

Changing Agrarian Communities of Bangladesh:
An Anthropological Investigation

A Thesis Submitted as a Partial Fulfillment for the M. Phil Degree in Anthropology

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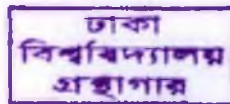
Declaration

I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “Changing Agrarian Communities of Bangladesh: An Anthropological Investigation” submitted to the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, is an original and exclusive work done by me, under the direct supervision of professor Dr. Anwarullah Chowdhury, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

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Dedicated
To
My Parents

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Acknowledgement

This thesis is the outcome of a research undertaken by me for M. Phil Degree in the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka.

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Diacritical Marks

All agrarian communities and Bengali terms are given with standard Indic diacritical marks which are generally used in South Asian transliteration. The following table shows the system used here. These were worked out by Malony, C. Aziz.K.M.A and Sarkar, P.C in their book- Beliefs and Fertility in Bangladesh (1981) with a slight adaptation to Bengali of the standard Indic system.

Bengali-English Transliteration:

Vowels:

অ	a, o	ঊ	u	ও	o	
আ	a	ঐ	u	ঐ	ai	oi
ঐ	I	ঐ	i	ঐ	au	ou
ঐ	i	এ	e			

Consonants:

ক	k	চ	e	ট	t			ত	t
খ	kh	ছ	eh	ঠ	th			থ	th
গ	g	জ	j z	ড	d	ড়	r	দ	d
ঘ	gh	ঝ	jh	ঢ	dh	ঢ়	m	ধ	dh
ঙ	ng	ঞ	n	ণ	n			ন	n
প	P	য়	y			স	s		
ফ	ph, f	র	r			হ	h		
ব	b, v	ল	i			ঃ	h		
ভ	bh	শ	s			ক্ষ	ks, kkh		
এ	m	ষ	s			ং	ng		
		য়	j			র্	y		

This is the standard Indic system, with slight modifications to suit Bengali. Vowels have their original Latin phonetic values; 'c' sounds like unaspirated ch, t, th, d, and dh are always dental, but t, th, d and dh are always retroflex.

Source: Malony, C, Aziz.K.M.A and Sarkar, P.C (1981): Beliefs and Fertility in Bangladesh.

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Glossary of Selected Local Terms

Ashraf:	A high status lineage
Ajlaf:	A low status lineage
Baithak Ghar:	A guest house
Bari:	A place where member of lineages are living together.
Badla:	Day labour
Bondhok:	Mortgage
Bazar:	A daily market
Borkha:	A large dress to maintain parda
Bepari:	Businessmen
Baishak:	Bengali month
Bargadar:	A sharecropper
Boro Samaj:	Big congregation
Chowdhury:	Name of a lineage
Chara Bari:	A lonely house
Dekhi Ghar:	A husking pedel house
Dighi:	Large pond
Dharmo ma:	Religious Mother
Dharmo bap:	Religious father
Din Mujur:	A day labor
Ekfasali Jami:	One crop cultivable land
Gusthi:	A lineage
Ghor:	House
Girhosto:	Agriculture dependent household.
Gusti:	lineage
Hal chash:	Ploughing a land for cultivation
Haat:	A Villages weekly market

Hazi:	A man who performs Hazz
Izzat:	Prestige
Imam:	A religious leader/ A man who lead the pray in a mosque
Jotdar:	A big land owner
Jami:	Cultivable Land
Joutuk:	Dowry
Jogga:	A devotional religious festival among Hindu community.
Jati:	Caste
Jaolla:	A community lives on fishing
Katcha Rasta:	A non-Metallic road
Kamar:	A blacksmith
Katcha:	Non-Metallic
Kumra:	Pumpkin
Kachu:	Arum
Khandans:	High status
Kumra:	Pumpkin
Katchu:	Arum
Kot:	A land renting out for a year
Khana:	Household
Khal:	Canal
Khat:	A bed
Kurttas:	shirt
Kamla:	Labor
Kabiraj:	A Villages herbal doctor.
Khas Jami:	State land/Communal land
Khazna:	
Lau:	A vegetable
Madha bangsha:	Lineage belongs to medium status
Mollas:	Name of a lineage
Mora	Bamboo made sitting place

Musori:	Crops
Malik:	Owner
Madrassa:	Religious school
Moulana	Islamic educational rank
Mudi:	Grocery
Mula:	Vegetable
Mouza:	Govt. Rentire unit
Musulli:	A Muslim prayer.
Mirs:	Name of a lineage
Murid:	A follower of a 'pir'
Mosjid:	A mosque.
Madbor:	A social leader
Mondir:	Hindu puja ghar
Maddha Bangshio:	Lineage belongs to middle status
Nichu bangsha:	Lineage belongs to low status
Nal Jami:	Agricultural land
Naya paribar:	Nuclear family
Namaj:	Muslim pray
Pondit:	An intellectual.
Pir:	A pious man in Islam who has a group of his followers.
Palli Unnayan:	Villages development
Puca Bari:	Brick made house.
Pan Pata:	Betel-leaf
Pachim Para:	West side of the villages.
Pourosova:	Metropolitan unit.
Pucca:	Mettaled
Puza:	Worship/ Hindu religion festival
Para:	Several Bari comprises a para
Paik:	A traditional hereditary representative of samaj leader
Prodhan:	A traditional hereditary samaj leader

Poramanik:	A traditional hereditary samaj leader <i>Dhaka University Institutional Repository</i>
Pratha:	A custom
Pob Para:	East side of the village.
Poribar:	Family
Pitha:	Cake
Rasta:	A road
Robi Sosso:	Winter seasonal vegetable
Sail:	A man who makes bamboo made fence.
Samaj:	A leadership body of some lineage.
Salish:	A meeting where local dispute are diminished
Sufism:	A doctrine in the religion of Islam
Sudi Bebosa:	Money lending
Sodar:	Center/Front
Sobji:	Vegetable
Soner Ghor:	A house made of straw.
Soto Samaj:	A small leadership body of some lineages
Sharif:	A high status Muslim lineage.
Salish:	A Villages court
Tallukdar:	A big retire
Tair:	A housemaker
Union Parishad:	Local administrative unit
Ucha bangsha:	Lineage belongs to high status
Uthan:	A courtyard
Vitabari:	Homestead land
Zamindar:	Landlord under British Government

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Chapter-1

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Introduction

1.1 Proposition

Bangladesh is predominantly an agricultural country with over 80% of its 120 million people living in 68000 villages and 79% of its labor depends on agriculture for this livelihood. The contribution of agriculture in GNP is over 40%. About 80% people live in the rural area (B.B.S, 1998).

The main trend of analyzing agrarian communities of Bangladesh is based on some key issues like poverty, inequality and conflict. The traditional concept of Bengal villages as a self-sufficient 'republic as a socio-economic autarchic unit' (Datta, 1956) does no longer hold good. The very existence of the villages as homogenous and cohesive unit is considered elusive (Bertocci, 1970). On the other hand farm families within the village's community have been found highly stratified (Chowdhury, 1978) and certain classes of people are exploited by the other classes. Others observed that a quiet violence is also prevailing in the villages of Bangladesh (Hartmann,1983) and there is an increasing trend in household mobility and increasing economic differentiation of peasant household (Schendal,1981). There is similar other analysis of the rural societies of Bangladesh that focused too much on economic variables. In the midst of all the exploitation and conflict the villagers, in some cases, were found maintaining some old-age values to hold their integration and community life.

It may be true that rural societies have undergone considerable changes with various old elements lost and new elements introduced (Ali,1960) and the dynamics of rural society cannot be revealed without the analyses of its economic structure (Mukherjee,1957). The social scientists, particularly anthropologists have an obligation to study other socio-cultural phenomenon as well as their own perspective. In contrast to poverty and employment, the issue of social cohesiveness is somewhat nebulous although there is an agreement that it encompasses a wide linkage of important elements of society.

Rural population of Bangladesh considered land as the most valuable among the assets (Qadir, 1982). Due to increase of population, and according to Muslim law of inheritance, land is fragmented and decline of land man ratio is the marked feature of Bangladesh. The per capita availability of land was only 0.13 hectare which is among the lowest in the world (Hossain, 1994). In this context the vast majority of the population of the country are still unemployed in agriculture sector which is under great pressure to produce more to feed the growing population of the country.

Nevertheless, majority of the people are living in absolute poverty in Bangladesh. Poverty alleviation, therefore, remains the major focus of development effort in the country. "Natural calamities, deceleration of industrial and agricultural growth and a drastic decline in investment ratio deteriorated the poverty situation in Bangladesh"(Taskforce Report, 1991). In the early eighties rapid expansion of the targeted anti-poverty programs, which provided credit, training and extension support to the functionally landless group for generation of self-employment and raising the productivity of their labor, improved poverty situation to a limited extent.

Bangladesh has experienced non-egalitarian agrarian reforms without social transition where intermediary class of tenure holders became the principal beneficiary of the reform and new patterns of land concentration and monopoly of political power came to substitute the erstwhile feudal classes. "In 1978, 3% household in Bangladesh controlled 17% of the agricultural land and an estimated 78% of rural households could be classified as landless or almost landless. The rich absentee landlord and controlling classes (who dominated the social and political forces) reinforced its control over land with intervention in the water credit, inputs and even the commodity market" (Sobhan, 1993).

After the liberation Government of Bangladesh launched five FYP (Five Year Plan) for economic recovery. Agricultural sector was identified as the thrust sector. Government took necessary policies and programs for the development of agricultural sector. But political crises, oil shock, famine and death, withdraw of subsidy, flood, draught, inefficiency of extension work, down trend in the share of agriculture in the annual budget, corruption, etc. made it difficult for proper implementation of these policies and programs.

The green revolution significantly enhanced the economic power of this class. The new technology greatly increased the importance of access to credit and inputs offered at subsidized rates by institutional sources. “The rich farmers were the appropriate brokers with the state to mediate the flow of these modernizing resources to the cultivating classes. Adequate share-cropping persistence in the post reform phases increased from 39.1 to 41.68 between 1960 and 1977” (Sobhan, 1993).

The situation explained above is not comprehensive to understand all issues. So it is necessary to undertake a comprehensive study highlighting the different issues so as to have better understanding of the changing pattern of agrarian society and differentiation in the rural society. It will be useful to observe the changes that have been undergoing in the areas of households, family, marriage, kinship, economic relation, education and socialization process, political processes, social control and mobility, religious and recreation system of the social group and association, the health, sanitation and ecology due to set of interventions. In other words, the present study seeks to know the changes in all spheres of rural society and culture and it also proposes to examine the factors responsible for differentiation among farm households.

Understanding the mode of production is also important for analyzing agrarian community. The mode of production in Bangladesh is either peasant mode of production or capitalist mode of production but evidences show that it has a capitalistic direction (Chowdhury, 1982). However, it can also be referred to as semi-feudal or semi-colonial mode of production.

The studies conducted on agrarian communities in recent years are dealt only with some specific areas on a small component of the rural society or a small component of the total life and culture of the agrarian community. A comprehensive study on the agrarian communities, with a focus on changes, will help to fill up many gaps in our knowledge and will also help us to understand the nature of changing agrarian social structure. The present study is a humble attempt towards that direction.

Major Objectives of the Study

The present study seeks to know the social system of two villages of Bangladesh with a focus on their social change. The major objectives of the study are as follows:

- 1) To know the social system in two rural communities of Bangladesh.
- 2) To understand the changes taking place in these communities.

Specific Objectives of the Study

Along with the major objectives some of the specific objectives of the study are-

- 1) To identify the impact of internal and external factors on socio-economic life of the agrarian communities.
- 2) To identify the factors related to social differentiation.
- 3) To identify past and present strategies adopted by the family units to cope with the socio-economic changes.

1.3 Scope and Importance of the Study

It is important to know about the way of life in the agrarian communities. This research will provide a comprehensive picture about the rural communities and will help to understand the socio-economic relations that exist in agrarian communities. However, the study will focus on the changing features of these communities. An anthropological study of the agrarian communities is very important. Anthropological in-depth analysis will help to understand the agrarian communities. This study is an ethnographic account of changing rural life. The findings of the research may be useful for the planners and policymakers for undertaking further reforms and development strategies.

1.4 Selection of the Two Villages

The agrarian communities of Bangladesh are undergoing through rapid changes. These changes are found in the land tenure system after the abolition of *Zamindari* system. Over the last 15-20 years it has been observed that a radical occupational change has occurred among the agrarian people through creating new job opportunity in both the home and abroad. The aim of the study is to explore the changing trend of the agrarian communities over the last 15-20 years.

The changing trends of the agrarian communities differ from village to village and also from region to region in Bangladesh. The villages located near the urban area are changing rapidly due to the impact of urbanization and modernization. In order to get comparison of two agrarian communities I have to select two villages. I searched for such two villages that are located in a far distance from the city of Dhaka but near the Upozilla or Pourosova. Finally, two villages were selected which located near the Chatkhil Pourosova, in the district of Noakhali.

In the past, villagers under study were dependent mainly on agriculture. During the British rule 97% of them were dependent either directly or indirectly on agricultural activities. During the end of the Pakistan period 75% of these people were dependent on agriculture and 25% on non-farm activities in the country. But at present the dependency on agriculture is gradually decreasing. A huge number of the villagers are now depending on overseas employment, service and business. These two villages possess such changing characteristics, which also prevail more or less in other villages of Bangladesh.

1.5 Methodology

Anthropological method was used in the present study. In other words, for the purpose of the present study the method of participant observation was used. I stayed in both the villages in two time phases and participated in the life of the people under investigation in course of the fieldwork. This method seemed to be very useful and effective for the present study that's why I was able to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. I was able to establish rapport with the people under investigation and, therefore, it was possible to collect reliable data about the people.

Social anthropology was at first associated with two scholars namely Malinowski (1884-1942) and Radcliffe Brown (1881-1955). It emerged as an empirical science with intensive fieldwork as its method of investigation. Both Malinowsky and Radcliffe Brown denied the value of speculative reconstruction of history; both emphasized the need of study existing social institutions; both conceived of culture as wholes; both developed a concept of function in terms of social effects of any custom or institution (Kabberry, 1970:74).

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In the first phase of the fieldwork household census was conducted. I used a census schedule for this purpose. The census gave us detail information about two villages under this study and informal interview and focus group discussion were also used as tools for collecting in-depth information. In the middle of the first phase and the second phase I have tried to find out the gap of data and cross-checked all the data. In the second phase of the field work I filled-up all the gaps and verified the data. The fieldwork was regularly monitored and supervised by the guide. I conducted fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur for more than one year from January 3, 2003 to February 15, 2004 (more than 13 months). I stayed in the villages during the entire period.

1.6 Rationale

For the purpose of present study, I have selected two villages which are far away from Dhaka city. They can be considered as remote villages of Bangladesh. During the British rule both the villages were ruled by Hindu *Zamindars*. So these villages were an appropriate selection for analyzing the change occurred in land tenure system, settlement pattern and social system since the abolition of *Zamindari* system in 1950s. Bangladesh is a Muslim majority country. Few other religious groups also live side by side in the country. So, I selected one fully Muslim community based village and another one village where there are both Muslim and Hindu communities living side by side. The villages belong to a remote area in Noakhali district and they are located side by side and thus they belong to the same region.

1.7 Limitations

Bangladesh is predominantly an agrarian society where villages are the basic unit of social organization. Relating to the population all the countries in the world has some fundamental problems because the population of each country is segmented into identifiable ethnic, religious, social, economical and political groupings. It is not possible to understand the changing agrarian communities of Bangladesh without accurate investigation of the social system of its villages that have undergone many changes since the period of *Zamindari* abolition in 1950s and the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state in 1971. The study of these particular villages may not give us a general picture of the social system of agrarian communities in Bangladesh. Again in anthropological research it is difficult to select a representative village or field area, finding accommodation and building rapport with the people; and these eventually are reflected in the quality of the data obtained. As an outsider and a man of different culture of origin and background, I was not free from these limitations.

There is hardly any full length, systematic micro-level anthropological study on the social change of agrarian communities in Bangladesh. But there are some villages studies which dealt with overall changing situation of the agrarian communities. I have, therefore, decided to review some of the major village studies before undertaking the present research.

'Six villages of Bengal' by Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1956) is an important study of rural Bangladesh. The author described many major changes of the social system of the villages at an early period. Mukherjee conducted survey in six villages of Bogra district situated in Northern Bangladesh. Mukherjee dealt with economic structure of the villages with an analysis of economic activities and economic institutions. It is mentionable that he chose one village which situated near Bogra town to oversee the impact of urbanization and industrialization on rural life. Mukherjee classified economic hierarchy in three broad categories. The top hierarchy consisted of professional service holder, *jotdar* (big rentier) and *zamindar* (living on rent in cash received from land through sub in feudatory rights). Rich farmer, small trader and non cultivating landowner includes in the middle hierarchy. However, bottom hierarchy consisted of *ryot bargadar* (owner cultivator cum share cropper) agricultural laborer and *bargadar* (share cropper). All these categories were occupational groups according to the distribution of households under different types of household budget and under the means of living. The household in top hierarchy of the economic structure maintained the surplus budget in an overwhelming proportion. In middle hierarchy, the highest proportion of households showed the surplus budget, the proportion of the balance budget was considerable and under deficit budget was not at all negligible.

In the bottom hierarchy the highest proportion was represented under balance budget, the proportion under deficit was also considerable and under surplus budget was very small. So the people belonging to the top hierarchy had smooth and prosperous life, lower hierarchy maintained bare life and middle hierarchy were somewhere in between these. From the study we only get some idea of the economic hierarchy in rural Bangladesh in the mid-forties.

Mukherjee discussed about social differentiation in briefly. He found that Hindus were divided in caste and schedule caste. The caste was divided upper and middle caste on the basic of high status. He also categorized Muslims on the basis of superiority and inferiority. The *Kulu* Muslim was considered as socially inferior by the general Muslims. He also indicated that there was a correlation between the economic set-up of the society and the institution of caste and community.

‘Changing Society in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh’ by A.K.Nazmul Karim (1976) is based on secondary sources. He discussed about the impact of the British rule on social change and social stratification in India and Pakistan with special reference to East Pakistan. According to him Bangladesh society, as a part of the greater Indian society, was based on a self-sufficient village economy and remained static for centuries. By introducing a new economy and land tenure system during British rule the society turned into a capitalistic one from feudal Indian society. Muslims rules introduced many changes and created a possibility of transformation of Indian society.

Another major work by P.J. Bertocci titled “Elusive Village: Social Structure and Community Organization in Rural East Pakistan” (1970) focused attention on rural community organization and social structure in Comilla district of Bangladesh. He used anthropological methods in conducting his studies in Hazipur and Tinpara villages of Comilla district in the late sixties. He argued that Muslims can be classified into upper class (Ashraf) and lower class (Atraf). He also did this in accordance with caste. Bertocci found that people belonging to the upper social status can only be placed in the position of power and thus sit in bench and adjudicate. They are indirectly connected with the production organization. However, people belonging to the lower status are invariably connected with production organization. Bertocci believed that social stratification in rural Bangladesh was influenced by colonial ruling. As a result the divisions of Muslims in terms of upper and lower status were fostered by policies of British administration.

Bertocci argued that the land policy of British administration created hierarchies and differentiated rural poor. According to him *Zamindars*, *Talukdars* and *Jotdars* belonged to the upper status and they numbered in a very few. However, vast majority were the tenants and smaller *maliks* (owner farmers). He defined class on the basis of land ownership. He used the tool of class while stratifying the peasantry. According to him ownership and control of land were the main dependable factor for the rural economy and society in Bangladesh. However, significant difference amongst the different households can be created by the extent and quality of landholding that they own. Bertocci emphasized the indebtedness and various other types of social relations while stratifying peasantry. Bertocci found that land was the sole and important criterion of stratification. He argued that if a family is big and have a large amount of land, the family will have economic deprivation. So Bertocci has taken consideration on economic strength, the indebtedness and land ownership while stratifying peasantry. He categorized 102 households of his two study villages into three types such as poor, middle and the rich. Although he emphasized on economic indicator but his analyses was anthropological. However his study revealed one common factor that the powerful persons in the society also owned large amount land. So both high status and land ownership were seen as the basis of gaining power in the society.

Another study by G. Wood titled "Class Differentiation and Power in Bangladesh: The Minifundist Case" (1975) is yet an anthropological inquiry for understanding rural power relations. Beauty of wood's analysis is his presentation of hierarchical units of power and authority. The first in the series is Bari (a conglomerate of households) where a number of households live together. There is a head of Bari like thorp's *malik*. The headship of Bari is primarily decided by the land ownership. A household head may be old, intelligent but do not own much of land. Usually he can be the leader of Bari. A number of baris constitute a *para* (neighborhood). The heads of baris usually give leadership in *para*. One or two of these heads, by virtue of their status and organizing capabilities, may become leaders of the *para*. They are called *sardars*. These *sardars* of different *paras* run the village *samaj*. Usually the eldest son of a *sarder* inherits *sardership* from his father. But this is not automatic. The *sardars* have to have other qualities (e.g. can argue well, extra ordinary commonsense, and can lead others).

Wood, in his study on Bondokgram village (meaning mortgaged village), identified 22 heads of *baris*, 16 of whom own at least 2.50 acres of land. The remaining six had at least 1 acre of land. Despite high incidence of the landlessness, there was no head of a *bari* who could be categorized as landless and this speaks well of the social status of the disadvantaged people. Wood has also observed there can be more than one *sarders* in a *para*. Some *Paras* may not have even a single *sarder*. *Sardership* depends on the relative economic strength and the size and importance of prtilineage of the heads of *baris*. Definitely power originates from both men and materials. Those who can earn loyalty from the poor people by distributing favors through offering *barga* (rented land) and short and long term credit can easily become powerful in rural setting. Wood has also looked into new sources of power in his study area. He observed that a new generation of power holders had been emerging in rural areas by virtue of their access to trade, irrigation, construction and other state sponsored activities. But they were again sons and close relatives of the *sarders* and they do not challenge the traditional leadership. Thus he showed descriptive rigor in explaining rural power structure, but they have not been able to add new explanatory variables in understanding the rural power structure in the tradition of anthropological studies that already set up in the sixties.

Anwarullah chowdhury (1978) conducted a major anthropological study on social stratification pattern of a village in Dhaka district. He explicitly analyzed the class, status and power relations in Meherpur. Chowdhury's work (based on his Ph.D thesis) is one of the significant works that have focused on rural power structure using an empirical inquiry. His study showed that the villagers were stratified into classes on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of the means of production. The principal means of production in the villages is land. So, three classes in the villages, which can be arranged hierarchically on the basis of their relationship and non-ownership of land and on the basis of their relationships in the organization of production, are- the *malik* (landowners), *bargadar* (sharecroppers), and *kamla* or *badla* (landless laborers).The villagers were again stratified on the basis of high and low status. The Muslims of the villages were broadly divided into *khandan* Muslims (*khandans* are high status Muslims), *girhasta* (*girhastas* are low status Muslims) and *kamla* (landless laborers) Muslims. The *khandans* enjoy high status whereas the *girhastas* are the low status Muslims.

The *kamlas* enjoy the lowest status. There were further, two occupational groups among the Muslims- the *baddis* and the *jholas*, who were also considered as low status Muslims. Both *khandans* and *girhastas* were again divided hierarchically into a number of informal endogamous groups. The Hindus of the village were mainly divided into upper caste, lower caste and scheduled castes hierarchy is mainly based on the traditional ownership and control of land, education, and on differences in styles of life. According to Chowdhury, the households of Meherpur belonged to three classes: landowners, sharecroppers and the landless wage laborers. The landowners were again divided into rentiers and owner-farmers. The rentier class normally did not work in the field and rent out their land to others. The owner-farmers worked in the field and also hired wage laborers. Some of them may also rent to augment their operational holdings. The main source of income of the wage laborers was the sale of their labor. If they had small amount of land, they also took some land to operate it as sharecroppers. The poor farmer also used to sell advance labor. Chowdhury did not note high level of class-consciousness among these poor households. However, two types of domination are discernible from the above class analysis and these are-a) control over the share croppers by the rentier class and b) control over the wage laborers by the large owner farmers. And again, the basis of both types of control lies in the ownership of the means of production.

Anwarullah Chowdhury has also noted the stratification of Meherpur in terms of status, or *khandani*. The members of the *khandan* families do not undertake manual labor. Their level of education is high and cultural practices are well developed. But the women are to be confined in veils. Most of them are large landowners, although some have no land at all. Power belongs to these *khandan* families in Meherpur. He observed that the power in Meherpur lies in those families who have both status and wealth and he defined this power as traditions. According to Chowdhury the formal power in Meherpur centers on Unon Parishad. Union Parishad is officially recognized as legitimate seat of power. However, the Union Parishad chairman has not yet challenged the traditional power and in most cases they reinforce each other. But since some resources (relief, works program, credit) are flowing into the village Union Parishads, the chairman or members are also acquiring wealth and becoming more powerful. Chowdhury found that the source of power in rural areas is not one-dimensional. There can be both internal and external sources of power. If a person can have access to both the sources then he can be the most powerful one in the rural set up.

The study of Arens and Beurden (1980) is perhaps one of the most significant empirical works on rural social structure of Bangladesh. The Dutch couple stayed for a year in a village pseudo named Jhagrapur in the district of Kushtia in the seventies. The major finding of the study is that women were the most exploited segment of rural population. Besides economic and social exploitation by men, the sexual exploitation on women has been sharply brought out by these researchers. Lack of organization for women, especially the deserted and destitute ones, makes the exploitation even more ruthless. Although there are real potential for such an organization and many of the exploited women are aware of its necessity, they have not been able to organize themselves to put a challenge to such exploitation. They, too, have used land as the principal differentiation of classes. Arens and Beurden have identified four landowning classes in Jhagrapur and these are i) landless and the poor peasants; they constituted 55% of rural households and own less than two acres; ii) middle peasants; they constituted 24% of total households and own on average of 4 acres of land; iii) rich peasants; they constituted 21% of rural households and own on average of 10 acres of land; and iv) landlords; rich peasants and landlords own 6% of the total means of production in the village and thus belong to the apex of the rural power structure. Most of the conflicts in the village are resolved through its indigenous *samaj*. The *samaj* is led by a few leaders of powerful lineage. Although *samaj* is outwardly a participatory institution for the villagers, the power is always vested in the hands of few leaders. The fifty percent of the populations are excluded from the decision-making power. Nine *matbars* from nine important prtrilineages are the decision-makers in the *samaj*. According to the researchers, the leadership of the old leaders of influential lineages is being increasingly put under pressure due to the emergence young leaders. Politics, too, bestows on some people. Persons belonging to ruling party can influence local administration and thus wield power in the village. Also active workers and sympathizers of a banned left party, who are capable of resorting to violence, can be power wielders. Finally, Arens and Beurden bet on the educated youths as the potential and power wielders of the village. They have a stable material base; they are politically conscious and hence can influence local administration. So they can only put effective challenge to the traditional power wielders.

Schendel's work (1981) is perhaps one of the earliest anthropological village studies in the 1980s. This is also an in-depth study based on fieldwork in seven villages of Bangladesh (one in Rangpur, five in Bogra and one in Comilla). Schendel has dealt in details on day to day living, poverty and cultural activities prevailing in all the seven villages from a historical perspective. But his discussion on the power relations is primarily focused on a single village named Dhoneshor in Comilla. Schendel noted two types of *samaj*; one is religious and the other is social. The religious *samaj* based on a mosque is called *boro samaj* (big congregation). The *boro samaj* operates only during Eid prayers twice in a year and during trial of major crimes. For all other matters there was the *choto samaj* (small congregation) covering just village Dhoneshor. Traditionally this small congregation deals with day to day affairs of the villages and was headed by five leaders called *sarders*. Each *sarder* has his own domain consisting of a number of households (known as *paiks*). *Paikship* was hereditary. The main duty of a *sarder* was to represent his *paiks* in the meeting of *sarders* whenever there was a conflict or a potential crime. *Sardership* was heritable from father to eldest son unless the son was considered unfit. Originally each *sarder's paiks* originated from a single lineage. But things have changed and *sarder* can have *paiks* from more than one lineage. Together the *sarders* used to form an informal village council. The principle of heredity has seriously undermined the position of this council. Economic positions of *sarders* now-a-day play important role in obtaining support of the *paiks*. While a rich *sarder* can still count on the support of the *paiks*, a poor *sarder* may not even get support from his closest relatives. The rich *paiks* of poor *sarder* hardly pay any attention to their erstwhile chiefs. New leaders' *matbars* (based on power and wealth) joined the system and revived the old order. But in Dhoneshor things did not move in the same way. Here the new power base was from outside the village (i.e. Comilla town). The competition between these newly emerged big shots has virtually torn apart the traditional *sarder* system. These leaders have been investing on new recruits and their approach towards gaining leadership was very much straight forward and business like. Also old localized institutions like *reyai* (informal grouping) of all households invoked during taking decision of marrying off one of the children of the village or *lilla* (grouping with sharing of bereavement) have all been eclipsed due to penetration of commercial interests in the villages. Schendel, thus, noted a number of new elements external to the villages such as links with the state, brokerage, non-agricultural income, changes in occupations, and links with politics which have been disintegrating traditional power bases. The income (agricultural and non-agricultural) was, according to Schendel, the most important source of power in the villages.

Karim's (1987) work is the ~~most~~ ~~documentary~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~position~~ ~~of~~ ~~anthropology~~ ~~in~~ ~~rural~~ ~~power~~ ~~structures~~. Karim's study villages are Dhononjoi para and Gopalhati of Rajshahi district. Karim has noted a change in the pattern of leadership in the villages because of declining importance of traditional institutions and ascendancy of modern institutions backed by the state. The domination of Pradhans and Paramaniks still prevailed in traditional organization. Access to control over land was a critical source of political power. The inequality of land helped bestow power to a few households who can distribute patronage. Karim found *samaj* as the informal village social organization where traditional power was being interplayed by *Pradhans* and *Paramaniks*. They mobilized their family, lineage, and neighborhood and made a loyal following i. e., faction. This faction played crucial role not only by enhancing status of the leader but also by playing important role in making a transition to the formal leadership (i.e. in the union posts herds or cooperatives). Position in the lineage and shaman used to decide the *Khandan* (status) of an individual leader. But Karim figured out that amount of land owned now bestow status to a household and its head.

Karim further added that a number of modern elements e. g. better communication, urban and pre-urban contacts, modern education, and integration with regional and national market had brought changes in the criteria which helped acquire *khandan* (status). *Khandan* families were then getting involved in matrimonial relationships with non-*Khandan* families if the latter had wealth and position structure of the locality. Karim also noted that leadership of *samaj* normally came from demographically larger lineages having large landholding.

According to Karim the real political power of *samaj* leaders were demonstrated in setting disputes between members of the *samaj*. However, the village court was established with the Union Parishad chairman as its judge had undermined the power of *samaj* in settling disputes. The new source of power, as Karim noted was the control of government-sponsored programs and projects. The formal leaders representing Union Parishad and cooperatives were in charge of these resources. Earlier, traditional *paramniks* were used to be selected in these bodies and provided with continuity of leadership.

But since the war of liberation, there had been noticeable changes in the leadership pattern. Educated youths, of course originating from influential lineages, were coming forward to take the formal leadership. The Union Parishad leadership by virtue of their authority to distribute patronage was becoming a major wielder of political power. Cooperative leaders too enjoyed power as they could help obtain modern agricultural inputs for the villagers.

The major studies on agrarian communities that were conducted in recent years dealt with some components of the total life and culture of the agrarian community. I have decided to conduct a comprehensive micro-level anthropological study on the agrarian communities with a focus on their social changes.

Chapter-II

Overview of the Two Villages (Baripara and Hossainpur) Under Study

2.1 Name and Location of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

2.2 Physical Feature of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

2.2.1 Physical Feature of the Village Baripara

2.2.2 Changes in the Physical Features of Baripara

2.2.3 Physical Feature of the Village Hossainpur

2.2.4 Changes in the Physical Features of Hossainpur:

2.3 Settlement Pattern of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

2.3.1 Settlement Pattern of the Village Baripara

2.3.2 Background of the Settlement Pattern of Baripara

2.3.3 Current Settlement Condition of Baripara

2.3.4 Settlement Pattern of the Village Hossainpur

2.3.5 Background of the Settlement Pattern in Hossainpur:

2.3.6 Current Settlement Pattern of the Village Hossainpur

2.4 Demographic Feature

2.4.1 Age, Sex and Work

2.4.2 Marital Status

2.4.3 Male and Female Headed Household

2.4.4 Literacy and Education

2.4.5 Family Composition

2.4.6 The Religious Composition

Overview of the Two Villages (Baripara and Hossainpur)

2.1 Name and Location of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

Baripara, a very ancient and large village, is located at 192 k.m southeast from the city of Dhaka. Bus road is the only available communication here. Administratively, it belongs to Punch Gaon Union at Chatkhil Upozilla in Noakhali Zilla. One has to get into the bus towards Chatkhil from Dhaka and get off at Kacharibazar, 3 k. m. east from Chatkhil Upozilla. Baripara is surrounded by the village Hossainpur at the south, Dhamalia at the west, Ulupur of Begumganj at the east and Vower at the North.

Hossainpur is a small village situated at 192 k.m. southeast to the city of Dhaka. This village is under Punchgaon Union of Chatkhil Upozilla of Noakhali District. Both Baripara and Hossainpur villages together comprises 205 Baripara mouza. It is about 3 k.m. away from Chatkhil Upozilla. If one wants to go to Hossainpur village, he has to take bus and get down at Kacharibazar. A 10 feet width pucca road is located towards Hossainpur village. One can reach the village along this road either on foot or by rickshaw. Rickshaw fare varies from fifteen to twenty taka from Kacharibazar. Hossainpur is surrounded by the villages Saatrapara to the south, Afsarkhil to the west, Baripara to the north and Ulupara under Begumgonj to the east. Both Baripara and Hossainpur villages are adjacent and the villagers are very much aware of the boundary of their villages.

A narrow metallic road from Kacharibazar main road touches Baripara first and then Hossainpur. A canal called 'Mahendra khal' separates these to villagers. There is a culvert to connect the two villages. So, Hossainpur village is located beyond the culvert. The villagers depend on foot to move from one corner to other corner of the villages. But rickshaw is used for women and children and for carrying goods or traveling other villages. Few solvent people use bicycle. There are two ways in this village through which people move in and move out of the village. One road goes to Kacharibazar and another road to Halima Degheer Par. It is nearer to the Upozilla *sadar* (headquarter).

2.2 Physical Feature of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

2.2.1 Physical Feature of the Village Baripara

Baripara is a very large village in size. The area of Baripara is about 357 acres. The area of high land is about 237 acres which is known as *vitabari* and is used for making houses, roads and gardens. Out of this about 72 acres of land are used as permanent garden in this village in which mainly betelleaves, coconut, mango garden, bamboo groves, banana and nuts are grown. In the past, most of the *vitabarsi* were used for cultivating betel leaf. The land area of abandoned property (school, college and Madrasa) is about 9 acres. There are twenty-three *Katcha Rasta* in this village. But the main road is *pucca* and the *Katcha Rastas* is linked with the main road. The area of cultivable land is 123 acre. Among these land areas about 73 acres remain cultivable once in a year which is marked as *ekfashali jami*. These lands are submerged by water during rainy season and rest of the land are cultivable two times in a year.

The water area of Baripara is 65 acres. There is a 14 k.m. long canal in the village which is used for irrigation. There are thirty-six small or big ponds and seven *dighis* in the village. The ponds are privately owned. However, only wealth *gusthis* own *dighis*. The betel nut and coconut and other fruit trees are seen surrounding these ponds. There are about 5-10 households who are the owner of each pond and garden. Fishes are cultivated in some ponds by a group of villagers. Some ponds are leased out to one or more persons.

