 7000 only from different places of Bangladesh. Gora mentioned that as he is involved in this business, he tries to keep all types of information regarding male goats (*patha chagole*).

Gora mentioned that his grandfather was involved in this profession about 20 years and he had only one male- goat. Gora has been running his business for 6 to7 years. Normally he does not keep the male- goat after providing one year service. According to him after one year service the

male- got can be affected by many diseases. In the month of August (during the snake worship) he sells it in Chittagong.

Gora narrated that he spent his days as a beggar, but somehow, he overcomes that situation by applying knowledge and technique. He got TK.15000 from a local NGO as a grant. He said that if he had two more cattle, veterinary hospital could provide fodder support at free of cost. But right this moment he has no ability to buy the new cattle. On an average his male- goats can provide semen to 3 or 4 female-goats and earns TK.600 or TK.700. He continued that per cost for fostering each male- goat is TK.200 including food and medicine support. Except the local variety the foreign varieties do not eat grass. In addition, male-goats are very much sensitive, they can be ill for minor issues even the change of weather also. Her mother is always engaged in making food of male-goats. Her mother is very expert in this work since her tender age. He has to be busy for 24 hours with caring these. Every week goats need to take a bath. Even after getting wet by rain water, goats need again shower. These goats cannot tolerate too hot and sun and during hot weather they need to take bath. He quoted that “but I do not consider these issues as problem, actually I would like to make my business more dynamic in collaboration with the government animal hospitals”.

7.1.5 Seasonal Calendar for Semen Insimulation Activity

Chart: 7.1 Seasonal calendar for the owner of male goats

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April	Very poor	Need not cross, maximum she goats pass their lactation period
May-June	Very high	Maximum goats become eligible to meet the he goats
July-August	Good	Lactation period but Maximum goats become fit to meet the male goat
September-October	Average and dull	Maximum reproduce kids, very few are fit for meeting
November-December	Dull	Almost all the she goats reproduce new kids and are busy with their new born
January-March	Dull or low	Most of the she goats reproduce new kids and are busy with their new born
Overall eight months are treated as peak time and the next four months are treated as lean period		

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.1.6 SWOT Analysis of Male Goat's Rearer

Chart: 7.2 SWOT analysis of semen supplying through male goat fostering

Strength	Weakness
<p>In house semen supply</p> <p>No need to search for the customer</p> <p>No need to be involved in hard job</p> <p>Closely monitor the service of male goat and the customer's behavior</p> <p>Understanding the holistic behavior of male goat</p>	<p>Bad odour</p> <p>Attacking tendency of male goat</p> <p>Cross or foreign variety of male goat can easily be affected by many diseases</p> <p>The cost of male goats is very high</p> <p>The cost of fostering the he goat (Fodor) is very high</p> <p>Need to monitor 24 hours closely otherwise it can become sick or even die at any time</p> <p>This business run for only seven or eight month of each year</p> <p>The cost of veterinary medicine is also high</p>
Opportunity	Threat
<p>Expansion of black goat</p> <p>Customer can get the opportunity of bargaining</p> <p>If semen supply hampers first time then the customer get the compensation for the second time of taking semen</p> <p>After servicing 1 to 4 year there is a chance to sell the he goat at very high rate for religious purpose</p>	<p>Ignorance of cleanliness of male goat</p> <p>Irregular treatment</p>

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.1.7 Conclusion

In Rishi community, in house semen supply to the female goats is done by the male- goats rearing group. This group understands the holistic behavior of male- goats. Close monitoring system is required for fostering male- goats. They mention that cost of fostering male goats is very high. They run this semen supply business only for 7-8 hours. After servicing 1 to 4 year there is a chance to sell the male goat at very high rate for religious purpose. Bad odour comes from the body of male- goats. Due to ignorance of cleanliness of male- goat even their neighbours cannot feel comfortable to their house. Maximum female goats become eligible to meet the he goats during May to June.

7.2 Cattle Fattening through Cattle Castration

7.2.1 Introduction

For improving meat quality or growth performance, castration method is used in Bangladesh for three types of animals or birds these are cattle, goats and cocks. And this castration activity is normally done by the some skilled people of Rishi community in the south west part of Bangladesh. This occupation is dominated by the male members only.

Castration is probably the most common procedure carried out on cows across the world. Castration involves the removal or destruction of the testes or testicles and is carried out in order to stop the production of male hormones. Entire bulls tend to be more aggressive to both stock people and other cattle, and can cause problems with unwanted breeding. They also generally produce lower quality meat. Castration eliminates all these problems. Castration bulls may be accomplished by physical, chemical or hormonal techniques. Physical methods are most common in Bangladesh. Side by side with livestock departments a few skilled people from the Rishi community perform this activity by using physical method. Normally they remove the testicles by using knife and turmeric. Traditionally, farmers do not castrate animals and both males and females are allowed to run together. The result is that inferior males mate with females passing on undesirable traits and the young stock produced are not very productive.

Castration of male- goat is also an important management practice to maintain control of their breeding program and successfully carry out breed improvement. Castration is the removal or destruction of the testes and a portion of each spermatic cord from a ram or buck. In most cases, non-breeding males and males not slaughtered at a young age should be castrated. There are three commonly used methods of castration for goats: the Burdizzo method, the banding or elastrator method and the knife (surgical) method. Out of three methods skilled Rishi people castrate the he goats by using the knife. It is good to match castration method to size and age of animal. Many farmers prefer to castrate male goats at a later age; in most cases after sexual maturity is attained (yearling to 2 years old). The reason given for this is that early castration can cause stunted growth, resulting in a lack of desired muscling and conformation, leading to a low market price.

For ensuring growth of native cocks, canonization method is used in the rural areas of Bangladesh. Canonization can be divided into three such as non-caponized, chemically and surgically caponized. The cocks are caponized at 4 weeks of age and reared on individual cages up to 16 weeks of age to assess the body weight gain, hematological traits and blood cholesterol concentration. The weight gain was significantly increased in caponized cock compared to non-caponized cocks. However, surgically caponized cocks gained the highest body weight. Total erythrocyte count, packed cell volume and hemoglobin concentration were significantly reduced in caponized cocks compared to non-caponized cocks. Canonization is the most suitable technique to have maximum meat from cocks. However, surgically or knife canonization may be the best technique for maximum growth. Traditionally this canonization activity is done by some skilled people of Rishi community.

In this section, 20 respondents in Cattle Castrator profession are studied to examine the average working hours, number of cattle, income and cost of maintaining bull and goat. A few successful cases are presented

7.2.2 Household head wise Year of Experiences, number of Goats and Bulls Crossing and Per day Working Hours

Table: 7.4: Household's average year of experience, number of goats and bulls crossing & per day working hour by years of experience of cattle castrators

Experience (Years)	Number of households (%)	Average			
		Year of experience	Working hour	Number of goat	Number of bull
Below 6	11.76	2.50	4.50	3.50	2.00
6 to 10	35.30	10.00	5.88	3.38	1.50
11 to 20	23.53	16.25	4.75	3.25	1.25
21 to 30	17.65	28.33	4.79	4.33	2.00
31 +	11.76	37.50	6.00	3.00	2.00
All	100.00	16.32	5.27	3.48	1.64

Source: Field Work, 2017

A comparison is made against experience in the occupation with number of working hours, number of goats and number of bull in the table-7.4. For an average 16.32 years' experience in this profession, the average number of goats are 3.48, working hours of 5 and number of bull has come to 1.64.

7.2.3 Raw Material Cost, Perday Income and Alternative Income Sources

Table: 7.5 Average per day raw material cost for castrator (bull& goat) castration income from bull, goats and daily income per households by year of experience

Experience (Years)	Number of households (%)	Raw material cost for castrator		Average per castrator income		Average daily per household income (Taka)
		Bull (Taka)	Goats (Taka)	Bull (Taka)	Goats (Taka)	
Below 6	11.76	17.00	5.20	115.00	80.00	396.00
6 to 10	35.30	16.23	5.97	105.00	66.00	336.25
11 to 20	23.53	15.40	6.13	102.00	65.00	360.00
21 to 30	17.65	16.10	5.37	80.00	67.00	372.67
31 +	11.76	15.90	5.47	100.00	59.00	360.00
All	100.00	16.06	5.75	102.24	66.76	358.29

Source: Field Work, 2017

The average cost of raw material for castration for bull and goats are studied with experience. Results in the table-7.5 showed that on an average cost for bull has come to TK.16.06 and TK.5.75 for goats. A close look at the table regarding income versus experience clearly indicates average income per castration from bull asTK.102.24 and from goats as TK.66.76. Average daily income from each household isTK. 358.29. Interestingly 11.76% respondents with less than 6 years of experience are earning more than others. 17.65% respondents with 21 to 30 years of experience stood second with maximum average castration income from bull and Goats.

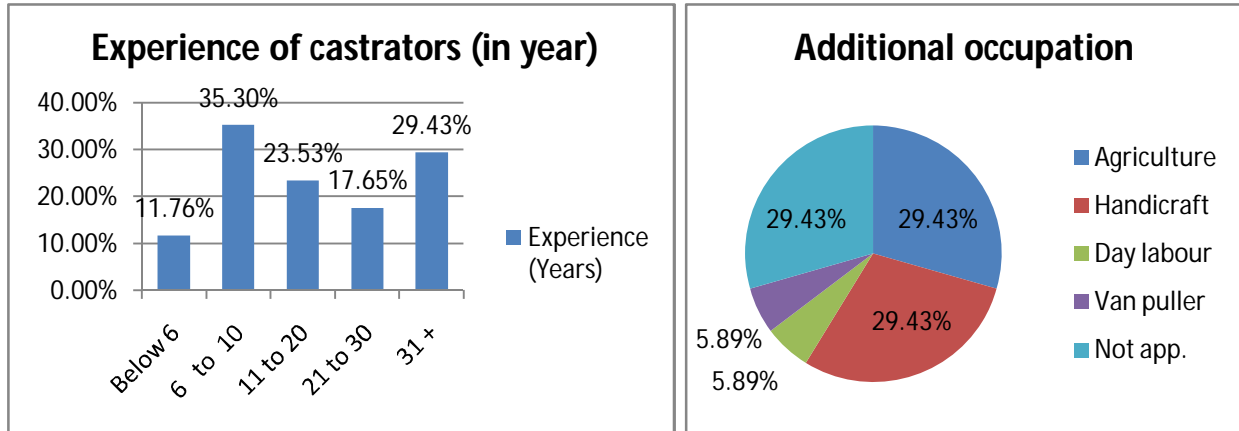
Table: 7.6 Distribution of additional livelihood options of castrators by year of experience

Experience (Years)	Additional occupation					
	Total(%)	Agriculture	Handicraft	Day labour	Van puller	Not app.
Below 6	11.76	5.89	-	-	-	5.89
6 to 10	35.30	11.76	17.65	5.89	-	-
11 to 20	23.53	5.89	-	-	5.89	11.76
21 to 30	17.65	5.89	5.89	-	-	5.89
31 +	11.76	-	5.89	-	-	5.89
All	100.00	29.43	29.43	5.89	5.89	29.43

Source: Field Work, 2017

The above table-7.6 shows the distribution of additional livelihood options by year of experience. The table indicates that out of 17 traditional castrators, 29.43% castrators depend on other workers having no additional occupation. The source of additional occupation, agriculture and handicraft are both occupations that contain 29.43% in each.

Figure: 7.1 Experience and additional occupation of the castrators



7.2.4 Case Story of Two Castrators for Docile

Two success stories of Kongso and Gostapado who are in Castration business are presented below.

Case Study: 7.4 Story of castrator Kongso

Seventy years old Kongso Das has been castrating cattle for over 55 years. His Ghosagati village is located in the Sahos Union. He got the opportunity of studying only up to class 3 or 4. Besides, cattle castration, he has been singing *kabi gan* (poet song) for a long time in different places of greater Khulna division. Husband and wife are the only two members of their family and his wife's name is Shafallow. They have two daughters and one son, all are married. Like him, his only son, Bijoy Kumar Das (35) also castrates cattle in different places by riding his own motorbike.

For castrating each bull or bull, Kongso charges up to TK. 300 to TK.150. According to him the best time to castrate cattle is from 6 am to 11 am. The sun is not good for castrating cattle. After 11 am, if the cattle is castrated, the castrated cattle may die. He warned that when cattle graze in the field, it is not wise to castrate them. Full stomach or empty stomach is not appropriate for

castrating cattle. If the cattle are castrated in this situation, they can suffer very much. The middle situation is the best time to castrate the cattle he added. He particularly focused that he can castrate sheep, horse, pig, cock and so on but he never castrate the dog as it is the best friend of man.

Kongso mentioned that two types of castrations are normally found in his locality, castration with a knife (blood) and castration with *burdizzo* (no blood). According to Kongso, knife method is easier and more successful and the wound heals (get better) very quickly. He mentioned that *burdizzo* or no blood method can bring more sufferings to the body of cattle. By using this method cattle are harassed. After cutting the testicular cords with a knife a lot of flatulence, urine, excrement does not occur. For solving this type of problem, the grass juice and salt can be feed. Every day he castrates 10 to 40 goats and he takes TK.50 to TK. 100 per goat. For castrating each bull/bull he takes up to TK.400 to TK.150. On an average, he castrates 4/5 bulls per day. Goat castration is found more in the month of April and May and cows' castration are found more in the month of September, October, November and December. Due to paddy cultivation in the rainy season, in the month of July and August bulls are rarely castrated. During new moon and full moon cattle cannot be castrated. Kongso expressed his views that these days black goat fostering tendency is increasing day by day especially in the lower and middle class families in rural areas. It is true that maculation accelerates the pace of growth of the cattle.

Traditionally, he inherited this skill from his forefathers and he confidently mentioned that no accident has occurred so far in his hands. However he thinks that there is no end of learning in the digital era. Veterinarian from animal hospital can provide much training regarding their traditional knife method that can ultimately help to produce more cattle meat. This opportunity can create many permanent or institution based job facilities.