There is a college named Chatkhil Govt. College in Chatkhil Upozilla and this is situated at the western side of Baripara. The village is mainly divided into two sides known as College *para* and the main village. The dwellers are living in a cluster in various parts of the village. The houses are mostly tin-sheds and their fencing, in most cases, are made of bamboo or tin. There are 15 buildings, fenci-surrounded two sheds/four sheds houses are 162, tin-surrounded two sheds/four sheds are 114 and tin- shed building is 29 in number. Beside these there are also vegetable gardens within the dwelling. The house are scattered over the dwellings and are not usually arranged in particular order. There exists a very small lane between the houses. Every house has *uthans* (courtyard) in front of it, which is used in various purposes. There are more rooms in the wealthy *baris* than in the poor one.

There are *baithak khanas* (guesthouse) in these houses furnished by sofa-set, showcase and many kinds of showpiece, which are usually seen in the drawing room in the town. However, middle class and higher middle class families have 2-3 *ghars* (rooms). They do not have drawing room or *baithak khana*. Their guests usually sit on chairs or *mora* or *khat*. But almost every house has separate kitchen. Some house had 'dekhi' in the kitchen to thresh rice for making *pitha* and other had separate 'dekhi ghar'. But at present, mechanized system of threshing paddy is available, and so, *dheki* is ceasing out.

The only primary school of Baripara, 'Barirara Govt. Primary School, is located at the western side of the village. There is also a forkania madrasa and four mosques in the village. But there is no *bazar* (market) in the village. So, the villagers mainly depend on Kacharibazar. Besides, there are also two *bazars* (market) at the end of Hossainpur villages namely 'Taltala' and 'Karihati'. Taltala *bazar* is 1 k.m. and Karihati *bazaar* is about 2 k.m. south from Baripara. But since Kacharibazar is bigger and nearer to the village, therefore, the villagers are not frequent to go to these two bazars.

Kacharibazar is located besides the road of Dhaka-Chatkhil and is very near to the Chatkhil Upozilla sadar. The weekly haat sits on Tuesday and Friday in Kacharibazar. The villagers buy their necessary things from this haat. There are five groceries, four hotels, two confectioneries, four medicine shops, two rice mill, one saw mill, five furniture shop, seven stationary, two poultry's, a rod and cement shop, two rice shops, two jewelries, a laundry and two tailors in the Kacharibazar. The chickens, meats, and fishes are sold in an open space in the *bazar* at *haat* day. The others shops remain open everyday from morning till night. The customers of tea-stalls gossip from morning to night every day. The subject matter of gossip is politics, sports, and other matters while taking tea inside or outside the stalls. Those, who are directly involved in the village politics, are seen in the village market at least once a day sitting in the tea-stalls with their prominent supports. Two tea stalls of Kacharibazar keep television for the entertainment of the customers. Though the wealthy families of the village have television but the lower and the lower middle class families have no television. Several male members watch television at Kacharibazar after the evening. Besides, the hawker brings news papers here from Chatkhil *sadar* at 10 am. The villagers mainly collect newspapers from the hawker.

There is no post office in this village. The only one post office in Punchgaon Union is located at Kacharibazar. Kacharibazar is mainly the nerve center of administrative works of Baripara as well as the whole Punchgaon Union. There are also the Health Office, Union Parishad Office, Land Office and land Registry Office etc. in Kacharibazar. There is a primary school in Baripara. Most of the children go to this school. They also go to the Punch Gaon Govt. High School for high school education. There is also a girl's high school located at Kacharibazar. Most of the girls of Baripara go there for high school education. The main dress of the male is Lungy-Ganjy, Lungy-Panjabi or Lungy-Shirt. They also wear trouser-shirt or pajama-panjabi to visits or to go for service. Usually the wealthy family members wear trouser-shirt. The young men of the village usually dress on Lungy-shirt, Lungy-ganjy, etc. But during visiting or going to school they wear Shirt, Trouser or Pajama-Panjabi. Many of the young men also follow the western style. They wear Jeans Trouser, T-shirt, Shoe, etc. The main dress of the village women is Sari. But during their visit to any place they use *Borkha* as loyalty of religion. In this dress there is a gaun to cover from neck to feet and a scruff to cover the head and there is a net which also used to cover the face. It is called *parda* in Islam. It is compulsory to maintain *parda* for the most Muslim women in the village. But it is not compulsory for the young girls. They usually wear Saloar-Kamij (lower and upper garment). But they also wear Sari in any especial occasion. The administrative office of Baripara is the Punchgaon Union Parishad Office at Kacharibazar. If the villagers are unable to solve any dispute locally they go to the chairman. Besides, the villagers are familiar with the administrative works at Upozilla level and go to the Upozilla Administrative Officer according to their necessity. The honorable person, member or the Chairman of Union Parishod help them in this regard.

2.2.2 Changes in the Physical Features of Baripara

Before the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 the infrastructural condition of this village was very poor. There was no *pucca* road and had little *Katcha* road. At that time villagers had to go a far distance on foot. After liberation *pucca* high road was built between Dhaka and Ramgonj. In the past there was no college and school in the village (except one *madrassa*). Villagers used pond water for bathing and cooking. There was only 2-3 tube well in the village. At that time, there were 7 large ponds (*Dighi*).

The area of a large a pond is about 5-6 acres. At present there are 35 ponds in the village. In the past there was no electricity. The use of different house appliances like television, VCR or freeze were not imagined by the villagers. During the year of 1990 electricity came in this village and at present 78% house has electricity connection. The infrastructure of the village is improving since liberation. The main reasons of these improvements are economic upliftment of the villagers, GOs and NGOs interventions, declaration of the locality as municipality, etc. Economic upliftment of villagers is also contributing to improve their life standard. Villagers are not only improving their housing pattern but also using many electrical appliances. After declaration of Chatkhil Upozilla as Municipality during 1980s, GOs and NGOs offices and different Mill-factories were established. As a result a good number of villagers are now working there.

2.2.3 Physical Feature of the Village Hossainpur

Hossainpur is not a big village. The village is almost round shaped and the area of the village is about 179-acre. There are 25 Baris and each of the Bari is a cluster in Hossainpur. Most of the households (families) are living separately. Few households have been living side by side. Each Bari has 2-10 households and has a big garden of coconut and betel nut. However, vegetable garden is seen very few. Hossainpur is located on both the sides of a *pucca* road that starts from Kacharibazar main road. Thus the village is divided into two parts. The western part is called *pachim para* where most of the villagers are living and the eastern part is called *pub para*.

Among its total 179-acres of land the areas of high lands are about 98 acres which is known as *vitabari*. These are used for making houses and yard, pond, garden, graveyard and road. 81 acres of land are used as agricultural land where crop are being cultivated. Middle-high or low lands are cultivable lands where farmers cultivate only one crop in a year. These lands submerge under water in most of the time. Highlands are being used for growing two crops in a year. However, there are small areas of highlands in this village. Paddy, *robi* crop and vegetables are being cultivated in winter on these lands. Out of the 98 acres of *vitabari*, 41 acres are used for growing coconut, betel nuts, mango, bamboo groves and banana. This garden serves the local need as well as market need. The land areas of abandoned property (school, college and Madrasha) are about 6 acres in total.

There is a large canal named Mohendra Khal which is 20 feet wide and 14 k.m long. This canal is surrounding the village from West to East and from South to East side. This canal has been contributing significantly for irrigation in the village. There are 33 ponds which belong to the private ownership and each of the Bari is the owner of one or more ponds. The betel nut, coconut and other fruit trees are growing on the bank of these ponds. Villagers are also cultivating fish collectively.

The dwellers are living in a cluster in various parts of the village. In this village there are about 20 one-storied *pucca* buildings, 12 tin-shed buildings, 45 tin-shed *ghars* and 90 bamboo made *ghars*. There are about 17 cow sheds in this village. Most of the houses have garden. There are mango gardens, bamboo groves and banana, coconut and betel nut trees and the ponds are located within the dwelling site. Besides these, there are also vegetable garden within the homestead area. There are very small lanes between the houses. There is also a courtyard which is used for various purposes.

There is a 15 feet wide *pucca* road, which linked with Baripara and Hossainpur. This road starts from Kacharibazar high way of Dhaka to Ramgonj. There is another 12 feet *pucca* road in this village which is located around the village. There are three *pucca* roads (12 feet) which are linked with that road. There are 9 *Katcha Rastas* (non-metalic roads) in this village. The entrance road into Hossainpur is *pucca*. There are 13 *pucca* roads in the village and these are about 4 k.m. long in total. All the roads, *katcha* or *pucca*, are linked to each other. A narrow semi-*pucca* road surrounds Hossainpur village. This road is connected with Baripara *pucca* road. This road has divided this village into two parts. The western part is called main village (Hossainpur) and the eastern part is called *purbapara*. School, *Madrasha* and most of the houses are located on the western part and only few houses are on the eastern side. Cluster houses are the common feature in this village. There is also a few single houses and these are called '*chara bari*' (separate house). The commons housing materials are bamboo mat and corrugated iron sheet. This village has few *pucca bari* (Brick build house) and semi-*pucca Bari* (brick build wall and tin-sheet roof). There is no *shaner ghar* in this village but some cooking houses are made of straw.

Most of the houses in this village have homestead gardens. Trees, bamboo bush, banana, betel nut, coconut, mango tree etc. grow in homestead gardens. In these gardens, there are lanes through the scattered houses. Every house has *uthan* (Yard) which is used for various purposes. Rich people have more rooms as compared to poor people. Every house of rich group possesses guestroom which are furnished with sofa, showcase, many decoration items, etc. Lower middle class and lower class have two or three rooms for each family. They entertain guests with chair, stool or bed for their sitting arrangements. Every household, rich or poor in Hossainpur, possesses a separate kitchen. Few households have *dheki* (husking pedal) in their kitchens and few have separate husking pedal room. The use of this husking pedal is very limited as people, now-a-days, husk paddy in machine.

The only primary school of Hossainpur is located at the center of the village. There are two Forkania Madrashes and one Nurani Madrasha in this village. This village has two mosques, which are brick-built. These mosques were built by the donations of rich people of this village. There is no bazar in Hossainpur. But there are 7 small grocery shops. For this reason villagers depend on Taltala and Korihati *bazar*. Taltala bazar is half k.m, Korihati bazar is one k.m and Kacharibazar is about one and a half k.m away from this village. The villagers mostly depend on Kacharibazar though it is very far from the village as compared to other bazars. Because this bazar is a big one and situated on Dhaka-Chatkhil road and it is nearer to Chatkhil Upozilla. Tuesday and Friday are weekly hat days of this bazar. Villagers buy their weekly necessary things in these days. There are few grocery shops, few restaurants, confectionery, medicine shop, blacksmith's shop, laundry, etc. These shops open at morning and close at late night. Meat, fish, vegetables and cock are sold in two weekly huts. The tea stalls and sweetmeat shops are the meeting points of the neighboring villagers where villagers gossip about politics, sports and other matters.

Political persons meet their associates or accomplish everyday at-least for once. Four-tea stalls of Kacharibazar have televisions to attract customers. The rich classes of the village have television in their houses. Middle class and lower class do not have so. So the male villagers belong to middle and poor class comes to these shops to watch television in the evening. They are aware of national and international affairs.

Hossainpur or Kacharibazar ~~brake university information processing~~ shop. But hawker delivers newspaper in Kacharibazar at 10 am. There is a post office at Kacharibazar. The only administrative office of Hossainpur village is in Kacharibazar. It is under Punchgaon Union Parishad office. When the villagers fail to solve their local disputes they come to the chairman of this office. Moreover, the villagers are involved with many administrative activities at Upozilla level. The U.P. Member or Chairman helps them in this regard.

All the houses are located at the middle area of the village. There are three mosques at three different portion of the village. There is a *palli unnayan* club in the village. Children of this village go to primary school which is located at the Northeast side. Children also go to the Punch Gaon Govt. High School which is located at the bank of Halima Dighi. But the girls mostly complete their high school education in Punch Gaon Govt. Girls High School at Kacharibazar. Students of this village also go to Chatkhil Govt. College for higher education. The main dress of the male is Lungy-Ganjy, Lungy-Panjabi or lungy-Shirt. But they also wear trouser-shirt or pajama-panjabi to visits. There are about 125 tubewell and 110 latrines in the village. Out of these latrines, 16% are of brick made, 71% of slab and 13% are Katcha latrines. Seven arsenic contaminated tubewells are identified in the village.

2.2.4 Changes in the Physical Features of Hossainpur:

Electricity came in the village in 1990. At present 90% households have electricity. In the past, (15-20 years ago) most of the roads were *Katcha*. At that time almost all the houses were bamboo made or tin-shed and there were total 9 tubewell in the village. 85% latrines were *Katcha*. At present 35% households have television, VCR, Radio and other electronic house appliances. In this village there were more than 24 learned and influential native persons. Among them Golam Kibria, who was cabinet secretary, made infrastructural change of this village. He made a canal named Mohendra Khal and developed communication. Professor Fazlul Hossain, the former Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University, built mosque and school in this village.

Before liberation, the infrastructure condition of this village was very poor. There was no road at all. It is to inform that after liberation, Dhaka to Ramgonj high way was built. There was no school in the village (except two Madrasha). Villagers used pond water for bathing and cooking. There were only 9 tubes well in the village. There were a few ponds in the village and had no canal. After digging more ponds and a canal during the period of 1985, IRRI paddy cultivation started in the village. Most of the lands in the village were used for cultivation. Agricultural lands were transferred to *whita bari* including garden, pond, house, etc. for increasing population.

The tendency of overseas migration has been increasing among the inhabitants of Hossainpur. They mainly migrate to the middle-east countries and sends huge remittances. They are expending a portion of that money to build pucca or semi-pucca houses, ponds, or purchasing household's necessary materials such as furniture, television, freeze, etc. Most of the infrastructural developments of the village have been occurring over the last 15-20 years. The main reasons for all these changes are the economic development of the villagers through the non-farm job opportunity in home and abroad, GOs and NGOs intervention, etc. During the decade of 1980s, Chatkhil Upozilla was declared to be under the *pourosova*. Later different GOs office, Upozilla Parishod office, NGOs activities, Hospital, market or hat bazar, etc. were established.

2.3 Settlement Pattern of the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

In these villages the ancient class of the landowner was mainly the Hindu *Zamindar* families. Mr. Dev Majumder was the first *Zamindar* of this family. After his death, his two sons Mr. Laxmi Majumdar and Mr. Ram Majumder became the *Zamindar*. During or before the British sovereignty, 100% land was under Laxmi Mandar and Ram Mandar *Zamindar* families. After the Second World War, the British rule ended in 1947 and India and Pakistan were created on the basis of Hindu and Muslim majority. So after the partition of India in 1947 and the abolition of *Zamindary* law in 1950, the condition became worse of this *Zamindar* family.

Laxmi Majumdar and Ram Majumdar went to Calcutta by selling their property at a very low price. As a result the other Hindus of the locality started to migrate to the India. Several Muslim families bought their property. But several Hindu families were still settled permanently in Baripara. Because they were not able to be settled in India during this period. Their descendants are the present Hindus of this village. Most of the villagers in Baripara were Hindu. But all the villagers in Hossainpur were Muslim.

2.3.1 Settlement Pattern of the Village Baripara

The village Baripara is recorded as a separate village from the year 1922. Three Hindu and Two Muslim families settled in this village that came from nearest Upozilla named 'Begumgonj' between the periods of 1810-1825. These five families were Pal family, Baishaw family, Singha family, Muslim Mir and Molla family. Another 13 Hindu families settled in this village that came from two Upozilla Begumgonj and Chatkhil between the periods of 1855-1927.

2.3.2 Background of the Settlement Pattern of Baripara

After the partition of 1947, most of the Hindu families living in the village left the country. They sold their land to Muslim families who were living in this village and neighboring villages. At that time about 80% Hindu families sold their land. 15% Hindu families could not sell their land but left the country and only one family was able to exchange land. But several Hindu families were settled permanently in the village. These families were Sadir Mandar family, Patoari Hindu family, Tofadar family, Pal family, Mistiri family and Sudir Mandar family. Their descendants are the present Hindus of this village. The following table-1 shows the Hindu and Muslim family composition in Baripara before the partition of 1947.

Table-1: Settlement Pattern in Baripara before the partition of 1947

Religion	Name of the Bari(Gusti)	Number of Household
a) Hindu family	Laxmichandra Hindu Bari	3
	Ram Chandraw Majumdar Bari	4
	Noa Hindu Bari	2
	Josadar Kumar Dey	6
	Raj Chandra Sorod Dey	5
	Suryo Chandra Mistiri Bari	2
	Tofadar Hindu Bari	15
	Pal Chandra Bari	7
	Proshanto Majumdar	14
	Gosh Bari	3
	Moktar Bari	5
	Patoari Hindu Bari	1
	Sudir Mandar Hindu Bari	1
	Ambika charan Bari	5
	Sodor Pal Tagore	10
	Hindu Mistiri Bari	2
	Jodob Pal Bari	17
Total		102
b) Muslin Family	Molla Bari	10
	Mir Bari	5
Total		15
Total		117

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

From the table-1 it can be said that most of the villagers of Baripara were Hindus and few were Muslims before the partition of 1947. During those period 17 Hindu families (total households were 102 in number) and 2 Muslim families (total households were 15 in number) were living in this village.

There was a remarkable change in settlement pattern occurred after the partition in 1947. Between the periods of 1947-'60 there were about 16 Muslim households who bought Hindus land and started to live in this village. At that time the total Muslim households and Hindu households were 31 and 13 and population were 165 and 70 respectively. So Muslims were majority in number. Between the periods of 1960-'70 another seven Hindu households went to India. They also sold their land to three Muslim households. Those Muslim families came from other villages. During that period of time total households were 51 and population was 310 respectively. It is remarkable that after liberation few Muslim households became powerful. They migrated here from neighboring villages and captured Hindus property. Between the periods of 1970-'92, about 45 Muslim households migrated in this village who came from other villages. Several Hindu households also migrated to India then.

2.3.3 Current Settlement Condition of Baripara

At present there are 29 lineages living in this village and among them 24 belong to Muslim and only 5 belong to Hindus. Within these lineages Mia, Chowdhury, Molla, Patoary, Mir, Hindu Tofadar, Hindu Pal and Majumdar lineages have traditional lineage title and belong to high status. The rest of the lineages titles are not traditional. Their lineage titles were created by their family head. There are 324 households living in this village and the total population is 2,000. In Baripara the household is a residential and domestic unit composed of one or more persons living under the same roof and eating food cooked in a single kitchen. There are 307 Hindus and 1693 Muslims living in the village.

The following table-2 shows present lineage based settlement pattern in Baripara.

Table-2: Present Settlement Condition in Baripara.

Sl. No	Name of the Lineage	Location of Living in the Village	Number of Bari	Number of Household	Number of Household Living in Town	Time of Coming
1.	Mail Bari	South-east	1	8	N/A	1995
2.	Latu Mia Bari	South-east	1	6	2	1950
3.	Dighi Bari	South-east	4	13	N/A	1958
4.	Razzaque Bari	South-east	1	5	2	1975
5.	Chowdhury Bari	South-east	1	2	N/A	1963
6.	Maji Bari	North-east	2	6	3	1960
7.	Uttar Mandar Bari	South-east	3	8	2	1978
8.	Thikadar Bari	South-east	2	13	N/A	1982
9.	Molla Bari	North-west	5	32	3	1885
10.	Meer Bari	North-west	3	19	1	1865
11.	Helal Hozor Bari	South-east	2	3	2	1960
12.	Kamal Member Bari	South-east	2	5	N/A	1981
13.	Patoari Hindu Bari	North-east	2	12	1	1979
14.	Patoari Muslim Bari	North-east	4	19	2	1973
15.	Tofadar Hindu Bari	North-west	1	3	N/A	1910
16.	Monnan Doctor Bari	North-west	2	4	N/A	1978
17.	Nadar Bari	North-west	4	25	2	1987
18.	Tofadar Muslim Bari	North-west	3	12	2	1980
19.	Muslim Tagore Bari	North-west	3	8	N/A	1985
20.	Hindu Pal Bari	South-west	2	11	N/A	1991
21.	Bepari Bari	South-west	3	11	2	1990
22.	Sadu Maolana Bari	South-west	2	12	1	1978
23.	Jalal Ahmed Bari	South-west	3	11	2	1972
24.	Hindu Mistiri Bari	North-east	3	7	3	1905
25.	Sudir Mandar Hindu Bari	North-east	1	4	N/A	1890
26.	Minto Chowdhury Bari	Middle Side	2	25	1	1883
27.	Norol Bari	Middle	2	18	2	1870
28.	Khushi Bari	Middle	3	18	2	1865
29.	Goni Master Bari	Middle	1	4	N/A	1872
	Total		67	324	34	

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

It is seen from this table-2 that at present there are 67 Baris and 29 different lineages in this village. There are 32 clusters in this village where those 67 Baris are situated. In each of the cluster there is one or two Baris of different lineage. There are four clusters where five Hindu lineages are situated. Five Hindu Baris are located separately but just adjacent to Muslim families. There are 34 households from 18 different lineages who have been permanently living in the town. In the study (household survey census) they are not counted. Only 9 lineages came in this village before liberation and 20 lineages came after the liberation of Bangladesh.

2.3.4 Settlement Pattern of the Village Hossainpur

During the early period of British rule, this village was under 'Joy Nogor' *khazna*. At that time this village was *khas* land owned by Govt. During that period most of the lands in this village were useless. The Hindu people were living in Baripara, Satrapara, Ulopara and other neighboring villages. They were cultivating few lands in this village. At that time there were several Hindu populated villages out side of this village. A very few Hindu households came to live here but they did not stay long time.

2.3.5 Background of the Settlement Pattern in Hossainpur

At first 3 Muslim households, who were the ancestor of Bepari lineages, came to this village permanently from Begumgonj Upozilla. Later Pongit lineage came from the same Upozilla during 1830s. Then Molla lineage came from outside the Union. So the ancient lineages of this village are Bepari, Molla and Pongit. Between the periods of 1863-1903 other two lineages namely Haji and Chowdhury settled in this village. The village Hossainpur was recorded as a separate village in the year of 1922. The other surrounding villages were mostly Hindu population and dominated. Few Muslim settled here permanently and gave this village the name Hossainpur by the naming of 'Emam Hossain' who was the descended of Mohammodian. Between the periods of 1905-1935 three lineages namely *kamar*, *kumar* and *jaolla* settled here but after the partition they migrated to other village where the same lineage was seen.

At the end of the British rule, *saial gosthi* and *tair gosthi* had settled in this village. After the liberation Kalu Sheikh Lineage settled here who came from the village Baripara. Over the last one hundred years or more several lineages have also been migrated from this village to the other villages. This village was always Muslim dominated and no Hindus ever permanently settled in this village.

After the partition of 1947, most of the Hindu lineages living in the village Baripara, Ulopara, Satrapara and other surrounding villages went away to India selling their land to Muslim families. Several households of Chowdhury, Bepari, and Molla lineage and other Muslims bought their property in this village. On the other hand several Muslims of this village migrated to other villages through buying Hindus property. Thus after the abolition of the *Zamindary* system the land cultivator became the owner of the land.

After the liberation period about 99% land was under private ownership. Between the periods of 1947-1960, 19 Muslim households of this village migrated to the other villages through buying the Hindus land and 5 households migrated to the cities and towns permanently. It is already mentioned that this village was always settled by Muslims. At that time total households of this village were 77 and its total population was 468. The following table-3 shows the lineage based household composition in the village Hossainpur before the partition of 1947.

Table-3: Lineage based Household Composition in Hossainpur before the partition of 1947.

Lineage/Sub lineage	Number of Household	Location of Settlement in the Village			
		North-East	North-West	South-east	South-West
1. Bepari lineage:					
i) Abbas Ali	5	North-East			
ii) Uakub Ali	3			South-east	
iii) Yasin Bepari	4	North-East		North-East	
iv) Meher Ali	6				
v) Aslam Beperi	0	North-East			
2. Haji lineage:					
i) Jobbar Ali	2			South-east	
ii) SamsulHaque	1			South-east	
iii) Hojo Haji	0	North-East			
iv) Quraesh Bari	2	North-East			
3. Molla lineage:					
i) Diamoddi	1				South-West
ii) Abid	3			South-east	
iii) Yonus	4			South-east	
4. Pondit lineage:					
i) Yakub	8		North-West		South-West
ii) Erad Ali	1		North-West		
iii) Cherag Ali	4		North-West		
5. Saial lineage:					
i) Abdur Rahaman Saial	6	North-East			
6. Chowdhury lineage:					
i) Boro Chowdhury	9				South-West
7. Taier lineage	4	North-East			South-West
8. Kamar lineage	6	North-East			
9. kumar lineage	4	North-East			
10. Jaolla lineage	3	North-East			
Total	77				

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table-3 demonstrates that there were 10 lineages, 21 Baris and total 77 households in Hossainpur before the partition of 1947. Each of the Bari was a cluster in this village. During that time Chowdhury, Bepari and pondit lineages were large and their descended were living around the village.

There were about 13 households of *kamar*, *kumar* and *jaolla* lineage living in the village. They migrated to other village through buying Hindus land. Within these lineages few were Muslims. Bepari lineage has descended from one main ancestor. Later this lineage divided into five sub-lineages. The ancestor of the Bepari lineage was a crop businessman. Haji lineage has descended from different ancestors. Molla lineage has descended from one ancestor. They were religious pious men. Pondit lineage was descended from four separate ancestors. The ancestors of Pondit lineage were teachers of primary school or Madrasha and that is why they were called as pondit. Their academic qualification was below S.S.C. Saial, Chowdhury, Taier and Kalu Sheikh lineage were descended from one ancestor each. The ancestor of Saial lineage lived by house making. However, the ancestor of Chowdhury lineage lived by service and agriculture. Between the periods of 1961-'70, 4 households migrated to other villages by buying Hindus property and 3 households migrated to the cities and towns permanently. During this period only one household migrated into this village. The total households were 81 and population was 496 approximately. It is remarkable that two powerful Muslim households migrated to the village Baripara through capturing Hindus property.

Between the periods of 1965-1980 about 34 persons became higher educated in this village. Among them, some are Doctor, Engineer, Barrister, Advocate, and Professor. Few of them became high officials in the country. Golam Kibria, who was cabinet secretary, provided job to about 27 people of the village. Mr. Tofael Ahmed was the secretary of Tariff Commission who managed job for the people in this village. Professor Fazlul Hossain, the former Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University also managed job for the people who were living in this village. These high officials provided job for 50 people in the village in both Government and Non-government organizations such as TNT, Railway, Porjoton Corporation, different Industries etc.

After the liberation permanent and temporary migration in the cities and towns was increased due to plenty of opportunity in non-farm sector. Between the periods of 1985-2003, villagers were engaged in overseas migration. As a result about 43 households permanently migrated in the cities and towns. 5 households migrated in the abroad such as USA, Canada and Italy.

A lot of people migrated temporarily in the home and abroad also. Households from the different lineage have migrated permanently to Dhaka and Chittagong cities for creating better opportunities. They are educated and serving in Govt and non-Govt. organization. Few of them are businessmen. They have been living with their families there. They have cultivable or homestead land or ghar in the village. They usually come during religious festivals. Most of them have economic relationship with their kin who are still living in the village.

2.3.6 Current Settlement Pattern of the Village Hossainpur

The households, in Hossainpur, are a residential and domestic unit comprised of one or more persons living under the same roof. There are 158 households (families) in the village. The following table-4 shows household composition of different lineages and their settlement in Hossainpur.

Table-4: At Present Household Composition of Different Lineages and their Settlement in Hossainpur

Lineage and Sub-lineage	Number of Household	Location of Settlement in the Village			
		North-East	NorthWest	Sout East	South-West
1. Bepari lineage:					
i) Abbas Ali	11			South-east	
ii) Uakub Ali	8			South-east	
iii) Yasin Bepari	4	North-East			
iv) Meher Ali	24	North-East		South-east	
v) Aslam Beperi	3	North-East			
2. Haji lineage;					
i) Jobbar Ali	4			South-east	
ii) Samsul Haque	4			South-east	
iii) Hojo Haji	5	North-East			
iv) Quraesh Bari	3	North-East			
3. Molla lineage:					
i) Diamoddi	2	North-East			
ii) Abid	8			South-east	
iii) Yonus	17			South-east	
4. Pondit lineage:					
i) Yakub	18		North-West		
ii) Erad Ali	4		North-West		
iii) Chargé Ali	11		North-West		
5. Saial lineage:					
i) Abdur Rahaman Saial	11				South-West
6. Chowdhury lineage:					
i) Boro Chowdhury	6				South-West
7. Taier lineage:	7	North-East			South-West
8. Kalu Sheikg lineage:	8				South-West
Total	158				

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table-4 shows that at present there are 8 lineages, 19 Baris and total 158 households in Hossainpur. Each of the *Baris* is a separate cluster. In the village *bepari bari*, *haji bari*, *molla bari*, and *pondit bari* are large lineages.

Baripara lineage is large and they are mostly living in the villages scatterly. Within these lineages only Molla and Chowdhury lineages have traditional lineage title and belong to high status. The rest of the lineage titles are not traditional. Their lineage titles have created by the naming of their ancestor.

At present there are 158 households living in this village and the total population is 928. Some of them are involved in service in many Govt. and non-Government offices or engaged in overseas migration. In fact the permanent settlement act of 1973 made them landowner. They were given the ownership of the lands because the government could easily get the taxes timely, properly and certainly.

2.4 Demographic Feature of the Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

2.4.1 Age, Sex and Work

In Baripara and Hosainpur division of labor is based on age, sex and wealth. The age of the working labor force is between the ages of 16 to 30. With little exception men and women have separate work domains. Men in the village usually work in the field, involve in businesses and services. Few of them pull rickshaws and vans. Women usually cook food and rear children. A man's job is to cultivate, prepare and weed the crops. Women of poor families often participate in agricultural activities with men if the land is close to the homestead. The following table-5 shows the age and sex of the villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-5: Age and Sex of the Villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur

Range of Age	Baripara				Hossainpur			
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Below 15 years	385	365	750	37.5%	165	159	324	34.90
16-30 years	339	171	610	30.5%	145	132	277	29.86
31-50 years	237	230	467	23.35%	120	95	215	23.16
50 and Above	91	82	173	08.65%	63	49	112	12.06
Total	1052	948	2000	100%	493	435	928	100

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

It is seen from this table-5 that the main working forces of Baripara are 30.5% and 23.35% and in Hossainpur are 29.86% and 23.16% respectively. They are trying to change their present position in order to get better economic position.

2.4.2 Marital Status

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Among the villagers about 41% in Baripara and 43% in Hossainpur are married. Very few of them are widow and divorcee. In the past, the tendency of polygamous marriage and divorce were high. Few big farmers practiced polygamy. At present polygamous marriage is decreasing due to decrease of dependency on agriculture, modernization; increase of literacy rate, women empowerment, etc. The following table-6 shows the marital status of the villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-6: Marital Status of the Villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur

Marital Status	Baripara				Hossainpur			
	Male	Female	Total	Percentage	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Under age for marriage (below 18 years)	398	378	776	38.8	191	175	366	39.43
Married	435	367	802	40.1	205	198	403	43.42
Unmarried	201	152	353	17.65	82	29	111	11.96
Widow	11	42	53	2.65	0	6	6	0.64
Divorce	7	9	16	0.8	15	27	42	4.52
Total	1052	948	2000	100%	493	435	928	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-6 shows that the number of widow is more because husband and wife age gap was 8-17 years. So, husband die early than his wife. At present husband and wife age gap is 5-8 years. Early marriage is decreasing day by day due to education, awareness of bad effect of immature marriage, etc.

2.4.3 Male and Female Headed Household

There are about 11% households in Baripara and 6% households in Hossainpur that are maintained by the female. The following table-7 shows the male and female headed Households of Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-7: Male and Female Headed Household of Baripara and Hossainpur

Types of Household	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	At present Number of H.H	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	At present	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
Male headed household	289	89%	98%	146	94%	99%
Female headed household	35	11%	2%	12	6%	1%
Total	324	100%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur:

This table-7 shows that the percentages of female headed households are increasing day by day. It is because of the increasing of job opportunity for the male in both home and abroad.

2.4.4 Literacy and Education

Dhaka University Institutional Repository

In the past women literacy rate was less than today. It was because of *porda* dominant, underaged marriage, lack of educational facilities and also the negative attitude for the women education. At present women educational facilities have increased. There are new girls' school, Girls' College and girls' *madrashas* built near this village over the last 20 years. Govt. has taken a stipend program for women education. Among the boys some goes to the Madrasa. The only girls' school of Punchgaon Union is located near the village in which the girls get their high school education easily. There is a girls' college near the village also. The only Govt. College of Chatkhil Upozilla is located in the western side of Baripara. At present the percentage of literacy rate in both Baripara and Hossainpur is higher than the past. Only 11.4% in Baripara and 2.1% in Hossainpur are illiterate. But in the past it was about 20% and 24%. The change in education has occurred due to the establishment of school and college. The following table-8 shows the educational status of the whole population in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-8: The Educational Status of the Whole Population in Baripara and Hossainpur

Level of Education	Baripara					Hossainpur				
	Male	Female	Total (M+F)	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) %	Male	Female	Total	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) %
Under age for Education	108	114	222	11.1%	10%	62	53	115	12.4	10
Illiterate	130	98	228	11.4%	20 %	9	11	20	2.1	24
Primary	426	346	772	38.6%	43 %	147	189	336	36.2	31
Secondary	255	280	535	26.75%	25 %	229	174	403	43.5	29
Higher Secondary	85	65	150	7.5%	2 %	31	7	38	4	2
Graduatın and above	48	45	93	4.65%	1 %	15	1	16	1	4
Total	1052	948	2000	100%	100%	493	435	928	10%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

This table-8 demonstrates that in Baripara and Hossainpur, 38.6 % and 36.2 % villagers have got primary education, 26.75% and 43.5% have got secondary education and 4.65% and 1% have got higher education and it helps the villagers to adopt service as primary occupation. In the past school and collage facilities were inadequate. Children were mostly engaged in agriculture and also in other activities and that is why percentage of illiterate people was more than today. The percentages of higher education are 4.65% and 1% that were 1% and 4% in the past.

2.4.5 Family Composition *Dhaka University Institutional Repository*

The nuclear family can be thought as an independent unit. Usually husband is the head of these families. Nuclear families consist of husband, wife and their children. The following table-9(a) shows the types of family in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-9(a) Types of Family in Baripara and Hossainpur

Types of Family	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Number of Household	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	Number of Household	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
Extended	4	01.24%	3%	7	2%	5
Joint	93	28.70%	42%	51	35%	50
Nuclear	227	70.06%	55%	100	63%	45
Total	324	100.00%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-9(a) shows that the nuclear family is the most common social unit in Baripara and Hossainpur where 70.06% and 63% households are nuclear respectively. Joint families are breaking and turning into nuclear families. In the past, joint family was more than today. Most of the villagers were engaged in agricultural works. So in a family more members needed to work collectively in agriculture. The reasons for the breaking of joint family and increasing of nuclear family are demographic or land segment among descendents, unequal earning of the family members, increasing of sources of income from non-farm activities such as service, business, etc. The following table-9(b) shows the number of family members in Baripara and Hossainpur

Table-9(b) Number of Family Members in Baripara and Hossainpur

Number of Family Member	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Total Number of Household	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	Total Number of Household	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
1--2	10	3.08	2%	6	4%	3%
3--5	135	41.66	31%	75	47%	31%
6--9	151	46.60	54%	64	40%	54%
9+	28	8.64	13%	13	9%	12%
Total	324	100%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-9(b) shows that households containing 3-5 members are 41.66% and 47% respectively. Households containing 6-9 members are 46.60% and 40%. In Baripara and Hossainpur the average household size is about 6.7 and 6 respectively.

The following table-10 shows the religious composition of Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-10: Religious Composition of Baripara and Hossainpur

Religious Composition	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Number of Household	Percentage of the total Population	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage of the total Population %	Number of Household	Percentage of the total Population	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage of the total Population %
Muslims	286	84.65%	81%	158	100%	126 households (100%)
Hindus	38	15.35%	19%	N/a	N/a	N/a
Total	324	100%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-10 depicts that there are 324 households living in Baripara. Among them 286 households are Muslims and only 38 households are Hindus. The percentage of Hindu people in Baripara is gradually decreasing. There are 158 households living in Hossainpur and all the inhabitants are Muslims. Migration and growth of population are the reasons for demographic change. Permanent migration happened before liberation of 1971. But during the last 15 years, 34 households and 41 households from Baripara and Hossainpur were migrated permanently to the cities and towns. Several households were migrated to abroad.

Chapter-III

Changes in the Social Organization in Baripara and Hossainpur

- 3.1 Changes in Family Structure
 - 3.1.1 The Domestic Unit
 - 3.1.2 Bari and Cluster
 - 3.1.3 Types of Family
 - 3.1.4 Lineage (*Gusti*)
 - 3.1.5 Inter Family Relations
 - 3.1.6 Status of Women in the Family
- 3.2 Changes in Marriage
- 3.3 Changes in Kinship
- 3.4 Changes in Samaj Grouping
- 3.5 Changes in Social Stratification

Changes in the Social Organization in Baripara and Hossainpur

3.1 Changes in Family Structure

3.1.1 The Domestic Unit

Household (*khana*) is the small unit of the agrarian community in rural Bangladesh. The members of a *khana* take (eat) food from the same *chula* (hearth). The members of households may be the same family members or may have blood relations. Household is also called *Chula* which means hearth group and *khana* is used as eating group. In the villages of Baripara and Hossainpur the households may consist of elementary families living with other family members or several elementary families living together in the household. Families in rural areas live in their own houses that are called *ghar* by the villagers. So the *ghar* itself is the unit of house in the villages. Generally the members of one *ghar* eat together. Another separate domestic unit is *bari*. Generally some households construct a *bari*. A *bari* is a social unit where kins are living together. In Baripara and Hossainpur, *bari* is designated by the name of the lineage. Here lineage means few households or a group of family members who are agnatically related. These lineages do not include women who come in as bride and those who go out as bride.

3.1.2 Bari and Cluster

Generally some *ghars* or households construct a Bari. Again only one household may be a Bari in Baripara and Hossainpur. The villagers live in their own houses and they called it *ghar*. So the word *ghar* means housing unit. There are 324 *khana*s into 67 Bari in the 27 clusters at Baripara and there are 158 households into 25 Bari in 23 clusters in Hossainpur. Every *bari* has courtyard or *uthan* in its midst where the domestic activities are executed. The clusters are called by ancestor's title or by known male person of the cluster or by the occupation of the head of a household in a cluster house such as-Mohammadullah Master bari, chowdhury bari, Boro Bari, Abbas Ali Bepari Bari, Korar Bari, Sona Hazi's Bari, Abu Mabter's bari, Boro Mullah bari, Aslam Patoyari bari, Yarad Ali Pongit bari, Islam bari, Madhu Patoyari bari, Habibullah Member bari, Golzar Ahmed Kalu shekhe bari, Mia bari, Rahim Gaji Bari, Muslim member's bari, Molla Bari etc.

In the villages, father or grand father, or elder brother is considered as household head. Household members address them as '*murubbi*'. This *murubbi* of a household plays an important role in every internal and external matter and he takes all types of decision regarding educational, social, economical and other matter. In economic activities, this household head fixes the time and nature of agricultural work. He divides the duties and responsibilities of any work among the male-female members of the *khana*. He takes the decisions of borrowing or lending loan, sharecropping and mortgaging land, appointment of day-labor, etc. In local language, *badla* is used for day-labor. But in few households where adult male serving in abroad, the wife or mother is considered as *murubbi* and take decision for the family. Division of labor concerning sex is very clear. Men work in the agricultural land but female members of households hardly participate in agricultural activities in land. Few of them boil and dry paddy. Sometimes they husk paddy with their husking pedal. They also rear livestock and look after their children and do many other household works. Generally, the old mother or the wife of the eldest son does this. In exception when the household head becomes absent or unable to take decisions due to his illness or weariness of old ages, the female head takes decisions instead of household head.

Women also earn secretly by selling eggs, poultry, fruit, and vegetable and keep it in their purse. Again the women can not enjoy the rights as men. They remain subordinate to the male members. They can not do whatever they wish. But in few cases one or two women are the decision-makers of their families. Particularly in the cases of husbands live in abroad.

3.1.3 Types of Family

There are 324 and 158 households (*khana* or *ghar*) in Baripara and Hossainpur respectively. Among these households, 227 and 100 households are nuclear families where husbands, wives and their children are living together. A nuclear family can be thought as an independent unit. There are 93 joint families and 4 extended families in Baripara and 51 joint families and 7 extended families in Hossainpur. Joint family consist of father, mother, sister, brother and their wives and children and extended family consists of father, mother, sister, brother, their wives, children and close kin. The average household size is about 6.

The number of the *joutho poribar* is decreasing day by day. Usually, at present, the joint family lasts till the father's death. The members of the joint family have joint right to the property. There are 94 joint families in Baripara. They earn from agricultural activities, service and business. But the most important matter is that the incomes of the members are deposited to the head of the joint family. Father or the eldest brother maintains this duty. He supervises every things of the family and looks after the property. The unequal income of different brothers causes the dividation of the joint families. The person of major income wants to enjoy his income along with his children. The up growing tendency of staying lonely also increases the nuclear families in the village. The modern education and its effects provoked this tendency and as a result one can think of himself as self-reliant and the joint family structure is breaking down.

There are 70.06% nuclear families, 28.70% joint families and 1.24% extended families in Baripara. In Hossainpur, there are 63% nuclear familieies, 35% joint families and 2% extended families. These figures show that the families in the villages are in the process of change because during the period of 1970s more than 80% families were joint family. The unequal income of different brothers mainly caused the dividation of the joint families. Besides the lack of feelings for others is also the reason for dividation of a joint family. The up growing tendency of staying lonely also increased the nuclear families in the village. The modern education and its effects enriched this tendency and as a result one can think of himself self-reliant and as a result the joint structure is broken down. Inter and intra lineage marriages occurred in this village. In the past, divorce rate was more because of poverty. This village is highly linked with wider society, city and also with abroad.

3.1.4 Lineage (*Gusti*)

There are few renowned lineages in Baripara and Hossainpur. These are Chowdhury lineage, Pondit lineage, Meher Ali lineage, Mir lineage, Mollas lineage and Bepari lineage. However, villagers respect these renowned lineages. Every lineage has one common ancestor. The villagers can seldom remember their great grand fathers. There are 29 lineages living in Baripara and 8 lineages living in Hossainpur. Most of these lineages have settled in this village from other villages. Every *khana* belongs to an agnatic lineage. *Gushti* is a group of households or families and members of these families have agnatic relations. Chowdhury, Mir, Bepari, Molla, Pal, Singha and Pondit are the famous *gushtis* in the villages.

But due to the effect of modern education, communication to the town, overseas migration, service in many government and non-government organization and interrelation with various people the *gushti* designation does not influence on the life style of the present people of the villages. Every *gushti* has a common ancestor. All the inhabitants of Hossainpur are Muslims. But in Baripara few Hindus are living side by side. During British and Pre-British rule, the Hindus were inhabited in most of the villages under Punch Gaon Union. But Hossainpur had Muslim populations even in those days. For this reason the neighboring villagers identified this village as Muslim para or Muslim village.

3.1.5 Inter Family Relations

Patriarchy is the common characteristic in Baripara and Hossainpur like other villages in Bangladesh. Husbands or fathers are all in all in the families and their positions are always at supreme. He takes all the important decisions of the family. Wives never call their husbands by name. It is considered as sin if a wife calls her husband by his name. Besides this there has developed a different type of relation between parents and children that can be termed as 'relations of avoidance'. Father does not mix with their children deeply to gain more respect, fear and support. Father exercises full authority over his children. Relation between mother and children are quite friendly. Wife only helps her husband to find various problems and the husband solves the problems. The wife must be fully loyal and dutiful to her husband as well as to the family. In fact the impression of husband to his wife is that she is his asset and it is her duty to take care of him. But this attitude is changing due to female education. Women are becoming educated day by day and in some educated family women are also counted as a part of the decision maker.

The villagers believe that Allah will punish a child if he is disloyal to his parents. The villagers also believe that a disobedient child can never be happy in life and the curse of displeased spirit of parents will fall upon him. The villagers quoted -'The Holly Quran also supports this supremacy of a father. The loyalty to parents is one of the main conditions of loyalty to almighty Allah and the Prophet (SM)'. The relationship of child with its mother is very warm, intimate and close. The villagers consider that the almighty Allah accepts the prayer of a mother at the first. They also believe that the paradise of a child lies under the feet of mother which is also supported by the Holly Quran.

3.1.6 Status of Women in the Family

The women in Baripara and Hossainpur can not enjoy their rights as that of men. But they have some political, economical and social rights as well. They are subordinates to the male members. They can not do whatever they wish. The villagers believe that men are superior to the women. They also believe that Allah creates the women to please their husband and parents. Otherwise the women are remarked as guilty or sinner. The free mixing of men and women is strictly prohibited. Even girls cannot mix freely with their cousins. In the past, the right of women was less than today. A woman rarely could see going out of the house and even talk with the relative outside of the house. They had very few political, economical and social rights. At present several women are involved in taking loan from NGOs and also involved in small trading. It is remarkable that a large number of male is serving in home and abroad and in this case the wife or mother takes most of the decision in their family.

3.2 Changes in Marriage

Marriage is an important event. Wealth is the main criteria for the selection of marriage partners. In the past, 'land' and 'lineage' got priority and 'lineage' was a vital factor where same lineage status was maintained for selecting marriage partners. But at present economic condition, education, overseas migration, business and service in GOs and NGOs are getting priority. Villagers prefer exo-village marriage. They try to make affinal relations with the inhabitants of other villages. It may be within the Union or outside the Union. Earlier the villagers married within the boundary of the village or among relatives. But now it is changed due to modern education, service, business, etc. They do not prefer to marry within the villages, relatives and even their own districts because they are interested to extend the boundary of kinship. The villagers prefer monogamy. But very few villagers practiced polygamy in Baripara only. They had more land and needed more female labor in agriculture. It is expected that a bride's family will give a good amount of ornament to their daughter, will give sofa, bed, dressing table, wardrobe etc to the groom as gift.

A few decades ago, parents did not use to talk with their children for their wedding. They used to arrange marriage by consulting with the famous and powerful persons of the society and the relatives. At present, parents consult with their sons but still now they do not talk with their daughters for selection of marriage partner. Naturally, the marriage is arranged between two equal families in respect of economical and family status. The marriage beyond the village happens on the same bases. But recently education, well job, position in local politics, etc. are considered more preferable than the family status or the economic power of forefather in this matter. In the village many women of high lineage status are married with the males who have less family status or less economic condition. This occurs if the male has a good job in the town or locality or if he is an overseas migrant. The class differentiation is not a prime factor in marriage ceremony as the modern value arrives in place of the olds.

Dowry system still prevails in the villages. In the past, dowry was claimed directly from the father of the bride. But now the rich people do not usually claim it directly. The wealthy father decorates his daughters by meritorious ornaments and presents much household furniture, which is expected by the bride groom's father. It can be referred as the modernization of dowry. But the father of bridegroom in the lower class claims money from the father of the bride as *joutok*. It may be TK-20-40 thousands. Among the Hindus, the father of the brides claim money directly and it may be TK-40-70 thousands. A Hindu daughter usually lose the membership of his father lineage for ever and does not get any share of her parental property where as a Muslim daughter usually get a share of her parental property. Hindu bridegroom wants to recover the lose by getting more money as dowry.

3.3 Changes in Kinship

Kinship plays an important role among the community organizations in Baripara and Hossainpur. Kinship is mainly established through consanguine or affinal relations. Some fictive relations like *dharma bap* (religious father), *dharma maa* (religious mother), etc. are also found. The kinship influences various phenomena such as the marriage, family, economic functions, etc. Besides, the probability of winning the U.P. election depends on the higher range of kinship. The oldest person of the large lineage can achieve an important role in the leading of the society.

Many disputes about property ~~and inheritance usually solved by the kin members.~~ usually solved by the kin members. Many of the rich people help their poor kin members in various ways. Many of the villagers get the opportunity to work in government and non-government organization because of kinship relations. There were three influential persons of this village involved as Govt. high officials and managed jobs for about 47 people in Baripara. Mr. Rafiqullah Chowdhury (C.S.P), the inhabitants of Hossainpur, was the chairman of parjatan Corporation and helped the villagers, especially his kin groups to get jobs.

After partition of 1947 when Hindus migrated to India and Muslims started to live in Baripara the Hindu-Muslim relation was not good. In this village different households came and started to live. This village has been populated by different lineage that came from outside the village. But Hossainpur is few lineage based village. Here kinship relation is more homogenous in nature.

3.4 Changes in Samaj Grouping

In Baripara and Hossainpur the samaj is created on the basis of lineage and *para*. The role of *samaj* (society) is very important like the other villages of Bangladesh. In each of the lineage several respective persons are dealing with their problems. The oldest group of the villagers, member of high status lineage, politically powerful persons, religious leaders (*Imam*), U.P. Chairman or members, school teacher and big businessmen are leading the society. 'Samaj' plays a variety of roles such as marriage, match making, arranging date for marriage, help bride's father in estimating ornaments and furniture, cash amount, etc. Besides these it helps in inviting people arranging function, preparing food menu, different marriage portions etc. They are all very important responsibility for samaj. *Samaj* also lead various religious functions, mosque committee, school committee, etc. It also tries to solve disputes in local level through 'salish'. *Salish* has the power to give punishment to the guilty. People from higher class often take him of court in disputes regarding property. But many times the people of high status families go to the court to solve their dispute about land ownership. But the *samaj* has indirect influences in this matter as well. Because the members of the *samaj* become witness of the cases and they play important role.

In the village Baripara there are two religious groups and they have their own *samaj*. Beside this the dominance of *para* based *samaj* also exists. In a *para* both Hindus and Muslims are living together and they have maintained a *para* based *samaj*. In most of the cases the Hindus and Muslims solve their problems independently. In the past, the villagers were mostly homogenous but at present this nature no longer exists. Hindus have same status within the Hindu *Samaj*. There are few *samaj* leaders who solve different problems among themselves. In the village Baripara, there are five same status based lineages among the Hindus and marriage occurs within them. In the past, among the Hindus most of the marriage occurred in the village because the village had Hindu majority. At present marriage occurs mostly out of the village and they have affinal relations with the inhabitants of several villages. They invite Muslim people during separate occasions and also arrange separate feast for them. Muslims have created *samaj* on the basis of lineage and *para*. In each of the lineages several respective persons are dealing with problems.

3.5: Changes in Social Stratification

In order to understand the social stratification among the Muslim community in Baripara and Hossainpur we need to understand the definition of social stratification. According to A.K.N Karim, 'social stratification is the differentiation of a given population in a hierarchical super-imposed class. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers'' (Karim, 1956). There are some literatures on Muslim social stratification in Bangladesh. Almost all the monographs that cited earlier deal with Hindu and Muslim stratification. E.Gait discussed Hindu and Muslim stratification. Mukharjee collected information on Muslim stratification from West Bengal and East Bengal in 1949. Anwarullah Chowdhury (1978) did most important work first on this topic in Bangladesh. He clearly showed that Bangladesh society is a class based society and in rural area the 'notion of caste' is absent among the Muslim. He discussed various aspects of Muslims stratification in Bangladesh which will help us to understand the social stratification of the village Baripara.

Caste among the Muslims in Bangladesh is less important than in most other areas of this sub-continent. The traditional Muslim distinction between the *ashraf* (high born) and *ajlaf* (low born synonym in Bengal *atraf*) is a common division of status among the followers of the Prophet (sm) and this is not very much significant in Bangladesh today. This is partly because of the extensive adoption of Ashraf titles and symbols in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In rural Bangladesh, there is a nearly universal claim of Sheikh Status, one of the Muhammadian 'tribes'; the other tribes are Sayed, Pathan, and Mughal. Differences of status are expressed through the different patrilineages of names and titles. Some titles have traditionally been regarded as high status titles. Some of these lineage titles function as patronymics. The titles and names of the lineages derive their significance from different sources. If a lineage belongs to the rich landowner, or had a specific position in the revenue collection system or local administration of the pre-independence government administrations, title had given accordingly (e.g. Chowdhury, Khan, Kazi); each name also refers to a certain position in the religious system (*mawlana, molla, imam*). The prestige of the different titles will vary. Mawlana refers to a religious leader with a better training than a *molla* or *imam*. Name to patrilineage can also attach as a consequence of certain characteristics of a family or a specific occupation by the members of the family. In such cases the names do not become patronymics.

The villagers themselves make distinctions of households belonging to *ucha bangsha* (high status lineage), *madhya-bangsha* (middle status lineage), and *nichu-bangsha* (low status lineage). For lineage claiming high status, *izzat* (respectable behavior) together with manners, is important factors based on the ability of a household head to maintain his family with food, well dress, good house and furniture. At past, Baripara was mostly influenced by the Hindu principles of life. Since the inception of Islam into the social life of Baripara, the Islamic principles of life continually influenced the Muslim inhabitants of this village. Islamic principals do not theoretically recognize social stratification. But in practice, social stratification persists even among the Muslims. In Baripara and Hossainpur there are some renowned families.

Along with three types of distinctions of the households the villagers also observe the following hierarchically imposed classes;

- i) Mirs –they claim to be descended from the Prophet;
- ii) Chowdhury –they claim to have come from the Tallukdar;
- iii) Bepari –having as high economic status businessman;
- iv) Girhasta –having own cultivable land or sharecroppers; and
- v) Badla–landless agricultural labor.

Usually we know that the Hindu societies are stratified on the basis of caste such as–*Brahmin, Khatria, Baishawas, Namashudra*, etc. But it is a matter of wonder that, the Hindus of *Baripara* do not know or conscious about their caste. They do not know whether they are *Brahmin, Khattria* or any other caste. There is no high and low status group among them. They feel themselves as the members of the Hindu society of *Baripara* and the entire society is totally exogamous. The *mirs* are considered as the most aristocratic class among the Muslims of *Baripara* because they trace their origin to the dynasty of the Prophet (sm) in Arabia. *Mollas* preferred marriage with some other recognized *sharif* families of other villages rather than the families in the village. The scenario has changed much during the next generation. The *Mollas* lost their economic position due to the lack of modern education and the segmentation of land. As a result they transferred into lower status. Inter marriage between different group are becoming more and more frequent. Even the social stigma that used to be attached to the “*atraf* (lower) class is no longer a very pronounced feature in ordinary social intercourse, except in case of marriage. The reason change brought about by the spread of modern education and the development of political consciousness on the national level. Because of this, extreme consciousness prevailed about stratification a few generations ago. Now it is disappearing. The modern democratic government and the spread of education have provided an opportunity for the *atraf* class to rise. So we may, therefore, say that the village aristocracy has taken the character of social mobility. Formerly, it was a closed system. Today it has assumed, to some extent, a democratic character. It has been possible for change in the economic emancipation. Today aristocracy or status of a village is purchasable in exchange of wealth and position of government or overseas migration.

Already it has been mentioned that the villagers are divided into many status groups by the patronymics of Muslim lineage system. The status groups is based on the basis of lineage, economic position, etc. In rural Bangladesh, the Muslims are broadly divided into high status and low status categories and these categories have different names in different regions. These names are "*bhadro loke*" (high status) and *khandan* (high status) as against "*girahasta*" (low status). The villagers used these terms to identify themselves with a particular status group. The traditional *ucho bangshios* includes all those who have the patronymics of Bepari, Pondit, Mollah, Chowdhury, etc. and these patronymics are used either before or after their names and they are hereditary. If anyone is born in a chowdhury family he will be known as chowdhury even from his childhood. It is simpler in the case of all other groups of the *ucho bangshios*. The *madhya bangsha* include all those who have achieved the title through their economic activities. These are Goni Master, Bepari, and Haji, etc. They have no patronymics.

The *nichu bangsha* includes all those who are engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural activities, landless day labor and have no *bangsha* title. On the other hand the Bepari families not only become landowners but also lease out their land. An *ucho bangshios* is associated with ownership and control over land. Landless day labor usually works as laborer whether they may have a very little land or not. Several of them may have the opportunity to take land from landowners on a sharecropping basis. They also engage in non-farm activities such as rickshaw or van pulling. This occupational grouping belongs to *nichu bangsha*. As we have already pointed out the status of occupational ranking among the villagers of Hossainpur is based on the traditional land ownership and control over land. It has been found that the *ucho bangshios* are mainly land owners and the *nichu bangshas* are landless laborers or share-croppers. This is, of course, a broad and general classification and there is overlapping in both the cases. There are some families among the *ucho bangshios* who do not own any land though previously they were landowners. They have sold out their land in course of time and diversified their economic activities. They are also considered as *ucho bangshios*. Again some of the *madhya* and *nichu bangshio* families also own land. But they are still considered as middle and low status because their ownership of land is of very recent origin. For example, the Chowdhury and the Mollas were landowners belonging to the *ucho bangshios* category in Hossainpur. They are now totally landless having gradually sold out their land for many reasons.

Most of the households of Chowdhury lineage shifted their living to the cities and towns as they are now high educated and involved in service in different GOs and NGOs. On the other hand the *Mollas* are trying to send their young male members abroad, especially in the Middle East. Many of them have at least some education and by a particular style of life they can be distinguished from the *nichu bangsha*. The *madhya bangshios* is not old landowners. They do not have any tradition of land ownership and land control. The *madhya bangshio* landowners are recently purchased land when the *ucho bangshio's* began to sell out their land in the recent past but they could not get high status by purchasing land. At present many of them are more honored than the *ucho bangshio's* because of their high education, high salaried job and flourishing businesses. Therefore, economic class and social status are almost identical, as it is possible to establish certain correlation between the two. The high status Muslims are land owners, service holders and small traders, the middle status Muslims belongs to non-agricultural economic activities. Some of them have little land and engaged in service. The low status Muslims usually engaged in share-cropping and day laboring with few exceptions.

The non-owners of land among the *ucho bangshios* identify themselves with the *ucho bangsha* whereas the owners among the *madhya bangsha* identify themselves with the *madhya bangsha* with the attitude and values. But the *nichu bangshios* have separate identities. They separate themselves in their attitude, behaviors and values, in their possession of wealth and education. They usually wear lungi and *kurttas* (shirt) or lungi and gangee or lungi and Panjabi at their homes. When they go to market or go outside the village, they wear panjama and Panjabi, lungi and Panjabi, lungi and shirt, etc. The boys of *ucho* and *madhaya bangshios* wear trousers and shirt when they go outside the village. The *nichu bangshios* generally wear lungi. The *ucho* and *madhaya bangshio* women wear costly and clean saris whereas the *nichu bangshios* wear cheap, sometimes torn or dirty saris. But there is a great similarity among the female members of all the status groups in one thing. All of them never come out of their houses without *borkha*. They strictly maintain *parda*. They never meet any unknown person or a person who is not very closely related to them. There is no major differences between the *ucho bangsha*, *madhya bangsha* and *nichu bangshios* in respect of food habits.

The only thing is that the *nichu bangshios* can not usually effort food dishes like meet, fish and chicken. They mostly live on rice vegetable and pulses. They take rice three times in a day when they can effort it whereas the *ucho* and *madhaya banghios* take four meals a day. They take tea in the morning and evening. A few *nichu bangshios* take tea when they come to the village market. The *ucho* or *madhaya banghios* are sometimes invited by the *nichu madhaya* on the occasion of wedding, circumcision and such other ceremonies. Special arrangements are made for them on these occasions by the *nichu bangshios*. They are served with special dishes and with special attention. There can not be any marital relations between the *ucho* and *nichu bangshios* or *madhaya* and *nichu bangshios*. But there are some few cases of marital relation between the *ucho* and *madhaya banghios*. *Nichu bangshios* are actually bound to marry among themselves. *Ucho* and *madhaya banghios* do not work in the field. Many *ucho* and *madhaya banghio* families appoint servants from among the *nichu bangshio* for domestic as well as agricultural work. Both males and females of the *nichu bangshio* families do manual labor. The *ucho* and *madhaya banghio* are more or less educated. Their present generations are receiving education in school, college and universities. Even the earlier generations of some of the *ucho bangshio* have received school and college education. On the other hand the older generations of the *nichu bangshios* have no education. A few of them can only write their names. At present the children of the *nichu bangshio* families also read in the primary school of Hossainpur. The *ucho bangshios* are divided into groups. These groups are 1) Pondit, 2) Molla and 3) Chowdhury. All of them have separate identities. The Pondits claim that their ancestors were highly educated, job holder of the British government and also landowners. The *mollas* claim to be descendent of the Prophet (sm). Chowdhury is a title conferred by Mughal rulers on the manager of estates. They were an intermediary group between the *zamindars* and the tillers and their main function was the collection of land revenue. They were historically associated with ownership and control of land. The Chowdhurys of Hossainpur were associated with the ownership of land. The Mollas are considered as the most aristocratic class among the Muslims of Hossainpur. They consider their origin from the dynasty of the Prophet (sm) line in Arabia. This Molla class claims top superiority in the village by birth, genealogy and the type of social performance.

Inter marriage is practiced among all the groups of *ucho banghios* families. There are some cases of marriage with the *madhaya banghios* families. Like the *ucho banghios* and the *madhaya banghios* are also divided into many groups such as master (teacher), *beparies* (Businessman), *hazi* (who have performed Haz) etc. These are not patronymics; it means these are not ascribed rather achieved by their economic and religious activities.

The *beparies* claim to have a long tradition of business. They claim that their ancestors were well-established merchants. The member of Hazi family claims that one of their ancestors was the first who went to Saudi Arabia and performed Haz and became the first Hazi in the village. There are some inter-marriage between *madhyas* and *ucho banghios* in some cases. Like the *ucho* and *madhaya banghios*, the *nichu banghios* are also sub-divided. There are upper *nichu bangshios* and lower *nichu banghios*. The upper *nichu banghios* are mainly tenants or sharecroppers or *bargadar*. They take lease of land from the *ucho* and the *madhaya banghios*. A particular upper-*nichu bangshios* family may be attached to the land of particular *ucho* and *madhaya banghio* family as tenant more than one generation ago. Lower *nichu bangshios* are the *badlas*. They do agricultural work as wage and day laborer which are their main sources of livelihood. The women of *badla* families work in the *ucho banghios* and *nichu bangshios* houses. Some of the *badla* are also employed in *ucho* and *madhaya banghios* families as domestic servants. The rickshaw pullers also belong to this group. Though there is inequality in income of upper and lower *nichu bangshios*, there can be inter-marriages between them. Because they have no other alternatives.

Chapter-IV

Changes in the Economic Condition of the Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

4.1 Changing Trend of the Occupations

4.1.1 Employment Status and Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency

4.1.2 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons

4.1.2.1 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Baripara

4.1.2.2 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Hossainpur

4.1.2.1 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Baripara

4.1.2.2 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Hossainpur

4.1.3 Primary and Subsidiary Occupation of the Household Heads

4.1.4 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency over the Last 50 years

4.1.4.1 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency in Baripara

4.1.4.2 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency in Hossainpur

4.2 Changing Economic Conditions

4.2.1 Family based Earning Member

4.2.2 Family based Monthly Income

4.2.3 Economy of the Villages

4.2.4 Main Cash Crop

4.2.5 Economic Development

4.2.5.1 Economic Development of the Villagers in Baripara

4.2.5.2 Economic Development of the Villagers in Hossainpur

4.2.6 Change of Income from Agricultural and Non-agricultural Sources

4.2.7 Change of Necessary Food Produced in Baripara and Hossainpur

Changes in the Economic Condition of the Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

4.1 Changing Trend of the Occupations

There is a radical change in occupations can be observed among the villagers. They are now adopting diversified livelihood strategies in both home and abroad. New jobs and businesses opportunities make them more dependable on non-farm sector through which they are able to earn more.

4.1.1 Employment Status and Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency

In the villages the percentage of employed persons has increased over the last 15-20 years. On the other hand, need of manual labor has decreased in the agriculture after introducing the IRRI cultivation and the facilities of irrigation. However, increasing the job and business opportunity in home and abroad has made them employed. Almost all the women are engaged in household work. The following table-11 shows employment status of the villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-11: Employment Status of the Villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur (above 18 years)

Types	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Number of People	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	Number of People	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
Under age for Employment (1-18 years)	906	45.3%	42%	392	42.24%	43%
Student (above 18 years)	61	3.05%	5%	26	2.80%	4%
Employed (above 18 years)	468	23.4%	14%	243	26.18%	15%
Unemployed	89	4.45%	11%	31	3.34%	13%
House wife /House hold work	412	20.6%	23%	192	20.68%	20%
Old age (50+)/Rtd.	64	3.2%	5%	49	5.28%	5%
Total	2000	100%	100%	928	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-11 shows that most of the manual laborers get work for 9 months in a year. They mostly remain busy during paddy cultivation. 28 and 23 retired men are now getting pension. They served as Clark in different Govt. organization such as TNT, Railway, etc.

4.1.2 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons

4.1.2.1 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Baripara

In Baripara, at present majority of the employed persons are involved in non-farm activities. Only 23 percent of the employed persons are directly involved in agriculture. During the period of the partition of 1947, the villagers got an opportunity to engage directly in agriculture. The following table-12(a) shows primary occupation of the whole employed persons in Baripara.

Table-12(a): Primary Occupation of the Whole Employed Persons in Baripara

Occupation	Types	Number of the Employed Persons	%	In the past (15-20 years ago)
a) Service	Abroad: Middle east, Italy, Korea, Japan, USA, Canada and Malaysia.	102	21.98%	Few involved
	In the country: Porjoton, NGO, Bank, Mosque, Army, Insurance etc.	76	16.23%	Few involved
	Total Service persons:	178	38.21	
a) Business	Different big or small trading in the town/Thana Sodor.	26		Few involved
	Grocery shop	18		Involved
	Betel-leaf	16		Involved
	Tractor	5		Not involved
	Water selling	4		Rare
	Garments shop	6		Involved
	Shoe shop	4		Not involved
	Fishery	4		Rare
	Poultry	2		Rare
	Glass	3		Not involved
	Road contractor	3		Not involved
	Fruit	2		Not involved
	Tea stall	9		Involved
	Tailor shop	5		Involved
	Crop business	2		Involved
	Money lending	7		Involved
	Wood	1		Involved
	Rice Mill	1		Not involved
Pharmacy	1		Not involved	
Brick field	1		Not involved	
	Total Business persons	120	25.86%	
c) Agriculture	Owner cultivator, Mortgagee and sharecropper	86	18.37%	Involved
d) Wage labor	Agricultural and other non agricultural activities	21	4.48%	Involved
c) Bus, Truck driver		22	4.70%	Not involved
f) Rickshaw and van pullar		10	2.13%	Few involved
g) Carpenter		17	3.63%	Involved
h) Others Handicraft, Kobiraj, LMAF doctor, Rajmistiri, Mechanics		13	2.77%	Rare
Total:		468	100%	

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

This table-12(a) depicts that a huge number of the agriculture dependent villagers have changed their occupation over the last 15-20 years due to overseas migration, increased opportunity of non-farm activities, etc. As a result, at present dependency on farm activities has decreased. In Baripara, there are 468 villagers involved in different occupations. Out of total 468 villagers, 102 villagers are involved in overseas migration, 76 villagers in service in town, 120 villagers in business, 86 villagers in agriculture, 21 villagers in wage labor and 83 villagers in different non-farm activities. They are doing service in GOs, NGOs and private firms such as Porjoton Corporation, Bank, mosque, Army, Insurance Company, shops, etc. Most of the overseas migrants are serving in Katar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Abu-Dhabi, Saudi Arab, Malaysia, Dubai, Arab Emirate etc. Few of them are serving in Italy, USA, Canada, Japan and Korea. Most of the businessmen are involved in small business and few are involved in big business. These businesses are *mudi bebosa*, garments shop, *pan pata*, tea stall, tractor, water selling, crops business, *sudi bebosa*, poultry, tailor shop, etc. The other non-farm activities are rickshaw and van pulling, bus driver, mechanics, rajmistiri, electricians, making house and pond, *kabiraj*, homeo doctor, teachers, *imam* and others.

4.1.2.2 Primary Occupation of the Employed Persons in Hossainpur

In Hossainpur, at present, most of the employed persons are involved in non-farm activities. Only 13.58% of the employed persons are directly involved in agriculture. During the period of the partition of 1947, most of the employed persons were engaged directly in agriculture. Since then agricultural involvement has been decreasing gradually. After liberation, a huge number of the employed persons have been getting job in home and abroad. Again different types of non-farm opportunities were created in the local area. At present dependency on farm activities decreases. In the past, very few were engaged in business such as crops, Jute, betel-nat etc. At present percentage of businessmen increased and they are involve in grocery business, garments, contractor and other different types of big or small business.

Few men are also doing business in abroad. In the past, some villagers were serving in the cities and towns. They were involved in govt. mill-factories and other private sectors as workers. Very few of them had served as officers. At present a larger number of people are serving in abroad as workers. In the past, percentage of wage labor was more. Over the last 15-20 years some wage labors have been serving in home and abroad also. So at present percentage of dependency on agriculture is less than past.

However, most of the service holders in Hossainpur are serving in GOs, NGOs and private firm such as Porjoton Corporation, Bank, Mosque, Army, Insurance Company, and different shops and other different private firms, etc. In the past, few villagers were serving in the Middle East only. But over the last 15-20 years job opportunities were created in other countries. At present most of the foreign service holders are serving in Malaysia, Katar, Kuwait, Abu-Dhabi, Saudi Arab, Dubai, and Arab Emirate and few are serving in USA, Italy, Canada and Japan as well.

In the past, in Hossainpur, the businessmen were mainly engaged in grocery shop, tea stall, money lending, etc. However, business opportunity has also increased in the local area or cities and towns now. At present most of the businessmen are involved in small business and few are involved in big business in the local area or cities and towns. These businesses are grocery shop, garments shop, tea stall, crops business, betel-leaf, money lending, poultry, tailor shop, road contractor, pharmacy, etc. After the intervention of the facilities of irrigation, few farm based business such as selling water, tractor, etc were created. Over the last 15-20 years, non-farm work opportunities have also increased such as rickshaw and van pulling, bus driving, mechanics, rajmistiri, electricians, *kabiraj*, LMAF doctor, teachers, *Imam* and others.

The following table-12(b) shows primary occupation of the whole employed persons in Hossainpur.

Table-12(b): Primary Occupation of the whole Employed Persons in Hossainpur

Occupations	Types	Number of the employed persons	Percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago)%
a) Service	Abroad: Middle- East, Italy, Korea, Japan, USA, Canada and Malaysia.	72	29.62%	4%
	In the country: NGO, Porjoton, school, Bank, Transportation, Mosque, Army, Insurance etc.	43	17.69%	18%
	Total Service persons:	115	47.32	22%
a) Business	Different big or small trading in the City/ Town/ Upozilla Sodor.	14		
	Grocery hop	6		
	Betel-leaf	1		
	Tractor/selling water	7		
	Business in abroad	5		
	Garments shop	1		
	Poultry	3		
	Road contractor	2		
	Fruit	1		
	Tea stall	2		
	Tailor shop	5		
	Crop business	3		
	Money lending	2		
	milk selling	1		
Pharmacy	2			
	Total Business persons	55	22.63%	15%
c) Agriculture	Owner cultivator, Mortgagee and sharecropper.	33	13.58%	38%
d)Wage labor	Agricultural and other non agricultural activities	21	8.64%	23%
e) Bus, Truck driver/Rickshaw and van pullar		8	3.23	1%
h)Others: Kobiraj, LMAF doctor, Rajmistiri, Electric mechanics etc		12	4.93%	1%
Total		243	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table-12(b) shows that in Hossainpur, more than 77% of the total employed persons are involved in non-farm activities such as service and business in the home and abroad. About 23 % are involved in agriculture directly or indirectly. 15-20 years ago, this scenario was totally different. At that time about 60% of the total employed persons in this village were directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture. Most of the service holders of this village only served in railway, TNT and Mosque. But over the last 15-20 years job opportunities have increased in different GOs and NGOs in the country.