Case Study: 7.5 Cattle castrator Gostapado

Gostapado Das, aged 55, resides in Nehalpur village of Jalalpur Union under Tala upazila. He has only homestead land area (3 decimal). His house is made of mud-tin. His wife is 45 years old. They use the deep tube well water for drinking purpose and use the shallow tube well water

for other domestic purposes. They use the sanitary (water-sealed) latrine. Their family is small and has only son Jadav, whose family is different. His father, Okupado Das, was a famous castrator who had a reputation throughout the whole area. Basically, he learned this job from his father. Due to his father's reputation in the whole area, he has also enough goodwill in his locality. On an average his monthly income is TK.10000 and he can run his family well by this income. He is associated with the task for 25 years and has no record of accident. His skill and knowledge about castration are given below.

Table:7.7 Skill and knowledge about castration

Name of castrated animals and birds	Minimum and maximum age range for castration	Minimum and maximum cost (Taka)
Heifer (cow)	2 to six years	200-300
Buffalo	2 to six years	300-500
Goat	15 days to 3 months	50-100
Sheep	15 days to 3 months	50-100
Pig	2 to six months	100-300
Dog	6 months to 1 year	100-500
Cat	6 months to 1 year	100-200
Cock or chanticleer	Starting time of hit up to 3/4 months	20-50

Source: Field Work, 2017

Gostapado Das mentioned that in order to castrate the cattle, he uses only his fancy knife. After castration of all types of animals, he put mixed oil, turmeric and water together on the head of castrated animals. He puts only the turmeric powder in the wounded place. In case of cock or chanticleer, the wound is stitched with yarn needle and in that case there is no need to open the stitch. When the wounded dries, the chanticleer automatically removes the stitch by using its own lips. To avoid tetanus he suggests the owner to feed the root of *teplu* or *circiray* (herbal tree) mixing with black pepper and ginger. To avoid the tetanus of castrated cat or dog, he advises the owners to feed date molasses with a night old fermented rice several times. Currently he is advising the owner of animals to give pain killer medication that is available in the local markets. The best time for castration is the month of January, February and March. In this period of time the weather is not too hot or too cold, he added. Rainy season can also be treated as a good time for castration. According to him, extreme cold or extreme hot weather is not totally appropriate time for castration.

Gostapado Das mentioned that, now-a-days, on an average he castrates 15 to 20 bulls per year. In a recent past he castrated 100 to 150 bulls per year. Due to power tiller machines, bullen plowing are decreasing seriously. Many people are now fattening cattle (bull) in the shed house only and they do not get out these. He mentioned that 5 to 6 goats are laid off during the work season. Compared to the previous work the task of male goats' castration remained same, indeed, it has increased. According to him, the reason behind this is that the price of castrated he goats and the demand of meat of that type of goats have increased significantly. The tendency of sheep and pig castration is very low. As a hobby some people rear castrated cats and dogs in their home.

Gostapado Das mentioned that 4 union Parisads (Magura, Jalalpur, Islamkati and Kashra) is his working area that covers approximately 60 villages. When he walks through the streets of the village, many of them invite him to visit their home for cattle castration. When he visits the desired house, some surrounding people also urge him to castrate their cattle. Sometimes he also informs the owner of cattle that his cattle or pet animal are now eligible for castration. When he castrates the cows, goats or cocks, he takes the testicles, cooked testicles are very delicious and also increase the sexual power, he added. During the lean period of castration, he plays drums in various worships, rituals, marriage ceremonies etc. He has a lot of fame in his locality as good drum player. He avoids veterinary doctor, veterinary doctor also avoids him. He thinks that there is a chance for tetanus if the testicles are pressed by a machine. Testicles are pressed only one time, the pressure cannot be given for the second time. According to him, after creating pressure by machine the rear portion or part of the hip begins to dry up. He does not castrate the cattle or animal when they are in full stomach. In this situation if he castrates the cattle then they suffer very much. According to him immediately after castration the cattle may become sick or weak. He suggests the owner of cattle that immediately after castration, do not feed any food. He has very little interest for receiving training on castration because he considers himself as an efficient cattle castrator. He boasted that in his long record of castration (25 years) there is no example of an accident.

7.2.5 Seasonal Calendar for Cattle Castration

Chart: 7.3 Seasonal calendar of cattle fattening through the process of cattle castration

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April-May	Very high	Most of the young he goats are castrated in this period
June-July	Very low	Very limited number of goats are castrated
August-September	Low	Bull are castrated but the rate of castration is poor, limited number of goats are also castrated
October-November	Average	Bull are castrated but the rate of castration is poor, limited number of goats are castrated
December-January	Average	Limited number of goats are castrated
February-March	Average	Limited number of goats are castrated

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.2.6 SWOT Analysis for Cattle Castrator

Chart: 7.4 SWOT analysis of cattle castrator

Strength	Weakness
Using the knife, this task can be done	All are not competent for conducting this type of job
Owner of cattle get chance for concession	Need to be tactful
Castrator comes, whenever the customer call him	Castrated cattle can suffer from tetanus
Helping the fattening process of cattle	Season oriented
Need not have enough training	At present castrated bulls are plough oriented
It is a lifelong business	are cultivation are very rare by depending on castrated bulls
Opportunity	Threat

Expansion of black goat meat

Use of machine for castration

Through castration cattle become quiet and calm

Customer can get the opportunity of bargaining

Veterinary base quack can be developed in the rural areas who can assist the upazila level veterinary doctors

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.2.7 Conclusion

In Rishi community not many tools are required to do castration for the cattle castrators. For providing this type of service cattle castrator does not require training. This group strongly believes that if castration is not done properly, cattle may suffer tetanus. Actually it is a seasonal work. They also assume that for fattening the cattle more people can be trained. But the castrators are worried that they may lose the jobs if more sophisticated machines come to the market. Castration work has more business in the month of April and May.

7.3 Footwear Repairing and Polishing

7.3.1 Introduction

During the investigation it was found that economic situation of the footwear makers or menders is very weak. They had been living in poverty since their history. They never showed any interest to overcome their economic deprivation. Perhaps, social negligence has been undermining their mental strength and restricting to take initiative to reduce poverty, which has been more acute today due to the free market economy and use of modern technology in producing footwear making business today. Footwear repairers spend their days sewing, cutting, dying, stitching, patching, sanding, polishing, sealing, shining, and mending. The important traditional profession of the Rishi community is sewing and polishing of footwear (*juta shelay and palish*). *Juta shelay* is considered one of the basest professions. The Rishi cobblers who sit all day along the roadside are given little respect. Customers usually throw a few coins disrespectfully at them as a form of payment. Footwear polish or boot polish is a waxy pastecream, or liquid used to polish, shine,

waterproof leather footwear or boots to extend the footwear's longevity, and restore, maintain and improve their appearance. Various substances have been used as footwear polish for hundreds of years, starting with natural substances such as wax and tallow. Modern polish formulas were introduced early in the 20th century and many of those original formulations are still in use today. Today, footwear polish is usually made from a mix of natural and synthetic materials, including naphtha, turpentine, dyes, and gum Arabic, using straight forward chemical engineering processes.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladeshi_art)

There are two sects within the 'cobbler' community- Ruhidas and Haridas. Traditionally Haridas are involved in the product of repairing, coloring and polishing old footwear and other leather products. (<http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/CobblerCommunity.pdf>). Cobblers of Sadar Tala Union are categorized in to two groups such as Town Cobblers and mobile cobblers. Town cobblers are those who sit along the roadside on PWD area or outside of railway station. And mobile cobblers are those who are found in the local markets. Cobbler people of this area are engaged in cobbling mainly due to lack of educational interest. Comparatively young cobblers are working in train in this area because young cobblers are fitted for working along within journey in train with nucleated or mass of passengers. In summer period the income rate is slightly lower, because in this time most people wear simple *footwear* or locally *chappol*. People do not polish it frequently because due to higher temperature of this study area, they wash their *footwear* as well as legs with water most frequently. The town cobblers (static working location) work mainly during day light because their cobbling center had no infrastructural facilities. The working time of the Town cobblers is from dawn to dusk, whereas mobile cobblers work generally 8 a. m. to 7p.m. or 8 p.m.

In the past regarding footwear service Rishi was considered essential because footwear were not produced by using modern machineries at that time and as such, everybody needed their help in wearing new footwear and in getting necessary leather goods. There is no historical evidence that they were rewarded financially or socially. Thus, they remain poor despite their good craftsmanship over the centuries. Though once they could earn their livelihood modestly from this occupation it has been very much difficult today due to the use of modern machineries for the production of footwear. They could not take the lead of the demand of the market with the

population boom due to lack of capital. As they have lived in poverty since long before they were not able to purchase even small machineries to cope with the situation and as such they have been facing serious difficulties to earn their livelihood. On the contrary, they did not try to change their profession to cope with the situation ever before. This threat of livelihood could be reduced if they can use some handy equipment and tools for quality production of footwear and leather based handicraft items at household level. The most important tool of cobblers is their *tool box* made by wood. They collect it from West Bengal. The wooden made cobbling box has 4 to 6 pockets. Cobblers used some other tools for cobbling like- *robbin cream*, *cherry cream* for making the footwear glossy. Most of the cobblers used mainly *robbin* footwear cream for polishing footwear because according to them, in train the time for polishing is very short and within this short time cobbler should have covered maximum train boggy. During footwear shining normally cobbler keep the following items with them

- Haxo-bleed for scrubbing lather
- Chain clip for repairing bag-chain
- Different hard brush for polishing different Colour footwear like brown or black
- Four pockets wood made tool box of train cobbler
- Rolling bits of tire for supporting damage sole
- Specific wax for stretching the stitching thread
- *Kothari* (*Bengal's Muchi* Language) for stitching
- Liquor Colour for polishing
- Brass for cleaning footwear
- Scissors
- Box of dust Colour powder for polishing
- *Farma* (local *Muchi* language)
- Gum box for pasting footwear
- Kouti in which seal & water is associated together, in used for *Batali* (local term) shaping
- Wood's bit use for gum Pasting on lather
- Nylon tire thread for stitching
- Plus for extracting iron pin from footwear
- *Batli* (local term) used for lather cutting

- File for creating small whole in *chappol*
- *Sarashi*(local term) for taking out large size pin from footwear
- Extra sole
- Pin box with pin
- *Robin* speed polishing cream in train
- Six pockets wooden tool box used by healthy tall train cobbler.

(Tapas Pal, 2011)

This is a male-dominated profession, which is usually traditionally handed down from generation to generation among the Rishi community in Bangladesh. In this section, 19 respondents in the field of footwear repairing are studied. An attempt is made to provide empirical data on the average working hours, income, average cost per unit, value and availability of raw material. Case studies of successful people in this field are also presented.

7.3.2 Householdhead wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income

Table: 7.8 Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience for footwear repairer

Experience (Years)	Number of households (%)	Average		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 6	10.53	5.00	10.00	150.00
6 to 10	15.78	7.25	9.50	212.50
11 to 20	63.16	15.25	6.41	220.00
21 +	10.53	27.50	6.50	255.00
All	100.00	11.08	8.90	215.14

Source: Field Work, 2017

Information is elicited in the table-7.8 from respondents on hours of work and daily income from footwear repairer occupation from 19 respondents. The analysis of above table indicates that the average experience as 11 years, working hours as 9 and average daily income asTK. 215. The table again shows that 31 plus years experienced footwear repairer works 6 hours and their daily income is TK.255 whereas the below 6 years' experience group work 10 hours and their daily income is TK.150 only. It is mentionable that most of them under this group belong to the child laborers.

7.3.3Per unit Cost, Value, Earn and Place of Raw Material Collection Process

Table: 7.9 Distribution of average per unit cost, value and earn by type of product

Type of product	Average per unit		
	Raw material cost (Taka)	Value(Taka)	Earning (Taka)
Shoe sewing	3.00	15.00	12.00
Sandal sewing	2.00	8.00	6.00
Shoe polish	3.00	12.00	9.00
Sandal polish	2.00	8.00	6.00
Others	4.00	10.00	6.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding the average cost per unit five main products and others were studied in the table-7.9, it was found that the cost per unit is more for shoe sewing and polish (TK.3.00), followed by *sandal* sewing and *sandal* polish (TK.2.00). The pay of the shoe sewing is found to be usually TK. 15 and shoe polish is TK.12. The table again shows that footwear repairer earns TK. 6 to TK. 12 by selling their per unit repairing activity.

Figure: 7.2 Raw material cost, value and earning by type of product

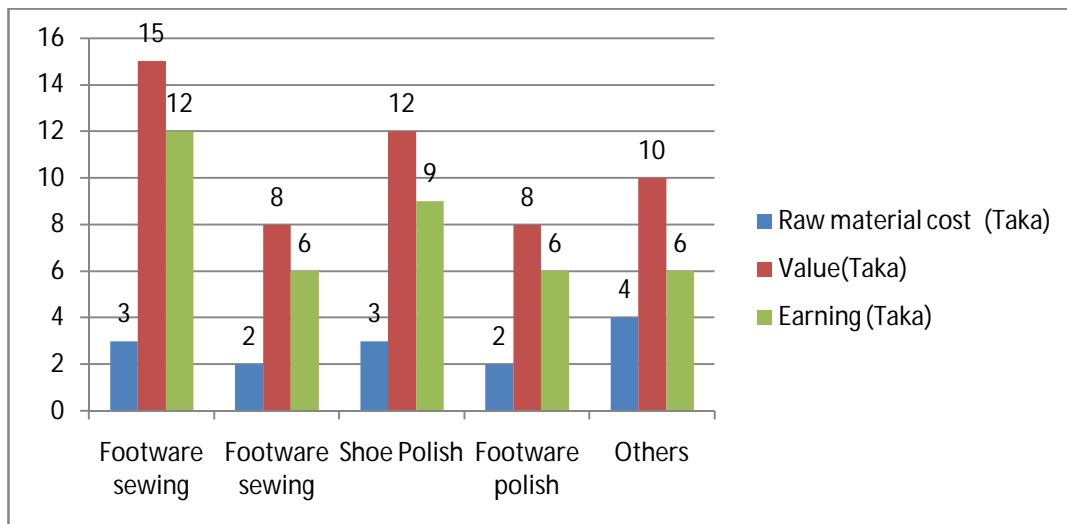


Table: 7.10 Place of raw material collection by year of experience

Experience (Years)	Households (%)	Place of raw material collection (%)		
		Local market	City	Factory
Below 6	10.53	10.53	-	-
6 to 10	15.78	10.53	5.26	-
11 to 20	63.16	36.84	21.06	5.26
21 +	10.53	10.53	-	-
All	100.00	68.42	26.32	5.26

Source: Field Work, 2017

Information on collection of raw material and mode of collection of payment was sought in the table-7.10. Results revealed that 63.16% respondents with 11-20 years' experience usually collects material from local market (36.84%) and city (21.06%). In case of all the respondents, results revealed majority (68.42%) collects from local market, followed by 26.32% from the city and the rest 5.26% collect directly from the factory.

7.3.4 Success Stories of Expert Footwear Repairer

Case Study: 7.6 Footwear repairer Bidhan Chandra Das

Bidhan Chandra Das is now 40 years old. He is married and his wife name is Kakoli Rani Das. His elder son is in grade-9 and his younger daughter in grade-3. He works as cobbler. He resides in Dumuria Sadar Upazila under Khulna district. Including his father and mother his total family members are 6. His wife is illiterate and he got the opportunity to read only at grade-8. He has only one decimal of land. His main occupation is to repair and polish the footwear and *footwear*. For running his petty business, he starts his journey in the morning at 7 am and return home at about 7 or 8 pm. Laying out a sack, normally he sits in a corridor of the local market. He has been engaged in this profession during the last 25 years old. On an average he earns TK.200 to TK.250 per day. For light repairing, per footwear he gets 12 to 30 taka according to the work pattern. The price of normal footwear polish is TK.10 and for mixture polish is TK.20. For changing fiber he takes TK.80 to TK. 90 from the customer and his expenditure cost in this regard is nearly TK. 50 TK.60. For changing sole he has to incur TK.40 TK.50 and earn TK. 70 TK.80. For repairing the strap of footwear, normal cost is TK.2 to TK.5 but he earns TK.10 to TK.25 from each footwear. Bidhan Chandra Das is an expert cobbler for sewing various designs like normal sewing, cross sewing, paddy sewing and spiral sewing. For sewing and pasting of

footwear he takes TK.25 from the customer and sometime only for pasting, Bidhan Chandra takes TK.20 to 25. For cross sewing he takes TK. 25 to TK.30 and for paddy sewing he takes TK. 25 to TK.30 also. In case of footwear sewing he takes TK.20 to TK.50. Alongside sewing he is also experienced in three types of polish work such as mixture, candle and burnish polish. For mixture, candle and burnish polish he takes TK.30, TK.60, and TK.50 respectively. In addition for footwear polish he takes TK.10 to TK.15. Bidhan Chandra particularly mentions that “these works are basically the works of skilled hand, instead of machine”. Further he added that “he has no formal training but he assumes that footwear glazing is an art which is totally dependent on their knowledge or technique”. He has gained this knowledge by following the footsteps of his forefathers. He added that before starting this work, he was the student. During *Durga* worship and big festivals of Muslims the business of footwear repairing and polish goes up very high and in the dry season this petty business goes as usual but in the rainy season, they face difficulties and that time he leads his livelihood by taking loan from the Samity or earning his livelihood as a temporary day labourer. According to Bidhan “I am in dilemma during the lean period or in the rainy season whether I will have to continue payment or purchase rice.” Floating and semi-permanent place are the means of living of cobbler for earning. Previously, he was the floating cobbler in Dhaka city. It was very hard for him in moving here and there. He suffered from fever and backbone pain and finding no other alternative he returned to his own village. After returning home he started repairing in a corridor of local market, he has no permanent address. Bidhan Chandra urges that “it is urgently needed to arrange a permanent sitting place for him where he can run business of his own choice and during the lean period he can operate the tea stall along with his traditional business.”

Case Study: 7.7 Shibpado Das:Footwear repairer

Shibpado Das is experienced footwear He depends on multiple earning sources for running his family. Life is not easy for Shibpado Das, a cobbler from Tala in Satkhira district. He has to bear the brunt of the scorching sun and wait for customers from early morning till 9pm to earn his livelihood. Although, he comes to the local market every day with a hope to earn a decent buck, his earnings hardly cross TK 200 to TK 250 a day. With these meager earning, he has to feed his eight-member family. He reaches home with TK. 80 to TK. 100 depending upon his luck. Before reaching home, they purchases two kg of rice which is enough to feed the family, says Shibpado

Das. His wife tries her best to run the family within whatever her husband earns. Although the family is struggling to make both ends meet, the couple never thought of discontinuing their children's education. The couple has two children including one daughter and one son, his daughter has completed class 12 and his son Chitra is a fruit seller in the local market. But now-a-days his income has decreased significantly and for this he took to Rickshaw pulling. In the morning he starts his footwear repairing and polishing in different places around. For polishing *footwear* he takes TK. 10 to TK 15 and for footwear polishing he takes TK. 20 to TK.25. He has a box for scrubbing lather, different hard brush for polishing different colour footwear like brown or black, specific wax to stretching the stitching thread, *bhromor* (large size needle) for stitching, liquor colour for polishing, brass for cleaning footwear, scissors, box of dust colour powder for polishing, gum box for pasting footwear, wood's bit for gum pasting on lather, nylon tire thread for stitching, plus for extracting iron pin from footwear, *batli* (one kind of knife) for lather cutting, *sarashi* (local term) for extracting large size pin from footwear, extra sole, pin box with pin, *Robin* speed polishing are the very essential tools for running this business. The most important tool of Shibpado Das is his *tool box* made with wood. He collects it from Khulna city. For whole set he paid TK.4000 to TK. 5000 for one time. In the afternoon he sits in the fruit shops that are run by his son. And in the evening he pulls the rickshaw. It is the routine life of the Shibpado Das. According to Shibpado the peak season of this activity is the starting month of school/ college going students, during Secondary or Higher Secondary School Certificate examinations, Eid festivals, big worships, New Year celebrations, different rituals or customs. Only these few occasions he faces hardship to run his family. During the rainy season customer rarely comes to him for footwear repairing and that time he runs his livelihood as an umbrella maker and somehow maintain his family in this off season. He mentions that the positive side of this activity is that here there is no need to invest much but it is the most laborious and insecure job. That is the reason why he depends on different types of livelihood options for his survival and for the existence of his family members.

Case Study: 7.8 Story of Nokul

Nokul wanted to become a laborer of a footwear making craft. Nokul Chandra Das (28) is running his footwear repairing and footwear polishing tasks for the last 15 years. His father's name is Thakur Chandra Das who passed away and mother's name is Sondha Rani Das. They are landless and resource less family. Nokul Chandra said that skilled hand is the only one and important resource of his family. He learnt this knowledge from his father and before getting involved in this job, he was a student at the secondary level of schooleducation. Due to poverty he left school. He mentioned that footwear repairing and footwear polishing are not very well paid job at all. He barely manages to earn enough to run his family show. He uttered with sorrowful feelings that people don't mind paying thousands for a good garment but would bargain when it comes to paying him. Normally he earns less than TK. 200 in a day. He accomplishes all his tasks by using his hands only. Including his wood made tool box, a very few materials like footwear shiner, glue, pin, thread, skin, cream are essential for footwear polishing and repairing. He collects these essential materials from the local markets as well as from city. He mentioned that "I have no regular work; there are very few lucky days when I am busy and my wife works as a maid servant round the year". Normally he sits on the road side under sun by spreading a large bag made of jute. Frequently he has to bear extremes of weather conditions like heat, rain, cold and wind. He is left to the mercy of nature and has to close down if it rains or storms heavily. His products are purely dependent on the need of the people around. He faces hardship because of no fixed income in a month. He narrated that people still have soft corner for maids, washer men, drivers and gardener because they need everyday but his support is usually once in a while affair. Hence he is never at the advantage of receiving any free food, clothes or any other help from the people around, nor do they receive any bonuses on the festivals like other laborers. He admitted that a local NGO provided some materials for making his house. At the end he concluded by saying that he had a long dream to become a labourer of a footwear making craft, but to become a worker of a footwear craft it is essential to invest six month voluntary labour. During this apprentice period the trainer only provides the food support or some pocket money to the participants of the training. But he did not take that initiative due to his father's death. At least he got some relief as a worker of footwear craft and he did not move round the year in heat, cold, windy or rainy weather.

7.3.5 Seasonal Calendar for Footwear Repairer

Chart: 7.5 Seasonal calendar for footwear repairer

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April	Good	Celebration of New Bangali Year, village fair or other rituals or festivals, footwear repairing or polishing of footwear is not bad at all
May-June	very low	Face hardship, this business cannot operate smoothly in the rainy season and many of them change their occupation temporary
July-August	Dull	The demand is very poor, rare chance to operate this activity
September- November	Average	Worships especially Durga worship, dry season starts
December- January	Good	Appearance of new applicants at different grades, <i>joggo</i> worships, <i>wage mahfil</i> (preaching the Islamic thoughts or philosophy)
February-March	Good	Appearance of huge applicants of Secondary and Higher Secondary level, people pass their days in festive mode
Overall Comments: Business run very well in the big festivals of Muslims (<i>eid ul fithar and eid ul azha</i>) that depends on the movement of lunar calendar, Source: Field Work, 2017		

7.3.6 SWOT Analysis of Seasonal of Footwear Repairer

Chart-7.6 SWOT analysis of footwear repairing and footwear polishing

Strength	Weakness
-----------------	-----------------

Various age group of people can easily involved themselves in this profession	Seasonal based
Needs very little amount of capital	Low income opportunity
Need not have enough knowledge or education	No certain or fixed place
Can operate this business in any places or corners of local markets	Face crises in the rainy season
Need not pay rent	Need more patience to operate this work
	Limiting their job into only footwear polishing
Opportunity	Threat
On getting training they can work as footwear maker	Have to move in the sun or cold
Alternative livelihood pattern (umbrella repairing) can create in the months of rainy season	There is a maximum chance to suffer chest disease
	The availability of plastic and <i>barmise</i> footwear whose price are not high
	People are getting choosy day by day

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.3.7 Conclusion

In Rishi community footwear repairers need more patience to operate this work. Various age groups of people can easily involve in this profession. In many cases they limit their job into only footwear polishing. By involving this particular type of production, there is a maximum chance to affect chest disease. The availability of plastic and *barmise* footwear whose price are not high.

7.4 Raw Skin Management

7.4.1 Introduction

Skinning an animal is quite a skillful and artistic piece of work. Within a few minutes, the whole animal is perfectly skinned and the only instrument used is a small knife. The oily skin is then left out to dry and a thin layer of salt is added to prevent the skin from rotting. The sight of these skins hanging over a bamboo pole is typical of the Rishi community. Animal skinned is considered as a raw product. During Muslim religious feasts, many cows and goats are slaughtered and this provides the Rishi with an opportunity to earn extra money. The majority of those involved in this business manage sustain their livelihood at the barest minimum. Huge

profits are not possible because they do not have enough money to make a sizeable investment at the start.

The marketing channel for hides and skins is geographically analogous to the administrative division of the country that is district, upazila, and village. A typical marketing channel of hides and skins has been illustrated by Raha (1989). The assembling and distribution of hides and skins involves a number of intermediaries between producer-farmers and the tanneries. These are *Rishi*, *butcher*, *faria*, *bepari*, *trader* and *aratdars*. The Rishi are the lowest rank in Hindu community. Hides from dead animals are collected by them. The poor financial conditions prevent them from accumulating any stock or waiting for higher return. So, after flaying the animals they sell the hides immediately to traders. The Rishis travel several miles from their places to reach buyer's place mostly on foot.

Not enough research has been done on hides and skins market in Bangladesh. Stephens studied the leather market and recommended improvements of flaying, curing and grading system for hides and skins (Stephens 1977). Two Government appointed committees studied constraints to the development of leather and leather based industries and suggest ways and means for improvements. Chowdhury (1982) conducted a study and identified the defects in the process of flaying, curing and handling of hides and skins and recommended for proper health care for healthy growth.

In this section, 25 respondents in the field of raw skin are studied. An attempt is made to provide empirical data on the average working hours, income, average cost per unit, value and availability of raw material, preservation day by experience, place of sale and material preservation. The data is analyzed and presented. Case studies of successful people, SWOT analysis and seasonal calendar for operating business in this field are also presented.

7.4.2 Householdhead Wise Year of Experience, Hours of Work and Daily Income

Table: 7.11 Head of household's average year of experience, hours of work and daily income by years of experience group for raw skin occupation

Experience (Years)	No. of households (%)	Average		
		Year of experience	Hours of work	Daily income (Taka)
Below 6	20.00			
6 to 10	28.00	9.42	7.85	438.57
11 to 20	28.00	17.28	7.50	483.33
21 to 30	12.00	30.00	9.33	487.90
31 +	12.00	36.66	7.00	450.00
All	100.00	16.24	8.14	488.48

Source: Field Work, 2017

Information is elicited in the table-7.11 from 25 respondents on hours of work and daily income from raw skin occupation. The analysis of above table indicates that the average experience as 16.24 years, working hours as 8.14 and average daily income as 488.48 Taka. The table again shows that 21 to 30years experienced raw skin professional works 9.33 hours and their daily income is 487.90 Taka whereas below 6 years' experience group work 9.40 hours and their daily income is 389 Taka.