4.1.3 Primary and Subsidiary Occupation of the Household Heads

The following table-13(a) shows primary occupation of household heads.

Table-13(a): Primary Occupation of the Household Head in Baripara and Hossainpur

Name of the Occupation	Baripara		Hossainpur	
	Number of the Household Heads	Percentage	Number of the Household Heads	Percentage
Agriculture	82	25.30%	31	19.62
Business	78	23.15%	27	17.08
Serving in Home and Abroad.	105	32.40%	55	58.81
Day Labor Rickshaw /Van Puller	20	5.66%	20	12.65
Other	39	12.03%	25	15.82
Total	324	100%	158	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-13(a) depicts that in Baripara and Hosainpur, 32.40% and 58.81% household head have adopted services as their primary occupation, 25.30% and 19.62% household heads have involveed in agriculture and 23.15% and 17.08 % household heads have involved in business for meeting their basic needs. In the past, the percentage for the involvement in agriculture was more than double. At that time few households were engaged in betel leaf business and the villagers had less opportunity for involvement in non-farm activities. Over the last 15-20 years, the villagers have been getting the opportunity for overseas migration and getting services or engaging in business in the cities and towns. The following table-13(b) shows the subsidiary occupation of the household heads in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-13(b): Subsidiary Occupation of the Household Heads in Baripara and Hossainpur

Sl. No.	Name of the Occupations	Baripara		Hossainpur.	
		Number of the Household Heads	Percentage	Number of the Household Heads	Percentage
a) Have subsidiary occupation	Agriculture	45		8	
	Business	24		13	
	Service	46		0	
	Day labor	19		13	
	Rickshaw/Van puller	2		2	
	Other	13		3	
	Total	149	45.99%	39	24.68
b)Do not have subsidiary occupation		175	54.01%	119	75.32
	Total:	324	100%	158	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-13(a) shows that in Baripara and Hosainpur, 45.99% and 24.68% households have subsidiary occupation and only 45 and 8 household heads have adopted agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. In the past, the percentage of the subsidiary occupation was less than today. Then agriculture was the main occupation and few people were engaged in the works of day-laboring and rickshaw pulling. Over the last 15-20 years job opportunities were created in both home and abroad and that is why the percentage of subsidiary occupation has increased.

4.1.4 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency over the Last 50 years

In different periods of time a change could be observed in occupational dependency in both the villages. We may divide these periods into four such as; i) before the partition of 1947, ii) between the periods of 1947—1971; iii) between the periods of 1971—1988; and iv) recent period (between the periods of 1988—so on). A significant change has taken place in agrarian communities of Baripara and Hossainpur over the last 15-20 years.

4.1.4.1 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency in Baripara

In Baripara, most of the people were Hindus before the partition of 1947. They cultivated betel leaf and also involved in gardening (coconut, betel nut and vegetable) as their secondary occupation. The following table-14(a) shows changing trend of the occupational dependency of the households in Baripara over the last 50 years.

Table-14(a): Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency of the Household in Baripara over the Last 50 Years: (Before 1947, after liberation and at present)

Occupations	Types	Occupational dependency of the households Before 1947 %	Occupational dependency of the households Before Liberation 1947-1971 %	Occupational Dependency of the households After Liberation 1971-1988 %	Occupational Dependency (At present) %
Agriculture	i) crops cultivation	30%	35%	35%	20%
	ii) Betel leaf cultivation	14%	6%	2%	N/A
Wage Labor	i) Agriculture	10%	16%	14%	4%
	ii) Non-agriculture	8%	11%	10%	3%
Business	i) Betel-leaf	20%	8%	2%	Total= 15%
	ii) Coconut and betel-nut	3%	1%	1%	
	ii) Crops, grocery vegetable etc.	2%	5%	5%	
	iv) Garments, Tea stall, Rice Mill, Shoe, Poultry, Tractor, Brickfield etc.	N/A	N/A	1%	
Service	i) In Town/City	3%	5%	8%	13%
	ii) In abroad	N/A	N/A	2%	17%
Driving	i) Bus/Track/Texi	N/A	N/A	1%	4%
	ii) Rickshaw/Van pulling	N/A	N/A	2%	2%
Others	Kabiraj, Carpenter, LMAF, Rajmistiri, Mechanics etc.	1%	1%	2%	5%
Both business and service		1%	2%	3%	4%
Both business and agriculture		5%	3%	4%	5%
Both agriculture and service		3%	7%	8%	9%
Total:		100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

This table-14(a) depicts that in different periods of time a change could be observed in occupational dependency in this village. Before the partition of 1947, 14% households had adopted betel-leaf cultivation as their primary occupation. About 20% households were dependent on betel-leaf business and cultivation. Those households collected betel-leaf from the village and also from other villages. At that time 30% households main occupation was cultivating paddy (Aus and Amon) and Robi crops. About 10% households in Baripara were dependent on agricultural wage labor. So, we can say that most of the households were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture (Paddy, betel-leaf cultivation and wage labor). Very few were serving in the town as labor and other clerical Jobs. At that time, several households were involved in blacksmith, boatmen etc. as their secondary occupation. Then only two Muslim lineages (Molla and Mir) were living this village and their main occupation was agriculture. Several of them were engaged as Imam or Molla in mosque. Very few households were engaged in crops, vegetable, betel nut and coconut business.

In Baripara, between the periods of 1947-1971, most of the Hindu people migrated to India and Muslims households came in this village from other *Unions* of this district. At that time this village became a Muslim dominant village. During this period most of the Muslims were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. Very few Muslims knew how to cultivate betel-leaf. Consequently 6% households adopted betel-leaf cultivation as their primary occupation and other few households were cultivating betel-leaf as their secondary occupation. During this period agricultural wage labor was increased.

Between the periods of 1971-1988, the major occupational dependency changes in Baripara were; i) betel-leaf cultivation was decreasing because Muslim households did not know how to cultivate betel-leaf properly, market condition and over population etc. Some betel-leaf land converted as IRRI land and some converted as homestead land; ii) paddy production was increased due to the intervention of IRRI and the facilities of irrigation. Dependency on manual labor in agricultural production was decreased due to mechanization and modernization of agricultural implements; iii) dependency on agriculture was decreased.

A rapid change has taken place in agrarian communities of Baripara over the last 15-20 years (between the periods of 1988-so on). These are; i) farmers are cultivating IRRI in most of the agricultural land. Though IRRI cultivation is profitable, occupational dependency on agriculture is decreasing due to increasing opportunity in non-farm sector, employment opportunity; ii) villagers, who adopted wage labor as their primary occupation are now involved in rickshaw-van pulling, overseas migration and other non-farm activities. But few villagers are still working as wage labors; iii) percentage of service in home and abroad has increased. Percentage of business has also increased. Several households have settled in the town permanently with their families but few of them have an economic linkage with their kin. There are different sort of business opportunities created through the urbanization. Different GOs and NGOs activities and the policies of Bangladesh govt. gave an opportunity for the diversified livelihood strategy for the upliftment of the villagers. Thus the major changes could be observed over the 15-20 years; iv) recently earning sources from non-farm activities are more than previous. Most of the households in Baripara have one or more earning members who are earning from non-farming activities. Road communication has developed and *hat-bazars* are built near this village and as a result villagers are involving in business and services in home and abroad. So, involvement in both business and service is increasing.

4.1.4.2 Changing Trend of the Occupational Dependency in Hossainpur

In Hossainpur, during the end of British rule, *bepari* lineages were involved in agriculture and business (crops, grocery etc.). During the period of Pakistan, few of them were serving in cities and towns. At present, most of the households of *bepari* lineage are serving in home and abroad and few of them are involved in business and agriculture. Unlikely most of the households of Haji lineage were involved in agriculture and tailor during the end of British rule. During the end of Pakistan period they were mostly involved in agriculture. But at present most of them are serving in abroad. Few of them are involved in agriculture and business also.

But the main occupation of Molla households were agriculture and serving in Mosque and Madrasha during the end of British rule. During the end of Pakistan period, the main occupation of Molla lineage was agriculture. At present they are serving in abroad and involving in agriculture.

The main occupation of Pongit lineage at the end of British rule was agriculture and teaching. During the end of Pakistan period, their main occupations were service and business, but now they are serving in home and abroad. Few of them are involve in agriculture and business.

At the end of British rule main occupation of Saial lineages was agriculture. During Pakistan period main occupation was agriculture and house making. At the end of British rule the main occupation of Chowdhury lineage (Boro Bari) were agriculture and service. During Pakistan period their main occupation was service. Some of them have migrated permanently in the cities and towns. At the end of British rule the main occupation of Taiar lineage was agriculture and house making. During Pakistan period their main occupations were agricultural and service.

At the end of British rule, main occupation of Kalu Sheikh was agriculture. During Pakistan period their main occupations were agriculture and business. Over the last 50 years, 46 households from the above-mentioned lineage have migrated to Dhaka and Chittagong cities for better opportunities. They are educated and few of them are businessmen. They have been living with their families there. They have agricultural land or homestead land in the village. They come to the village on every religious festival. Most of them have economic relations with their kin who are still living in the village. Few households are now living in USA and Canada as well.

The following table-14(b) shows changing trend of the occupational dependency in Hossainpur over the last 50 years.

Table-14(b): Changing Trend of the occupational dependency in Hossainpur over the last 50 years: (Before 1947, after liberation and at present):

Occupation	Types	Year/Period:			
		Occupational Dependency of the household Before 1947 %	Occupational Dependency of the household Before Liberation 1947-1971 %	Occupational Dependency of the household After Liberation 1971-1988 %	At present Occupational Dependency of the household %
Agriculture	i)Crops cultivation	77%	64%	34%	17%
Wage labor	i)Agriculture	3%	14%	7%	5%
	ii)Non-agriculture	1%	6%	13%	4%
Business	ii) Coconut and betel-nut	2%	1%	2%	Total=14%
	ii) Crops, grocery vegetable etc.	2%	3%	5%	
	iv) Garments, Tea stall, Rice Mill, Pharmacy, Road contractor, Poultry, Tractor, and Brickfield etc.	N/A	N/A	4%	
Service	i) In home	5%	5%	18%	13%
	ii) In abroad	N/A	N/A	5%	31%
Driving	Bus/Track Rickshaw/Van pulling	N/A	N/A	1%	4%
Others	Kabiraj, Carpenter, LMAF, Rajmistiri, Mechanics etc.	1%	1%	1%	3%
Both business and service		1%	2%	3%	2%
Both business and agriculture		3%	3%	4%	5%
Both agriculture service		2%	5%	2%	2%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur

This table-14(b) indicates that before the partition of 1947, more than 80% households of Hossainpur were cultivating paddy (Aus and Amon) and *robi soisho*. About 5% households were dependent on business and 6% households were dependent on service in cities and towns. Most of the service holders were serving as labors and other clerical Job. At that time, several households were involved in blacksmith, boatmen, potter, etc. as secondary occupation.

Between the periods of 1947-1971, percentage of wage labor and dependency on service increased. After liberation dependency on agriculture was decreased because of increasing job and business opportunities in non-farm activities. At present about 25% households are depending on agriculture, 44% households are depending on service in home and abroad and about 17% households are depending on business.

In Hossainpur, between the periods of 1971-1988, paddy production was increased due to the intervention of IRRI and facilities of irrigation. But dependency on manual labor in agricultural production was decreased due to mechanization and modernization of agricultural implements.

A rapid change has taken place in agrarian communities over the last 15-20 years (between the periods of 1988-so on). Farmers are cultivating IRRI in most of the agricultural land. Though IRRI cultivation is profitable, occupational dependency on agriculture is decreasing due to increase opportunity in non-farm sector, employment opportunity, etc. Villagers, who adopted wage labor as their primary occupation, are now involved in rickshaw-van pulling, overseas migration and other non-farm activities. Percentages of service in home and abroad have increased. Percentages of business have also increased. Over the last 15-20 years some households have settled to the town permanently with their families but few of them have an economic linkage with their kin in the village. Different sorts of business opportunities have created through the urbanization. Different GOs and NGOs activities and the policies of Bangladesh govt. gave an opportunity for the diversified livelihood strategy for the upliftment of the villagers. Thus the major changes could be observed over the last 15-20 years. During this time road communication was developed and *hat-bazars* were built near this village. As a result villagers were involved in business and services in home and abroad. So involvement in service was increased. Recently earning sources from non-farm activities are more than previous. Most of the households in Hossainpur have one or more earning members who are earning from non-farming activities.

In the past, family earning was mostly from the agriculture and it was the only sources of income to survive. Very few of them could sell the crops in the market. Besides this, most of the villagers suffered from food deficiency for three months in a year or they could not get food for three times in a day. Very few of the villagers had the ability to buy things from the market. But over the last 15-20 years many of the GOs and NGOs have been working for the development of the villagers. After the intervention of IRRI paddy there was a great change in the cultivation of cropping pattern and agricultural production has increased more than in the past. So the villagers have the ability to buy things from the market and they are leading a better life. At present, the villagers do not suffer from food deficiency.

4.2.1 Family based Earning Member

The following table-15(a) shows family based earning members in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-15(a): Family based Earning Member in Baripara and Hossainpur

Earning Members	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Number of Household	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	Number of Household	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
1 person	213	65.74	35%	99	63%	48%
2-3 persons	102	31.48	62%	49	31%	45%
4-5 persons	8	2.46	2.50%	10	6%	4%
5 + persons	1	0.30	0.50%	0	0%	3%
Total:	324	100%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

This table-15(a) shows that in the past, most of the earning members in a family were engaged in agriculture. 2-3 members of a family were involved in agriculture and the percentage was high. At present, 2-3 members of a family (31.48% in Baripara and 31% in Hossainpur) are involved in non-farm activities such as service, business, etc. The tendency of nuclear family is increasing and that is why single member earning families (65.74 in Baripara and 63% in Hossainpur) are increasing now.

4.2.2 Family based Monthly Income

Monthly income of the family is increasing. In the past, more than 80% of the households' monthly income was less than Tk-2,500. At present, monthly income of the households' is more than Tk-2,500. The changes are because of involvement in non-farm activities.

The following table-15(b) shows family based monthly income in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-15(b): Family based Monthly Income in Baripara and Hossainpur

Income Range(TK)	Baripara			Hossainpur		
	Number of household	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage	Number of household	%	In the past (15-20 years ago) Percentage
Below 1500	36	11.11	48%	20	13%	65%
1600--2500	53	16.35	34%	25	16%	24%
2600-4000	83	25.61	6%	21	13%	7%
4100--6000	62	19.13	9%	27	17%	2%
6100—10,000	54	16.66	2%	25	16%	2%
10,000 +	36	11.11	1%	40	25%	0
Total:	324	100%	100%	158	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

It is seen from the table-15(b) that, the inhabitants are divided into six income groups. The first groups are those with monthly income from Tk. 1-1500, and are mostly landless day labors and sharecroppers. The monthly income of marginal farmers and rickshaw pullers is Tk. 1600-2,500. The monthly income of small farmers, carpenters, mechanics, rajmistiri, electricians, wage laborers and small businessmen is Tk. 2600—4000. The monthly income of shop keepers, farmers and service holders etc. is Tk. 4,100—6,000. The monthly income of rich farmers, service holders, businessmen is Tk. 6,100—10,000. Big businessmen and overseas migrants have monthly income of more than TK-10,000. It is mentionable here that members of several households have monthly income of TK-20,000-200,000. They are working in USA, Canada, UK, Italy and Japan. Those members have an economic relation with their families living in these villages.

4.2.3 Economy of the Villages

The villagers were mostly dependent on agriculture. In the past, paddy cultivation was the main economy. But income opportunities from non-farm activities make the villagers less dependent on agriculture. Most of the rich and middle class people and few poor class of people have earnings from non-farm activities. But the small farmers, landless farmers or agricultural day labors are mainly dependent on land. Few landless farmers are now involved in non-farm activities. Paddy is the main agricultural product in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Before the intervention of IRRI during 1980s Aus and Amon paddies were mainly produced. *Robi* crops were produced in the winter season as well. Then the crop production was less than today. At that time there were few indigenous methods of irrigation system. After the intervention of the IRRI, huge water was needed for IRRI cultivation. So the method of irrigation was changed.

At present pump machine is used for irrigation. There is no shallow or deep tubewell in the locality. Some villagers have hand pump personally. The villagers rent hand pump to irrigate the water from Mahendra khal or near by ponds. The pump may cost TK-25-30/hour. IRRI is now cultivated in almost every land.

Generally four kinds of IRRI are grown here such as BR-4, BR-11, China IRRI and Balam IRRI. Almost all the lands are submerged by water during rainy season except some high lands. Then the villagers grow some kind of vegetables such as eggplant, *lau*, *Kumra*, Piper and *Katchu* in the high lands for meeting their daily need. Few households also sell it to the market. Most of the lands are one time cultivable in which IRRI is grown in dry season. Though there are some non-farm income sources, the peasants and the landless mostly depend on agriculture directly or indirectly for their livelihood. Rich and middle class families are able to earn money from various non-agricultural sources.

But the small peasants and the landless have little opportunity to earn from non-agricultural sources. They earn their livelihood from land on sharecropping basis from the rich farmers or working as a day laborer in their fields. But some landless farmers pull rickshaw or do small business for their livelihood. Most of the families cultivate paddy to meet the whole year's food demand. Many families have other sources of income except agriculture. Many people are in job at home and abroad. Many of the inhabitants do service in foreign countries especially in Middle East such as *Saud Arab*, *Kuwait*, and *Arab Emirate*. A few of them are doing service in *USA*, *Japan*. So, they remit money to their near relatives in the village regularly.

4.2.4 Main Cash Crop

The villagers hardly cultivate for commercial purpose. Very few families sell paddy at the market. Most of the families produce paddy for yearly consumption. So it is not the main cash crop of the village. Almost all households have coconut and betel-nut garden. They earn money by selling it. In that sense coconut and nuts can be called as the cash crop. Some peasants cultivate betel leaves commercially in their land.

The prospects of cultivating betel leaf in Baripara are very bright. About 2-3 kg betel-nuts grow in a nut tree all the year round and per kg of it is sold at Tk.200. Again about 100 coconuts grow in every coconut tree and per coconut costs Tk. 6-7. The villagers go to the *haat* carrying some coconuts or nuts in the day of *haat*. They buy their necessary things from the *haat* selling their coconuts or nuts. Paddy is sold at Tk.300 per mound. It is already mentioned that one or more persons in almost every family stay at home and abroad for service or business. So, the cash money can be collected from this source as well.

4.2.5 Economic Development

The economic condition of the people of Baripara and Hossainpur is more or less satisfactory. In the past few family members were engaged in non-farm activities. At present one or more members of almost every khana in the villages are doing jobs in government and non-government organizations or involved in business and overseas migration. As a result, a large amount of money comes through non-farm activities. The income of the villagers is not only increasing through non-farm activities, but also from agricultural production. So the economic condition of the villagers is better in comparison to the past.

4.2.5.1 Economic Development of the Villagers in Baripara

In Baripara, a rapid economic change has occurred in the last two generations. In the past, 'land' was the main means of economy. Most of the parental generations were dependent on agriculture but now they are involved in non-farm activities for better economic condition.

The following table-16(a) shows lineage based economic condition in Baripara within two generations.

Table-16(a): Change in Lineage based Economic Condition in Baripara within two Generations

Name of the Lineage	Parental Occupation (In the past)	Inherited land Condition	Economic Condition	At present Occupation
Mail Bari	Agriculture	Same land Condition	Improved	Driving
Latu Mia Bari	Agriculture and Salt business	Improved	Improved	Business + Service
Dighi Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Improved	Agriculture + Service
Razzaque Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Business + service
Chowdhury Bari	Serving in mosque + Agriculture	Same condition	Improved	Service + Business
Maji Bari	Agriculture	Same	Deteriorated	Service + Agriculture
Uttar Mandar Bari	Agriculture + Business	Same	Improved	Service + agriculture
Thikadar Bari	Agriculture	Same	Same	Service + Agriculture
Molla Bari	Serving in mosque + Agriculture	Same	Improved	Business + Service
Meer Bari	Serving in mosque + Agriculture	Improved	Same	Service
Helal Hozor Bari	Service	Improved	Improved	Service
Kamal Member Bari	Boatman	Improved	Improved	Service + Agriculture
Patoari Hindu Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Deteriorated	Service
Patoari Muslim Bari	Agriculture + Service	Improved	Same	Service
Tofadar Hindu Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Agriculture
Monnan Doctor Bari	Agriculture	Same	Improved	Service + Agriculture
Nadar Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Upgrade	Agriculture + Service
Tofadar Muslim Bari	Agriculture + Business	Improved	Same	Agriculture + Business
Muslim Tagore Bari	Business+ Agriculture	Improved	Same	Business
Hindu Pal Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Business + Agriculture
Bepari Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Improved	Service + Agriculture
Sadu Maolana Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Deteriorated	Agriculture
Jalal Ahmed Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Deteriorated	Agriculture
Hindu Mistiri Bari	Business + Agriculture	Deteriorated	Deteriorated	Business + Agriculture
Sudir Mandar Hindu Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Service
Minto Chowdhury Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Agriculture + Service
Norol Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Deteriorated	Agriculture
Khushi Bari	Agriculture	Improved	Deteriorated	Business
Goni Master Bari	Agriculture	Deteriorated	Improved	Business

Source: Field work in Baripara.

This table-16(a) depicts that, in Baripara out of 29 lineages 18 lineages' parental occupations were agriculture. Few were involved both in agriculture and business and few were involved both in agriculture and service. So, parental occupation was mostly agriculture based.

However, at present only 4 lineages out of 29 lineages are directly depending on agriculture 4 lineages are depending on only business and 7 lineages are only depending on service. Rest of the lineages depends on service, business and agriculture. So we can say that within two generation dependency on non-farm occupation has increased. Again we see that out of 29 lineages there are about 13 lineages have bought more land with their inherited land, 7 lineages have same inherited land as it was before, and 9 lineages have sold their inherited land. If we compare the economic condition of two generations, it can be seen that economic conditions of 17 lineages became better, economic conditions of 7 lineages became worse and that of 5 lineages remained same. It is notable that more opportunities for non-farm activities are the main reasons for economic development of these lineages. Thus land is no more counted as prime factor for their economic development.

4.2.5.2 Economic Development of the Villagers in Hossainpur

The following table-16(b) shows the distribution of households in Hossainpur by their past economic conditions.

Table-16(b): Distribution of Households by their Past Economic Conditions in Hossainpur

Type	Number of household	Percentage
Was better off today	35	22.%
Was worse off today	99	63.%
Was same condition as today	24	15.%
Total	158	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table 16(b) shows that in Hossainpur, the economic condition of 22% households was better in the past. 63% households' economic condition was worse and 15% households' economic condition was the same as today. Thus the economic condition of the villagers is becoming better day by day. The following table-16(c) shows the distribution of households by their inheritance of land.

Table-16(c): Distributions of Households by their Inherited Land in Hossainpur

Type	Number of household	Percentage
Increased	28	18%
Deteriorated	61	38%
Same condition	69	44%
Total	158	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

It is seen from the table-16(c) that, in Hossainpur 18% of the total households bought land and thus they have increased their inherited land. 38% of the total households sold their land and thus they have deteriorated their inherited land. 44% households did not buy or sell land and that is why their inherited land is remaining in same condition. In Hossainpur few lands are now selling and buying. For economic development 'land' is not significant.

4.2.6 Change of Income from Agricultural and Non-agricultural Sources

Income from non-farm sources is increasing day by day. Every household has one or more member who engaged in overseas migration. As a result most of the households are economically rich and their income level is high. The following table-17 shows changing of income from agriculture and non-agricultural sources in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-17: Change of Income from Agriculture and Non-agricultural Sources in Baripara and Hossainpur

Type	Baripara		Hossainpur	
	Presently percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) %	Presently percentage	In the past (15-20 years ago) %
Income from agricultural activities	43%	81%	32%	71%
Income from non-agricultural activities	57%	19%	68%	29%
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

In the past, most of the income of the villagers came from agriculture. At that time there was a few opportunity to earn from non-farm activities in the home and abroad. But now a big portion of the income of the each household is coming from non-farm activities.

4.2.7 Change of Necessary Food Produced in Baripara and Hossainpur

In Baripara and Hossainpure, dependency on market for daily necessary food has increased and thus indicates the enhancement of buying capacity. Income opportunity from non-farm sector is the main reason for increasing of buying capacity.

The following table-18(a) and table-18(b) show changes of necessary foods that produced in the villages Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-18(a): Change of Necessary Food that Produced in the Village Baripara

Items	At Present Percentage			In the Past Percentage		
	Producing in the village	Buy from market	Total %	Produced in the village	Bought from Market	Total %
Food grain (Paddy)	52%	48%	100%	65%	35%	100%
Spices	0.05%	99.95%	100%	20%	80%	100%
Vegetable	35%	65%	100%	80%	20%	100%
Fish	35%	65%	100%	80%	20%	100%
Meat and Egg	40%	60%	100%	70%	30%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

Table-18(b): Change of Necessary Food that Produced in Hossainpur

Items	At present percentage			In the past percentage		
	Producing in the Village	Buy from Market	Total %	Was Produced in the Village	Bought from Market	Total %
Food grain (Paddy /crops)	27%	73%	100%	56%	34%	100%
Spices	n/a	100%	100%	15%	85%	100%
Vegetable	35%	65%	100%	98%	2%	100%
Fish	58%	42%	100%	84%	16%	100%
Meat and egg	33%	77%	100%	92%	8%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

The table-18(a) and table-18(b) depict that the villagers are now using luxurious goods such as cosmetics, good cloth, etc. Availability of fish and meat is decreasing in the village because of less rearing of livestock, cattle etc. Vegetable garden is used for making house, pond or cultivating the IRRI. Spices are not being produced after the intervention of IRRI.

Chapter-V

Agrarian Hierarchy in Baripara and Hossainpur

5.1 Agrarian Hierarchy

5.1.1 Land Ownership

5.1.1.1 Land Ownership in Baripara

5.1.1.2 Land Ownership in Hossainpur

5.1.2 Agrarian Classes

5.1.2.1 Land Owner Class

5.1.2.2 Pattern of Sharecropping

5.1.2.3 Pattern of Mortgage

5.1.2.4 Landless Laborers

5.1.2.5 Agrarian Class Relations

5.2 Land Transfer and Land Concentration in Baripara and Hossainpur

5.2.1 Changes in the Percentage of Landless

5.2.1.1 Changes in the Percentage of Landless in Baripara

5.2.1.2 Changes in the Percentage of Landless in Hossainpur

5.2.2 Changes in the Money Lending

5.2.3 Changes in the mortgage Transaction

5.2.4 Transfer and Concentration of Land

5.2.4.1 Transfer and Concentration of Land in Baripara

5.2.4.2 Transfer and Concentration of Land in Hossainpur

5.3 Agrarian Class Differentiation in Baripara and Hossainpur

5.3.1 Mobilization of the Rich Class People

5.3.2 Mobilization of the Middle Class People

5.3.3 Mobilization of the Poor Class People

5.3.4 Mobilization of the Poor to Poorer and Rich to Richer.

Agrarian Hierarchy in Baripara and Hossainpur

5.1 Agrarian Hierarchy

The agrarian classes of Baripara and Hossainpur are based on the unequal distribution of property. That means agrarian classes are based on the ownership and non-ownership of property. The principal form of property is 'land' and it is unequally distributed. The landowners own property. The sharecroppers own little property.

The market situation of which Max Weber talked is present in the villages as 'land' has come into market. Weber's definition of status group is also important here to study the status relationship in the villages. According to the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production in the villages the villagers are directly related to agriculture.

Only 82 household heads in Baripara and 31 household heads in Hossainpur have adopted agriculture as a primary occupation. 45 household heads in Baripara and only 8 household heads in Hossainpur have adopted agriculture as their subsidiary occupation. So agriculture is one of the major means of livelihoods at Baripara and Hossainpur.

5.1.1 Land Ownership

5.1.1.1 Land Ownership in Baripara

In the village Baripara, about 4.32% households have no homestead lands and they are living in their relative's land. Most of the households have less than one acre (87%) homestead land and rest of the households have 1-6 acre homestead land each. 48% households of Baripara are directly or indirectly related with agricultural activities.

The following table-19(a) shows land ownership in Baripara (homestead and cultivable land).

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Table-19(a): Land Ownership in Baripara (Homestead Land and Cultivable Land)

Types	Homestead land		Own Cultivable land		Sharecropping		Mortgage		Land under operation
	Number of household	%	Number of household	%	Sharecrop in	Sharecrop out	Mortgage in	Mortgage out	Number of household
Land less	14	4.32	152	46.91	0	0	0	0	168(52%) (operation less)
0.01—0.10 acre	83	25.61	34	10.49	5	5	1	2	26
0.11—0.20 acre	65	20.06	23	7.09	0	6	0	6	15
0.21—0.50 acre	102	31.48	46	14.19	24	15	12	8	50
0.51—1.00 acre	33	10.18	39	12.03	19	14	5	1	41
1.01—2.00 acre	23	7.40	22	6.79	6	12	2	0	17
2.01—3.00 acre	2	0.61	6	1.85	2	6	0	0	3
3.01—4.00 acre	1	0.30	2	0.61	2	2	1	0	2
4.00—6.00 acre	1	0.30	0	0.00	2	1	0	0	2
6.00 + acre	0	0.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	324 H.H	100%	324	100%	60	61	21 H.H	17 H.H	324 H.H

Source: Field work in Baripara.

This table-19(a) shows that in Baripara, out of total 324 households, 152 household have no cultivable land. 142 households have less than 1 acre cultivable land. 22 households have 1.1—2 acre cultivable land. 8 households have 2.1—4.0 acre cultivable land. Villagers who do not have any cultivable land are involved in non-farm activities. But few of them are still wage earners from agricultural activities.

5.1.1.2 Land Ownership in Hossainpur

But in the village Hossainpur, about 12 households (8%) have neither homestead nor a cultivable land. Most of the households have less than 0.50 acre homestead land. 45% households are directly or indirectly earning from agricultural activities. According to the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production in the village, the villagers are directly related to the agriculture.

The following table-19(b) shows the distribution of household in Hossainpur by their homestead and agricultural land.

Table-19(b): Distribution of Household in Hossainpur by their Homestead and Agricultural Land

Types (acrewise)	Homestead land		Own Cultivable land		Sharecropping		Mortgage		Land under operation	
	Number of household	%	Number of household	%	Sharecrop in	Sharecrop out	Mortgage in	Mortgage out	Number of household	%
Land less	12	8%	74	46.83	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a	99 (operation less)	62.65
0.01—0.10 acre	59	37%	13	8.22	1	5	0	3	5	3.16
0.11—0.20	40	25%	4	2.55	3	3	1	1	3	1.80
0.21—0.50	30	19%	23	14.55	7	6	5	12	10	6.32
0.51—1.00	9	6%	10	6.32	7	8	8	3	23	14.55
1.01—2.00	5	3%	22	13.92	7	8	6	3	14	8.86
2.01—3.00	3	2%	7	4.43	2	3	1	0	1	0.62
3.01—4.00	0	0	2	1.26	1	1	0	0	3	1.89
4.00—6.00	0	0	3	1.89	0	1	0	0	0	0.00
6.00 + acre	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	158	100%	158	100%	28	35	21 H.H	22 H.H	158 H.H	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table-19(b) shows that in Hossainpur, out of 158 household, 74 households (46.83%) have no cultivable land. Only 84 households (53.17%) have cultivable land of total 81 acre. Among the land owners, 51 households (27%) have less than 1 acre cultivable land. 22 households (13.92%) have between 1.1-2 acre cultivable land. 9 households (4.43%) have between 2.1-4.0 acre cultivable land and only 3 households (1.89%) have more than 4.0 acre cultivable land. Villagers who do not have cultivable land are involved in non-farm activities. But few of them are still wage earners from agricultural activities.

5.1.2 Agrarian Classes

The inhabitants of Baripara and Hossainpur who are directly related to the agriculture can be divided into three agrarian classes based on the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production. So the classification structure of these villages means the agrarian classification. But the non-agrarian people create problem when we classify the agrarian people on the basis of ownership and non-ownership of the means of production because many of them are not related to agriculture. So it becomes difficult for us to classify them. Thus the inhabitants can be categorised into three agrarian classes and these are; 1) Land owner; 2) Share-cropper; and 3) Landless laborer.

5.1.2.1 Land Owner Class

In Baripara and Hossainpur 46.91% and 46.83% households are landless respectively. Only 172 households (53.09%) and 84 households (53.17%) have cultivable land amounting 123 acre and 81 acre. According to modern agrarian classification those who possess more than seven acres of cultivable land are defined as rich farmer. Owners of 2.1-7 acres of cultivable land are defined as middle farmer. Those who possess 1.1-2 acres of land belong to small farmer class and who possess less than 1 acre of land belongs to marginal farmer class. In the context of Baripara and Hossainpur, among the land owners, 43.80% and 31.64% households have less than 1 acre of cultivable land and thus they may belong to marginal farmer class. 6.79% and 13.92% households have between 1.1-2 acres of cultivable land and thus they may belong to small farmer class. 2.46% and 7.58% households have between 2.1-7 acres of cultivable lands and thus they may belong to middle farmer class. In both the villages there is no rich farmer. Villagers having no cultivable land are involved in non-farm activities. But few of them are still wage earners from agricultural activities.

The land owner class can be divided into three categories such as those who have between 0.01-0.50 acres of cultivable land, those who have between 0.51-1.00 acre of cultivable land and those who have between 1.01-5.00 acres of cultivable land. The following table-20(a) shows land owner categories in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-20(a): Land Owner Categories in Baripara and Hossainpur

The quantities of Lands (Acres)	Baripara		Hossainpur	
	The number of land owner household	Percentage of Household	The number of land owner household	Percentage of Household
0.01-0.50 acre	103	59.88	40	47.61
0.51-1.00 acre	39	22.67	10	11.90
1.01-5.00 acre	30	17.44	34	40.47
Total:	172	100%	84	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-20(a) demonstrates that only 172 households are the land owners at Baripara. 30 households have lands more than 1 acre and the rest 142 households have less than 1 acre of land. But only 84 households (53.17%) out of total 158 households are the land owner at Hossainpur. 34 households (21.51%) have more than 1 acre of land and the rest 50 households (31.64%) have less than 1 acre of land.

Farmers can be divided into three categories and these are; 1) Marginal farmer; 2) Small farmer; and 3) Middle farmer. The following table-20(b) shows the classification of farmers on the basis of ownership of land in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-20(b): Classification of Farmers on the basis of Ownership of Land in Baripara and Hossainpur

Types of land owner	Land under cultivation	Baripara		Hossainpur	
		Number of households	%	Number of households	%
Landless	No cultivable land	152	46.91	74	46.83
Marginal farmer	0.01-0.50 acre	103	31.79	40	25.30
Small farmer	0.51-1 acre	39	12.03	10	6.32
Middle farmer	1.01-5 acre	30	9.25	34	21.51
Total:		324	100%	158	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-20(b) shows that in Baripara and Hossainpur, 31.79% and 25.30% households belong to marginal farmer category. 12.03% and 6.32% households belong to small farmer category and 9.25% and 21.51% households belong to middle farmer category.

The landowner class of the villages can also be divided into three agrarian classes and these are; 1) owner cultivator (direct); 2) owner cultivator land owner (indirect) and; 3) non-cultivating landowner. The following table-20(c) shows the landowner types of Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-20(c): Distribution of Landowner Types of Baripara and Hossainpur

Types of Land Owner	Baripara		Hossainpur.	
	Number of households	Percentage of household	Number of households	Percentage of household
Owner cultivator (Direct)	95	55.23%	43	51.19%
Owner cultivators (Indirect)	44	25.58%	22	26.20%
Non-cultivating land owner	33	19.19%	19	22.61%
Total:	172	100%	84	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-20(c) shows that only 172 (53.09%) and 84 households (48.83%) are the owner of land in Baripara and Hossainpur respectively. Among them 95 households (55.23%) and 43 households (51.19%) are cultivating most of their land by family labor. They hire little labor if necessary. 44 households (25.58%) and 22 households (26.20%) are cultivating their land by hired labor and 33 households (19.19%) and 19 households (22.61%) are mortgaging or sharecropping out their land. A sharecropper or lease taker hires little labor if necessary. A land-owner may mortgage or sharecrop out his land to more than one lease taker or sharecropper. Again a sharecropper may take land as sharecrop from more than one land owner.