7.4.3 FamilyWise Per unit Cost, Value, and their Earing by Type of Skin

Table: 7.12 Distribution of average per unit cost, value and their earning by type of skin

Type of skin	Average per unit			Per unit value (TK.)	Earning (TK.)
	Cost (TK.)	Other cost (TK.)	Total cost (TK.)		
Goat					
Large size or over star	95.00	30.00	125.00	205.00	80.00
Medium size	65.00	25.00	90.00	145.00	55.00
Small (male) size	28.00	22.00	50.00	109.00	59.00
Small (Female) size	26.00	22.00	48.00	81.00	31.00
Cow					
Large size (hybrid)	2130.00	127.00	2257.00	3100.00	843.00
Medium size (hybrid)	1958.00	123.00	2081.00	2700.00	619.00
Large size (local)	1647.00	116.00	1763.00	2500.00	737.00
Medium size (local)	1250.00	97.00	1347.00	2230.00	883.00
calf	653.00	53.00	706.00	1168.00	462.00
Poor quality	200.00	45.00	245.00	313.00	68.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding the average cost per unit for goat and cow skin which are categorized as large, medium and small size are studied in the table-7.12, it was found that the cost per unit is more for large or over size goats (TK.125.00), followed by medium size and small size male (TK. 90.00). For Cows obviously the average cost of large, hybrid variety is more. The per unit value of the large size goat is found to be high at TK. 205.00 and large size hybrid cow is TK.3100.00. It is noted that per unit earning from goat skin differs from TK. 31.00 to TK. 80.00 and per unit earning from cow skin differs from TK. 68.00 to TK. 883.00 respectively.

7.4.4 Place of Raw Skin Collection Process, Value and their Earning by Type of Skin

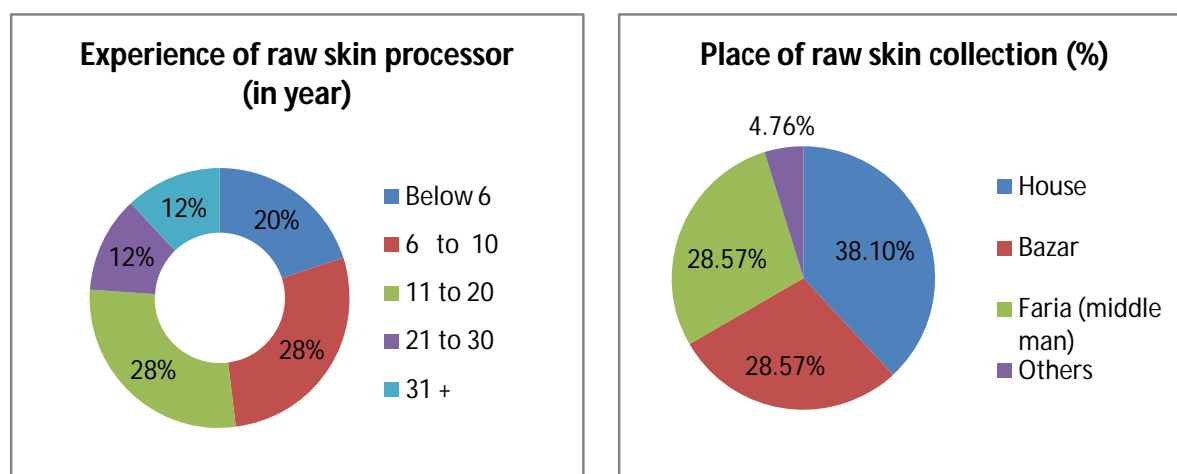
Table: 7.13 Distribution of place of raw skin collection by experience (years) group

Experience (Years)	No. of households (%)	Place of raw skin collection (%)				
		All	House	Bazar	Faria(middle man)	Others
Below 6	20.00	16.67	7.14	4.77	4.76	-
6 to 10	28.00	30.95	11.92	9.52	9.53	-
11 to 20	28.00	30.95	9.52	9.52	7.14	4.76
21 to 30	12.00	9.52	2.38	2.38	4.76	-
31 +	12.00	11.91	7.14	2.38	2.38	-
All	100.00	100.00	38.10	28.57	28.57	4.76

N.B: Due to multiple responses, household numbers have been increased from 25 to 42. Each household reported that they collected by one or more place. Source: Field Work, 2017

Information on collection of raw material was sought in the table-7.13. Results revealed that 12 respondents usually collect material from house 38.10% especially in the *Eid ul Adha*, Bazar 28.57%, middleman 28.57% and the lowest percentage 4.76% is found in other places.

Figure: 7.3 Experience and place of raw skin collection of raw skin processor



7.4.5 Number of Days for Skin Preservation, Valu, Earning and Sale Place

Table: 7.14 Distribution of number of preservation day by experience (in year)

Experience (Years)	No. of households(%)	Cow(%)			Goat(%)		
		Average days	Below 5 days	More than 5 days	Average days	Below 5 days	More than 5 days
Below 6	20.00	11.4	4.00	16.00	9.50	8.00	12.00
6 to 10	28.00	12.3	-	28.00	11.80	-	28.00
11 to 20	28.00	10.9	4.00	22.00	12.90	4.00	24.00
21 to 30	12.00	9.8	4.00	9.00	8.70	4.00	8.00
31 +	12.00	13.2	-	12.00	12.90	-	12.00
All	100.00	11.7	12.00	88.00	12.03	16.00	84.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding number of preservation days in the case of cow has been presented in the table-7.14. 88.00% said that they do it more than 5 days and in case of goat 84.00% mentioned that they do it more than 5 days. The table also shows that the average raw skin preservation of cow's are 11 days and goats are 12 days respectively.

Table: 7.15 Distribution of sale place day by experience (in year)

Experience (Years)	Households (%)	Sale place(%)	
		Bazar (local)	Big market
Below 6	20.00	4.00	16.00
6 to 10	28.00	20.00	8.00
11 to 20	28.00	24.00	4.00
21 to 30	12.00	12.00	-
31 +	12.00	12.00	-
All	100.00	72.00	28.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

The data on the place of sale of their product by year of experience revealed in the table-7.15 that nearly three fourth of the sample sell in local bazar and remaining are able to sell in big market.

7.4.6 Story of Skin Processor for Managing Raw Skin

Case Study: 7.9 A success story of Piku Das (raw skin processor)

Piku Das (42), son of Monindro Das and Abala Rani Das, lives in Tipna Village under Kharnia Union of Dumuria Upazila under Khulna district. He is married and his wife name is Monika Rani Das. Piku Das got opportunity to study grade-5 only. He has one son and one daughter who are studying in grade-8 and grade-5 respectively. Piku Das mentioned that when he was only 10 or 12 years old he helped his trainer Haran Das by accompany him in the local market. In the local market when his trainer bought the skin Piku helped him by holding this skin and at home he helped his trainer for applying salt in the skin. In absence of his trainer, Piku used to go to the market and collect the skin. The trainer gave him TK.20 excluding food support. After that Piku was involved in the slaughtering of goat owned by his trainer. For engaging in this kind of job Piku got skin, belly and head as a profit. Then Piku himself ran the total process and in this way he made profit TK.25 or TK.30 per kilogram. Then Piku purchased the skins from his locality as a retailer and sold these skins in the local markets of Patkelghata, Powerhousemor at Khulna. He collects huge number of skin, then he sells these skin in the big skin wholesalemarket (Jessor). Then Piku began to purchase the whole skins from his village. In addition he purchases the goats from the markets and supply mutton (goat meat) for marriage ceremony. Piku expressed his views that “the people from his locality evaluate his work neutrally because in his own area the rate of education is very high and in this aspect the role of Christian schools was very good”. Piku added that he also pull rickshaw and the rickshaw is also used sometimes for carrying the skin to the desired skin market. He further pointed out that during the past 10 years he is operating the big business that includes purchasing of goats, cows, supplying the meat of goats and cows, and also purchasing the raw skins. Before slaughtering, sometime the prices of skin are fixed and after slaughtering, Piku send Khogen Das his Van for carrying the skins.

They regretted that raw skin business was not developed, the replacement of Hazaribag tannery is one of the reasons, he added. Sometimes he do not get the fair price, sometime the seller does not pay all the money at a time, and pay on the basis of some installments.

Beside the bank of river, Piku has a shop where he meets many raw skin businessmen and from here he has trained more than 15 people. Regarding raw skin, the knowledge of current

generation is inadequate and many Muslims are now involved in the raw skin business. Discrimination no longer prevails among them and Muslims. During *Eid-ul- adha*, Muslims purchase the skin of cow at TK.500 whose real price is TK.2000. Piku mentioned that the raw skin is very profitable. To support his voice he points a chart of purchasing, processing and selling price of the skin of cow and goat which is mentioned below:

Table-7.16: Purchasing, processing and selling price of the skin of cow

Type of skin	Purchasing Price	Amount and cost of salt	Processing	Selling Price
Holder Skin (Cross, hybrid or weight of 200 or 240 Kilogram)	2000-2200	6 KG salt (6X18=108)	Displace of meat from the skin by using a knife and then wash the skin by fresh water. After washing mix the salt inside the skin and then dry by the light of sun. And in this process skin can be preserved more than one month. Then the processed raw skin is sold to the local skin business man or sells it in the famous skin market. But those who purchase the raw skin for making drum they adhere the lime after heavy washing and drying.	2800-3200
200 kg weighted cow's skin	2000-2200	5 KG salt (5X18=90)		2800-3000
180 kg weighted cow's skin	1500-1800	5 KG salt (5X18=90)		2400-2500
80 kg weighted cow's skin	1000-1200	2 KG salt (2X18=36)		2200-2300
Heifer skin	700-800	2 KG salt (2X18=36)		1500-1600
Native cow's skin	500-600	2 KG salt (2X18=36)		1000-1200
Skin of calf or poor quality of skin	100-150	2 KG salt (2X18=36)		250-300

*per mound needs one kilogram salt and the price of per kilogram salt is TK.18

*if the skin is 50 square feet then the per feet price is TK.80, Source: Field Work, 2017

Table: 7.17 Purchasing, processing and selling price of the skin of goat

Type of skin	Purchasing Price	Expenditure for salt	Processing	Selling Price
Over star (36 inches length) and there is no spot on the skin	100	1 KG salt =TK.18	Displace of meat from the skin by using a knife and then wash the skin by fresh water. After washing mix the salt inside the skin and then dry by the light of sun. And in this process skin can be preserved more than one month. Then the processed raw skin is sold to the local skin business man or sells it in the famous skin market. But those who purchase the raw skin for making drum they adhere the lime after heavy washing and drying.	200
Under star (below 36 inches length) and there is no spot on the skin	50/60	1 KG salt =TK.18		140/150
Male skin	20/30	1 KG salt =TK.18		100-120
Female Skin	20/30	1 KG salt =TK.18		80-100

Source: Field Work, 2017

Piku Das has now four assistants (Noju Sheikh, Harun Mollah, Modhu and Khogen) who help him in operating the raw skin business smoothly. To meet all necessary expenses including the salary of Assistants, he earns TK.20000 per month in an average.

Case Study: 7.10: Rabindra Nath knows well how to operate skin business smoothly whole year

Rabindra Nath, a leather merchant, his father and forefather practiced the leather merchant also. At just 15 years of age, he is associated with the business. Now he is 50 years old, Parbati Rani Das is his wife. Their eldest son is the applicant of Higher Secondary School Certificate and daughter are studying at grade- 6.

He purchases per cow skin from TK. 500 to TK 2000 and for processing of this skin he uses 2 to 4 kg salt for preservation . Then within one week he sells this skin from TK. 700 to TK 2200 in the big whole seller skin market at Natore. He purchases per goat skin from TK. 30 to TK 180 and for processing of this skin he uses only 500 gram salt for preservation. Then within one week he sells this skin from TK. 30 to TK 2000 in the big whole seller skin market at Natore. He

purchases per buffalo skin from TK. 1000 to TK 1200 and for processing of this skin he uses 5 to 7 kg salt for preservation. Then within one week he sells this skin from TK. 1600 to TK 1700 in the big whole seller skin market at Natore. He purchases sheep skin per piece from TK. 70 to TK 80 and for processing of this skin he uses only half kg salt for preservation. He collects this skin from the different markets and then within one week he sells this skin from TK. 100 to TK 110 in the big whole seller skin market at, Jessore, Natore or even in the same local market in where he collects this skin.

There are 8 to 10 skin warehouses in the local Patkelghata market. He has a warehouse room equivalent to half-decimal and the monthly rent of that warehouse is TK. 3000. He purchases skins on each Wednesday. However, very few of the current business are done every year. Export is low, sell is also very low, he added. He regretted that the last sacrificed skin (Eid-ul-adha) of passed year) remain in his warehouse. Due to many alternatives, the use of skin is decreasing day by day. When they sell skins to the big company often they fail to pay all the money together, maximum amount is still unpaid. As it is totally export oriented that's why we face such kind of problems frequently. For this reason government should take various initiatives to solve this problem. Before taking up this profession he was a butcher. Those who want to use less salt normally they dry the skin by sun. He added that through using the salt water comes out from the skin; consequently the quality of skin is not deteriorated. According to him two months after *Eid-ul-Adha*, skin business is still well. During the two months following *Eid-ul-Adha* the volume of business far exceeds the total business that goes on for the rest of the year.

Many people think that by investing money in short time, many returns may come from the skin business during the Eid-ul-adha. For this reason many new or un-experienced businessmen become more available to invest in this time. Actually, they purchase the skin at a high price but sell it at a low price. He takes the appropriate decision by observing the whole situation of skin market during the eid-ul-adha. He pointed out that during the regime of President Ershad the price of skin was very high because during that time skins were processed quickly by using blue machine and in this process the skin was not treated as a durable product in the global market. That's way again the price of skin becomes go down.

7.4.7 Seasonal Calendar for Managing Raw Skin

Chart: 7.7 Seasonal calendar of raw skin process

Duration	Level of Satisfaction	Description
April-May	Average	wherever the cattle's are slaughtered they get
June-July	Average	news
August-September	Average	Frequently they collect it from the local
October-November	Average	markets
December-January	Average	They collect raw skins during the different
February-March	Average	festivals

Overall Comments: Business run very well in the big festivals of Muslims (*eid ul fithar and eid ul azha*) that depends on the movement of lunar, Source: Field Work, 2017

7.4.8 SWOT Analysis for Managing Raw Skin

Chart: 7.8 SWOT analysis of raw skin

Strength	Weakness
Raw skin business can be operated by taking small amount of capital and space	It is a season oriented business
It can be done group wise or individually	It is an un-hygienic work
Need not have enough education for doing raw skin business	Spreading bad odor
Materials of raw skin process are available	Neighbors show their negative attitude toward this business
Process of raw skin is very much easy task	Processed raw skin are not much profitable
By using only salt it can be preserved for a longtime	Sometime face marketing problems of raw skin
People give information about the news of raw skin	Limited capital

Opportunity	Threat
Minimum investment maximum profit	It is not environment friendly job
No need to invest more capital	Chances of being affected as many diseases,
Without cash this business can be operated	especially feeling vomiting all the time
temporary	Sometime the buyer of raw skin do not pay
More profit may come through investing more	timely
labor or effort	Many non- <i>Dalits</i> are also entering in this
Opportunity of involving other types of work	profession. Businessmen during <i>Eid Ul Ajha</i>
	who have no knowledge regarding raw skin
	business, purchase the raw skin at high rate
	and sell it at low rate

Source: Field Work, 2017

7.4.9 Conclusion

Raw skin business can be done individually or in group. It can be operated with little capital. According to their perception, preservation process is easy and can be done with salt. It is a seasonal oriented business and one can get more money by investing more in labour. But this job is an un-hygienic type of work; consequently it is not environmental friendly job.