5.1.2.2 Pattern of Sharecropping

In Baripara and Hossainpur, only 60 and 28 households are involved in sharecropping. They work hard and spend a lot of time in their field. There can be two kinds of agreement among the sharecroppers and the landowners. If the land owners bear the production materials such as labor, seeds, etc, he will get 8:16 of the crops and if the sharecroppers bear the materials then the land owner will get 7:16 of the produced crops. Generally the lands are sharecropped on oral agreement for a year only.

The following table-21(a) shows the pattern of sharecropping in Baripara.

Table-21(a): Pattern of Sharecropping in Baripara.

Groups	Total Number of household associating with Sharecropping	Number of household associating with sharecropping in	Total amount of land share cropping in	Number of household associating with sharecropping out	Total amount of land share cropping out
Marginal	55	29	8.04 acre	26	6.10 acre
Small	33	19	13.65 acre	14	11.50 acre
Medium	33	12	31.80 acre	21	42.90 acre
Total	121	60	53.49 acre	61	60.50 acre

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

This table-21(a) depicts that in Baripara, only 121 households are involved in sharecropping and out of them 60 households are associated with sharecropping in (total 53.49 acre of land) and 61 households are associated with sharecropping out (total 60.50 acre of land). The following table-21(b) shows pattern of sharecropping in Hossainpur.

Table-21(b): Pattern of Sharecropping in Hossainpur

Groups	Number of household associating with Share-cropping	Number of household associating with share-cropping in	Total amount of land share cropping in	Number of household associating with share-cropping out	Total amount of land share-cropping out
Marginal	25	11	3.10 acre	14	1.30 acre
Small	15	7	5.60 acre	8	5.30 acre
Medium	23	10	19.25 acre	13	26.75 acre
Total	63	28	27.95 acre	35	30.25 acre

Source: Field work in Hossainpur.

This table-21(b) shows that in Hossainpur only 63 households are involved in sharecropping of land. Out of them 28 households are associated with sharecropping in. The total area under sharecropping is 27.95 acres of land and 35 households are associated with share cropping out. The total area under sharecropping out is total 30.25 acres of land in total.

In Baripara and Hossainpur few households at first take lands as mortgage and later they sharecrop it out to other sharecroppers. Few households living in other villages are also cultivating land as sharecropper in these villages. Sufficient male members of a family can help in the cultivation and supervision. Most of the rich farmers sharecrop out their lands. Sharecrop is locally called *barga*. Usually landless or marginal farmers operate others land as sharecrop under some conditions. The villagers operate two types of *barga* based on the condition of fixed amount of money and a fixed amount of crop that the sharecropper has to give to the landowner.

5.1.2.3 Pattern of Mortgage *Dhaka University Institutional Repository*

Mortgaging is a common phenomenon in the villages. This type of land transaction and associated money lending resolve the issue of control over land. Mortgage is locally called *bandhak*. A land owner mortgage out his land for an amount of money. When the landowner will return that money he will get his land back. The following table-22(a) and table-22(b) show the pattern of mortgage in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-22(a): Pattern of Mortgage in Baripara

Groups	Total number of household associating with Mortgage	Number of household associating with Mortgage in	Total amount of land Mortgage in	Number of household associating with Mortgage out	Total amount of land Mortgage out
Marginal	29	13	3.85 acre	16	3.25 acre
Small	6	5	3.20 acre	1	0.65 acre
Medium	3	3	5.60 acre	0	0.00 acre
Total	38	21	12.65 acre	17	3.90 acre

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

Table-22(b): Pattern of Mortgage in Hossainpur

Groups	Total number of household associating with Mortgage	Number of household associating with Mortgage in	Total amount of land Mortgage in	Number of household associating with Mortgage out	Total amount of land Mortgage out
Marginal	21	6	1.80 acre	15	4.15 acre
Small	11	7	4.98 acre	4	3.20 acre
Medium	11	8	11.50 acre	3	4.80 acre
Total	43	21	18.28 acre	22	12.15 acre

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

The above two tables depict that in Baripara and Hossainpur only 38 and 43 households are engaged in mortgaging of land. Out of them 21 and 21 households are engaged in mortgaging in (total 12.65 acre and 18.28 acre of land) and 17 and 22 households are engaged in mortgaging out (total 3.90 acre and 12.15 acre of land). Few households in the villages have taken about 5 acre and 2 acre lands as mortgage from adjacent villages. Those households at first have taken land as mortgage and later sharecrop it out to the sharecroppers.

There are 18 and 23 landless agricultural laborers or *badla* households in the villages. But actually the numbers of landless people are more. They work in agricultural land on daily wage basis with or without mid-day meal. They also do non-agricultural works during the lean season.

5.1.2.5 Agrarian Class Relations

The villagers are directly involved in agriculture and they have been classified into three classes based on means of production. Land is the means of production in the villages. So, by the class structure it means specifically the social class differentiation of the farmers based on the owners and non-owners of the means of production. Besides this relation between the mode of production and its related classes and the relation between the non-agricultural and agricultural people there are also service holders, businessman, driver, rickshaw puller and other kinds of people living in the villages. Most of the sharecroppers belong to marginal farmer classes. It is also found that few labors possess little amount of land. They are also in marginal farmer class. The first class among the landowners is the directly involved farmer. They are directly involved in agriculture and they provide manual labor in land. They themselves arrange seeds, fertilizer, tractor, *hal*, the facilities of irrigation and other necessary tools. The second class is indirectly involved farmer landowner. They are not directly involved with cultivation. They can be said as leaseholder landowner. They appoint daily labor or give their lands to the sharecroppers.

If the landowner gives all the necessary items for the production such as, labor, seeds, fertilizer, etc, the crops will be equally distributed among the sharecropper and landowner. But if the landowner does not invest anything, the landowner will get 7 portions and sharecropper will get 9 portions out of total 16 portions of production. This kind of landowners generally appoints the laborers of this village who come from other Upozilla such as Sonapur, Ramgati, etc. The male member of the middle-class farmer families are now educated and not interested to work in land. They mainly want to engage themselves in government and non-government jobs. The third class is non-farmer landowner. They never work in the field. They give their land to the sharecroppers and take a part of crops according to the contract. They do not follow up the work in their land. They do not invest anything.

The total invest is coming from the sharecropper. They do not give any kind of fertilizer, seeds, Hal, tractor, etc. Many of them lease their land which is called “*kot*” in local language. When that amount of money is given by original landowner he will get back his land. It is locally called “*Bandhak*” or “*Kot*”. This contract generally appears for one year. When landowner gives his land to someone for cultivation for a specific time frame by taking an amount of money and a contract which confirm that after the specific time the landowner can get back his land without any transaction of money. The farmer can grow anything within the time frame. In Hossainpur, the old landowners are still the landowners. The educated landowners now can understand the importance of education. They are sending their children to the school, colleges and universities. Now most of them are middle-class farmers. The sharecroppers have some agricultural lands. They mainly take the land from the landowners. Normally sharecroppers take land on the basis of oral contract for one year. In some cases landowner extends the time frame. Some landowners change their sharecroppers every year. Sometimes there are sharecropper families who get land for sharecropping from the same landowner family year after year.

There are landless agricultural laborer or *badla* households. Here these landless laborers are called *badla* in local term. Most of them do not have any land but engaged in agriculture related works. The appointment of these *badlas* is not settled and secured. They always make themselves engaged where they get job or work. Many of them want to be sharecropper but a very little number of them can be. It is a common phenomenon in Hossainpur that the outside or migrant laborers are always preferable than the local laborers. The migrant agricultural laborers generally come from Ramgati, Lakshmipur, and Sonapur. Recently there is a dramatic change in the pattern of migratory laborers. In these days they mostly come from Bhola and Barishal district along with laborers from Ramgati, Laskmipur, and Sonapur upozilla. The local laborers usually work from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

5.2 Land Transfer and Land Concentration in Baripara and Hossainpur

Before the decade of 1940s land was concentrated within few Hindus households. But Muslims became land owner after the partition. After the partition lands were also concentrated to the hands of few Muslim households. Two Hindu *Zamindars* ruled Baripara and Hossainpur. Most of the lands of these villages were under these *Zamindars* and other Hindu people had the rest.

During that period most of the Muslim people and a few Hindu were landless. Hindu *Zamindar* and other land-owner Hindus sold their land to the landless Muslim people who were living in Baripara Hossainpur. The Hindus were gradually leaving the villages by selling their lands to Muslim people. As a result the numbers of landless peoples were decreasing. But after the liberation percentage of landless households were increasing due to the increase of population.

5.2.1 Changes in the Percentage of Landless

5.2.1.1 Change in the Percentage of Landless in Baripara

During the partition of 1947, Baripara was Hindu dominant and few people were the owner of land. Most of the villagers were landless and cultivated land as sharecroppers. Later many Hindus families left the village and went to India by selling their land to the Muslim people of Baripara or other villages. So gradually the percentage of landless people decreased. But after liberation the percentage of the landless people increased due to the increase of population. The land was segmented within the next generation. The rich or middle farmers have to sell their lands to bear the expense of education. Especially among the male members of the rich and middle farmer of Baripara there is a tendency of going abroad (mainly in Middle East). They sell a portion of their land for this reason. Many landless families of this village are able to change their economic activities as government or non-government job holders or as businessmen. So when the landowners want to sell their land, these families usually take the chance to buy it. In this process some of the landless people gradually become little land owner. During the time of study in the village Baripara 152 households did not have any cultivable land, 144 household had below 1 acre of cultivable land and only 28 households had more than 1 acre of cultivable land. In this village 14 households have no homestead land and 47% households are involved in farm activities. In Baripara, most of the landless households have non-farm earnings such as serving in home and abroad, small or large business, etc. During the decade of 1940s about 96% households were landless (below 1 acre of land). After partition of 1947, percentage of landless household was 57%, after liberation landless households was about 75%, and at present it is about 91% respectively.

5.2.1.2 Changes in the Percentage of Landless in Hossainpur

In the village Hossainpur, there are about 23 landless agricultural laborer or *badla* households. But actually the number of landless people is more. In Hossainpur 74 households out of 158 are landless. Again 51 households have less than 1 acre of cultivable land. Those who belong to marginal and small farmer class have a very little amount of cultivable land. The landless households have only homestead area which includes house, pond and garden. The tendency of landless is decreasing. Because the rich or middle farmers have to sell a portion of their land to bear the expense of education. On the other hand, tendency of going abroad or doing business are increasing among the middle and rich families and that is why they are selling land. Again landless rich families buy land and become landowner. 30 years ago about 80% households were landless. At that time several people were the owner of land. They were educated and belonged to high status. It is also mentionable that 30 years ago, few households were engaged in service or business in the cities and towns. During the period of *Zamindar*, this feature was also dominant. But when *Zamindari Pratha* abolished during 1950s, Muslim landless households became land-owner. Percentage of landless households in Hossainpur gradually started to decreased. 20 years ago the percentage of landless households was about 65% and 10 years ago it was about 50%. Because several landless people earned a lot from non-farm activities in home and abroad and bought land from middle or rich farmers. At present, the percentage of landless household in Hossainpur is 46.83%. So we can say that the tendency of 'Rich to Richer' and 'Poor to Poorer' is absent in Hossainpur. Here, a poor man, by doing service in home and abroad or by doing business, may change his poor position and become rich. Again a rich man, by selling land or failure to get job in home and abroad may become poor. Here economic status is changeable. So class mobilization is prevailing in Hossainpur. But it is mentionable that a few rich and poor households are remaining in the same economic position for the last 30 years.

5.2.2 Changes in the Money Lending

There are about 15 and 9 inhabitants involved in money lending business (informal credit business). During the field investigation those money lenders invested about Tk.4-5 lacks and Tk-2 lacks respectively. Socially this sort of business is prohibited. In the past, numbers of money lenders were more. Most of the money lenders lend money on the basis of crops as interest. For example, if a cultivator takes loan at Tk-10,000 he will pay this money after getting crop from his land and as for interest he must give 10-mond paddy to the money lender. The rate of interest for credit is almost the same both in the villages. The interest rate varies from 5% to 10% monthly. The interest rate of credit was more in the past. Now the interest rate of informal credit is decreasing due to the intervention of NGOs.

5.2.3 Changes in the mortgage Transaction

Mortgaging is a common phenomenon in the villages. This type of land transaction and associated money lending resolve the issue of control over land in these villages. The closest relatives, brothers and members of lineages are the most important sources of credit through mortgaging the land. There are two systems of Mortgage which prevailed both in the past and present and these are;

- i) *Izara*: The land which can only produce one crop in a year can be mortgaged out by Tk-5,000 (per acre land) for one year. The land which can produce two crops can be mortgaged out by TK-9,000 (per acre land) for one year.
- ii) *Kod (Bondok)*: In this system 1 acre land is mortgaged out for taka 50-100 thousand. The supplier of the credit has certain limitations and has the right to use or rent out the land to anyone he likes. It is very seldom that people, who borrow money for consumption purpose, can not able to return the loan within few years and as a result the loan supplier uses the land for a long time. When the land owner returns the loan then he gets return of his land.

5.2.4 Transfer and Concentration of Land

Land is gradually segmented through inheritance. At present more involvement in non-farm activities are increasing and that is why villagers are not interested to buy land for only cultivation. But the cost of 'land' has increased in both the villages. In the past, (15-20 years ago) 1 acre agricultural land was sold at Tk-40-50 thousand, which, at present is selling at Tk-10-12 lacks. The changes have been occurring due to urbanization, overseas migration, and IRRI cultivation, increased rate of population and conversion of agricultural land as homestead land.

5.2.4.1 Transfer and Concentration of Land in Baripara

The following table-23(a) shows transfer and concentration of land in Baripara during the year of 2003.

Table-23(a): Transfer and Concentration of Land in Baripara during the Year of 2003

Land Selling by	Land Buying by	Amount of land(acre)
Middle farmer	Middle and marginal farmer	1.22
Marginal farmer	Small and middle farmer	0.92
Small farmer	Middle and landless farmer	0.90
Total land sold		3.04

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara.

This table-23(a) shows that in 2003 total 3.04 acres of land were sold in Baripara. The middle farmers sold 1.22 acres of land to the middle and marginal farmers. The Marginal farmers sold about 0.92 acres of land to the small and middle farmers. The small farmers sold 0.90 acres of land to the middle and landless farmers. So selling and buying of lands are only concentrated among the middle, rich, marginal and poor farmers. So this table shows that;

- A) Land is selling and buying within the small, marginal and middle farmers; and
- b) Land is selling by the 'small and marginal farmers' to the middle farmers.

From this we can say that very few lands are being concentrated to the middle farmers in Baripara. Those farmers with bellow 2 acres of land are loosing their land. It is remarkable that the households of small, marginal and middle classes were involved in buying and selling their land and invested their money for overseas migration, business establishment or other purposes. So land owners did lose a portion of their land and invested it in non-farm activities. Again landless people went to abroad by selling their few land or homestead land or taking loan. After few years of serving, they bought land and thus the poor landless people became land owner.

5.2.4.2 Transfer and Concentration of Land in Hossainpur

The following table-23(b) shows the transfer and concentration of land in Hossainpur during the year of 2003.

Table-23(b): Transfer and Concentration of Land in Hossainpur during the Year 2003

Land Selling by	Land Buying by	Amount of
Marginal farmer	landless farmer	0.45
Middle farmer	Small and Middle farmer	0.69
Small farmer	landless farmer	0.46
Total land sold		1.60

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table shows that in the year of 2003 total 1.60 acres of land were sold in Hossainpur. 0.45 acres out of 1.60 acres were sold by the middle land owning class to the landless class (2 landless inhabitants bought land after coming from abroad). Again 0.69 acres of land were sold by rich farmer class to the middle land owning class (male of two rich families went to abroad selling their land). Again middle class sold 0.46 acres of land out of 1.60 acres to the rich class. So this table shows that;

- a) Land is selling and buying within marginal, small middle and landless classes; and
- b) Landless farmers are becoming land owner.

Thus from the above discussion and on the basis of 'land ownership' pattern we can say that ownership of land is not concentrated to the rich farmers or middle farmers. Several landless inhabitants buy land after coming from abroad. Again small farmers or middle farmers some time sell their land to the landless people and go abroad. Few middle farmers sell their land to other middle farmers to educate their children or to marry their daughter. Thus we can say that people of landless class and marginal farmer class may transfer at middle farmer's class by serving abroad. Again middle farmer class and small farmer class people may also transfer at marginal farmer class or landless class by selling their land for going abroad. Thus land ownership pattern is mobile and agrarian class situation is not rigid. On the other hand, land is not only the measurement of economic class and social status or power. Land is not important to the villagers for cultivation. Because a huge number of inhabitants in this village are engaging in service in home and abroad and involving in business and their earning is more than from the land.

In the past land was one of the main measurements of economic class, social status and power. As a result, landless people were poor. But today a large number of landless people are rich because of overseas migration and involved in service. Even members of these landless or marginal farmers engage business in the cities and towns or in the local area. So, to be a rich or poor man 'land' is not significant. Here non-farm activities (service and business) are most important. About 5-7 households in each of the villages were land owner (5-10 acre each). But at present, land is not concentrated. This is because of overseas migration and service.

5.3 Agrarian Class Differentiation in Baripara and Hossainpur

Class mobilization has been observed over the last 15-20 years. Several households among the rich class have turned into poor. Again several households, who were belonging to poor class, have turned into rich now. But it is remarkable that a large number of poor people have turned into middle income class. The view of the inhabitants regarding the definition of poor, middle and rich class among them has also changed.

5.3.1 Mobilization of the Rich Class People

In the past, those were belonging to rich class had more land; few of them were involved in service and business also. But at present those households are rich who are involved in overseas migration, business and service. 'Land' is no more a considerable factor to be a rich household now. Rich people have more income from non-farm activities. They are educated and do not directly involve in agriculture. About 13% and 7% households are rich but in the past the percentage was 5% and 3% respectively.

In Hossainpur both Chowdhury and Kalusheikh lineages are rich and 2-4 households among them are living in Dhaka and engaged in non-farm activities. Two households of Chowdhury Bari are living in village. They have building, television, refrigerator, etc. 15-20 years ago Chowdhury lineage was poor. At that time they had few land but had their status. In Baripara about 15 households of Haoladar, Meer, Molla, and Goni Master Lineages are rich. About 80% earnings of them come from non-agricultural works. These families socially belong to upper class also. Few families of this lineage are involved in politics. In the past, most of these rich households were very poor. They have changed their economic condition by earning from non-farming activities.

Most of the rich families have brick made house (one or two storied building). They have television, freeze and well furniture in their houses. But during the end of British rule, *Zamindars* and their descendants were rich in these villages. About 3% households were rich. During Pakistan period in Baripara about 5% households (including Muslim and few Hindus) were rich. These rich households had more land. After liberation, between the periods of 1970-1980, those were rich who had more land and they were mostly dependent on 'land' for most of their income. At that time 3 Hindu households had 5-10 acres of land each, and 5 households had 3-5 acres of lands each. They were considered as rich households in the village. In Baripara several households were rich who were involved in betel-leaf cultivation and betel-leaf business.

5.3.2 Mobilization of the Middle Class People

In the past, middle class people had few lands. They were either engaged in small trading or involved in service in towns. But at present the middle class people are mostly serving in home or also engaged in overseas migration. They are serving as clerical job in different govt. or private sector such as TNT, garments, shoe factory, etc. Some of the middle family members are involved in business in cities and towns. These middle class families are also involved in agriculture as sharecroppers and have few cultivable lands. Some households of these middle class were rich.

5.3.3 Mobilization of the Poor Class People

In the past, poor class was landless. They were day laborers, sharecroppers and most of them were dependent on agriculture. At present most of them do not have cultivable land or have few cultivable lands. They are involved in day laboring, small trading and some of them are involved in sharecropping and have inadequate income. Most of them are not educated. At present about 28% and 32% households are belonging to poor class and in the past the percentages were 73% and 78%. About 50% of the poor households could eat properly three times in a day. The percentage of poor people is decreasing because the intervention of IRRI cultivation, overseas migration and urbanization.

Baripara is a two religious community based village, i) Muslim; and ii) Hindu. Muslims are now the majority group. They are belonging to upper status and upper class and also the dominating group. On the basis of status, the Hindus are now belonging to a same level of lineage status. But Muslims have upper and lower status. The Muslims are more powerful than Hindus. Three Muslim families have captured Hindus land. Among the Hindus overseas migrant is a rare. Almost all Hindus have been living in the village and most of them are involved in agriculture and business. There is no rich Hindu household in Baripara. Among the Hindus about 40% are belonging to middle class and 60% Hindus are belonging to poor class. Most of the upper class and high status lineage Hindu families have migrated to India during the partition and few low status Hindus have been staying in this village. In the past, (15-20 years ago) the Hindus were very poor and Muslims were exploiting the Hindus which are still prevailing. At present those households are powerful who have 'money'. In the past those were powerful in the village who had a large amount of land.

5.3.4 Mobilization of the Poor to Poorer and Rich to Richer.

Over the last 15-20 years, in Baripara and Hossainpur, class mobilization has been prevailing which is shown in the following table-24.

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Table-24: Class Mobilizations in Baripara and Hossainpur

Types of Economic Class	Class Mobilization over the last 15-20 years	Percentage of Households.
1) Poor	i) Class mobilization from poor class to poorer class	57%
	ii) Class mobilization from Poor class to Middle class	32%
	iii) Class mobilization from Poor class to rich class	11%
Total		100%
2) Middle	i) Class mobilization from Middle class to poor class	23%
	ii) Class mobilization from Middle class to Middle class	56%
	iii) Class mobilization from Middle class to Rich class	21%
Total		100%
3) Rich	i) Class mobilization from Rich class to poor class	31%
	ii) Class mobilization from Rich class to middle class	17%
	iii) Class mobilization from Rich class to richer class	52%
Total:		100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

The table-24 shows that, about 57% of the poor class families became poor, and 43% have upgraded their economic position. Among the middle class families about 56% families are economically in the same position. Within the rich families 53% have become richer. So we can say that class mobilization has not been prevailing in a particular direction.

Changes in the Cropping Pattern in Baripara and Hossainpur

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Chapter-VI

Changes in the Cropping Pattern in Baripara and Hossainpur

6.1 Major Crops in Baripara and Hossainpur

Agricultural production, overseas migration, service in GOs and NGOs, business and involvement in other non-farm activities are the main livelihood strategies in the villages. Agriculture is the fundamental production and paddy is the main agricultural product. IRRI is cultivating in most of the land. Generally four kinds of IRRI are grown in the villages such as BR-4, BR-11, China IRRI and Balam IRRI. Almost all the lands are submerged by water during the rainy season except some high lands. Then the villagers grow some kinds of vegetables such as eggplant, *lau*, *kumra* (Pumpkin), papaya and *katchu* (arum), etc. Before cultivating the IRRI paddy, *Aus*, *Amon* and *robi* crop were produced. In Bangladesh, IRRI cultivation started during the period of 1970s and for IRRI cultivation, a huge amount of irrigation was needed. During the period of 1980s, a large canal was built around the villages and irrigation started by pump machine through that canal. Since then IRRI cultivation started and a remarkable change has occurred in the cropping pattern.

There is no food grain in the villages which we may call as cash crop. Very few families sell paddy at the market. The villagers cultivate paddy and other crops to meet own demand. Almost every family earns money from their coconuts and betel nuts garden in plenty. About 2-3 k.g of nuts grow in a nut tree all the year round and per k.g is selling at T.k 200. Again about 100 coconuts grow in every coconut tree and each coconut cost T.k 5-6. Almost every household is the owner of betel nuts and coconut garden. A lot of nut and coconut trees are found in garden. The villagers sell these nut and coconut in the local market and earn money.

6.2 Per Acre Yield Production, Cost and Return

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Coconut and betel-nut are producing in the homestead land. About 250 coconut tree could be grown in one acre. The total income from a tree could be Tk. 300 in a year. So acrewise total income is Tk.7,500. About 2,000 betel nut trees could be grown in one acre. The income from a tree is Tk-40 and thus total income is Tk.8000. The following table-25(a) shows acrewise crop production in both the villages.

Table-25(a): Acrewise Different Yields Production in Baripara and Hossainpur

Type of yield	Type	Acre wise production (mond)
Paddy	BR-4	70-80 mond
	BR-11	80-90 mond
	China IRRI	70-75 mond
	Balam IRRI	80-90 mond
Other crops	<i>Kumra</i>	700-1000(piece)
	Eggplant	460-8000 mond
	<i>Lao</i>	750-950 piece
	<i>Tomato</i>	400-600 mond

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

This table-25(a) shows that after introducing the facilities of irrigation and the cultivation of IRRI there was a great change in crop production and per acre crop production was three times double. The following table-25(b) shows acrewise yield production, cost and return in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-25(b): Acrewise Different Yield production, Cost and Return in the villages

Name of Crops	Cultivation Cost	Seeds	Irrigation	Fertilizer	Market price	Labor Cost	Income
Paddy (IRRI)	1250	350	520	750	TK250/mond	3,600	16,150
Kumra	440	200	100	250	TK-10. (price)	1500	6200
Eggplant	750	220	400	340	TK -200 (mond)	700	7000
Lao	100	100	200	200	TK -10. (piece)	600	4200
Tomato	2000	500	300	300	TK 250 (mond)	800	5000

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-25(b) shows that for one acre IRRI cultivation, it takes Tk-1250 for tractor purposes, for wedding purposes it takes total 12 labor (as counted for one day work) and total labor cost is Tk-960. For seeds it is total 40 k.g is needed and cost of seeds are Tk-350. For seed cultivating it is needed total 10 labors (as counted for one day work) and total cost is tk-800. For seeds plantation total 20 laborers are needed and the total labor cost is Tk-1600. It is remarkable that in most of the cases IRRI is cultivated by family and hired labor but *robi* crops are cultivated by family labor.

6.3 Changes in the Means and Method of Irrigation

In the past, a small portion of land was cultivated under irrigation. Irrigation method was indigenous that is hand made. At that time only Aus and Amon paddy were produced. For cultivating Aus and Amon paddy, irrigation was not necessary. After the intervention of IRRI paddy, huge amount of water was needed for the cultivation of IRRI. So 14 K.m long a canal was made that covers several villages to irrigate water and that is why IRRI paddy cultivation has been occurring in both the villages since 1980s. There is no deep tubewell in the villages. The IRRI cultivator irrigates water by pumping machine through the canal or pond. About 4 people and 7 people in Baripara and Hossainpur respectively have pump machine to rent out. In the villages irrigation is necessary from Dccember to May (Agrahayan to Baishak). But there is no river beside the villages to irrigate their fields. The cultivators take the pump machine to irrigate water from Mahendra *khal* or other pond to their fields during the dry season. The pumps cost Tk. 25-30 per hour. The cultivators make mud drain beside their land to pass irrigation water properly to their fields.

6.4 Percentage of Land under Irrigation

6.4.1 Land under Irrigation

75% and 90 % of the IRRI land in Baripara and Hossainpur needed irrigation for IRRI cultivation. Rest 25% and 10% of the IRRI land does not need irrigation because this land submerges under water during the IRRI season. It is remarkable that in the village of Baripara 10% agricultural land converted as homestead land due to demographic reason. Irrigation method has changed and a large canal has been made named Mohendra *khal*. In Baripara about 40% of the betel-leaf homestead land has now converted as IRRI¹ cultivation after the introduction of irrigation.

The following table-26 shows the percentage of land for different crop cultivation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-26: Percentage of Land for different Crop Cultivation in Baripara and Hossainpur

Name of the Crops	Type	Period of Cultivation	Percentage of Cultivable Land		Sharecropping Condition
			Baripara	Hossainpur	
Paddy	Only 'IRRI'	Agrahayan to Baishak	88%	82%	Prevailing
Other vegetable	<i>Kumra</i>	All the year	3%	7%	Not Prevailing
	Eggplant	All the year	7%	8%	Not Prevailing
	<i>Lao, etc</i>	Agrahayan to Falgun	2%	3%	Not Prevailing
Total:			100%	100%	

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-26 shows that a good number of the cultivable land submerges by water for most of the time of the year. Irrigation is necessary from December to May (Agrahayan to Baishak). In both the villages most of the lands are used for cultivating IRRI paddy during this time.

6.4.2 Land Submerges under Floodwater

The agricultural land of these villages is of two types; i) High agricultural land and ii) Low agricultural land. About 60% and 82% of agricultural land in Baripara and Hossainpur are high where IRRI is cultivated for two seasons and *robi* crops are cultivated for one season (3 months). About 40% and 18% land are low land where IRRI is cultivated for one season (6 months) and during rainy season it submerges under water and remains useless. In the past, *Aus* and *Amon* were cultivated. Jute was cultivated on one-crop land. After introducing the IRRI, very few lands were using for cultivating other crops.

6.5 Changes in the Cropping Pattern and Cropping Intensify after the Introduction of Irrigation

6.5.1 Changes in the Use of Land (both homestead and cultivable land) since 1947

The area of Baripara and Hossainpur can be divided into two basic parts; i) homestead land or *vhita Jami* (high land) and; ii) agricultural land or *nal Jami* (low land). The *vhita jami* is used for house, making yard, gardening, ponds, etc. There is a small portion of *vhita* land where betel-leaf is produced. Vegetable cultivation is decreasing day by day. Few brick fields are situated near the village and few homestead land have been using for making brick.

6.5.1.1 Changes in the Use of Land in Baripara since 1947

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The following table-27(a) shows the change in the percentage of land use in Baripara since the period of 1947.

Table-27(a): Change in the Use of Land in Baripara since the period of 1947

Sl. No.	Land Type	Year/Land use Percentage			
		Before 1947	During 1947-1971	During 1971-1985	Recently Percentage
a)	Homestead land (<i>Vhita Jomi</i>)	60%	60%	55%	65%
b)	Agricultural land (<i>Nal Jomi</i>)	30%	30%	45%	35%
c)	Useless land (<i>Potito Jomi</i>)	10%	10%	N/A	N/A
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara

This table-27(a) depicts that in Baripara after the intervention of the facilities of irrigation (then IRRI cultivation started), a small portion of homestead land converted as agricultural land. Between the periods of 1971-1985, 10% useless lands were being used as agricultural land due to the intervention of IRRI and the facilities of irrigation system. Recently, 10% agricultural lands have converted into homestead land due to the increase of population. Internal migration (migration from villages to villages) is one of the major reasons for decreasing cultivable land in this village. In the past the lands that were converted into homestead were used for betel-leaf cultivation. But after introducing of the facilities of irrigation those lands started to use for IRRI cultivation.

6.5.1.2 Changes in the Use of Land in Hossainpur since 1947

The following table-27(b) shows change in the use of land in Hossainpur since the period of 1947.

Table-27(b): Change in the use of Land in Hossainpur since the period of 1947

Type	At present %	(20 years ago)%	Before 1947 %
Homestead, pond, garden, yard	62%	34%	22%
Road, mosque, shop, graveyard	3%	1%	1%
Agricultural land	35%	57%	70%
Useless land	n/a	8%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Hossainpur.

This table-27(b) depicts that in Hossainpur 8% useless land have now come under cultivation due to the facilities of irrigation. The use of homestead land has increased for demographic change. Over the last 20 years, after coming from abroad the inhabitants of Hossainpur build ponds and large houses and thus the use of homestead land increasing. For introducing the facilities of irrigation, IRRI is cultivating in most of the land.

6.5.2 Changes in the Use of Land for different Crops production after and before the

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Introduction of the Facilities of Irrigation

The following table-28 shows the change in the use land for different crops production after and before the introduction of the facilities of irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-28: Change in the Use of land for different Crop Production after and before the Introduction of Irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur

Sl. No.	Land Type	Types	Year/ Percentage			
			Before 1947 %	15-20 years ago %	At Present %	
a)	Homestead land. (Total land is 237 acre)	House, yard	14%	25%	34%	
		Garden (coconut, betel-nut, banana etc.)	23%	30%	32%	
		Pond	18%	26%	28%	
		Betel Leaf	35%	9%	1%	
		Vegetable	10%	10%	5%	
		Total		100%	100%	100%
b)	Agricultural land (Total land is 120 acre)	i) Paddy:	Aus and Amon.	60%	10%	N/A
			IRRI	N/A	68%	90%
		ii) Robi crops.	8%	5%	6%	
		iii) Oil seed	3%	5%	2%	
		iv) Jute	5%	2%	N/A	
		v) Onion	4%	5%	N/A	
		vi) Dal, Mosori, Khesari etc.)	10%	5%	2%	
		vii) Useless (No crops)	10%	N/A	N/A	
Total		100%	100%	100%		

Source: Field work in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-28 shows that before the introduction of the facilities of irrigation most of the lands in Baripara and Hossainpur were cultivated for one time. Before the partition of 1947 most of the agricultural land were used for cultivating *Aus* and *Amon*. A large number of Hindu people were cultivating betel-leaf in most of their homestead area in Baripara. At present most of the land the villages is used for cultivating IRRI. Percentage of *robi* crops is decreasing because of IRRI cultivation. IRRI cultivation is more profitable than Robi crops. Besides this, more labor is needed for *Robi* crops cultivation and market price of *Robi* crops is less than IRRI. During the period of 1940s, 8% lands were used for jute cultivation. Farmers do not have interest to produce jute due to non-profitability. At present total land in Baripura is amounting 360-acre. Few households have total 20 acres of land which located outside this village. Moreover 5 acres of land is owned by the inhabitant of adjacent villages.

6.5.3 Changes in the Cropping Pattern and Cropping Intensify

Aus and Amon paddy was the main agricultural product in Baripara and Hossainpur before the introduction of the facilities of irrigation. Before liberation betel leaf was another important agricultural product in Baripara. The intervention of new rice varieties and improvement of irrigation system have increased the yielding capacity and cropping intensity in the villages. The table-29 shows per acre crop production, land using and change in the cropping pattern and cropping intensity after the introduction of the facilities of irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-29: Per Acre Crop Production, Land using and Change in the Cropping Pattern and Cropping Intensity after the Introduction of Irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur

SL. No	At present after the introduction of the facilities of irrigation			In the past (before introduction of the irrigation)	
	Crops Name	Acre wise Production (Mond)	How much Land use	Acrewise Production (Mond)	How much Land use
1.	Paddy				
	i) IRRI	70-80	95%	Not prevail	Not prevail
	ii) China	Not prevail	Not prevail	22 monde	5%
	iii) Aus and Amon	Not prevail	Not prevail	20 monde	45%
2.	Wheat	Not prevail	Not prevail	30 monde	5%
3.	Jute	Not prevail	Not prevail	40 monde	5%
4.	Kaon	Not prevail	Not prevail	30 monde	3%
5.	Dal (Mosori, Khesari etc)	Not prevail	Not prevail	20 monde	12%
6.	Oil seed	Not prevail	Not prevail	15 monde	3%
7.	Spices	Not prevail	Not prevail	110 monde	2%
8.	a)Field Vegetable	150--250	5%	250--350 monde	20%
	b)Homestead Vegetable				
	Total =		100%		100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

It is seen from this table-29 that before IRRI cultivation, *Aus* and *Amon* were produced mostly and besides these some different sorts of other crops such as spices, *dal (mosori, khesari)* wheat, jute, etc. were also produced. Since the introduction of the facilities of irrigation and cultivation of IRRI, all those other crops have not cultivated because, IRRI production is more profitable. The reasons for increasing agricultural production are due to the introduction of irrigation through a big canal, good quality of seeds and modernization in cultivation, etc.

6.5.4 Changes in the using of Fertilizer, Insecticides etc, Prices of Agricultural Equipment and the Productive Crops

The following table-30 shows the percentage of using fertilizer, insecticides etc. in the land and the prices of agricultural equipment in Baripara and Hossainpur over different periods.

Table-30: Percentage of using Fertilizer, Insecticides etc. in the Land and the Prices of Agricultural Equipment in Baripara and Hossainpur over different periods.

Item	Percentage of the land using over the time and prices of the agricultural equipment.							
	1970-'75		1980-'85		1990-'95		2000-2003	
	Price	land using %	Price	land using %	Price	land using %	Price	land using %
/Paddy seed	Tk-2/kg	n/a	Tk-5/kg	n/a	Tk-7/kg	n/a	Tk-10/kg	n/a
Fertilizer (uria, patash)	Tk-0.50/kg	5%	Tk-3/kg	25%	Tk-9/kg	80%	Tk-10/kg	100%
Insecticide	Tk-1/acre	20%	Tk-12/acre	40%	Tk-60/acre	90%	Tk-75/acre	99%
Ploughing by cattle	Tk-12/day	100%	Tk-60/day	100%	Tk-85/day	100%	Tk-180/day	5%
Ploughing by Tractor	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Tk-140/day	95%
Irrigation	n/a	n/a	Tk-8/hours	55%	Tk-12/hours	70%	Tk-25/hour	80%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

This table-30 depicts that the percentage of using fertilizer and insecticides in the land is increasing. The prices of agricultural equipment and the market prices of the crops are gradually increasing. The farmers are now cultivating lands by tractor. At present most of the cultivable lands have come under irrigation. In the past, paddy seed was exchanged by other crops. In few cases it was selling in the market. At that time almost all farmers had seedbed and 100% land was cultivated by cattle. The cost of cultivation by cattle was more than the tractor. For cultivation by the cattle it was needed 4 days but by a tractor it takes now two days only. Over the last 4-5 years, cultivation by tractor has started. At present 95% of the paddy land is cultivate by the tractor. Use of fertilizer and insecticides are increasing.

After introducing of the facilities of irrigation and cultivation of IRRI, the acrewise crops production has increased three times double than Aus and Amon paddy. The market price of the crops is also increasing. But due to the increasing cost of agricultural labor and other agricultural equipments, the profit in agriculture has decreased and the farmers in Baripara and Hossainpur become less interested to cultivate crops rather they feel more interest to work in non-farm activities.

The following table-31 shows the market price of the productive crops in Baripara and Hossainpur over the different periods.

Table-31: Market Price of the Productive Crops in Baripara and Hossainpur over the different Periods

Item	Market prices of the crops produced in Baripara and Hossainpur during the Different periods			
	Year: 1970-'75 (per mound crops)	Year: 1980-'85 (per mound crops)	Year: 1990-'95 (per mound crops)	Year: 2000-2003 (per mound crops)
Paddy: Aus- Amon- Irri-	Tk-12	Tk-90	Tk-220	n/a
	Tk-12	Tk-90	Tk-220	n/a
	n/a	Tk-110	Tk-250	Tk-300
Wheat	Tk-7	n/a	n/a	n/a
Dal:(Mosori,mog, koloï etc)	Tk-20	Tk-50	n/a	n/a
Roson, onion, dhania etc)	Tk-25-40	Tk-100-200	n/a	n/a
Robicrops: begon, tomato, dheros, mula, borboti, lao, kumra etc)	Tk-6-	Tk-60-100	Tk-120-250	Tk-200-500

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

It is seen from this table-31 that the market prices of paddy, vegetables and other crops have increased about twenty times double over the last 30 years. Between the years of 1970-'75 the market price of Aus and Amon was Tk.12/mond, between the years of 1980-'85 it was Tk.90/mond and between the years of 1990-'95 it was Tk.220/mond. The villagers started to cultivate IRRI since 1980s and market price of IRRI between the years of 1980-'85 was Tk.110/mond. At present IRRI is cultivated in almost all lands and market price of it is Tk.300/mond.

6.6 Changes in the Per Acre Yield Production and Food Security after the Introduction of Irrigation and Cultivation of IRRI

6.6.1 Changes in the Per Acre Yield Production

Aus and Amon paddy were the main agricultural crops before introduction of the facilities of irrigation. The intervention of new rice varieties and improvement of irrigation system has increased the yielding capacity and cropping intensity in these villages. Before introduction of the facilities of irrigation, the villagers could produce paddy of 15 to 20 mond per acre. Now they can produce 80 to 90 mond. Moreover, they produce a variety of vegetables.

The following table-32 shows changes in per-acre crop production and use of land after and before the irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-32: Change in Per Acre Crop Production and use of Land after and before the Irrigation in Baripara and Hossainpur

SL No	At present			In the past, before introduction of irrigation		
	Crops Name	Acre wise Production (Mound)	How much Land using	Acre wise Production (Mound)	How much Land was used	
1.	Paddy	IRRI	80-90	95%	n/a	n/a
		China	n/a	n/a	22 mound	5%
		Aus+	n/a	n/a	20 mound	45%
2.	Wheat		n/a	n/a	30 mound	5%
3.	Jute		n/a	n/a	40 mound	5%
4.	Kaon (Rice)		n/a	n/a	30 mound	3%
5.	Dal(mosori, khasari etc.)		n/a	n/a	20 mound	12%
6.	Oil seed		n/a	n/a	15 mound	3%
7.	Spices(onion etc)		n/a	n/a	110 mound	2%
8.	Robi crops, homestead vegetable		150--250	5%	250--350 monde	20%
	Total			100%		100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

It is seen from this table-32 that before IRRI cultivation, different types of other crops such as spices, dal (*mosori, khasari*) wheat, jute, etc. were produced. But after the IRRI cultivation all these crops have not been cultivated because IRRI production is more profitable. At present the villagers are producing *robi* crops and homestead vegetables.

6.6.2 Changes in the Food Security

At present villagers are secured for their daily need of food. 90% people can eat daily three times properly and rest of the people can eat 1-2 times daily all the year round. In the past, 70% villagers could eat three times daily all the year round. The rest 30% could eat daily for 9 months. They could eat one or two times per day. These changes have occurred due to the intervention of IRRI and increased earning opportunity from non-farm activities.

6.7 Wage Rate before and after the facilities of Irrigation

Wage rate of agricultural and non-agricultural labor is almost equal in the villages. But due to the change of economic situation, wage rate of agricultural and non-agricultural labor has increased. Before the intervention of IRRI, the labor got Tk. 30 and one meal. After the intervention of irrigation and cultivation of IRRI they are getting Tk-70-100 and one meal. Before the year of 1971, crisis of agricultural wage labor prevailed in the villages. Then exchange of labor in agricultural work also prevailed. The following table-33 shows the change of wage rate since 1970s.

Table-33: Agricultural Wage Labor Rate in Baripara and Hossainpur since 1970

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2003
Work Hours	8 hours	8 hours	6 hours	6 hours	6 hours	5 hours	5 hours
Wage	Tk.1.5	Tk. 4	Tk. 12	Tk. 30	Tk. 70	Tk. 80	Tk. 120
Other facilities	one meal, cigarette	one meal cigarette	one meal cigarette	cigarette	Tiffin, cigarette	Tiffin, cigarette	tea, cigarette

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Agricultural wage rate is increasing. Between the periods of 1970-1985 a wage labor could buy 2 kg rice by his daily wage. Between the periods of 1985-1995, a wage labor could buy 3 kg rice by his one-day wage. But at present a wage labor can buy 6 kg rice by his one-day wage. But working hours of a wage labor is also decreasing. So, we can say that wage rate is increasing. During 1970-1985 most of the labor could get work in agriculture but since the decade of 1980s they have been getting opportunity to involve in non-farm activities that make them less dependent on agriculture. As a result the scarcity of wage labor has increased during paddy season which is the main reason to increase the wage rate.

6.8 Non-Agricultural Activities and Wage Rate

In the past, women were not seen working in non-farm activities like fencing, house repairing, digging pond and road repairing, etc. It was because of *parda* domination in the villages. At present poor women are working in these sectors. But their wage is less than the man.

The following table-34(a) and table-34(b) distinguish agricultural activities, wage and distinction of wage for man and woman.

Table-34(a): Non agricultural activities and wage in Baripara and Hossainpur

Activities	Activities	Wage rate
House making	Fencing works, house repairing, Building making (Rajmistiri) etc.	Tk.150 + one time meal
Digging	Road construction repairing, Digging pond or canal etc.	Tk.120 + one time meal
Gardening	Betel nut, coconut garden etc.	Tk. 90 + one time meal
Electric and other works	Electrical works	contractual

Source: Field work in Baripara and Hossainpur

Table-34(b): Distinction of non-agricultural wage for man and woman

Types of work	Wage rate for male	Wage rate for female
a) Fencing, house repairing	Tk. 150 + one meal	Tk. 60 + One meal
b) Digging pond, road construction etc.	Tk. 120 + one meal	Tk. 75 + one meal

Source: Field work in Baripara and Hossainpur

The above two tables depict that there are different types of non-farm activities. These are house making, digging pond, constructions etc. The poor women in both the villages are now seen involving in non-farm activities. For house making and repairing, wage rate for man is Tk.150 whereas a woman is paid Tk.60 only. For digging pond and road constructions, wage rate for man is Tk.120 whereas a woman is paid Tk.75 only.

6.9: Changes in the Nature of Mode of Production

To know the social system in the two village communities, it is important to investigate into the class structure and class relationship. Determination of mode of production is one of the central issues in any analysis of class structure and class relationship in Marxian framework. The scholars have argued regarding the mode of production in Bangladesh agriculture. Akhlakur Rahman, a Marxian economist was the first to claim that capitalism is the dominant mode of production in Bangladesh agriculture (Rahman 1974). The second major contribution to the mode of production in Bangladesh is by Arens and Beurden. According to them since the abolition of *Zamindari* system the feudal characteristics have been disappearing. Arens and Beurden have described present Bangladesh agriculture as neither feudalist nor capitalist. They have also rejected the colonial mode (J. Arens and J.V Beurden, 1977).

The third important work is done by Kirsten Westergaard (1978) who has also attempted to determine the mode of production in Bangladesh agriculture and tried to identify the main characteristics of capitalism in Bangladesh agriculture. Westergaard has tried to determine mode of production in Bangladesh agriculture in an attempt to see whether it could at all be called capitalist. She found that it could not possibly be described as capitalist mode of production. She mentioned the tendency to describe the dominant mode of production, as semi-feudal and sharecropping are incompatible with capitalism. Similarly wage labor is also considered as the chief determinant factor of the capitalist mode (Kirsten Westergaard, 1978). B.K Jahangir (1978) has admitted that capitalism is the dominant mode of production in Bangladesh agriculture.

Anwarullah Chowdhury (1982) has made another major contribution to the debate and described the mode of production in the agriculture of Bangladesh as semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Chowdhury has opined that Bangladesh agriculture cannot be described either as the 'peasant mode' or as 'capitalist mode' or even 'feudal mode' rather should be described as 'semi-feudal' and semi-colonial mode of production. He argued that the subsistence peasant who operated their farms or workshops mainly with family labor are self sufficient producers and consumers normally they neither employ labors nor sell their labor to others, they are neither on debt nor lend money to others, and they are not involved in any kind of sharecropping arrangement and are not dominant components in agriculture in Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 1984:17)

6.9.1 Mode of production in the agriculture

In Baripara and Hossainpur, there are 324 and 158 households owning 120 acres and 81 acres of cultivable land out of which 168 households (53%) and 99 households (62.65%) are not involved in agriculture. 156 households (47%) and 84 households (37.35%) are associated directly or indirectly with agricultural production. 152 households (46.91%) and 74 households (46.83%) are landless and they do not have cultivable land except homestead area. According to the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, the villagers are directly related to the agriculture.

The following table-35 shows the cultivation pattern as sharecropping and mortgage in the villages.

Table-35: Cultivation Pattern as Sharecropping and Mortgage in Baripara and Hossainpur

Cultivation Pattern	Baripara		Hossainpur	
	Amount of Land	Number of Household	Amount of Land	Number of Household
Sharecrop in	53.49 (acre)	60	27.95 (acre)	28
Sharecrop out	60.50 (acre)	61	30.25 (acre)	35
Mortgage in	12.65 (acre)	21	18.28 (acre)	21
Mortgage out	3.90 (acre)	17	12.15 (acre)	22
Total	130.54 (acre)	159	88.63 (acre)	106

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur

This table-35 shows that in Baripara and Hossainpur only 121 and 63 households are involved in sharecropping. Out of them 60 and 28 households are associated with sharecropping in 53.49 and 27.95 acre of land. 61 and 35 households associated with sharecropping out in 60.50 and 30.25 acres of land which is significant. Only 38 and 43 households are engaged in Mortgage process. Out of them 21 and 21 households are engaged in mortgage in 12.65 and 18.28 acres of land respectively. 17 and 22 households are engaged in Mortgage out with 3.90 and 12.15 acres of land that is also significant.

In Baripara and Hossainpur, 29 and 11 households belong to marginal farmer category and are involve in sharecropping in 8.04 and 3.10 acres of land respectively. In this category, 26 and 14 households have sharecropped out because of various reasons. They are sharecropping out 6.10 and 1.30 acres respectively. In the small farmer category 19 and 7 households are involved in sharecropping in 13.65 and 5.60 acres. 14 and 8 households are involved in sharecropping out 11.50 and 5.30 acres. In the middle farmer category, 12 and 10 middle farmer households are involved in sharecropping in 31.80 and 19.25 acres respectively. 21 and 13 households are sharecropping out 42.90 and 26.75 acres of land which is significant. In the marginal farmer category 13 and 6 households are involved in mortgaging 3.85 and 1.80 acres of land respectively. In this category 16 and 15 households are involved in mortgaging out because of various reasons. The amount of land they mortgaged out is 3.25 and 4.15 acres. In the small farmer category, 5 and 7 households are involved in mortgaging in land. 1 and 4 households mortgaged out their lands (In Baripara, 3.20 acres in and 0.65 acres out; in Hossainpur, 4.98 acres in and 3.20 acres out). 3 and 8 middle farmer households are involved in mortgaging in 5.60 and 11.50 acres of land. There is no other household of this category involved in mortgaging out in Baripara. But in Hossainpur, 3 households mortgaged out 4.80 acres of land which is significant.

Agricultural hired labor is also an important part in the organization of production. 146 and 65 households are using wage or hired laborers in the process of production. Among these households, only 44 and 22 households are using hired laborers on a full time basis and the rest use hired laborers on a part time basis, especially, at the time of harvesting and sowing. So the landless laborers have also gradually become a commodity.

6.9.2 Changes in the Nature of Production by Family Labor, Wage Labor and by Sharecropper

Ownership of 99% land in Baripara and Hossainpur is private and little land is walkoff land. The characteristics of the mode of production in agriculture in the villages are given below:

- i) In these villages 'land' is not concentrated to a few people. More than 50% households are the owner of cultivable land and have earning from agriculture. About 25% households have direct earning from agricultural activities. About 61% and 70% households in Baripara and Hossainpur have income from both of farm and non-farm activities. This characteristic can be called as pre-capitalistic mode. In the past, land was concentrated to several household and feudal mode prevailed then.
- ii) About 55% and 44% of agricultural works are done by wage labor in Baripara and Hossainpur. In the past, most of the agricultural work was done by family labor and few works were done by exchange labor. So, in the past, feudal mode prevailed.
- iii) The farmers sell their crops in open market. It is remarkable that, they consume most of their productive crops. So, this characteristic can be called as capitalistic mode.
- iv) About 30% and 27% of the wage labor in Baripara and Hossainpur come from outsider villages due to scarcity of wage labor within these villages. As a result wage rate is high. So, labor exploitation can not be prevailing here which represent peasant mode of production. In the past, seasonally 40% of the total labor of these villages used to go out searching for work.

The following table-36 shows the percentage of production by family labor, wage labor and by sharecropper in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-36: Percentage of Production by Family Labor, Wage Labor and by Sharecropper in Baripara and Hossainpur

Sl. No.	Type	Baripara		Hossainpur	
		In the past %	At present %	In the past %	At present %
a)	Landowners were/are cultivating land by only family member.	37%	28%	24%	17%
b)	Landowners were/are cultivating land by both family and wage labor.	41%	27%	51%	34%
c)	Landowners were/are cultivating land only by wage labor	10%	26%	13%	25%
d)	Sharecropping and Mortgage (Family + Wage labor)	12%	19%	12%	24%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

From the table-36 it can be said that at present about 44% agricultural works are conducted by wage labor and 56% agricultural works are conducted by family labor. In the past, about 67% agricultural works were conducted by family labor and rest 33% were conducted by wage labor.

In the past, those wage labor who had no land or had little land, worked in agricultural and non-agricultural activities such as dyke, house making, wood cutting, etc. In the past, (15-20 years ago) the wage labor got 80% works in this village and they temporary migrated to other villages. At present, 30% wage laborers comes in this village to work from other areas due to the availability of work here.

A change can be observed in sharecropping pattern. In the past, the sharecroppers got 50% of the crops and beard all expenditures. At present sharecroppers get 60% of the crops and landowners get 40% of the crops. This change is because of scarcity of labor and opportunity for getting works in non-farm activities.

6.9.3 Changes in the Production related Issues

6.9.3.1 Changes in the Demand of Land, Labor and Technology

Production of paddy increased after the intervention of IRRI and the facilities of irrigation. In the past, Aus and Amon produced 20-mond/acre land. At present, IRRI is producing 60-80 mond/acre land. The price of paddy was increased in the market. So income in agricultural land is more than the past. The market price of 'land' has increased due to the impact of urbanization and the inception of IRRI. Per acre agricultural land is selling Tk. 10 lacks to tk.15 lacks. In the past it was about Tk. 2 lacks/acre.

The demand of wage labor is increasing due to the opportunity to work in non-farm activities. So they are getting priority in the production. In the past wage rate was Tk-30/day. At present wage rate is Tk.100/day.

Modernization is taking place in agriculture. The farmers are using now tractor, irrigation machine, husking machine, weeding mashing, etc. They are also using high quality seeds, fertilizers, etc. In the past, these sorts of technology were absent in agriculture.

6.9.3.2 Changes in the Division of labor

Mainly men are engaged in farm and non-farm activities. Women are mostly involved in household activities. At present, after the intervention of NGOs, 30% women are engaged in NGOs activities. They take loan and later some of them invest that money in farming, rearing poultry, etc. So participation of women in economic activities is being observed now. About 7% women deal with buying household implements, schooling of their children. They also deal or take all sorts of decision regarding their families. It is because of their husbands are serving in abroad. In the past, (15-20 years ago) there was no NGOs activity. So, women were not involved in economic activities. Again women did not move to the market or outside the village.

The following table-37 shows the division of labor in both Baripara and Hossainpur.

Table-37: Division of Labor in both Baripara and Hossainpur

Work Type	Male	Female	Children
Agricultural work :	Prevailing	Very rare	Few prevailing
Crops cutting-	Few prevailing	Prevailing	Help
Crops boiling-	Few prevailing	Prevailing	Prevailing
Crops drying-	Prevailing	Very rare	Sometimes help
Irrigation, seeds weeding etc-			
Homestead gardening	Few prevailing	Prevailing	Help
Household work	Very rare	Prevailing	Help
Livestock	Prevailing	Few Prevailing	Prevailing
Poultry	Prevailing	Few Prevailing	Prevailing
Handicrafts work (basket, net knitting, etc)	Prevailing	Prevailing	Help
NGOs activities	Help	Prevailing	Help

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

From this table-37 it is seen that women do not work in the agricultural land. They are usually involved in cooking food and feeding their children. At present, most of the agricultural household work is done by machine such as husking. Few women are engaged in boiling and drying of paddy. In the past, most of the women were engaged in rice processing. So, women had to do a lot of agricultural work in their houses. Most of the child employed their labor in the agricultural field. They were engaged in seedlings, cutting paddy, etc. At present, the rate of child labor is decreasing in agricultural field.

6.9.3.3 Changes in the Sources of Capital Investment in Agriculture

Most of the capital that invests in agricultural activities comes from non-farm activities. The following table-38 shows the sources of capital that invests in agricultural production.

Table-38: Sources of Capital Investment in agriculture in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Sources of Capital	Baripara		Hossainpur	
	At present %	In the past %	At present %	In the past %
a) Capital invests in agriculture that comes from selling crops	35%	64%	28%	75%
b) Capital invests in agriculture that comes from service in home and abroad.	25%	10%	34%	6%
c) Capital invests in agriculture that comes from business.	12%	8%	15%	7%
d) Capital invests in agriculture that comes from moneylender, NGO micro credit and other Banking sector.	20%	15%	12%	10%
e) Capital that invests in agriculture taken as loan from relatives.	8%	3%	11%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Fieldwork in Baripara and Hossainpur.

The table-38 shows that in the past the villagers had to bear most of the expenses for production in agriculture by selling their crops. Capital in agriculture as a loan from the money lender is decreasing. It is due to NGOs micro-credit program. The villagers have now opportunity to take loan from NGOs. Capital in agriculture as loan from relatives is increasing. Capital invests in agriculture that comes from business and service is also increasing.

6.9.4 Significant Mode of Production in the agriculture of Baripara and Hossainpur

We may find out some characteristics of semi-feudal mode of production in both the villages because of-

- a) the significance of sharecropping;
- b) mortgage system and credit system; and
- c) family and kin oriented credit relation.

The predominant mode of production in the agriculture of Baripara and Hossainpur also shows a great number of significant characteristics of capitalistic development. This are-

- a) growing rate of the use of hired laborer in the process of production;
- b) declining patron-client relationship;
- c) use of modern technology in the process of production;
- d) use of fertilizers;
- e) interventions of credit institutions which replacing traditional moneylenders; and
- f) commercialization of agricultural crop and production etc.

So, basing on the significant features stated we can say that, the predominant mode of production in Baripara and Hossainpur is not purely capitalistic mode, not semi-feudal mode, nor it is peasant mode of production, but it is the combination of some other mode. We can vividly voice this mode as the combination of semi-feudal and capitalist of self-exploitation. This self-exploitation in some places defined as “petty peasant mode of production”. In Baripara and Hossainpur the mode of production is a complex one.

Chapter-VII

Changes in the Land Tenure and Land Reform in Baripara and Hossainpur

- 7.1 Changes in the Agrarian Relation in Baripara and Hosasainpur before 1950s
- 7.2 Changes in the Land Reform in Baripara and Hosasainpur since 1950s
- 7.3 Changes in Agrarian Relation and Land Reform in Baripara and Hosasainpur after the Liberation of Bangladesh.
- 7.4 Changes in the Pattern of Land Distribution in Baripara and Hossainpurs

Chapter-VII

Changes in the Land Tenure and Land Reform in Baripara and Hossainpur

The ownership of land is of critical importance in rural Bangladesh. Agriculture still occupies a pivotal position in the structure of our economy though its share in the GDP has shown a declining trend in the last two to three decades. The economic and the social life of the people revolve round agriculture. Rural people are becoming increasingly landless and the pattern of the distribution of land ownership is becoming more and more skewed both due to high rate of growth of population and the inability of the marginal peasant to earn enough for their survival. The pressure of the population and the laws of inheritance lead inevitable to the disintegration of holdings. There is, in addition, a continuous rise in the poverty indebtedness contributing to the loss of land by the rural poor. Since there little hope for an extension in the total area of net cultivable land, as a matter of fact, more than 95 percent of the 22.5 million acre of net cultivable area is now under the plough, the pressure of ever increasing demand for land can only result in an appreciation in the value of landed assets. On people with surplus fund can hold on to their land. The reason that they are not forced out of agriculture is simply because there is little else for them to do.

7.1 Changes in the Agrarian Relation in Baripara and Hosasainpur before 1950s

The British rules introduced a new pattern of collecting land revenue in the region that includes the present-day Bangladesh in 1973. Under this system the *Zamindars* or rent collectors were given the right to collect revenue on behalf of the government. These rights were permanent and the amounts to be paid to the government by the *Zamindars* were also fixed in perpetuity. The rights to collect revenue were heritable and alienable. This meant that the *Zamindars* could lease out these rights to subordinate interest who could do the same with the rights thus obtained. In this way, a chain of intermediaries grew up between the government and the cultivators bearing the full burden of loan and other extractions. Deprived of nearly every bit of surplus from land a cultivator was destined to live in perpetual poverty, which, more often than not, forced him into bondage of indebtedness.

A rapacious money-lending class along side or some times identical with some of the landed interest emerged. Poor could ill afford to escape the claws of either of them. The distaining of his assets, including the land holding, always remain a logical as well as a real threat. Many cultivators ended up joining the ranks of landless agricultural laborers during the period of British rule in India. Losing the rights on their holdings the cultivators were still keen to stick to agriculture. Many of them moved down to an inferior state to become sharecroppers and of agricultural laborers. They were actually placed at the bottom or near the bottom position in relation to other interests in agriculture. The sharecroppers or the *bargadars*, as they are called in this part of the subcontinent, leased in land on an informal contractual basis from some landholders. A common practice is to fix a *bargadar*'s share at 50 percent of the produce, but it is not general rule. In some cases it is even much less, depending upon the custom and tradition of the locality, and also upon the relative demand for land by the landless.

Agrarian relation that evolved under the permanent settlement was not only unjust, but also grotesquely inefficient. The long chain of intermediaries appropriated the surplus from land, but very few of them accumulated enough to plough back the surplus into the system for socio-economic transformation. The different layers of middleman mostly consume. The usurious money lending carried less risk and was more rewarding than investment in many productive activities, consequently. Production suffered. Agriculture remained backward; and the demand for industrial goods from agricultural population remained low and stagnant. There was little diversification in the economy.

So, in the context of Baripara and Hosainpur we have seen that, after the introduction of *Zamindari* rule by British Government, like many other villages, Baripara and Hossainpur were also ruled by *Zamindari* system. Very few households were living in these two villages. Moreover, most of them were Hindu by religion. Significantly it was seen that a substantial number of families were started to live in Baripara and Hosainpur by buying land. The main reason for selling land by the natives was that the medium and marginal farmers were bearing full burden of loan and other extractions. As a result they were deprived from every bit of surplus from land. Moreover, medium and marginal farmer were destined to live in perpetual poverty, which move often than not forced them into debtness and finally many cultivators turned as landless laborers.

7.2 Changes in the Land Reform in Barisal and Jessainpur since 1950s

Immediately after the partition in 1947, the East Bengal Legislative Assembly took up the task of land reforms. The mighty *Zamindars* of the past in the mean time lost all power and glory. The permanent settlement was quite rightly thought to be the principal obstacle to agrarian change. A series of peasant movements, the last being the *Tebhaga* Movement, continued raging through Bengal even after the partition had shaken the base of the tenure arrangements.

It is, therefore, a surprise that within less than three years after partition, the East Bengal Estate Acquisition and Tenancy Act was passed by the East Bengal Legislative Assembly in February, 1950. The *Zamindari* system was predictably abolished by the Act. The government acquired all rent-receiving interests in all lands. The peasants become direct tenants under the government and got the proprietary rights on their lands. These rights were made permanent, heritable and transferable. The ceiling to land holding was fixed at 10 standard *bighas* (33.3 acres) of cultivable land per family or 10 *bighas* of such land per member of the family, whichever is larger, in addition to the homestead land up to a limit of 10 *bighas* per family.

The ceiling was relaxable for plantation activities in tea, coffee, sugarcane and rubber, for cassia leaf gardens, orchards, large-scale mechanist farming and large-scale dairy farming. The excess land, acquired by the state in the process, was to be settled with bonafied marginal farmers holding not more than 3 acres of land. A cultivator was allowed to buy or otherwise acquire additional cultivable land only if his holding did not exceed 100 *bighas* for himself and his family. The Act provides for suitable compensation for those whose excess lands were to be acquired.

The provision of this Act underwent some significant amendments from time to time. The most important among them was a revision of the ceiling to landholding from 100 to 275 standard *bighas* per family by an ordinance of 1961. Accordingly, some acquired lands had to be given back to the previous owners after 1964. This modification was extended to cooperative societies, provided the individual members transferred unconditionally their ownership rights to the society.

For the redistribution of excess land acquired by the State, the Revenue Department in 1957 laid down an order of priority that included even the non-cultivators like ex-military men with long and meritorious service, refugees and ex-rent receivers with no land for consideration. The 3 acres limit, however, was not relaxed. It is to note that these lands were not freely redistributed. An applicant would get his share of land on payment of sum of money, called 'Salami', to the government, and provided his application for land was granted. In August, 1957, the salami was set at 5 to 10 times amount of annual rent. In August, 1958, it was enhanced to the full market value of the land. It appears that the great expectation of distributive justice and productive efficiency roused by the Act of 1950 suffered considerable erosion in subsequent years. Given the socio-economic realities, the Act itself did not have much to offer for change.

In the context of the villages Baripara and Hosainpur we can see that, immediately after the partition of 1947, Bengal Estate Tenancy Act passed in 1950 for abolishing *Zamindari* rule. As a result, peasant became direct tenant of the land under the Government. In addition, this Act changed the agrarian relation of the peasant in Baripara and Hossainpur. Similarly partition led to a kind of redistribution in a large scale migration of population resulting considerable changes in entitlement of land holding. However, these factors have also changed the agrarian relation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

7.3 Changes in Agrarian Relation and Land Reform in Baripara and Hosasainpur after the Liberation of Bangladesh.

Immediately after the independence it fell upon the new government to look into the problems of agrarian relations and to initiate measures for correction. Accordingly in 1972, the government announced a program whereby the ceiling to landholding was again brought down to 100 *bighas* per family. This was relaxable in cases of cooperative farming and organized plantation. The *khas* land with the government was to be distributed among landless peasants and marginal farmers having not more than 1.5 acres of land. The landless were to be especially encouraged to form cooperative for settlement on large blocks of *khas* lands. It was also decided that the recovered and accreted *char* land by the rivers would not go back to the original claimants, if there were any; and would be vested with the government who would be required to settle them among poor and landless peasants.

The government declared exemption from payment of land revenue for agricultural households having less than 25 *beghas* of land. The inefficiency of the measures of 1972 made the government realize that they would have to initiate changes of a more fundamental nature in agrarian relations so that there could be real tangible improvements in agriculture. This was attempted in 1975 when the government declared a series of drastic measures for reevaluating the rural economy. According to them, the land ceiling was to be reduced to 70 *bighas* per family. But measures of more far reaching consequences were proposed in relation to the organization of production. The whole of agriculture was sought to be brought under a system of compulsory cooperatives. The output would have to be distributed according to the ratio of one-third for land, one-third for labor, and one another one-third for the use of capital that includes plough bullocks, seeds, fertilizer, irrigation, etc.

In the management of cooperatives there would have to be proportional representation of land labor and capital. The capital formation in agriculture would be used by the cooperatives for the improvements of production efficiency in agriculture and also for the diversion into rural industries, which would similarly be run under the overall management of the cooperatives. Landless labor would thus be absorbed in a gainful process of production in rural activities. But this policy could not be implemented owing to change in government in 1975.

The deepening crisis in economy and the sharpening of contradictions in production relations, however, have continued to exert pressure on the government to initiate reform measures. Consequently a land Reform Committee was formed in 1982. On the basis of its recommendations the government promulgated a new land Reform Ordinance in 1984. Its main features are described below. The ceiling to ownership of agriculture land has been reduced to 60 standard *bighas* for a family. Excess land would be acquired by the state on the payment of compensation to the owners who would have the freedom to keep their preferred plots up to 60 *bighas* per family. A '*bargadar*' will be entitled to cultivate up to 15 standards *bighas* of land, his contract for cultivation on the *barga* land shall remain valid initially for five years and shall be renewed if he satisfies the terms and conditions of cultivation. The owner and the *bargadar* shall each get one-third of the produce of the land. The remaining one-third shall receive by the owner or the *bargadar*, or by both in proportion to the other costs of cultivation borne by them.

In addition to reducing the ceiling of land holdings the largest reforms, it appears, have shown greater interest in safeguarding the rights of sharecroppers. In spite of its promulgation in 1984, the provisions of the law are yet to be implemented fully. But the problem in Bangladesh today is so deep and complex that even if the reforms are fully implemented it though only the fringes of the issue. A look into the changing patterns of land distribution in rural Bangladesh will make the point clear.

Thus immediately after the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the Government announced a program to bring down landholding ceiling. Significantly some landless and poor people got allotment a small amount of land in Baripara and Hossainpur. The inefficiency of the measures of 1972 made the Government realize to take further action for improvement. Government declared a series of drastic measure which reduce the land ceiling to 70 *bighas*. But the deepening crises in economy and sharpen of contradiction in production relation did not gave any fruit to change agrarian relation and land reform. Therefore, Government promulgated a new reform in 1984, which has given safeguard to the peasant and formed a new agrarian relation. But the provision of law is yet to be implemented fully. However, peasants and small farmers of Baripara and Hossainpur still are not fully benefited from promulgation.

7.4 Changes in the Pattern of Land Distribution in Baripara and Hossainpurs

In Bangladesh landless or near landless were 17% in 1951 and this figuring dramatically rose up to 56.5% in 1983-84. But in the context of Baripara and Hosainpur it is seen that, in the year of 2003, the percentage of landless in Baripara and Hossainpur are 46.91% and 46.83 % respectively. So, it was observed that, land reform after liberation, however, solved the problem of access to land of these groups of rural people. The following table-39 shows the distribution of agricultural labor force by type of employment in 1951.

Table-39: Distribution of Agricultural Labor Force by Type of Employment in 1951.

Status	Number of Household	Percentage	
		A	B
Owner-cultivators	3743082	35.3%	41%
Owner-cum -sharecropper	4334889	40.6%	47%
Sharecroppers	621299	5.9%	12%
Sharecropper-cum-hired labors	410721	3.9%	n/a
Landless laborer	1513629	14.3%	n/a
Total:	10623620	100%	100%

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (Land Occupancy Survey of Rural Bangladesh, 1978).

Among the land holding population in 1951, about 41% were owner-cultivator, another 47% were owner cum sharecropper and the remaining 12% were pure sharecropper. The 1978s-84 agricultural censuses also shows similar trend.

The following table-40 shows the number and area of rural households by type of tenancies in 1978.

Table-40: Number and Area of Rural Households by Type of Tenancies in 1978.

Status	Number of Household	Percentage of total	Area (acres)	Percent of total	Land area (acres)	Taken in Percent
Owners	5974206	64.53%	14224975	58.6		
Owner-cum-tenant	2597661	28.06%	5433642	22.3	3728211	15.4
Tenant	686357	7.41%			921864	3.7
Total	9258224	100%	19658617	80.9	4650075	19.1

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (Land Occupancy Survey of Rural Bangladesh, 1978).

But in the context of the villages Baripara and Hosainpur we can see that, in 2003, 55.23% and 51.19% were owner cultivators, another 25.58% and 26.20% are owner cum sharecroppers and 19.19% and 22.61% are pure sharecroppers.

These figures seem to indicate two important trends. First, most of the landowners prefer to keep most of their land to themselves for cultivation. Second, landlessness is gradually reducing the marginal peasant to laborers. Since sharecropping is being replaced by own cultivation in the case of most farmer and farming is being done mostly under the own management of the landowners, landless laborers are earning their living more and more as day laborers under taking any work they can find.

The pattern of the distribution of the size of land holding, as it changes over time, is also indicative of an increasing rate of pauperization of peasant families in rural Bangladesh. We have already seen that the average size of holding around 1938-40 was estimated at 4.02 acres. It declined to 3.54 acres, in the Agricultural Census 1960; and was further reduced to 2.3 acres, in the latest agricultural Census of 1983-84. Over the period of about 45 years i.e. between 1938-40 and 1983-84 the average size of land held by a peasant family has been almost halved. The average size itself, today, has become almost a marginal size.

A farm household, as defined in agricultural census, is one which has at least 0.05 acre of cultivated land. Farm households are distributed into three categories; small, medium and large. A small farm household has an operated area between 0.05 and 2.49 acres of land. A medium farm household has it between 2.59 and 7.49 acres of land. A large farm household is one with 7.50 acres of operational holdings or more.