CHAPTER 8

Problems and Prospects: Rishi's Point of View

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Marketing Problems
- 8.3 Marketing Strategy and Marketing Elements
- 8.4 Obstacles in Professional Development
- 8.5 Major Observations regarding problems
- 8.6 Strategies for removing obstacles
- 8.7 Ways of Income Improvement through their Knowledge
- 8.8 Assistance required for income improvement
- 8.9 Livelihood promotion: Methods
- 8.10 Source of Capital
- 8.11 Causes of Inadequate Capital
- 8.12 Income Range of Inadequate Households
- 8.13 Key issues for Rishis livelihood development
- 8.14 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

Social exclusion is to be the synonymous to poverty. Social exclusion can be defined as the “inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life and in some characteristics, alienation and distance from the main stream society” (Duffy 1995: 17). Social exclusion is a multi dimensional concept (Room 1995: 3). Therefore, the study needs to consider the problems side as well as prospects of Rishi community from their point of view. In this chapter, the views of 200 hundred respondents from 10 crafts are collected and presented.. Empirical evidence on some of crucial issues like problems faced in selling their products, need for market strategy and elements of marketing, obstacles in professional development, strategies for removing obstacles and strategies for improvement in income etc., are presented.

8.2 Marketing Problems

Table: 8.1 Having selling problem and faced problem for selling product by Occupation

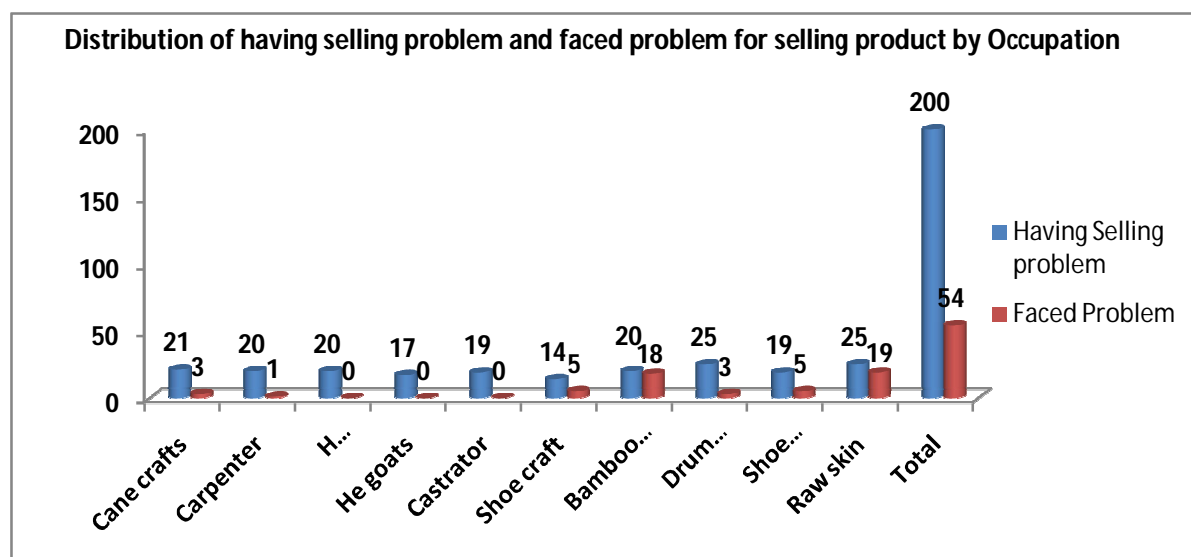
Occupation	Having Selling problem			Faced Problem(%)				
	Total (%)	Yes	No	All	Low Price	Don't Sell	Sell in credit	Buyer reduceprice
Bamboo craft	10.00	9.00	1.00	9.00	9.00	-	-	-
Cane crafts	10.50	1.50	9.00	1.50	1.00	0.50	-	-
Footwear crafting	7.00	2.50	4.5	2.50	1.00	-	1.50	-
Drum making	12.50	3.50	11.	1.50	-	1.50	-	-
Carpentry	10.00	0.50	9.	0.50	0.50	-	-	-
Showpiece making	10.00	-	10.	-	-	-	-	-
Male goats rearing	8.50	-	8.5	-	-	-	-	-
Castration	9.50	-	9.5	-	-	-	-	-
Footwear repairing	9.50	2.50	7.5	2.50	1.50	1.00	-	-
Raw skin processing	12.50	7.50	3.	9.50	2.00	-	-	7.50
Total	100.00	27.00	73.00	27.00	15.00	3.00	1.50	7.50

Source: Field Work, 2017

Through the talbe-8.1 the respondents were asked to state whether they are facing any marketing problem and if so what type of problem. A close look at the above table reveals that surprisingly nearly three fourth (73.00%) of the respondents said that there was no problem in selling and the remaining 27.00% stated that there were some problems in selling. Regarding the problems,

27.00 % mentioned that they have four problems viz., low price, product does not sell because of low demand, selling on credit and buyers argue to reduce price. Altogether, 15.00% said low price was the main reason followed by buyers bargain to reduce price (7.50%).

Figure: 8.1 Distribution of having selling problem and faced problem for selling product by occupation



Source: Field Work, 2017

8.3 Marketing Strategy and Marketing Elements

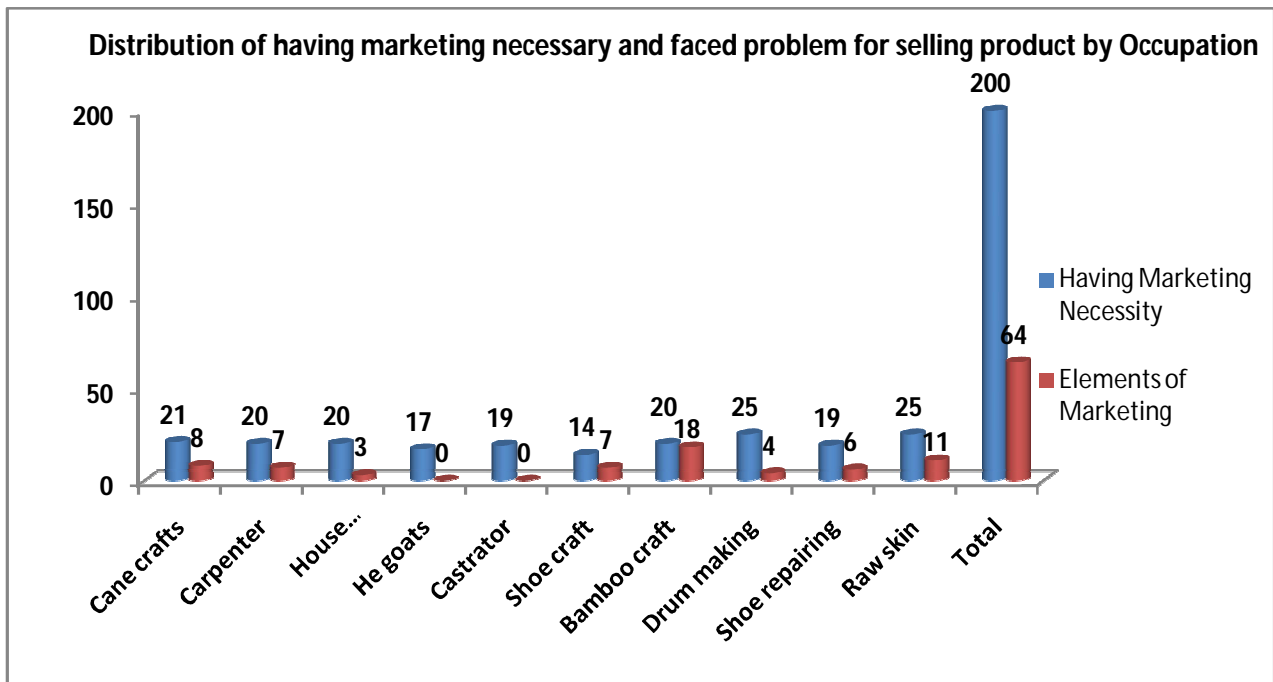
Table: 8.2 Having marketing necessary and elements of marketing for selling product by occupation

Occupation	Having Marketing Necessity			Elements of Marketing				
	Total (%)	Yes	No	All	Transport	Fair Price	Marketing system	Lack of Communication
Bamboo craft	10.00	9.00	2.00	9.00	-	9.00	-	-
Cane crafts	10.50	4.00	6.50	4.00	3.50	0.50	-	-
Footwear craft	7.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	-	1.00	2.50	-
Drum making	12.50	2.00	10.50	2.00	-	-	2.00	-
Carpentry	10.00	3.50	6.50	3.50	-	2.00	1.50	-
Shopiece making	10.00	1.50	8.50	1.50	-	-	1.50	-
Male goats rearing	8.50	-	8.50	-	-	-	-	-
Castration	9.50	-	8.50	-	-	-	-	-
Footwear repairing	9.50	3.00	6.50	3.00	1.50	1.50	-	-
Raw skin processing	12.50	5.50	7.00	5.50	-	2.50	2.00	1.00
Total	100.00	32.00	68.00	32.00	5.00	16.50	9.50	1.00

Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding marketing strategy the table- 8.2 shows that 68.00% of the respondents mentioned that they did not find the need for marketing strategy. 32.00 % said there is a need. The respondents were also asked their opinion regarding essentials of marketing. 32% of respondents felt that transportation, fair price, marketing system and lack of communication are the most important elements of marketing. Respondents (9.00%) from bamboo craft mentioned that fair price is most important element.

Figure: 8.2 Distribution of having marketing necessary and faced problem for selling product by occupation



Source: Field Work, 2017

8.4 Obstacles in Professional Development

Table: 8.3 Distribution of professional development obstacles by occupation

Occupation	Household (%)	Factors affecting in professional development					
		All	Lack of value addition	Insufficient funds	Lack of marketing skills	Social reasons	Transportation
Bamboo craft	10.00	12.00	3.00	7.11	-	-	-
Cane crafts	10.50	16.50	9.50	4.74	1.00	-	-
Footwear craft	7.00	9.00	4.50	2.77	1.00	-	-
Drum making	12.50	16.00	5.00	5.93	-	-	3.50
Carpentry	10.00	11.50	3.50	6.32	-	-	-
Shopiece making	10.00	10.00	6.00	3.16	-	-	-
Male goats rearing	8.50	11.50	-	3.95	-	6.50	-
Castration	9.50	12.50	8.50	3.16	-	-	-
Footwear repairing	9.50	12.50	8.00	3.56	-	-	-
Raw skin processing	12.50	15.00	7.00	3.95	-	-	3.00
Total	100.00	126.50	55.00	56.50	2.00	6.50	6.50

N.B: Due to multiple responses, respondents/ Household heads number have been increased from 200 to 253. Each household reported that they affected by one or more factors during the survey. Source: Field Work, 2017

The respondents (253) from 10 crafts were asked to state the problems faced by them. Around 56.50% mentioned in the table-8.3 that insufficient funds to carry out the business, followed by 55.00% stated lack of value addition, 6.50% mentioned social reasons and the rest of 2.00% stated lack of transportation skills respectively. It is highlighted that, social reason is affecting the male-goat's fostering activity seriously. About 8.50% felt a major problem (lack of value addition) in castrating activity. And 7.11% of bamboo craft and 5.93% of drum making households responded insufficient fund was the major problem.

8.5 Major Observations Regarding Problems

- There is a need to preserve traditional occupations
- Market demand for cane products is more in other countries
- There is a need to cultivate more cane as the raw material is not in abundance
- Other alternative livelihood opportunities need to be identified
- Most of the occupations is seasonal, remaining 6 months they sit idle
- Most of them are prone to occupational diseases
- In the case of wooden crafts, decorative pieces, footwear manufacturing, the designs are not attractive

- All the occupations are facing marketing challenge
- Heavy monitoring of animals in case of the male- goats profession
- All occupations are working in poor or unhygienic surrounding and bad odour
- He Goats profession has no business for 6 months as she goats give birth to calves
- Traditional way of castrating of cattle is diminishing with introduction of machines.
- Lack of state patronization of footwear craft
- Most of them are facing Health hazard
- Problem of quality of raw material. The longevity of bamboo craft is not up to mark
- Bamboo made products are less durable
- Plastic goods are coming to market as alternatives to bamboo product
- No proper storage place due to poverty
- Plastic made different types of baskets is a threat for survival of bamboo made baskets
- The good produced are of low quality and hence not fetching good price
- Most of the professions require training to use good technology and produce quality products.
- There is a scope for earning foreign currency by exporting this product if high quality drum are produced.
- Non-*Dalits* are also involving in this profession

8.6 Strategies for Removing Obstacles

Table: 8.4 Distribution of strategies for removing obstacles by income activity

Income activity	Household (%)	Type of removing obstacles				
		Total	Training	Capital	Equipment	Security
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	14.00	2.00	9.50	2.50	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	22.50	7.00	10.00	5.00	10.50
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	17.00	7.00	7.00	2.00	1.00
Maker & player of drums	12.50	12.50	3.50	6.50	2.50	-
Carpenter	10.00	22.50	7.50	10.00	5.00	-
Showpiece maker	10.00	20.50	9.00	6.50	5.00	-
Male goats fosterer	8.50	16.50	7.50	5.00	3.00	1.00
Castrator	9.50	21.00	8.00	9.50	2.00	1.50
Footwearer	9.50	15.00	4.50	8.00	1.00	1.00
Raw skin processor	12.50	27.50	10.50	11.00	6.00	-
Total	100.00	189.00	66.50	83.00	34.00	5.50

N.B: Due to multiple responses, respondents/ Household heads number have been increased from 200 to 378. Each household reported that they obstacles by one or more obstacles during the survey, (% has been calculated based on total no of 378 removing obstacles), Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding distribution of strategies for removing the obstacles by income generating activities, it is found in the table-8.4 that out of the 378 obstacles, the highest 83.00% obstacles can be addressed by providing capital, followed by 66.50 % by extending training, 34.00 % may be given equipment and the rest of 5.50 % are needed security. The table further shows that, the highest 27.50 % obstacles are found in raw skin processing activities and the lowest 12.50 % obstacles are noticed in making & playing of drums activities respectively.