The following table-41 shows size distribution of farm households in Bangladesh Agricultural Census, 1960 and 1983-84

Table-41: Size Distribution of Farm Households in Bangladesh Agricultural Census, 1960 and 1983-84

Item	Figures for Farm Households as Percentage							
	Agricultural Census, 1960				Agricultural Census, 1983-84			
	Small	Medium	Large	Total	Small	Medium	Large	Total
Percentage of total farm holdings	51.63	37.68	10.69	100%	70.34	24.72	4.94	100%
Percentage of area of farm holdings	16.25	45.69	38.06	100%	28.98	45.09	25.92	100%
Average size of Farm Holdings	1.11	4.29	12.00	3.54	0.9	4.1	11.9	2.3

Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture and livestock; 1983-84, Vol-1, Table-5, p-32 and statistic yearbook of Bangladesh, 1979, Table 4.9, p-147)

It appears that Bangladesh agriculture is overwhelmingly characterized by the operation of small farms. The number of farm is remaining somewhat stable. The percentage of farm in this category, however, is declining due to increase in the total number of farm household. In 1960, they were 51.63 percent in the aggregate. Medium and large farms constituted 37.68 percentage and 10.69 respectively. The share of farm areas under different categories has also shown concomitant changes. Areas under small farms has gone up from 16.25 percentage in 1960 to 28.99 percentage in 1983-84, while that under large farms has gone down from 38.06 percent in 1960 to 25.92 in 1983-84.

The share of medium farms in terms of area has not changed much. This accounted for 45.09 percent of the total cultivated acre in 1983-84, as against 45.69 percent in 1960. More important however, is the fact that the average size for each of the three categories has declined. For large and medium farms the shift is negligible, but for small farms, the marginal worth of change should be quite substantial. From 1.11 acres in 1960, the average size for small farms has come down to 0.9 acre in 1983-84.

But in the context of the villages Baripara and Hosainpur we can see that, in 2003, no large farm households were found. 9.25% and 21.51% households in Baripara and Hossainpur belonged to middle farm households. Consequently, 12.03% in Baripara and 6.32% in Hossainpur belonged to small farm households defined by agricultural census. It shows very clearly that the crisis that has been deepening land peasant relationship in Bangladesh agriculture. Of the small farms, the majorities are practically non-viable. Middle farm households thought to be self-sufficient.

It is not that their economic strength today has improved. But in overall situation of the losses of land entitlements, landlessness and general poverty the owner of these farms are being treated as sufficient well off. The distribution also shows why the so called land reform measures are by themselves and for all practical purposes, an exercise in futility. It is not likely that there would be even one percent of the cultivated area acquirable as Land Reform Ordinance, 1984. In reality, however, that one percent also will remain unacquirable, as the process of its lawful redistribution within the family will continue.

There is not much land above the 60 *bighas*, or nearly 20 acres ceiling of farm holding fixed by the government that may become acquirable after making allowance for prospective or retrospective redistribution within families. The number of large farmers in Bangladesh has come down to about 24% between 1960 and 1983-84. But the decrease is only 8% when the figures for 1983-84 are compared with those of 1968. In the case of medium farms the absolute number of farms has not changed significantly. In the case of the small farms there has been a 61% increase in the number of farms if we compare the 1983-84 data with that of 1968 and 123% if 1960 data are taken into account. Not only the number of small farms has gone up but the area has also gone up sharply. The area under the medium and the large farms, however, has not changed much. But in the context of the villages Baripara and Hosainpur we have seen that, there is no large farm household.

So, land reform has to take any sense, the land ceiling will have to be reduce to something between 20 to 30 *bighas* per family. This means that there would be no large size farms, as it is understood today. From the point of view of economic efficiency only it makes sense, as the small farmer in Bangladesh are to be found more intensely and more efficiently cultivated. Land holding will continue to break up into pieces in the natural course of subdivision among the inheritors. As a consequence, by the turn of the century, perhaps, many of the large will disappear from the scene. But simultaneously almost all the farms will end up being too small to be proper economic use. As there should be a limit to the large size of farms, there has to be also a limit to the small size as well if efficiency considerations are to be satisfied.

Chapter-VIII

Rural Development Policies, intervention of the GOs and NGOs Activities in Baripara and Hossainpur

- 8.1 Policies and Programs for Rural Development in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur
- 8.2 Intervention of the GOs Activities in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur
- 8.3 Intervention of the NGOs Activities in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur
- 8.4 Impact of the GOs and NGOs Intervention in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur

Rural Development Policies, intervention of the GOs and NGOs Activities in Baripara and Hossainpur

8.1 Policies and Programs for Rural Development in Baripara and Hossainpur

After the liberation of 1971, Government of Bangladesh and different NGOs have been working for the rural development of the country. The impact of this development could be observed in Baripara and Hosainpur also. The Govt. of Bangladesh has taken a decentralized policy of its administration. During the period of 1980s, Chatkhil Upozila was under Metropolitan. Later through the activities of the Upozila Parishod, Union Parishod, and Pourosova had proven more fruitful for the rural development. Since the period of 1980s, different NGOs activities have been working in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Several renowned NGOs such as BRAC, ASA, Proshika and Grameen Bank have started their activities in Baripara and Hossainpur since the mid-eighties to implement their different social development programs. A lot of women are engaged in micro-credit operation of these NGOs. The beneficiaries of these NGOs have utilized the micro-credit programs in different trade such as rickshaw/van pulling, dried rice business, vegetable and crop cultivation. They also used a portion of that credit for their family needs. Government also takes different programs like free primary education, scholarship for increasing female education, VGD, VGF etc. to support rural people for developing them. During the period of 1970s, NGOs operations for social development were not imagined. At that time government had only some relief programs to meet the demand of food scarcity in Baripara and Hosainpur.

Bangladesh is predominantly an agrarian country characterized by low-level technology, subsistence farming, under employment in the agricultural sector, climatic uncertainty and low returns from investment in agriculture. The country achieved independence through a liberation war which caused massive destruction in its economic base. The war damages were estimated to be US \$ 1.2 billion at 1970 and the hardest hit sectors were food production, housing, communications and transport requiring massive task of rehabilitation and reconstruction. So, Baripara and Hosainpur were also affected by the massive destruction in its economic base. At that time the economic condition of most of the inhabitants of Baripara and Hosainpur was very poor.

For the rural development, ^{Dhaka University Institutional Repository} Government of Bangladesh had taken different policies and programs; CVDP (Comprehensive Village Development Program), Comilla Model, etc. are mentionable here. After liberation the Government of Bangladesh launched FYP (Five Year Plan) for the country development. The first five-year plan (FFYP) was launched in 1973 with a total outlay of Tk. 4455 cores at 1972-73 prices. During the plan period, devastating floods took place, which led to famine and death and the inhabitants of Baripara and Hosainpur were also affected by the massive destruction. At the same time oil prices quadrupled in the international market. As a result, the economic recovery was slow in the country and a large number of development projects could not be completed in time. At this stage, a meaningful Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) could not be undertaken and a Two Year Plan (TYP) was formulated (1978-80) to complete as many on going projects as possible.

The Second Five Year Plan (1980-85) with a total outlay of Tk. 20,125 cores at 1979-80 prices in the public sector was launched in 1980 within a broad framework of a Twenty Year Perspective Plan. Shortage of resources from trade, adverse aid climatic because of the second oil-shock and domestic crop failures in the early eighties made its proper implementation difficult. The Government launched yet another five-year plan, the third in this series, with the same objective of attaining self-sufficiency in food grain production in 1985. It is worth mentioning that for a projected population of 1.5 million in 1990, self-sufficiency (defined as 16.02 oz, per capita per day) will be attained at 20.5 million metric tons. It implies with 10 percent deduction for seed and wastage, food-grain that must be available for consumption has to be 18.45 million metric tons. The TFYP set a target of 20.7 million metric tons, for the terminal year of the plan. At the end of the third year of the TFYP production in food-grains stood at 16.5 million metric tons, 6% less than the targeted 17.5 million metric tons set for that year (87-88). Agricultural development program during the TFYP was drawn up with a view to achieving the following main objectives:

- a) Attainment of self-sufficiency in food production; and
- b) Expansion of employment opportunities.

Both these objectives are clearly tied to the modern water-seed-fertilizer technology. The plan envisaged the absorption of 40 percent of additional labor force through expansion in the agriculture sector. With the expected expansion in acreage under HYV crops, the demand for fertilizers is estimated to increase to about 18.85 lack tons. As against the allocation of Tk. 474, 34 cores on fertilizers during the SFYP, the corresponding figure for the TFYP was only Tk.150 cores. This was due to the reduction in subsidy on fertilizers during the TFYP by less than one-third of the level of subsidy during the SFYP. Privatization of fertilizer trade was expected to mitigate the effects of the removal of price subsidy. The first three years of the TFYP saw the withdrawal of subsidies, and credit restrictions leading to lower purchasing power of farmers. This contributed to lower use of fertilizers. The TFYP target for agricultural credit distribution was Tk. 2483 crores. Disbursements in 1985-86 amounted to Tk.650 crores (a drop of more than 42% from 'the terminal' year of the SFYP). In 1987-87 the figure reached Tk.-657 crores.

Water resource development in this country rests on flood protection and drainage facilities to the monsoon crops and irrigation facilities for the expansion of inter cultivation. The short-term strategies pursued under the TFYP are identical to those pursued during the SFYP. The long-term strategies have included basin wise development of surface and ground water. The National Water Plan is to be the main basis for the development of the water sector. It is relevant here to consider the findings of some studies undertaken for recommendation of projects in the TFYP. Two studies are considered in this regard-the first one is a study of an agricultural development project in the Dakatia Basin and the second one being a per- feasibility study recommending core emphasis by the government on HYVT. The first study was undertaken to identify the constraints impeding the growth of agriculture in the Dakatia Basin, comprising seven Upazillas of Chandpur, Comilla, Noakhali and Laxmipur districts. Despite agro-ecological advantages, it was found that optimum expansion of HYV could not be divided. The major constraints to HYV expansion have been identified as medicate irrigation facilities, low capacity utilization of existing irrigation equipments, irregular and inadequate supply of fertilizers, inadequate credit utilities, marketing and storage, problems, lower output price, etc.

It was found that farmers prefer local variety seeds because they are readily available at a reasonable price. Even though the government seems to be aware of these identified constraints, yet the government's efforts at removing the constraints have not been met with much success. The government's output price support policy for instance has been totally ineffective. Corruption and the rural power structure prevent the availability of credit to small/marginal farmers. The return from agriculture is to be considered in the light of existing risks associated with it and it is the smaller and marginal farmers who are more risk-prone. The second study was undertaken in 23 districts all over the country grouped on the basis of Flood Prone, Drought Prone, Drought and Flood Prone of Risk Free. The study revealed the inefficiency of extension work. Amon farmers were given the message of HYVY, Amon production technology as regards the constraints to HYVT. Expenditure on agriculture underwent considerable reduction in the first year of the TFYP period. Of the Tk. 33.1 billion revenue expenditure for 1985-86, the share of agriculture was a meager of 1.3 percent. In the development budget also his share of agriculture showed a downward trend. This share goes up to about 21 percent on the inclusion of expenditure on water development and rural institutions. The downward trend in the share of agriculture in the annual budgets, thus, seems to be continuing unabated in the TFYP period. Growth rate achieved in the agriculture sector in 1985-86 (first year of THYP) was 4.1. This comprised a 70% increase in jute production. In 86-87 the growth rate fell to 3.1% and in 87-88, following the floods it reached 0.05%. The annual average growth rate in agriculture during the first three years of THYP was 2.6% as against a target rate of 4%. The government expenditure for the development of the crops, fisheries, forestry and livestock sector as whole is not only low, but it is also declining rapidly. Agriculture sector accounts for nearly one half of the gross domestic product in Bangladesh. But the total public and private sector expenditure for the development of this sector amounts to less than 5% of the development funds to this sector can be taken as the most important causative factor for near stagnation in agriculture in Bangladesh.

The basic agricultural marketing policy of the Government of Bangladesh has been seeking to promote free play of the market forces in determining the prices, remove controls and regulations, and encourage larger participation of the private sector and provide reasonable facilities for its proper performance in recent years. Side by side with the private sector the government operates public sector agencies and policies with the following objectives-

1. Operating price support measures in respect of selected crops to ensure faire returns to the farmers to sustain the tempo of increased production.
2. Maintaining security food reserve and buffer stock of food-grains/fertilizers to stabilize the price.
3. Operating Public sector Food Distribution System (PFDS) to maintain the food grain price within the reach of the common man.
4. Operating relief and social welfare measures for generation of income and alleviation of poverty.
5. Providing market infrastructures like market, transportation, communication, storage and processing facilities.
6. Improving bargaining power of the growers through provision of credit and warehousing, promotion of cooperatives, provision of market information, regulation of malpractice etc. and
7. Adopting appropriate tariff and fiscal measures to ensure markets for the local crops and promote export of the surplus crops.

Operation of the market forces is thus, subject to government interventions through the above policies and programs. In Bangladesh there are 38 government departments, agencies and parastatals engaged in some kind of marketing function in respect of agricultural inputs and output including forest, fisheries and livestock products.

So, from the above discussion we can say that both Baripara and Hossainpur have been benefited by the govt. policy of decentralization for its administration such as by Upozila Parishod, Union Parishod, and Pourosova, country yearly plan for rural development, Privatization of fertilizer trade, National Water Plan (a large canal was built in both of Baripara and Hossainpur), government expenditure for the development in agricultural sector such as crops, fisheries, forestry and livestock sector, agricultural marketing policy such as maintaining security food reserve and buffer stock of food-grains or fertilizers to stabilize the price, relief program for the disaster, providing market infrastructures like market, transportation, communication, storage and processing facilities and other GOs and NGOs activities. Beside different GOs activities, a large number of NGOs have been working for rural development in the country. Some of GOs and NGOs policies and activities had succeeded and some of the policies and activities had failed. So, the success and failure of the GOs and NGOs policies and programs may have an effect on the economy of both Baripara and Hossainpur villages.

8.2 Intervention of the GOs Activities in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur

In Baripara and Hossainpur, several GOs have been implementing their programs for rural development. The remarkable GOs and their activities are discussed below-

i) Union Parishod Activities: Near these villages, Union Parishod office is located at Kachari bazaar. Different Union Parishod activities have been observing here. These activities are mainly road-communication and administrative. Union Parishod has other vulnerable activities such as Food for Work, VGF etc. About 35 households in Baripara and 21 households in Hossainpur are benefited under VGF card while investigating.

ii) Fisheries Offices: In Chatkhil Upozila there is a fishery office (DOF) under the Ministry of Fishery and Livestock. Fishery office has provided loan and technical support for cultivating fish in 5 ponds and 3 ponds in Baripara and Hossainpur. They have also provided other training program on proper cultivation of fish. Fish cultivation is profitable in the locality. At present, fish is being cultivated commercially in 47% and 35% ponds in Baripara and Hossainpur which could not be observed in the past.

iii) Jobo Unnayan Karjocrom: About 13 young male from Baripara and 7 young male from Hossainpur have taken different training for fish, livestock and other activities from Jobo Unnayan Accademy. 7 out of 19 young male have applied their Knowledge.

iv) Palli Unnayon Board: In both the villages, 90% households have been included under the facilities of Rural Electrification Board which was not prevailed 15-20 years ago.

v) CNB/Roads and Highway: 2K.m road was built near the villages. There are other roads for communication was also built surrounding of these villages. This infrastructural change is playing an important role for the development in Baripara and Hossainpur.

vi) Family Planning Office: About 47% couple in Baripara and 59% couple in Hossainpur are receiving the facilities of different programs that are being provided by Family Planning Office. At present, 60% pregnant women are taking treatment from this institution. But in the past, most of the pregnant women used to take service from 'Dai'. This institution also providing 'Polio Vaccine' program that already has been included 100% children in both of Baripara and Hossainpur which could not be observed in the past. Near these villages Family Planning Office was established a few years ago. They distribute birth control facilities and advice the villagers to follow family planning.

vii) Veterinary Hospital: There is a veterinary hospital located at the end of these villages established in 1995. About 31% cattle of both the villages are taking treatment (when necessary) from this hospital.

viii) Banking activities: There is Agrani Bank, Sonaly Bank and *Krishi* Bank located near the villages at Kacharibazar. These Banks have been providing their service since 1999. The villagers take loan from *Krishi* Bank and do other banking transaction. At present 18% households in Baripara and 9% households in Hossainpur have savings accounts. Approximately 7% households from both the villages have taken loan from *Krishi* bank. In the past, there was very little opportunity for banking transaction.

ix) Krishi Department: There is an Agriculture Office which has agriculture related activities such as selling good seed, trained the farmer, etc for developing agriculture. A field officer has been working. About 20% farmers of Baripara and Hossainpur are receiving facilities.

x) Upozilla Somobaye office: There is a co-operative office in Chatkhil. This Govt. institution has been working under Somaj Seba Adhidoptor and has been operating its activities in Baripara and Hossainpur since inception. 13 old men, 8 widows, 5 freedom fighters and a large number of female students are getting *vhata* (*Briddda, Bidhoba, Muktijoddah, and Shikkha Vhata*). In both the villages there is no other co-operative society. But about 5% households are involved in the co-operative societies which are located in other villages.

8.3 Intervention of the NGOs Activities in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur

Over the last 15-20 years, in Baripara and Hossainpur, several NGOs have been implementing their activities for rural development. But several NGOs have stopped their activities during this period as well. The remarkable NGOs and their activities are discussed below.

i) Grameen Bank: This NGO has been working in Baripara and Hossainpur since 1990 and provides loan disbursement for the women. About total 33 households in Baripara and 24 households in Hossainpur have taken loan. Most of them had utilized that credit money in livestock, cattle and fish cultivation. Some of the households had utilized credit in other activities such as tube well set up, small business, sanitation etc.

ii) Shonirbor: This NGO has been working in Baripara and Hossainpur since 1994 and disbursed credit among the women. The activities of this NGO are as like as Grameen bank. About 15% households in Baripara and 13% households in Hossainpur have taken loan from this NGO.

iii) Gandhi Ashrom: This social institution has been working in Baripara and Hossainpur since 1993 and providing different development activities. The head office of this NGO is located near the villages (3 K.m away). This NGO has credit program and other social activities. Several of the villagers have taken loan for marriage, agricultural and other activities.

iv) ASA: This NGO has been working in these villages since 1996 and providing loan disbursement program among the rural women. 21% of the total households in Baripara and 12% of the total households in Hossainpur have taken loan from this organization.

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v) **CARE:** This international development agency has been working for developing the road-communication of the villages. CARE had built few roads in and out of these villages.

vi) **Reforestations:** An NGO has been involved for forestation near the roadside of Baripara and Hossainpur.

8.4 Impact of the GOs and NGOs Intervention in the Villages of Baripara and Hossainpur

Different NGOs such as ASA, Grameen Bank, Sonirbor and Gandhi Ashrom are basically providing loan disbursement in Baripara and Hossainpur. They implement this program for self-reliant of the villagers. At first five women form a group will be proposed for loan and will get four to six thousand taka as credit. After paying the loan on due time the amount of credit gradually will increase. For five thousand taka, the loan taker should pay the loan on fifty installments (50 weeks) and per week they pay Tk.120. Thus a client takes the loan of Tk.5000 and pays Tk.6000. The women from Baripara and Hossainpur are getting loan for business (such as livestock, crops, etc.), cultivation of fish and other agricultural works, house making, sanitation, tubewell etc. Among the group one women works as chairman, one as secretary and three work as member. Thus among 8 groups, one member works as chief of the center (one woman being selected from 8 groups).

Consciousness of the villagers in Baripara and Hossainpur for the NGOs is increasing day by day. But some husbands of the women in the villages are not interested for the NGOs activities. Most of the women are taking loan with permission of their husbands. Some women take loan and give it to their husbands for business. A woman may take loan from two/three NGOs at a time.

NGOs are playing an important role in power structure in Baripara and Hossainpur. About one hundred women of Baripara and Hossainpur are the clients of these NGOs. Women are playing an influential role regarding decision making. As the women are being a part of the decision-making for their household, they have an indirect role in the rural power structure. Most of the NGOs client in Baripara and Hossainpur collectively supported to a particular party during the last national election.

In Baripara and Hossainpur the women could not enjoy their rights as the men. In spite of this they had some political, economical and social rights. They were subordinated to the male member. But today this situation is being changed. Women are being involved in economic activities by taking credit. They are involved in business like livestock, crops, etc. They are helping their husbands in economic activities. As a result, women are getting importance in their family as well as in the society. In most of the cases women repay the loan. But some client fails to repay the loan. Before NGOs intervention, women were only involved in the household work. In Baripara and Hossainpur, in some cases the NGOs activities have succeed and in some cases they have failed for poverty alleviation. Some of the women failed to utilize the credit in proper way.

Chapter-IX

Changes in Power Structure in Baripara and Hossainpur

9.1 Changes in the Pattern of Power in Baripara and Hossainpur

9.2 Changes in Politics of Baripara and Hossainpur

9.3 Socio economic background of the power wielders and sources of power in Baripara and Hossainpur.

Changes in Power Structure in Baripara and Hossainpur

9.1 Changes in the Pattern of Power in Baripara and Hossainpur

To understand the changing pattern of 'Power structure' in Baripara and Hossainpur, it is important to discuss about class and status pattern also. The concept of power is related to the precise type of social relation, which is characterized by class conflict and struggle. According to Karl Marx, power depends on economic condition and those people are powerful who the owners of the means of production. Before discussing the changing pattern of 'Power structure' in Baripara and Hossainpur, we need to look into the background of Indian society which has undergone a many changes over the centuries.

In the 19th century the Muslim of Bangladesh was divided into hierarchical groups on the basis of descent from the Prophet's (sm) line and those were belonging in a powerful class who were belonging in upper position of that (sm) line. But the basis of modern division is 'status' acquired through the traditional ownership and control of land. The style of life involved with traditional ownership and control of land is also considered as the basis of division of Muslim into status group. The Muslims of India used to divide themselves into four main division (1) Syed. (2) Sheikh, (3) Mughal and (4) Pathan. The Hindus were divided into five (1) Brahmmin (2) Baishow (3) Ksyitria (4) Sudra (5) Nomosudra and the Brahmmin belongs to a powerful class. But in Bengal, Muslims were divided into three categories (1) Sharif or Ashraf (2) Atraf or Ajlaf, and (3) Arzal. The Sharif used to claim noble birth and was powerful in the society, the Atraf were low-born, and the Arzal were the lowest of all and this pattern was seen in Bengal until the early part of the 20th century. At that time the Indian societies made the upper status people more powerful. But changes began to take place in such a pattern of ranking among the Bengali Muslims during the British rule.

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In the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century, the Sharif class Muslims in Bengal tried their utmost to maintain their caste-pride by practicing a sort of endogamy among themselves and by abstaining from interlining or mixing on equal terms with the lower classes. “But the influence of the British rule proved to be more powerful than their caste pride. Then British introduced modern education and modern state administrative machinery and for those machinery personnel were from all sections of the society.

The British rule, therefore, became the leveler of social stratification in Bengal. The so-called Sharif classes as a rule belonged to the feudal nobility or were in some way connected with it. With the disappearance of Muslim rule the feudal nobility began also to lose its economic power together with its political power. Because of such an impact of the British rule, a new type of social stratification began to evolve in the Bengali Muslim society. The only way left for the so-called “Sharif classes of the Muslims in Bengal to maintain their social position was by having marital relationship with the rising Muslim middle classes, who were being recruited from all sections of Muslim society, especially from the non-sharif classes. At the beginning social conservatism stood in the way of such marital relationship, but the demands of the time gradually overcome the social conservatism” (Karim 1966: 135-136).

But the rural Bangladesh is undergoing a transformation for the last four or five decades. It has undergone many changes in power structure. Baripara and Hossainpur may be good examples of such changes. The society of these villages has disintegrated considerably in these transitional phases. The high status and middle status groups of Baripara and Hossainpur, who were powerful in the past, became very nearer concerning their life style, education, landholding, economic position etc. Now a day the only deference between them is the presence of patronymics and lack of it that refers traditional status. But the situation was not so flexible in the previous period. Power is unequally distributed among various groups of people in these villages. This unequal distribution of power is related to the inequality of ownership and control of land and to the inequality of status to a large extent. The distribution of power influences the ownership and control of land and the status system.

We need to discuss the political ~~change in the institutional structure~~ in the course of the last few decades to understand the present nature of power hierarchy in Baripara and Hossainpur. Here power will be mentioned as political power. The sources of power in the villages are of two folds, internal and external. For both the villages, internal and external forces influence politics. The internal sources of power are the ownership and control of the means of production, high status, and control in the Union Parishad, etc.

By the use of manipulative skills it is quite possible to achieve and maintain through control over land, money and through control over men. The members of the Union Council were called basic democrats. President Ayub Khan Constitution in 1962 provided for forty thousand basic democrats from East Pakistan. So the basic democrats were the new groups of rural political elite in the villages that emerged under the direct patronage of the then government. Almost all of them had a rural background. They replaced the old member of the Union Board of pre-Ayub era, most of whom were *ucho bangshio* Muslim or landed aristocrats. The new rural power wilder elite under the direct patronage of the Ayub Government included only small member of the old *ucho bangshios*. After the independence, a new political institution and new political force emerged in Baripara and Hossainpur.

The next constitution of Bangladesh prescribed the re-organization of local self-government. With the election of the Union Parishod, local self-government was re-organized and the Union Parishod has replaced as Union Council in 1973. The Union Parishod is the lowest formal political unit in the present political set-up in Bangladesh. The next higher unit is the Zilla Parishod. Every Union is divided into a number of Wards. Baripara and Hossainpur are under the Punchgaon Union administrative and include in Baripara *mouza* as for revenue.

The people of Bangladesh have emerged as a new nation in the world after independence in 1971 and a new change of different social aspects of people started. Through the anthropological synchronic and diachronic studies these changes can be clearer if one follows an inside comparison between the present and past situation of the villages. Power pattern is changing in the villages. It mainly occurs in the relationship of people.

Now-a-days the relationship of people is more flexible than the past. Once the *ucho bangshios* neglect the people of *nichu bangsho*. The exploitation is still there but the people of *nichu bangsho* are in such stage from where they can make some easy participation within them. But the mode of exploitation is changing. *Nichu bangshio* people are now also very much conscious about these kinds of exploitations. Status consciousness is not very much rigid because the *ucho bangshios* are losing their land for different reasons. Besides, people are now concentrating on education. Moreover different types of government and non-government jobs are also giving power to the people and this kind of power seeks the proper educational quality. As a result the social gap between the *ucho bangshios* and *madhya bangsha* is decreasing. A change occurs in the power pattern. Young generation is also being involved in the decision making of the villages by owning political power and education.

In Baripara and Hosainpur, the correlation can be found between the status and political power. Those who have political power are achieving economic stability for their different kind of earning sources concerning political power. It is especially a common feature among the young politicians. There is gaining status position for their political power as they are also gaining economic support. They can participate and play an important role in the *salish*. They are also using these as their sources of income by taking commission from both sides who are engaged in disputes. As they are earning a lot they are going to make a strong economic fate so that they are also going to get the status position. The traditional form of leadership and status hierarchical are on the verge of abolishment and a new pattern of leadership and hierarchical structure are emerging. These leaders are young in age, secular in outlook, educated, broad-minded and have some strong political influences. Gradually the modern democratic government and the spread of education have provided an opportunity to raise Atraf class in Baripara and Hosainpur. Modern education gave them high post in the government office.

So, economically depressed aristocratic class could not maintain their isolation. Since older rating scale of assigning a place in social hierarchy is being challenged and since multidimensional approach to social stratification is being consciously or unconsciously applied, we are finding the frequent cases of "status inconsistency". As these appear to be a multiplicity of criteria on which status of judgment is made it is possible that any given individual may represent himself in dispersed position on the several criteria (such as wealth and education) which are basic for judgments. For example, he may be high in economic position but low in education.

There is a certain amount of inconsistency in overall status situation. It appears that as relative stability in social and value structure would prevent clash of feudal characteristics of the past and new emerging values of industrial society and make the study of social differentiation easier by rationally objective criteria in both the villages. Until then it appears that we can get over this problem (i.e. of status consistency).

The villagers of Baripara and Hossainpur are divided into many status groups by the patronymics of Muslim lineage. Hossainpur is a Muslim dominant village and there is no existence of any other religion there. But in Baripara, a few Hindus are living. It is true that Bangladesh is predominantly a Muslim society. The high status Muslims of both the villages are known as "*ucho bangsha*" who are mostly powerful, middle status Muslims are known as "*madhya bangsha*" and the low status are known as "*nichu bangsha*".

9.2 Changes in Politics of Baripara and Hossainpur

There are several political parties which have their active and pseudo supporter in the villages. We can mention here the name of B.N.P, Awamileage, Jatio Somajtantrik Dol (JASOD), Jatio Party and Jamat-e-Islami. But most of the villagers support BNP. There is no political leader at national level living in the villages. In the past, people gave priority to involve more in politics. But political influence is not so dominant comparing to the past. The common people are remaining busy with their own work. They do not like to get involvement in politics directly; rather they like to go abroad or town for earning. So, only few are directly involved in politics and have linkage with influential local leaders.

Before liberation, Awamileague and NAP-Vasani parties were dominant in the villages.

But in the year of 1972, JASOD party was established and most of the Awamileague supporter became JASOD supporter. Between the periods of 1972-1975, 75% villagers were JASOD supporter. Awamileague supporter was 20% and other political parties' supporter was 5%. During that period JASOD was dominant party in Noakhali districts. Mr. Monirul Islam who was the organizing secretary of JASOD had been living in Hossainpur. During the period of 1991, BNP supporter was increased in Baripara and Hossainpur. At present in both the villages, JASOD supporter is 2%, BNP supporter is 51%, Awami league supporter is 40% and other parties' supporter is 7%.

Faction in politics also prevails in the villages. But this faction does not hamper the village politics severely or it does not divide them into groups. In the past, political faction was more than today and 'political faction' divided the people of Baripara and Hosainpur into several groups.

The *ucho bangshio* and educated persons of both the villages were prominent and influential in the national political movements. Bangladesh already passed different political changes through eight years of autocracy or dictatorship. The people of these villages are always politically conscious. During the period of 1972-1975, a clash occurred within JASOD and Awamileague supporters. At that time power wielders were those who were linked with national 'politics' and the owner of a lot of 'land'. At that time few political power wielders got opportunity to earn money through illegal way such as capturing land. Baripara and Hossainpur lead political movement. We can mention the name of Habibullah who is the member of the Union Parishad. He is the highest landowner having more than 4 acres of land. He belongs to *ucho bangshio*. The aristocracy has taken the character of social mobility and formerly it was a closed system. Today it has assumed to some extent a democratic character. It has been possible for change in the economic and social sphere of life. Today aristocracy is purchasable in exchange of wealth and position in the government or serving in abroad. Both of the two villages had an important political role even in the past.

The young generation is very much conscious about politics. Most of them are active or pseudo supporter of political parties. Mainly three political parties namely Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), Awami League, and Jatio Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) are popular among them. Student politics is also a very common feature among the young generation. Chatkhil Government Degree College situated 2 k.m. away. This college is the central point for the young politicians of the locality. They have also influence on the U.P chairman, Government officials of the locality, businessmen and general people. The Union Parishad is a formal body. Besides, there is one informal body through which power is exercised. This is known as *salish* or *shava* (meeting of arbiters to settle disputes). The *salish* usually sits in the house of one of the *murubbis* especially in the house of an *ucho bangshio*.

Political power is concentrated and centered in the hands of a few individuals and the rest have little political power and influence. Power is unequally distributed among the various groups of people in the villages. The distribution of power again influences the ownership and control of land and the status system. The young people are very much conscious about politics. Most of them are engaged with some political parties. Student politics is also a common feature among the young generation. College and school is the main centre for the student politics. Sometimes it creates blood shed and severe political clash. Young politicians are powerful in the locality by using their political power. They have also influence on the U.P chairman, Government officials of the locality, businessmen.

Now-a-days the relationship is more flexible than the past. In the past, the *ucho bangshios* neglect the people of *nichu bangshios*. The exploitation is still there. But the people of *nichu bangshios* are in such stage from where they can make an easy participation within them. But the mode of exploitation is changing. *Nichu bangshios* people are very much conscious about this kind of exploitation. Status conscious is not very much rigid now. The *ucho bangshas* people are now losing their land for various reasons. People are now concentrating on education and many people of *nichu bangshas* are now being educated. Moreover job opportunities are giving them power. As a result the social gap between the *ucho bangshas* and *maddhas bangshas* is decreasing. But the relation gap between *ucho* and *nichu bangshas* and *madhas* and *nichu bangshas* are still exist. Young generation are also getting involved in the decision making.

and Hossainpur

According to the power holding, the population of Baripara and Hossainpur can be divided into two classes and these are: Elite class or power wilders and the commoners. 'Elite class' is powerful in both the villages. There are two basic sources of power of this elite class; formal power wielders and informal power wielders.

i) Formal Power Wielders: Imam of *mosjid*, member of U.P, and members of school committee are belonging to elite class. In Baripara about 7 households are belonging to this elite class. Among them 3 households have more land (about 3-4 acres each) and also have business from where they earn money. Mir and Chowdhury are the elite of this village. But in Hossainpur about 13 households are belonging to this elite class. Among them, 1 Union Parishod member, 3-school teachers, 2 members of different committee, 7 service men etc belongs to elite class. So, these 13 people are belonging to formal power wielder class. There are 3 people who have a considerable land, have business from where they have more earnings and also were belonging to elite family.

ii) Informal Power Wielders: In Baripara and Hossainpur, there are about 15 household and 11 households are belongs to this elite class. Most of the people of this class are involved in politics. They are social leaders. The families' members of this class serving in home, engaged in overseas migration. Several household have more land (2-3 acre). Some of them have high *bangsho* title such as Bepari, Chowdhury, etc. Some of this class also has a lot of land (2 to 5 acres). People of this class are higher educated also (honors and master). Two inhabitants of this elite class in Baripara and five inhabitants of this elite class in Hossainpur were Govt. high officials and they managed job for more than 36 people from Baripara and 50 people from Hossainpur who were living in this villages. Several people of this class are involved in business at Upozilla *soder* and Kacharibazar. They have grocery and garments shop. About 9 members of this elite class are living USA, 28 have been serving in Middle East.

Class mobilization can be observed in both the villages. Several households among the elite class turned as poor. Again some people who were elite in the past, now they are very poor. So, there are total 23 and 24 power wielder households in the villages. From the above discussion we can say in Baripara and Hossainpur, sources of power are; U.P membership, Politics, Service in home and abroad, School Teaching, Committee membership, Land, Education and High status living.

Each of the lineages can be classified into three on the basis of class, status and power; on the basis of economic class they are classified into three-poor, middle and rich class. On the basis of status-*ucho*, *moddho* and *nichu* status and on the basis of power they can be classified as power wielders and non-power wielders. Among the lineages few households were very rich and majority was very poor in the past. At that time 'land' was main means of economy. At present, most of households belong to middle class. Because of overseas migration and serving in town. So, each of the lineages has several rich households, several landless poor household (day labor) and several middle class households. In Hossainpur, Borobari (Chowdhury Bari), Bepari Bari and in Baripara Haoladar, Meer, Molla, Goni Master lineages are belonging to high status and they are powerful. In the past those belonged to the high status who had more land and traditional lineage title.

At present those people are belonging to high status who have more 'earning' from overseas migration and non-farm activities. Overseas migration, business, and services are getting priority for achieving status. Educated people are remaining unemployed whereas non-educated people have more opportunities for earnings. So, now 'money' is getting priority for status. In Hossainpur Boro Bari, Pundit Bari, Haji Bari and Molla Bari consider themselves as having traditional high status. Because these lineages have possess enough wealth and education from their grand father. In the past, they were considered as high status lineages also. Kalu sheikh Bari and Bepari Bari consider themselves as middle status lineage. They have less money compared to above-mentioned lineages. Saial Bari and Toier Bari consider themselves as low status lineage because they are mostly poor and landless laborers.

On the other hand, Baripara is two religious community based village: i) Muslims and ii) Hindus. Muslims are now majority in number. They are belonging to upper status and upper class and also dominating group. On the basis of status, the Hindus are now belonging to a same level of lineage status. But among Muslims, they have upper and lower status. The Muslims are powerful in Baripara.