8.7 Ways of Income Improvement through their Knowledge

Table:8.5 Distribution of support services for improving income by income activity

Income activity	Household (%)	Type of improving income					
		Total	Financial support	Training	Materials supply	Market expansion	Advanced technology
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	11.50	1.50	8.00	-	2.00	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	12.50	7.50	3.50	1.50	-	-
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	14.50	8.00	2.50	1.50	1.50	-
Maker & player of drum	12.50	21.00	8.00	6.50	2.50	2.00	2.00
Carpenter	10.00	14.00	10.00	6.50		2.50	-
Showpiece maker	10.00	12.00	6.00	3.50	2.50	-	-
Male goats foster	8.50	11.50	7.50	2.00	2.00	-	-
Castrator	9.50	10.50	5.00	3.00	2.50	-	-
Footwearer	9.50	13.00	5.50	2.50	-	2.50	2.50
Raw skin processor	12.50	20.50	12.00	6.00	-	-	1.50
Total	100.00	140.00	62.00	22.00	12.50	10.50	6.00

N.B: Due to multiple responses, respondents/ Household heads number have been increased from 200 to 280. Each household reported that they support service by one or more support service during the survey.(% has been calculated based on total no of 280 removing obstacles), Source: Field Work, 2017

The respondents were asked to give their view, based on their expertise in their occupation on the support required for improving their income. The above table-8.5 reveals the fact about 62.00% mentioned financial support on time is required for improvement in their income, 22.00% felt training will help them. About 12.50% has stated supplying materials would definitely be useful for improvement in their income, 10.50 %are of the opinion that market expansion would be useful. 6.00% mentioned that advanced technology would be of great help for income scaling up.

8.8 Assistance Required for Income Improvement

Table: 8.6 Distribution of assist improved of your income by occupation

Income activity	Household(%)	Type of assistant			
		Total	Financial support	Soft loan	Advancedtraining
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	15.00	6.50	3.50	5.00
Cane craftsmen	10.50	10.50	9.00	1.00	0.50
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	9.50	5.00	2.00	2.50
Maker & player of drum	12.50	12.50	6.50	2.50	3.50
Carpenter	10.00	11.00	6.00	2.50	2.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	11.00	4.50	2.50	4.00
Male goats foster	8.50	14.00	8.00	2.00	4.00
Castrator	9.50	10.00	2.50	2.00	5.50)
Footwearer	9.50	17.50	7.50	4.50	5.50
Raw skin processor	12.50	22.00	18.50	6.00	7.50
Total	100.00	133.00	64.00	28.50	40.50

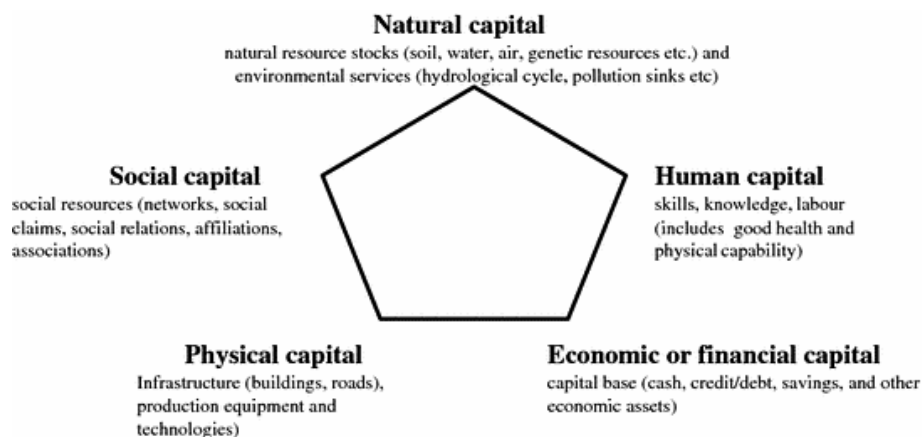
N.B: Due to multiple responses, respondents/ Household heads number have been increased from 200 to 266. Each household reported that they assistance required by one or more assistance service during the survey.(% has been calculated based on total no of 266 assistants), Source: Field Work, 2017

To the question on what support is required to improve their income, around 64.00% mentioned financial support, 40.50% mentioned advanced training, 28.50% felt that soft loan assistance required. This data has been presented in the table-8.6.

8.9 Livelihood Promotion: Methods

Livelihoods can be enhanced by following the five core elements which are given below:

Figure: 8.3 Livelihood promotion methods



Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-five-capitals-considered-in-the-sustainable-livelihood-approach_fig1_264372680

Table: 8.7 Distribution of suggestion for better livelihood by occupation

Occupation	Methods of livelihood promotion					
	Total (%)	Improved service delivery	Providing education & financial support	Business environment	Producing quality products	Capital & training assistance
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	2.00	2.00	8.00	-	8.00
Cane craftsmen	10.50	2.00	2.00	5.00	3.50	8.50
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	1.50	1.50	5.50	-	5.50
Maker & player of drum	12.50	3.00	3.00	6.50	3.00	9.50
Carpenter	10.00	1.50	1.50	7.00	1.00	8.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	2.50	2.50	7.50	-	7.50
He goats foster	8.50	3.00	3.00	5.50	-	5.50
Castrator	9.50	4.00	4.00	4.50	1.00	5.50
Footwear doctor	9.50	3.50	3.50	3.50	2.50	6.00
Raw skin processor	12.50	6.50	6.50	6.00	-	6.00
Total	100.00	29.50	29.50	59.00	11.00	70.50

% has been calculated based on total number of 200 household for better livelihood by occupation), Source: Field Work, 2017

The respondents were asked to give suggestions on improving their livelihoods and altogether. The table-8.7 shows that 70.50% household heads suggested capital and training assistance were

sine qua non, 59.00% household heads felt congenial environment for operating business, equal number of household heads pointed out improved service delivery system and providing education and financial support. Altogether, 11.00% mentioned the quality or market based production was necessary and three activities were the dominant viz., cane craft, making drums and footwear polishing.

8.10 Source of Capital

Table: 8.8 Distribution of source of capital by occupation

Occupation	Total (%)	Source of capital (%)					
		Total	Relative	Bond holder	NGOs	Mortgage	Others
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	12.00	10.00	0.50	1.00	0.50	-
Cane craftsmen	10.50	17.00	10.50	0.50	2.50	3.50	-
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	11.50	5.00	-	1.00	5.00	0.50
Maker & player of drum	12.50	16.50	9.50	0.50	0.50	4.50	1.50
Carpenter	10.00	17.50	10.00	-	5.50	1.50	0.50
Showpiece maker	10.00	11.50	4.50	-	-	7.00	-
Male goats foster	8.50	19.00	2.50	0.50	2.00	3.00	1.00
Castrator	9.50	12.00	8.50	-	1.50	2.00	-
Footwearer	9.50	11.50	3.50	0.50	4.50	2.00	-
Raw skin processor	12.50	24.50	7.00	3.50	6.00	6.50	1.50
Total	100.00	142.00	71.00	6.00	24.50	35.50	5.00

N.B: Due to multiple responses, respondents/ household heads number have been increased from 200 to 284. Each household reported that they source of capital by one or more source during the survey. Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding source of capital by occupation, the table-8.8 revealed that 71.00% borrowed money from relatives, 35.50% from mortgage, 24.50% from NGOs and 6.00% bond holders. Occupation –wise data revealed that all occupations except house decoration and male-goats rearing, the sources were mortgage, footwear craft relied on relatives and mortgage.

8.11 Causes of Inadequate Capital

Table: 8.9 Distribution of adequacy of capital and causes of the inadequate capital by occupation

Occupation	Having adequacy of capital (%)			Causes of the inadequate capital (%)		
	Total (%)	Adequate	Inadequate	Total	High material value	Marginal capital
Bamboo craftsmen	10.00	6.50	3.50	10.15	-	10.15
Cane craftsmen	10.50	6.00	4.50	13.04	7.25	5.80
Footwear craftsmen	7.00	3.00	4.00	11.59	2.90	8.70
Maker & player of drum	12.50	9.50	3.00	8.70	2.90	5.80
Carpenter	10.00	5.50	4.50	13.04	7.25	5.80
Showpiece maker	10.00	4.50	5.50	15.94	1.45	14.49
He goats foster	8.50	5.00	3.50	10.15	1.45	8.70
Castrator	9.50	9.00	0.50	1.45	-	1.45
Footwear doctor	9.50	8.00	1.50	4.35	1.45	2.90
Raw skin processor	12.50	8.50	4.00	11.59	1.45	10.15
Total	100.00	65.50	34.50	100.00	26.09	73.91

Source: Field Work, 2017

To the query on adequacy of capital, according to the table-8.9, 65.50 % mentioned that the capital was adequate and remaining 34.50 % said that the capital was inadequate to run their business. The respondents were further asked to state the reasons for inadequate capital. Regarding causes of inadequate capital, 73.91% stated marginal capital as the main reason and 26.09% were suffering high material cost.

8.12 Required Capital (TK.) of Households

Table: 8.10 Required capital (TK.) for inadequate capital based household heads' occupation

Occupation	Inadequate household (%)	Value (Taka)			
		Below 20000	20001 to 40000	40001 to 60000	60001 and above
Bamboo craft	10.00	5.80	4.34	-	-
Cane crafts	10.50	7.25	2.90	2.90	-
Footwear craft	7.00	-	-	2.90	8.70
Drum making	12.50	2.90	5.8	-	-
Carpenter	10.00	2.90	-	8.70	1.45
House decorative	10.00	7.25	7.25	1.45	-
He goats	8.50	4.35	5.80	-	-
Castrator	9.50	-	-	1.45	-
Footwear repairing	9.50	2.90	1.45	-	-
Raw skin	12.50	-	1.45	4.35	5.80
Total	100.00	33.33	28.99	21.74	15.94

(% has been calculated based on total no of 69), Source: Field Work, 2017

Regarding inadequate capital based households and their required capital, the table-8.10 highlights that 33.33 % household heads demand below TK. 20,000, 28.99 % demand TK. 20001 to TK.40000, 21.74% claim TK.40001to TK.60000 and the rest 15.94%household heads demand TK. 60001 and above. Among these household heads the demand of carpenter is very low which demand the required capital of footwear craftsman, raw skin processor and carpenter is very high respectively.

8.13 Key Issues for Rishi Livelihood Development

Through the following chart aspect of Rishis' issues and specific issues can be shown.

Chart: 8.1 Aspects of Rishis' issues and specific issues

Aspects of Issues	Specific Issues
Livelihood	Poor productive asset holding
	Poor land occupancy
	Considered less credit worthy in the institutional front
	Poor access to institutional credit
	Earning does not support required family demand
	No or less availability of supportive / alternative options
	Involvement in enterprising / trading / business is poor
	Borrowing from informal sources in most cases
	Poor knowledge & information on livelihood options
	Pay exploitative rate of interest
Governance	Poor participation in local decision making
	Poor understanding of governance importance
	Governance Poor participation in governance structures
	Poor women participation in local governance
Social Capital Building	Relatively poor educational status [in comparison to other]
	Poor Health and hygiene status
	Social capital , lack of health, education / awareness
Skill, Knowledge and Capacity	Require market driven skills and vocational inputs
	Skill & Knowledge Gap in Enterprising / trading / business skills

Source: FGDs conducted with local elected bodies, Dalit leaders, Government and NGOs Officials, 2017

8.14 Conclusion

In this chapter , the study tried to see as a *Dalit* person how the Rishi people explain their problems regarding different types of products and services and how their explanation lead their occupations to promote their livelihoods, income and social dignity. Key issues for Rishis livelihood development were discussed in this chapter. Their opinions about the means of prospects have also been taken into consideration during the analysis. Some key findings of this chapter are mentioned below.

1. Marketing Strategy and Marketing Elements

Altogether, 68% of the respondents mentioned that they did not find the need for marketing strategy. Another, 32 % said there wastransportation, fair price, marketing system and lack of communication are the most important elements of marketing.

2. Obstacles in Professional Development

Lack of professional skill, lack of adequate capital, limited marketing facilities, lack of modernized technology, lack of appropriate financial inclusion strategy are the main obstacles for their professional development.

3. Strategies suggested for overcoming Obstacles

The best strategies are imparting training, capital, equipment and security ensuring. Financial support, materials supply, marketing, separate plan system, dissemination of information and advanced technology are also the strategies suggested for overcoming obstacles.

4. Assistance required improvement for income

Majority of the respondents opted for all the four types of assistance viz., financial support, soft loan, advanced training and better environment.

5. Livelihood promotion: Methods

Around 70% suggested capital and training assistance for livelihood promotion

6. Source of Capital

About 71% borrowed the money from relatives, 35% from mortgage and 24% from NGOs. Occupation-wise data revealed that all occupations except house decorative and male goats rearing, the source were mortgage; footwear craft relied on relatives and mortgage.

7. Causes of Inadequate Capital

About 66% of respondents mentioned that the capital was adequate. It indicates that they need very small amount of money to operate their ongoing business. Regarding causes of inadequate capital 22% stated high material value was the main reason.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion and Wayout the Problems

- 9.1 Conclusion
- 9.2 Way Out the Problems

9.1 Conclusion

Rishi or *Muchi* (cobbler) is a professionally low caste Hindu community who de-skins and treats animal hides. Members of this group are considered as untouchables by the upper-caste Hindus. They are considered as impure, dirty, trivial, and pagan. Even though they belong to Hindu religion, they are not allowed to participate in any social or religious functions with other upper-caste Hindus. During social festivals or religious functions, members of this minority community are employed to do all the dirty jobs such as cleaning of garbage, toilets, etc. They are employed as drummers to beat drums in religious functions. They are skilled people and produce different products. They are experts in skinning of animals. They are also good at sewing *i.e.* making footwears (*juta shelay*) and making drums (*dhol banano*) and bamboo crafts. Some people in Rishi community are good in playing musical instruments who are usually invited to perform at marriage or religious ceremonies. They make living by unloading the boats and carrying goods such as rice, wheat, salt, sugar and cement etc., some work as *chowkidars* (*village police*). The products produced by them are cane crafts, bamboo crafts, fattening of cows, goats, cocks, breeding of cows and goats (semen producer), making drums, manufacturing footwear, footwear polishing or repairing, making home appliances/ showpiece, wood related different products, raw skin processing, porters and ensuring village security.

The Rishi communities are producing low value products and marketing in and around their vicinity. The communities who are involved in different trades need to be trained to enhance capacities to understand customer taste, identify new markets, source good quality raw materials, develop new design as per market demand, as well as technical skills. Appropriate livelihood strategies and supports need to be identified. The technical and management institutions along with financial institutions need to design profitable ventures for individuals as well as small groups and required infrastructure need to be provided with the help of Government or funding agencies. The NGOs may be involved in management as well as financing.

9.2 Way out the problems

- The Rishi communities are producing low value products and marketing in and around their living area. The communities need to be empowered to build capacities to understand customer taste, identify new markets, explore source of good quality raw materials, develop new design as per market demand, as well as technical skills.

- The technical and management institutions along with financial institutions need to design profitable ventures for individuals as well as small groups and required infrastructure need to be provided with the help of Government or funding agencies. The NGOs may be involved in management as well as financing.
- Focusing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) the Government of Bangladesh can eradicate poverty, combat inequality and create sustained and inclusive economic growth by using the existing skill and expertise by 2030.
- The Government initiated a new program called One House One Farm Project (OHOP) encourage micro-saving for capital formation and empower the Rishi people by giving them the decision making power for investment. Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Rural Development Academy, *Bangabandhu* Academy for Poverty Alleviation and Rural Development (BAPARD) conduct experimental project to evolve many development models. Based on this research finding, an experimental project can be operated among the artisans and service provider groups of Rishi Community to develop their entrepreneurship skill and capturing the local markets as well as international market linked with different government, semi government or national and international organization.
- NGOs with good track record may be involved in providing services to artisans to preserve the traditional crafts and also mentor those who are inclined towards setting up enterprises. Since most of communities work in unhygienic place, their health is affected. NGOs have to take initiative in conducting Awareness Camps on health issues and also conduct free health camp.
- Most of the professions require training to use good technology and produce quality goods. Entrepreneur development institutions should play a proactive role in providing training on improving the skills of artisans through use of latest technologies Training programmes should also be offered for providing alternative income generating activities.
- Specialized training in marketing techniques should be offered to Artisans. There is a need for the government or funding agencies to support institutions to conduct Entrepreneurship Development Programmes and follow-up and monitoring activities.

- There is lack of state patronization for the products made by *Dalits*. The Government should provide a space in exhibitions for these artisans at free of cost, this will create opportunity for these people to display and sell their products.
- Most of the Entrepreneurship development organizations and development agencies are concentrating more on training and the follow up activity is more or less neglected. These agencies need to be made more accountable for enterprise creation.
- Most of the artisans have difficulty in marketing their products. In many cases the middlemen exploits these people and buy their products at a low price and later sold at a higher price. It is suggested that the Government of Bangladesh should pool the products of artisans and sold at the Government show rooms.
- There is a scope for earning foreign currency by exporting these products if good quality products are produced. Multinational organizations may be invited to encourage for arranging to tie up with artisans who are producing decorative pieces which could be used for gifts, decorating their chambers etc.
- Most of the artisans are poor who find it difficult to maintain their families. In such circumstances we can expect them to invest money to produce their products. The Government of Bangladesh may instruct the banks and other funding institutions to provide loans at a very nominal interest.
- The Government should evolve a strategy to bring the communities involved in same profession to come together to carry out their business activities. Clusters approach would be the best option for each occupation to be developed by creating common facilities
- There is an urgent need to develop appropriate methodology for employment intensive and poverty reduction clusters. In order to enhance skills of existing manpower and also new entrants/entrepreneurs, sector specific skilling centre is needed. There is need for adopting new technology, improve quality & productivity, explore new markets, and process and product improvement to increase income of the Rishi communities and also sustain their businesses. Capacity building of Rishi community for development of social capital that can empower the community is sine qua non. A suitable micro finance institution is to be involved for financing these communities for employment generation and poverty reduction. The Rishi communities who are associated with raw skin, cane, and bamboo craft need to be linked with Bangladesh Small and Cottage Industries

Corporation (BSCIC) and Small & Medium Enterprises (SMEs), AURONG and other established agencies/markets for better backward and forward linkages.

- Suitable business partnerships through Private Public Partnership (PPP) may be taken up for social and physical infrastructure development to support Rishi community. Infrastructure should be based on specific needs of Rishi community that would strengthen the value chain and competitiveness. Identification of technology gaps and technology up-gradation shall be undertaken that would enhance the overall development of the community.
- Since most of the works of these communities are seasonal, the artisans have to be trained in alternate activities so that they can lead a comfortable life.
- In some cases the artisans find it difficult to buy quality raw materials at a higher cost. It is suggested that the raw materials may be provided through Government Departments.
- Many musical based institutions can be developed for evolving cultural creativity of youth.
- There is an urgent need to develop appropriate methodology for employment intensive and poverty reduction clusters
- In order to enhance skills of existing manpower and also new entrants/entrepreneurs, sector specific skilling centre is needed
- There is need for adopting new technology, improve quality & productivity, explore new markets, and process and product improvement to increase income of the Rishi communities and also sustain their businesses.
- Capacity building of Rishi community for development of social capital that can empower the community is suggested.
- A suitable micro finance institution is to be involved for financing these communities for employment generation and poverty reduction
- Suitable business partnerships through PPP should be taken up for social and physical infrastructure development to support Rishi community.
- Infrastructure should be based on specific needs of Rishi community that would strengthen the value chain and competitiveness.
- Identification of technology gaps and technology up-gradation should be undertaken that would enhance the overall development of the community.

- Banks shall change their orientation for PPP to be successful. SIDBI can be suggested as apex bank for cluster development.
- Cluster financing needs to be developed – banks shall have specialized branches and cells at apex level.
- Lead Banks shall empanel and recommend financial consultants for assisting in looking after financial needs of clusters.
- Credit requirement and worthiness of cluster enterprises are to be assessed based on the specific needs of the cluster.
- Appropriate banking products should be developed to attract more investments to adopt improved technology in cluster development.
- Financial institutions should come forward and extend financial support to consortia / associations or networks for building infrastructure including CFCs
- Creation of Government show rooms and also tying up with Multinational players to sell their products are suggested.
- Government should provide training in alternative income generating activities
- Loan has to be provided at a nominal rate
- Government Departments have to be encouraged to buy products from goods produced by these communities
- Scarce raw materials have to be provided through Government Departments.
- Clusters for each occupation have to be developed with common facilities.
- Awareness on health issues has to be done and organizing of free health camp is suggested
- Exhibitions have to be organized so that products can be sold and in future they get more order.

In the end of the holistic analysis, it is important to understand that the Rishi Community in Bangladesh is largely ignored and kept aside in our society as well as in the world. Their products are being used by us everyday but yet the social stigma surrounding them decreases their market opportunities and thus reducing their livelihood. This study explored in details, the historical causes of the social stigma around the Dalit population and took sample from south west coastal areas of Bangladesh to understand the current occupations they are involved in and the problems they are facing. It has been identified from the study that the historical and cultural

barriers are the biggest threats to the livelihood of Rishi community. Moreover, modern technology is also replacing their traditional occupation. Thus in order to bring the rishi community in the mainstream economy it is very important to increase their market capabilities and protect and promote their traditional practices. The formulated was out from this study can be basis to start from which can be further explored through more research to have definitive answers. I would like to conclude by reiterating Amartya Sen's famous quote "Poverty is not just lack of money, it is not having the capability to realize one's full potential as a human being".



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ANNEXURE-I

CHECKLIST

1. Understanding the historical context of Dalits in India as well as Bangladesh
2. Process of marginalization and economic deprivation of Dalits
3. understanding the mythological connection of different of occupations with Dalit communities
4. Individual perception and attitudes of the Dalits towards their production
5. Socio-economic conditions of different occupational groups among the Rishi community
6. Occupational profiles of manufacturing and service providing groups
7. Experiences, hour of works perday, raw material use, tool use, marketing places and daily income
8. Product or service wise per-unit cost, values, earn and sale procedure
9. Income follow over the year
10. Prospects of entrepreneurship development among the different occupational groups in Rishi community
11. Problems and propects of their product
12. Marketing elements and marketing strategy
13. Way out the problems from their perspective
14. Determining the social and economic power structure among the Rishi people
15. Identifying the potential roles of Government of Bangladesh as well as concerned national and international NGOs
16. Understanding the development dynamics of different occupational groups
17. Overall condition of Dalits products for ensuring their social dignity as well as recognizing their product in the loca, national and global market.

ANNEXURE-II

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dalits and their Products: An Anthropological Study among the Rishi Community

Serial no of household: Name of Village: Name of Union:
 Name of Upazial: Name of District:
 Name of Respondent and his/her Mobile no:
 Name of the Interviewer: Date of Data Collection:

General Information of the Household

1. Structure of House of the Household Head: Pacca-1, Semi pacca-2, Kanca-3, Others (with name)-4
2. Source of Water: A. Source of Drinking Water: Tube-well-1, Deep tube-well-2, Pond-3, Other (with name)-4 B. Source of Water for other purposes: Tube-well-1, Pond-2, Wet Inad-3, Others (with name)-4
3. Toilet Facility: What kind of toilet facility does your household have? Pacca sanitary-1, Pit latrine-2, Ring/slab latrine-3, Open latrine-4, Other (with name)-5

4. General Information of the Household and other family members

Sl	Name of the household members	Relation with the head of household	Age	Sex Male-1 Female-2	Marital status: Unmarried-1 Married-2 Widow-3 Seperation-4 Others-5	Educational status (above 6 years old)	Main Occupation	Secondary occupation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
01								
02								
03								
04								
05								
06								
07								
08								
09								
10								

Code:

Column no 3: Relation with the head of the household: Husband/wife-01, Father/ mother-02, Son/ daughter-03, Brother/sister-04, Nephew-05, Kin-06, others- (with name)-07

Column no 7: Illiterate-0, Able to sign-99, Class Wise: 1-9, SSC/ equivalent-10, HSC/ equivalent-11, Bachelor and above-12

Column no 8 and 9: Agriculture-01, Service in home-02, Service in abroad-03, Small business-04, Agri laborer-05, Non-agri laborer-06, Handicrafts/cottage industry-07, House wife-08, Student-09, Able to work-10, Not able to work-11, others (with name)-12.

Socio-economic Information

5. Land ownership of the household (in decimal) A. Absolute land ownership (all members)-----B. Land taken-----C. Land out-----Total land ownership by the household head-----
6. Food intake: A. Food intake behavior: One time-01, Two time-02, Three time-03. B. Reason for not taking three times meal per day: Inadequacy-01, Habit-02
7. Have you received any support from GoB? Yes-01, No-2. If you received any GoB support, please mention the subject: House-1, VGF/VGD-02, Others-03
8. Learning process of occupation: Traditional-01, Relatives/kins-02, Trainers-03
9. Have you affected any disease in earlier?: A. Yes-01, No-02. If you are affected any disease in earlier, please mention the name of disease: Waist/stomach and headache-01, Weakness-02
10. Have you affected any disease at present?: Yes-01, No-02. If you are affected any disease at present, please mention the name of disease: Headache-01, Weakness-02

11. Do you go outside for your occupation/work?. Going out-01, Not going out-02. In case of going out, please mention the type of work: Service providing-01, Collecting and selling skin-02

12. Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill of all subgroups

A. MANUFACTURING PRODUCTS

i) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Bamboo craft)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Sale place for the product	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

ii) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Cane craft)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Source of raw materials	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

iii) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Footwear craft)

S1	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Sale place for the product	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

iv) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Drum maker and drum player)

S1	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Sale place for the product	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

v) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Carpenter)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Source of raw materials	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

vi) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Showpiece maker)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Source of raw materials	Sale procedure of the product	User of product	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
01												
02												
03												

B. SERVICES

vii) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (semen insimination through goats fosterer)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 18 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many he goats you have	Number of crossing of she goat by he goat	Daily fostering cost of per he goat	Daily income from per he goat
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
01						
02						

viii) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Traditional cattle castrator)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 18 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent per day for this purpose	Number of bull castration per day	Number of he goat castration per day	Raw material cost for per bull castration	Raw material cost for per goat castration	Per day income from bull castration	Per day income from goat castration
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
01									
02									

ix) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (footwear repairer)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	What type of product you can produce	Per unit making cost	Per unit value	Earn by unit	Source of raw materials	Sale procedure of the product
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01										
02										
03										

x) Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Raw skin)

Sl	Name of the household members (above 10 years)	How many years you have involved in this occupation	How many hours you have spent for this purpose	How much you have earned per day from this occupation	Per unit cost for purchasing goat skin	Per unit cost for purchasing cow skin
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
01						
02						
03						

Livelihood related traditional knowledge and skill (Raw skin)

Preservation days for goat	Preservation days for cow	Place of raw skin collection	Per unit Value of goat skin	Per unit value of cow skin	Sale place of skin	Sale procedure of skin
8	9	10	11	12	13	14

13. Seasonal Calendar of Household heads

Name of month	Level of satisfaction	Involvement of activities
April-May		
June-July		
August-September		
October- November		
December- January		
February- March		

*Bengali New Year starts on April

Problems and Prospects

14. Have you faced any problem regarding your product selling?: Yes-01, No-02, If yes please mention the name of problem: Low price-01, Don't sell-02, Sell in credit-03, Buyer reduces the price-04
15. Have you thought the necessary of marketing for your product?: Yes-01, No-02. If yes, please mention the elements of marketing: Transport-01, Fair price-02, Marketing system-03, Lack of communication-04.
16. Please mention some obstacles for your professional development: Lack of value addition-01, Insufficient funds-02, Lack of marketing skills-03, Social reason-04, Transportation-05.
17. Please mention your opinion for removing the obstacles of your professional development: Training-01, Capital-02, Equipment-03, and Security-04.
18. Please mention your opinion for improving income by using your traditional knowledge: Financial support-01, Training-02, Materials supply-03, Expansion of market-04, Introducing advanced technology-05.
19. What kind of assist you expect for improving your income?: Financial support-01, Soft loan-02, Advanced training-03.
20. Please mention your own opinion or suggestion for better livelihood option for selling your product: Improved service delivery-01, Providing education and financial support-02, improving the environment of business-03, Producing quality products-04, Capital and training assistance-05.
21. Please mention the source of capital by occupation: Relatives/kins-01, Bond holder-02, NGOs-03, Mortgage-04, Others (with name)-05
22. Have you thought that your capital adequate for yielding your product?: Adequate-01, In adequate-02. If you think that your capital is inadequate, please mention the causes: High material value-01, Marginal capital-02
23. What is your expected amonout of money for filling your capital inadequacy?: Below 20000-01, 20001 to 40000-02, 40001 to 60000-03, 60001 and above-04

ANNEXURE-III

LIST OF RISHI HOUSEHOLDS IN TALA UPAZILA

List of Rishi households of 37 villages of 12 unions under Tala upazila

Village	Total House hold heads	Activity wise number of household heads										
		Cane craft	Carpe ntering	Showp iece makin g	Castr ation	He goat fostering	Foot wear crafts	Bamboo craft	Drum makin g	Footwe ar repairi ng	Skin proces sing	All others
Manikhar	65	1	1	0	0	0	2	5	3	1	2	50
Senergati	170	3	1	0	1	1	2	17	2	1	2	140
Nagorghata	70	2	1	2	0	0	2	4	1	1	2	55
Kasipur	317	1	1	0	1	1	2	18	4	1	1	287
Tailkupui	260	3	0	0	1	0	0	34	2	1	1	218
Amanullahpur	30	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	23
Hatbas	150	0	0	0	0	0	2	19	0	0	0	129
Modonpur	80	0	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	72
Lakhanpur	90	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	78
Pasrokhi	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	28
Khanpur	400	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	0	0	0	372
Kismotghona	75	0	1	0	0	1	0	10	0	0	0	63
Atharoi	120	0	0	0	1	1	0	8	0	1	1	108
Jatpur	20	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	15
Barat	110	0	1	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	99
Ghona	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	78
Sujonshaha	80	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	1	0	71
Monohorpur	65	0	0	0		0	0	11	0	0	0	54
Gonali-Horichandra	220	0	1	0	2	0	0	17	1	1	1	197
Mohandi	65	0	1	0	0	1	0	11	0	0	0	52
Nurullahpur	145	0	0	0	1	0	0	12	0	1	0	131
Fothepur	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	64
Hazrakati	47	0	1	0	1	1	0	7	0	0	0	37
Masiaara	82	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	69
Dhulanda	40	2	1	0	1	2	0	20	2	1	2	9
Magura	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	1	30
Folyea/Bolora mpur/ Dopali	220	0	1	0	1	1	0	43	2	0	2	170
Baliea	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	0	45
Kersha	70	1	2	0	1	1	0	5	2	1	2	55
Muraghasa	215	2	2	0	1	1	0	40	2	0	2	166
Shalikha	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	10
Dohar	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	22
Jalalpur-Srimontokati	107	0	1	0	1	2	0	11	1	1	2	88
Kanaidia	97	1	1	0	0	1	0	11	1	1	1	80
Nehalpur	63	1	1	0	0	0	0	10	0	1	0	49
Khaliskhali	157	4	1	2	1	1	2	11	1	1	2	130
Kadikati	45	0	0	16	0	1	2	2	0	2	1	20
Total	4011	21	20	20	17	19	14	466	25	19	25	3365

*All others mean cultivator, agri-laborer, day laborer, van/ rickshaw puller, umbrella maker, swapper/ cleaner, service holder of

GO/NGO/Private sector, petty businessman

Source: Annual Report of Paritran (an NGO), 2010

ANNEXURE-IV

LIST OF SCHEDULED CASTES (SC) AND THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS IN INDIA

Name	Traditional occupation
adi karntaka	weaving, rope making
adi-andhra	agricultural labourers
adi-dharmi	leather tanning, agricultural labourers
adi-dravida	`agricultural labourers
adiya	agricultural labourers
agariya	making agricultural implements
ager	salt-making
aheri	hunting
amant	agricultural labourers, cultivators
arundhatiyar	leather work
arwawala	agricultural labourers
audhelia	pig rearing
ayyanavar	agricultural labour
badaik	spinning, weaving
badhik	hunting
badhik	jugglery
bagdi	fishing and cultivation
bagheti	fishing and cultivation
bagri	wage labourers
bahelia	daily wage labourer
baiswar	settled agriculture
bajaniya	performing aerobitics
bajgi	drumming, hair cutting, tiloring
bakad	toddy tapping
bakuda	agricultural labour
balahar	sharecroppers
balahi	agricultural labourers
balmiki	scavenging
banchada	prostitution
bandhi	daily wage labourer
bandi	vilage servants, bonded labourers
bangali	hunting
bania	making gold and silver ornaments
banjara	trading and liquor manufacture
bansi	flute players
bansphor	basketry
bantar	fishing and cultivation
baori	hunting and petty crime
barad	daily wage labourer

barar	making combs from reeds
bargi	land owning agriculturists
bargunda	making baskets, weaving mats
bariki	cultivation
barwala	village watch man
barwar	agriculture
basith	agriculture
basor	making baskets, drum beating
bathada	agricultural wage labourerS
batwal	daily wage labourer
bauri	casual labour, rickshaw pulling
bauti	prepare lime from shells
bawa dedh	seek alms
bawaria	cultivation
bazigar	animal husbandry
beda jangam	seek alms
bedar	agricultural labour
bedia	marginal farmers
bellara	agricultural labour
bhamri	production of footwears and cheppals
bhangi	sweeping roads, cleaning drains
bhanumati	agricultural labour
bharatar	fishing and cultivation
bhata	selling bangles
bhoi	palanquin bearers
bhovi	earth digging, stone cutting
bhuimali	agricultural labour
bhuinmali	selling flowers
bhuiya	daily wage labourer
bhuiyar	cultivation
bind	fishing and cultivation
bindla	priests
boria	animal husbandry
boyan	well digging
chadar	weaving
chakali	washing clothes
chakkiliyan	seek alms
chalavadi	village watch man
chamar	labour, repair footwears
chanal	wage labourers

chandala	cultivation
charaimar	hunting
chenna dasar	wage labourers
chero	animal husbandry
cherua	animal husbandry
cheruman	agricultural labourers
chidar	cultivation
chimmbe	washing clothes
choupal	weaving
chura	scavenging
dabgar	tanning
dagi	play musical instruments
dahait	village watch man
damai	tailoring
dandasi	village watch man
dangashia	weaving
darai	boats-men
daule	settled agriculture
deha	wage labourers
devendrakulathan	settled agriculture
dewar	singing songs
dhaki	play the turi
dhangar	cultivation
dhanuk	rearing pigs
dharkar	bamboo and cane work
dhed	labour
dhobi	washing clothes
dhogri	blacksmithy
dholi	musicians
dhor	tanning the skin of dead cattle
dhyar	agricultural labour
doai	fishing and cultivation
dohor	basketry
dom	acrobats
doom	basketry
dosadh	wage labourers
dumna	village watch man
gagra	sweeping roads, cleaning drains
ganda	drum beaters
gandhila	seek alms

ganti chore	pick pocketing
garmatang	priests
garoda	daily wage labourer
gavaria	making combs from buffalo horns
ghantra	blacksmithy
gharami	leather work
ghasi	drum beaters
ghogia	cultivation
ghusuria	pig rearing
godagali	prepare mats
godari	skilled leather works
godra	hunting
gokha	fishing and cultivation
gond	cultivation
gonrhi	selling fish
gosangi	village servants
gour	parching grain
habura	waylaying
hadi	sweeping and cleaning
haleer	playing music
hali	agriculture
halsar	wage labourers
handi jogis	piggery
hari	basketry, playing music
hela	scavenging
hesi	begging and play music
hira	pot making
holar	musicians
holaya	agricultural labourers
holeya dasari	seek alms
holiya	musicians
irika	animal husbandry
jaggali	tanning
jalia	fishing and cultivation
jalkeot	petty business
jambavulu	leather work
jhalo malo	fishing and cultivation
jingar	leather work
jogi	begging
julaha	weaving

kabir panthi	weavers
kadaiyan	manufacturing of knives
kahar	agriculture and palanquin bearing
kaibarta	petty business
kaikadi	basket making
kakkalan	sooth saying, mat weaving
kalabaz	animal husbandry
kalladi	mat making, trapping birds
kamad	professional singers, seek alms
kami	working on iron, gold
kamoh	daily wage labourer
kanakkan	extract toddy
kanda	supply flowers
kandra	cultivation
kanjar	cultivation
kapadia sansi	cultivation
kaparia	begging
karenga	carpentry
karimpalan	basketry
karwal	hunting
katia	fishing and cultivation
kela	trapping of birds
keot	fishing and cultivation
khaira	mat weaving
khairaha	animal husbandry
khangar	weaving
kharia	village watch man
kharwar	rickshaw pulling
khatik	trade in vegetables, fruits
koara	agricultural labour
koch	horticulture
kodalo	agricultural labour
kol	labour
koliyan	weavers
konai	labour
koosa	wage labourers
kootan	labourers
korama	fortune telling
kori	weaving
korwa	settled agriculture

kotal	wage labourers
kotegar	leather work
kotwal	basketry
kuchbandhia	basketry
kudumban	agricultural labourers
kumhar	making earthenware
kummari	pot making
kuravan	animal husbandry
kureri	hunting
kurunga	carpentry
lalbegi	sweepers
lohar	blacksmithy
lois	cultivation
madari	basket making
madgi	dispose of dead animals
madiga	leather work
madiga dasu	priests of madigas
mahar	weavers`
mahisyadas	fishing and cultivation
mahji	boat rowers
mahyavanshi	basketry
maila	hunting and gathering
mal	wage labourers
mala	agricultural labourers
mala dasari	agricultural labour
mala jangam	seek alms from malas
mala masti	seek alms
mala sale	nathakani
malayan	devil dancing, exorcism
mali	traders of floers and garlands
mallah	fishing and cultivation
mang	preparing ropes from hemp
mang garodi	acrobatics and preparing mats
mannan	washing clothes
manne	village watch man
mavilan	collection and selling medicinal herbs
mazhabi	wage labourers
megh	daily wage labourer
meghval	footwear making
mehar	farming

mehtar	sweeping and cleaning
mitha ayyalvar	priest hood, begging
moger	hunting and gathering
moghia	basketry
mukri	fishing and cultivation
mundala	agricultural labour
mundapotta	seek alms
mushar	wage labourers
mushkan	making leaf cups and plates
nadia	making leather strips
namasudra	daily wage labourer
naribut	knitting leather chords
nat	wage labourers
nayadi	skillful hunters
padannan	boating, back water fishing
pagadai	sweepers
paki	sweepers
pale	coffee plantations
paliya	agriculture
pallan	animal husbandry
palluvan	singing songs on snakes
pambada	spirit possession, exorcism
pambidi	weaving
pan	weaving
panan	umbrella making
panchama	wage labourers
panka	weaving
pankha	weaving
pannadi	cultivation
panniandi	piggery
pap	wage labourers
parahiya	cultivation
pardhi	weaving of mats
pariyan	settled agriculture
pasi	settled agriculture
patari	cultivation
pathiyan	coconut plucking
patial	weaving
patni	ferryman and musicians
perna	wage labourers

phrera	dyers
pod	agriculture
pulayan	wage labourers
puthirai vanna	washing clothes
rajbanshi	agriculturists
rajwar	selling flattened rice
raneyar	wage labourers
ratal	removing carcasses
rawal	priesthood
rehar	making ornaments
relli	selling fruits and seeds
saharya	forests
salvi	wage labourers
samagra	leather work
samasi	agriculture
samban	salt making
sanei	agriculture
sanhai	play sanhai
sansoi	gold washing
santia	animal husbandry
sapela	selling snake venom
sarde	animal husbandry
sargara	agriculture
saryara	wage labourers
sauntia	agriculture
semman	skin and hide work
shilpkar	blacksmithy
sikligar	polishing arms
silawat	cut stones and make idols
sillekyatha	picture plays with puppets
sindhollu	perform sindhata
sinduria	prepare vermilion for sale
singiwala	suck impure blood
sipi	cultivation
sirkiband	making ropes
siyal	toddy tapping
sudugadu siddha	begging
sunri	distillation of liquor
sutradhar	agriculture
tamudia	extract oil from seeds

tanla	wage labourers
teli	oil pressers
thandan	coconut plucking
thathiar	professional vessel makers
thori	making and selling cots
tirgar	make arrows
tiyar	agriculture
turi	collect bamboo
turi barot	wage labourers
ujia	basketry
valluyan	priesthood
valmiki	settled agriculture
vavuri	basketry
velan	washing clothes
vetan	hunting and gathering
vettiyan	liquor manufacturing
vettuvan	rat trapping, coconut plucking
yaithibi	agriculture
zamral	constructing bamboo roofs

Source: K S Singh, 2014