During British rule, land owners were the power-wielders. After liberation of 1971, power-wielders were mainly service holders and businessmen. At present 'foreign currency' is getting importance for high economic class, power and status. During British rule "village politics" was mostly based on local politics. But after liberation village politics was influenced by national politics as well.

At present, those households are economically solvent and powerful who have earning sources from non-farm activities. A solvent family has monthly income of Tk.20,000-200,000. In Baripara and Hossainpur, the sources of power of Haoladar, Meer, Molla, Goni Master and Boro Bari (2 households), Kalu Sheikh bari (3 households), Pundit Bari (4 households), Molla Bari (5 households) and Haji Bari (2 Households) are mainly foreign service, service in cities and towns and linkage with local and national politics. Several people of these lineages are the member of school and *mosjid* committee. But during the periods of 1970s and 1980s, the high status lineages were powerful in these villages.

Chapter-X

Change in Literacy, Religious Activities, Value System, Condition of Health and Standards of Living in Baripara and Hossainpur

10.1 Changes in the Rate of Literacy

10.2 Changes in the Religious Activities, Rituals and Cult

10.3 Changes in Value Systems

10.4 Changes in the Condition of Health and Sanitation

10.5 Changes in the Standard of Living

Change in Literacy, Religious Activities, Value System, Condition of Health and Standards of Living in Baripara and Hossainpur

10.1 Changes in the Rate of Literacy

In Baripara and Hossainpur, literacy rate in the year of 1982 was 30%* and 42%*, and in 1998 it was 58%* and 51%*. Literacy rate in the year of 2003 was 88.6% and 97.9 % including those who can do only signature (Source: *the data are collected from Union Parishod Office). The rate of literacy is increasing. Female education is at satisfactory level. Both the boys and girls are studying in school and madrasha. The percentage of higher education (graduate and above) are 4.65% and 1% respectively.

The facilities of education are available in the locality. There are sufficient schools and colleges in the Upozilla. Most of the children receive their primary education from the primary school located in both the villages. But they have to go to Kacharibazar and Upozilla Sadar for higher education. Female literacy rate is quite satisfactory and this rate is increasing. Almost every girl of school going age attends school. The facility for women education is satisfactory. The rate of women education is not as high as men at present. Female are getting married when they become matured. But a very few have higher education. Few boys join madrasha to learn religious education instead of going to formal school. Only girl's school in Punchgaon Union is situated in Kacharibazar where most of the girls from Baripara and Hossainpur receive secondary education. Moreover, developed communication system with town, many educational program in radio, television, news in newspaper etc. are influencing rural people to understand the need for education and to send their children to school. There are two primary schools and a Govt. College in the village. As a result a large number of students are reading in primary and high school. Good numbers of students are reading in the college.

There are several Mosques and Madrasas including two Forkania Madrasa in the villages. There are also three women Madrasas near the villages. So, rate of religious education is more among the villagers. Among the Muslims, about 45 inhabitants have got religious higher education from Dakhil and Fazil madrasas. The children are getting the religious education from the mosques located in the villages.

10.2 Changes in the Religious Activities, Rituals and Cult

Baripara and Hossainpur are Muslim dominant. Few Hindus are living in Baripara. The inhabitants maintain the religious activities. Both Muslim and Hindus have their own religious beliefs, rituals, cults and religious activities. In the past, people performed different religious activities but now a little bit change is seen among them. Majority of the inhabitants take *namaj* (pray) regularly and maintain Islamic principle. They used to maintain Milad-Mahfil, Eid-e-Miladun-Nabi, Sab-e-Barat, Sab-e-Kador, Eid-ul-Azha, Eid-ul-Fitar and other different religious activities. But now the villagers are remaining more busy and do not like to spend more time in performing those religious functions.

The *musulli* of Baripara and Hossainpur are divided into several groups; Tab-league, Jamat-e-Islami, Hanafi Majhaab, etc. The people of these groups are overlapping. There are also sub groups emerging among the *musulli*. Each of the groups has separate Islamic principles for the way of life. There are also '*sufism*' and '*pir-cult*' remaining among the villagers. Few villagers have become *murid* of the *pirs*. The '*pirs*' are living outside of the villages. So, basing on the Islamic principle, there are different followers of different doctrines emerging among the inhabitants. There is a cold war among the different followers of different *Pirs*.

In Baripara, the Hindus have their own religious principles and they are performing their own religious rituals, cults, festivals, etc. In the past, most of the inhabitants living in the locality were Hindus by religion. As a result the entire socio-cultural environments were based on Hindu religious principality. But after the partition of 1947, this locality became Muslim majority and Islamic rules and regulations are getting priority.

Usually, we know that the Hindu societies are generally stratified on the basis of caste, such as Brahmin, Baishawas, Khatri, Namashudra etc. But, it is a matter of wonder that, the Hindus of Baripara do not know or conscious about their caste. They do not know whether they are Brahmin, Khattria or any other caste. There is no high and low status group among them. They feel themselves as the members of the Hindu society of Baripara and the entire society is totally exogamous. But before partition the Hindus of the locality could recognize themselves as Brahmin, Baishawas, Khattria, Namashudra casts. The Hindus of Baripara perform four types of religious festivals and *puja*: Daily, weekly, monthly and yearly. They perform daily and weekly *puja* both individually and collectively. But they perform yearly Puja collectively. They have more than twelve number of yearly festivals such as *durgha puja*, *laxmi puja*, *kali puja*, *Shorosoti puja*, *kartik puja*, *gonesh puja*, *shib puja*, etc. Individually they perform *radha krishno puja*, *laxmi puja*, and *shorosoti puja* etc. But collectively they perform daily or weekly Puja in the Mandir. In Baripara there are three *mandirs*. They individually perform daily worship to particular *Debota*. They also perform Puja collectively in *amabossa* and *pornima*. They also enjoy *jogga* (devotional song) such as *sree sree horirum joggo* and *radha krisno joggo*. Among the Hindus community of Baripara, there are 'Saint Cult' prevailing. Different doctrine based on Hindu religion prevailing among them.

10.3 Changes in Value Systems

There is a change in the value systems among the inhabitants. Young people do not obey the older properly. The new generation is being educated. They consider themselves as modern, smart and know better than the old. People, today, easily tell a lie which was unimagined in the past. Tendency of wearing *borkha* is decreasing. In the past 98% women used to wear *borkha*. At present, 60% of the women wear *borkha*. The change is because of increasing modern education, the impact of media, etc. Today male-female relation is more or less frankly which was not imagined in the past. Few love marriage and illegal sexual relations occur. Parents are quite free with their children. They watch TV, VCR with their children. People are being curious with foreign culture and they consider it as modern culture.

10.4 Changes in the Condition of Health and Sanitation

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In the past there were only a few ponds and total 23 tubewells which were not sufficient for a large number of inhabitants in Baripara and Hossainpur. Most of the inhabitants used pond water for cooking, bathing and also for drinking. They suffered from diarrhea, dysentery and fever. But now every household has the opportunity to use tube well. But majority of them do not use it for cooking or washing utensils. Most of the inhabitants used *katcha* latrines made of wood, bamboo, etc. But at present 87% households are using sanitary toilet made of slab or brick. A large number of people used to take treatment from *kabiraz, imam, fakir or pir* and took ethno medicine such as *panipora, tabij*, or other herbal treatment. But opportunity of modern medical treatment is increasing. 'Upozilla Health Complex' is located near the villages. There are MBBS doctors, pharmacy, x-ray, pathological arrangement and other modern medical facilities increasing in the locality. For a better treatment rich people in Baripara and Hossainpur go to the cities and towns. Upozilla Family Planning Office and different NGOs workers are trying to create consciousness about child care and health care. So, tendency of practicing ethno-medicine is decreasing.

10.5 Changes in the Standard of Living

Standard of living is also changing. Most of the households had bamboo and wood made houses. But now 25% and 28% households in Baripara and Hossainpur are living in buildings and rest of them are living in tin shed roof with brick fence, tin roof with wood and tin fence, Tin shed roof with bamboo and same fence. Dress pattern, attitude and food habits are being changed. At present, 90% and 78% households in Baripara and Hossainpur respectively are getting electricity. 35% households of both the villages have television, VCR and other electrical appliances which were rarely used in the past. For increasing the earnings from non-farm sources, the inhabitants of Baripara and Hossainpur are leading a comfortable life.

Chapter-XI Conclusion

Findings: Major Changing Trends in the Villages under Study

Findings: Major Changing Trends in the Villages under Study

The Changing Trend of Agrarian Communities in Baripara and Hossainpur

After three decades of liberation in 1971, Bangladesh is passing through a transitional phase which is the transaction from traditionally to modernity. This transaction or transformation of rural society toward modernization is occurring by various factors. The responsible factors for the change are various development programs and strategies that have been taking by the GOs and NGOs. This change reflects the impact of globalization or changing trend of world view. The agrarian communities in Bangladesh have also been changing due to their own innovation. By both of the internal and external factors the traditional rural society has been changing socio-economically.

The goal of this study was to explore the changing trend of the agrarian communities over the last 50 years. Here, it emphasized on the main focus on the changing trend over the last 15-20 years. A rapid change was observed in the agrarian land tenure system of these villages after the abolition of the British *Zamindary* rule. Over the last 15-20 years, there has been observing a radical occupational change among the inhabitants through creating new job opportunity in the both home and abroad.

In the past, the inhabitants were mostly dependent on agriculture. During British rule about 97% households were dependent on farm activities. During the end of Pakistan rule, 76% households were dependent on farm activities and the rest 24% households were dependent on non-farm activities. The dependency on farm activities was gradually decreasing. At present, only 23% households are directly dependent on agricultural activities.

During British rule, both the villages were ruled by Hindu *Zamindars*. A prominent Hindu *Zamindar* and his descendants had been living in Baripara and Hossainpur. So these villages were appropriate selection for analyzing the change that occurred in land tenure, settlement pattern and social system since the abolition of *Zamindary* rule in 1950s.

GOs and NGOs have been working in Baripara and Hossainpur since early eighties for socio-economic development of the villagers. But these activities are not sufficient to bring all of them up to the poverty line. So GOs and NGOs should take more activities for the rural development.

The Main Reasons for Changes in Agrarian Communities of Baripara and Hossainpur

The main reasons for changes in the agrarian communities of Baripara and Hossainpur are as follows:

i) Earning from non-farm activities has been increasing. On the other hand, dependency on agriculture has been decreasing. For the impact of urbanization in the locality, the villagers are influenced by the modernity. The villagers are now in a changing phase in the sense of their economic activities.

ii) The locality was Hindu dominant before the partition of 1947. Most of the lineages left this country and migrated to India selling their property to Muslim people. So, there was a change in demographic and settlement pattern observed in both the villages and the reason was both internal and external migration. The villages were settled by the Muslim. Hindu *zamindar* was the ancient land owner. After the abolition of *zamindari* rule in 1950, there was a change in land tenure and the landless Muslims became landowners.

iii) During the period of 1980s, Chatkhil Upozilla was included under Metropolitan area. Since then infrastructural development has been occurring. Job opportunity has been increasing in the locality.

iv) The impact of mechanization and modernization in agriculture such as tractor, irrigation machine, rice milling, husking machine, power tiller, and other infrastructural development have been observing. As a result, crop production increases. A change has been observed in crops cultivation after the introduction of IRRI cultivation and the facilities of irrigation. But dependency on agriculture is decreasing due to job opportunities in non-farm activities. High income from serving in the home and abroad is one of the factors for socio-economic changes in the agrarian communities of Baripara and Hossainpur. Since the inception of mechanization and modernization in agriculture, division of labor has been changing. Traditional agricultural work such as ploughing, paddy husking and boiling etc are now doing by machine. As a result, women labor in agriculture has been decreasing. Women rarely work in the field.

v) During the period of ~~Zamindari rule, institutional failed~~ to pay the *khazna*, he would lose the land. At that time the *Zamindar* exploited the villagers. The villagers belonged to almost same income level. They were cultivating *Zamindar*'s land by giving him *khazna* tk-3 for one-acre land. After the abolition of the *Zamindary* rule, the common people became the landowner. The variation in the income level among the villagers was observed.

vii) The villagers have been changing their various aspects of social life. They were conservative and were more homogenous. But now they are flexible in relation. Domination of lineage has been decreasing due to earning from non-farm activities, increasing of education level etc. Class mobilization among the poor, middle and rich has also been observing. Those people were powerful and respected who had 'high status lineage' and a large amount of 'land'. But due to education, increasing earning sources in home and abroad, at present, those people are powerful and respected who had more 'earnings' from non-farm sources, had good education, involved in politics.

viii) Almost 50% of the inhabitants have no agricultural land. But most of the landless have earnings from non-farm activities. The sharecropper and *badla* work hard but earn only for subsistence. Though they have now job opportunity in both home and abroad but the opportunity is not sufficient for covering all of the inhabitants.

ix) Over the last 15-20 yeas, 84 households from Baripara and Hossainpur permanently migrated to the cities and towns and also migrated to abroad. Since the decade of 1980s, the inhabitants have been migrating to the abroad enormously. They are expending a portion of that remittance to built *pucca* or semi-*pucca* house, pond, or buy furniture, television, freeze etc. Their living status is up-scaling. In the past, most of the household had bamboo made house. So, there was a physical change in both the villages. Changes in the infrastructure, material culture and standard of living have been observing.

x) The hindering factors for settlement and demographic change that has been occurring over the last 50 years are external and internal migration and growth of population.

xi) Very few are widow and divorcees in Baripara and Hossainpur. Once few big farmers practiced polygamy marriage and more wives were helpful for agriculture. At present, polygamy marriage and immature marriage are decreasing due to education, women emancipation and awareness.

xii) At present, literacy rate is higher than the past. The change in education has occurred due to the establishment of educational facilities in the locality. At present women educational facilities, religious education has been developing.

xiii) The reasons for breaking of joint family and increasing nuclear family are demographic or land segment, increasing of earning sources from non-farm activities, etc. The unequal income of different brothers causes the divination of the joint families. Besides, the lack of feelings to each others in a family, the up growing tendency of staying separately is the reasons of increasing the nuclear families. The modern education and its effects enrich this tendency and thus one can think him self-reliant and as a result the joint family structure is breaking. At present, the joint family usually lasts till the father's death. In a joint family, the incomes of the members are deposited to the head of the family. Father or the eldest brother maintains this duty. He supervises every things of the family and looks after the property. Inter and intra lineage marriages occurred. In the past, divorce was more because of poverty. These villages are highly linked with wider society, with towns, cities and also with abroad.

xiv) A rapid change has taken place in the agrarian communities of Baripara and Hossainpur over the last 15-20 years; dependency on manual labor in agricultural production was decreased due to mechanization and modernization of agricultural implements. Farmers are cultivating IRRI in most of the land. Percentage of employed persons has increased. At present, majority of the employed persons are involved in non-farm activities. At present, about 23% households are depending directly on agriculture, 44% households are depending on service in home and abroad, about 17% households are depending on business. A huge number of the agriculture dependent villagers have changed their occupation over the last 15-20 years due to overseas migration, increased opportunity of non-farm activities etc. They are doing service in Gos, NGOs and private firm such as Porjoton Corporation, Bank, Mosque, Army, Insurance shops, etc.

Most of the overseas migrants are serving in Katar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Abu-Dhabi, Saudi Arab, Malaysia, Dubai, Arab Emirate etc. Few of them are serving in Italy, USA, Canada, Japan and Korea. Most of the businessmen are involved in small business and few are involved in big business. These businesses are *mudi bebosa*, Garments shop, *pan pata*, tea stall, Tractor, water selling, crops business, Poultry, Tailor shop etc. The other non-farm activities are rickshaw and van pulling, bus driver, mechanics, *rajmistiri*, Electricians, making house and pond, *kabiraj*, homeo doctor, teachers, *imam* etc. But before the partition of 1947, more than 89% household's main occupation was cultivating paddy (Aus and Amon) and *robi soisho*. About 5% households were dependent on business and 6% households were dependent on service in cities and towns. Most of the service holders were serving as labor and other clerical Job. At that time, several households were involved in blacksmith, boatmen, potter etc. as secondary occupation. During the period of 1947-1971, percentage of wage labor and dependency on service increased. After liberation of 1971, dependency on agriculture was decreased because of increasing job and business opportunities. Villagers who adopted wage labor as their primary occupation is now involved in rickshaw-van pulling, overseas migration and other non-farm activities. But few villagers are still working as wage earners. Percentage of service in home and abroad is increased. Percentage of business is also increased. Over the last 15-20 years several households have been settled to the town permanently with their families. But few of them have an economic linkage with their kith and kin in the villages. There are different sort of business opportunity have created through the urbanization. Different GOs and NGOs activities and the policies of Bangladesh govt. gave an opportunity for the diversified livelihood strategy for the development of the villagers. Thus the major changes could be observed over the 15-20 years. During this time road-communication was developed and *hat-bazar* built near these villages.

xv) The economic condition of the villagers is more or less satisfactory. One or more members of almost every family are doing job in government or non-government organization or involved in business or overseas migration. As a result, a large amount of money comes through non-farm activities.

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xvi) Most of the villagers suffered from food deficiency for three months in a year. They could not get three times food properly. Very few of the villagers had the ability to buy things from the market. But over the last 15-20 years, the income of the villagers is not only increased through non-farm activities, but also creased from agricultural production. After intervention of the IRRI paddy there is a great change in the cropping pattern and agricultural production increased more than double. Besides, many of the GOs and NGOs organizations have been working for the development of the villagers. So, the villagers have the ability to buy things from the market and they are leading a better life. At present, the villagers do not suffer food deficiency. In the past, most of the earning members in a family were engaged in agriculture. 2-3 members of each family were involved in agriculture and the percentage was high. At present, 2-3 members of each family are involved in diversified livelihood strategies such as service, business etc. Paddy is the main agricultural product in Baripaa and Hossainpur. Before the intervention of the IRRI (during 1980s), Aus and Amon paddy were mainly produced and *robi* crops were produced in the winter season. Then the crop production was less than today. At that time there was indigenious method for irrigation. After the intervention of the IRRI, huge water is necessary for IRRI cultivation and the method of irrigation was changed. At present, pump machine is used for irrigation. There is no shallow or deep tube well in the villages or neighboring villages. IRRI is now cultivated in almost every land. Paddy is not grown for selling in the market. So, it is not the main cash crop. Very few families sell paddy at the market. Almost all household have coconut and betel-nut garden and they earn money by selling it. In that sense, coconut and nuts can be called the cash earnings. Dependency on market for daily necessary food has increased which also indicate that buying capacity has also increased. The villagers are using luxurious goods such as cosmetics, good cloth etc. Availability of fish, meat etc in the villages is decreasing because of less rearing of livestock, cattle etc. The main reason for increasing the buying capacity is income opportunity from non-farm sector. Most of the rich and middle class people and few poor class people have earnings from non-farm activities. But the small farmers and landless farmers or agricultural labors are mainly dependent on land. Few landless farmers are now involved in Rickshaw pulling. The economic condition of 22% household was better. 63% household's economic condition was worse and 15% household's economic condition was same as today.

xvii) 48% households are directly or indirectly related to farm activities. According to the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, the villagers are related to the agriculture. 45% households have earnings from agricultural activities. But about 23% households economically depend on agriculture. The agrarian classes of Baripara and Hossainpur are based on the unequal distribution of property. The classification structure here means the agrarian classification. Thus the villagers can be divided into three classes: land owner, share-cropper landless laborer. The landowner can be divided into three classes; owner cultivator (direct), owner cultivator land owner (indirect) and non cultivating landowner. In Baripara, only 172 households (53.09%) are the land owners who have total 123 acre cultivable land. Among the land owner, 30 households (17.4%) have lands more than 1 acres and rest of 142 (82.56%) households have less than 1 acre of land. According to modern agrarian classification, those who possess more than seven acres of cultivable land are defined as rich farmer. Owners of 2.1-7 acres of cultivable land are defined as middle farmer. Those who possess 1.1-2 acres of land are belonging to small farmer class and who possess less than 1 acre of land are belonging to marginal farmer class. In Baripara 46.91% households are landless, 31.79% are marginal farmer, 12.03% are small farmers and 9.25% households are middle farmers. In both the villages there is no rich farmer found. In Hossainpur 74 household (46.83%) out of 158 household have no cultivable land. Only 84 households (53.17%) have cultivable land of total 81 acre. Among the land owners, 51 households (27%) have less than 1 acre cultivable land. 22 households (13.92%) have between 1.1-2 acre cultivable land. 9 households (4.43%) have between 2.1-4.0 acre cultivable land and only 3 households (1.89%) have more than 4.0 acre cultivable land. Villagers who do not have cultivable land are involved in non-farm activities. But few of them still are wage earners from agricultural activities. Only 172 households (53.09%) and 84 households (48.83%) are the owner of land in Baripara and Hossainpur. Among them 95 and 43 households are cultivating most of their land by themselves. They hire little labor if necessary. 44 and 22 households are cultivating their land by hired labor and 33 and 19 households are mortgaging or sharecropping out their land. A sharecropper or lease taker hires little labor if necessary.

In both the villages a land-owner may mortgage or sharecrop out his land to more than one lease taker or sharecropper. Again a sharecropper may take land as sharecrop from more than one land owner. Mortgaging is a common phenomenon. This type of land transaction and associated money lending resolves the issue of control over land. Only 38 households and 43 household are engaged in mortgage. Out of them 21 households and 20 households are engaged in mortgage in (total 12.65 acre and 18.28 acre of land) and 17 households and 22 households are engaged in mortgage out (total 3.90 acre and 12.15 acre of land). It is remarkable that, few households in Baripara and Hossainpur have taken about 5 acre and 2 acre lands as mortgage from adjacent villages. Few households at first have taken land as mortgage and later they sharecrop it out to the sharecroppers. There are 18 landless agricultural laborer or *badla* households in Baripara and 23 landless agricultural laborer households in Hossainpur. But actually the numbers of landless people are more. They work in agricultural land on daily wage basis with or without mid-day meal. They also do non-agricultural work during the slack season. The inhabitants who directly involved in agriculture have been classified into three classes on the basis of means of production. Land is the means of production. So, by the class structure it means specifically the social class differentiation of the farmers based on the owners and non-owners of the means of production. There are also service holders, businessman, driver, rickshaw puller and other kinds of people living in these villages. According to modern agrarian classification, those who possess more than seven acres of land are defined as rich farmer. Owners of 2.1 acre of 7 acres of land belong to middle farmer class. Farmers belong to small farmer class possess 1.1 to 2 acre of land and marginal farmer group possess less than 1 acres. Most of the sharecroppers belong to marginal farmer classes. It is also found that few labor possess little amount of land. They are also in marginal farmer class. The first class among the landowners is the direct involved farmer. They are directly involved in agriculture and they input self labor in land. They themselves arrange seeds, fertilizer, tractor, *hal*, irrigation and other necessary tools. The second class is indirect involved farmer landowner. They are not directly involved with cultivation. They can be said as leaseholder landowner. They appoint daily labor or sharecrop out his land. If the landowner gives all the necessary items for the production such as, labor, seeds, fertilizer etc, the crops will be equally distributed among the sharecropper and landowner.

But if the landowner does not invest anything, he will get 7 portions and sharecropper will get 9 portions out of total 16 portions of the crops. This kind of landowners generally appoints the laborers of these villages who come from other Upozilla such as Sonapur, Ramgati etc. The male member of the middle-class farmer is now being educated and is not interested to work in land. They mainly want to engage themselves in government and non-government job. The third class is non-farmer landowner. They never work in the field. They give their land to the sharecroppers and take apart of crops according to the contract. They do not follow up the work in their land. They do not invest anything. The total invest is coming from the sharecropper. They do not give any kind of fertilizer, seeds, *Hal*, tractor etc. Many of them lease their land which is called “*kot*” in local language. When that amount of money is given by original landowner, he will get back his land. It is locally called “*Bandhak*” or “*Kot*”. This contract generally appears for one year. When landowner gives his land to someone for cultivation for a specific time frame by taking an amount of money and a contract which confirm that after the specific time, the landowner will get back his land without any transaction of money. The farmer can grow anything within the time frame. The old landowners are still the landowners. But they are going to be abolished because they have sold their lands to others. They are sending their children to the school, colleges and Universities. Most of them are middle-class farmer. The Sharecroppers have some agricultural lands. They mainly take the land from the landowners. Usually a sharecropper takes land on the basis of oral contract for one year. In some cases landowner extends the time frame. Some landowners change their sharecroppers every year. Sometimes there are sharecropper families who get land for sharecropping from the same landowner family year after year. There are landless agricultural laborer or *badla* households. Here these landless labors are called *badla* in local term. Most of them do not have any land but engaged in agriculture related works. The appointment of these *badlas* is not settled and secured. They always make themselves engaged where they get job or work. Many of them want to be sharecropper but a very little number of them can be. It is a common phenomenon that the outsider or migrant laborers are always preferable than the local laborers. The migrant agricultural laborers generally come from Ramgati, Lakshmipur, and Sonapur. At present, there is a drastic change in the pattern of migratory laborers. They mostly come from Bholá and Barishal district along with laborers from Ramgati, Laskmipur, and Sonapur upozilla.

The local laborers usually work from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. In 1940s land was concentrated within few Hindus households. But Muslims became land owner after the partition of 1947. Lands were also concentrated on few households. The cost of 'land' has increased due to Urbanization, overseas migration, IRRI cultivation, increased rate of population and converted agricultural land as homestead land. We can say that, land is not concentrated to the rich farmers or middle farmers. During the period of 1940s about 96% households were landless (who has below one acre land). After partition of 1947, percentage of landless households was 57%, after liberation of 1971, a landless household was about 75%, and at present it is about 91% who has below one acre land. Landless households in Hossainpur were gradually being decreased. 20 years ago the percentage of landless households was about 65 percent and 10 years ago it was about 50 percent. So, from the above discussion we can say in Hossainpur the tendency of 'Rich to Richer' and 'Poor to Poorer' is absent. Here, a poor man by doing service in home and abroad or by doing business may change his poor position and become rich. Again a rich man by selling land or failure to get Job in home and abroad may be poor. Here economic status is changeable. So class mobilization is prevailing in Hossainpur.

xviii) There are about 15 and 13 inhabitants involved in money lending business (informal credit business) in Baripara and Hossainpur. The rate of credit interests 5-10% monthly. During the time of investigation, Tk.4-5 lacks were involved as informal credit. In the past, numbers of money lenders were more. Percentage of interest is decreased because of NGOs credit program.

xix) Class mobilization has been observed over the last 15-20 years. Several households among the rich class have turned as poor. Again several households who were belonging to poor class have turned as rich. But it is remarkable that a large number of poor people have turned as middle class. The view of the villagers regarding the definition of poor, middle and rich class among them has also changed. The main reason for class mobilization is of creating earning sources from non-farm activities.

xx) Agricultural production, overseas migration, service in GOs and NGOs, business and involvement in other non-farm activities are the livelihood strategies. Paddy is the main agricultural product of the villages. IRRRI is cultivated in most of land. Generally four kinds of IRRRI are grown such a BR-4, BR-11, China IRRRI and Balam IRRRI. Before introduction the facilities of irrigation, the villagers produced 15 to 20 mounds paddy/acre. They can produce 60 to 80 mounds. Moreover, they produce a variety of crops. Wage rate of agricultural and non-agricultural labors are equal. Before the intervention of IRRRI, a labor got Tk.30/day and one meal. After the intervention the facilities of irrigation and cultivation of IRRRI a labor is getting TK-70-100 and one meal. Before irrigation, crisis of wage labor was prevailed. Exchange of labor in agricultural work was prevailed. In the past, women couldn't work in fencing, house repairing or digging pond, road repairing etc. It was because of *parda* domination. At present, few poor women are working but their wage is less than the male.

xxi) Basing on the significant features we can conclude that the predominant mode of production in Baripara and Hossainpur is not pure capitalistic mode, not semi-feudal mode, it is neither the peasant mode of production, but it is the combination of some other mode. We can vividly voice this mode as the combination of semi-feudal and capitalist of self-exploitation. This self-exploitation is some places defined as "Petty peasant mode of production". In Baripara and Hossainpur the mode of production is a complex one. It is semi feudal as well as certain significant of capitalism can also prevailing. In this villages 'land' is not concentrated to a few people. About 53% household are the owner of cultivable land. The 25% households have direct earning from agricultural activities. About 61% household have income from farm and non-farm activities. This characteristic can be called as pre-capitalistic mode. In the past, land was concentrated to several household and feudal mode was seen then. About 55% agricultural works are done by wage labor. In the past, most of the agricultural work was done by family labor and few works was done by exchange labor. So, in the past, 15-20 years ago feudal mode was prevailed. The farmers sell their crops in open market. They consume most of their productive crops. So, this characteristic can be called as capitalistic mode. In this village about 30% of the total needed wage labor comes from outsider villages due to scarcity of wage labor in the villages. As a result wage rate is high. So, labor exploitation can not be observed here which represent peasant mode of production. In the past, seasonally 40% of the total labor of this village went out of the villages searching for work.

xx.ii) The inhabitants make distinctions of their households belonging to *ucha bangsha* (high status lineage), *madhya-bangsha* (middle status lineage), and *nichu-bangsha* (low status lineage). For lineage claiming high status, *izzat* (respectable behavior) together with manners is important factors based on the ability of a household head to maintain his family with proper food, well dress, good house and furniture, etc. In Baripara and Hosainpur the correlation can be found between the status gaining and political power. Those who have political power are achieving economic stability for their different kind of earning sources concerning political power. It is a common feature among the young politicians. The villagers are divided into many status groups by the patronymics of Muslim lineage system. Hossainpur is a Muslim dominant village and there is no existence of any other religion there. But in Baripara few Hindus are living. It is true that Bangladesh is predominantly a Muslim society. The high status Muslims living in both the villages are known as “*ucho bangsha*” who are mostly powerful, Middle status Muslims are known as “*madhya bangsha*” and the low status are known as “*nichu bangsha* who are being exploited by the power wielders.” At present, B.N.P, Awamileage, Jatio Somajtantrik Dol (JASOD), Jatio Party and Jamat-e-Islam has active and pseudo supporter in the villages. But most of the villagers support BNP. There is no political leader at national level in the villages. In the past, people gave priority to involve more in politics. But political influence is not so dominant compare to the past. Because, every people are busy with there own work. They do not like politics; rather they like to go abroad or town for earning. So, only few are directly involved in politics and have linkage with influential local leaders. According to the power holding, the villagers can be divided into two classes such as elite class or power wilders and the commoners. ‘Elite class’ is powerful. There are two basic sources of power of this elite class; formal power wielders and informal power wielders. Imam of *mosjid*, member of U.P, and members of school committee are belonging to elite class. In Baripara and Hossainpur, there are about 15 household and 11 households are belonging to this elite class. Most of the people of this class are involved in politics and they are social leaders. The sources of power are foreign currency, service in cities and towns, linked with local and national politics.

xxiii) Several renowned NGOs namely BRAC, ASA, Proshika and Grameen Bank have started their activities in these villages since the mid-eighties. A lot of women are engaged in micro-credit operation. The beneficiaries of these NGOs have utilized the micro-credit in different trade such as Rickshaw or Van pulling, dried rice business, vegetable and crop cultivation and also use a portion of that credit for other family needs. Government also takes different program like free primary education, scholarship for increasing female education, VGD/ VGF card for hardcore poor etc to support rural people for up scaling. But after liberation NGOs operations for social development has not imagined and government had only some relief program to meet the demand of food scarcity.

Similarities and Dissimilarities in the Findings of the Two Villages under Study

Between the two villages Baripara and Hossainpur, we may find out many of similarities than dissimilarities. The similarities and dissimilarities are noted below.

Similarities between the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

i) Both the villages are located in the same locality, same *mouza*, under same administrative unit. These villages are adjacent. Almost same physical development in both the villages are observed such as, both villages have a large canal for irrigation, a big road, and same culvert, have big pond and *dighis* with betel-nut and coconut garden. Before liberation of 1971, infrastructural and physical condition of both the villages was very poor. Since the locality was included under metropolitan, different GOs and NGOs activities have been observing. Both the villages are located in a better position in the Upozilla center. The infrastructural development has been observing in both the villages and road communication, market, hospital, rice mill, Shaw mill, and different office were established. So, both the villages have been getting same development facilities. In both the villages the physical development has been observing over the last 15-20 years. Through the activities of the Upozila Parishod, Union Parishod, and Pourosova etc had proven more fruitful for the rural development. Since the decade of mid-eighties, several renowned NGOs such as, BRAC, ASA, Proshika and Grameen Bank have been implementing their different social development program in both the villages.

A large number of women are engaged in micro-credit operation. Consciousness for the NGOs in both the villages is increasing day by day. As women are being involved in economic activities by taking loan from the NGOs, they are becoming a part of decision making in their families. About one hundred women of both the villages are the clients of these NGOs. As the women are being a part of the decision-maker for their household, they have indirectly a role in the rural power structure. Thus a group of NGOs client's household indirectly may support a decision for the village's politics. Most of the NGOs client in Baripara and Hossainpur collectively supported to a particular party during the last national election. In some cases the NGOs activities have succeed and in some cases they failure for poverty alleviation because some of women could not utilize the credit and that's why they could not repay the loan on due time. There are MBBS doctors, pharmacy, x-ray, pathological arrangement and other modern medical facilities increasing in the locality. As a result both of the villagers are getting these facilities. For a better treatment, rich people in Baripara and Hossainpur go to the cities and towns. 'Upozilla Family Planning Office', different NGOs workers have been trying to create consciousness about child care and health care. So, tendency of practicing ethno medicine is decreasing.

ii) The inhabitants of both the villages were dependent on agriculture in the past. Gradually the dependency on agriculture has been decreasing due to overseas migration, business and other job opportunities in the cities and towns. Paddy is the main agricultural product but it is not producing commercially in both the villages. Both the villages have cash earnings from betel nut and coconut. One-time and two-time crops are cultivating and most of the land is using for IRRI cultivation. After the introducing of IRRI and the facilities of irrigation, there was a radical change in the cropping pattern and agricultural production increased more than double in both the villages. There is no shallow or deep tube well in both the villages. The villagers are using pumping machine and hand made indigenous method for irrigating water from a large canal named Mohendra *Khal*. This canal was built in the decade of eighties.

iii) Both the villages were ruled by Hindu *Zamindar* and most of the land owners were Hindus. *Dhaka University Institutional Repository*
Most of the inhabitants of both the villages were migrated in these villages from outsider villages. Again a large number of inhabitants from these villages have migrated temporarily or permanently in the cities and towns. After the introduction of *Zamindari* rule by British Government, very few households were living in both of the two villages. Moreover, most of them were Hindu by religion. Significantly it was observed that a substantial number of families were started to live in these villages by buying land. The main reason for selling land by the natives is medium and marginal farmer were bearing full burden of loan and other extraction. As a result they were deprived from every bit of surplus from land. Moreover, medium and marginal farmer were destined to live in perpetual poverty, which move often than not forced him into debt ness and finally many cultivators turned as landless laborers. Immediate after the partition of 1947, Bengal estate tenancy act passed in 1950 for abolishing *Zamindari* rule. As a result, peasants in both the villages were become direct tenant of the land under the Government. In addition, this act changed the agrarian relation of the peasant. Similarly partition led to a kind of redistribution a large scale migration of population resulting considerable changes in entitlement of land holding. However, these factors also change the agrarian relation in Baripara and Hossainpur.

iv) In both the villages female rarely work in the field. Few villagers in both the villages practiced polygamy. Dowry is prevailing in both the villages. Literacy rate is increasing. In both the villages' majority of the household is nuclear family. Joint family is gradually breaking down.

v) In both the villages, the percentage of unemployed person is decreasing due to job opportunities in home and abroad. But after the introduction of IRRI cultivation, the demand of manual labor in agriculture was decreased in both the villages. In both the villages' majority of the employed persons are involved in non-farm activities. In the past, the percentage of wage labor was more than today. Agriculture was the fundamental means of livelihood but at present service and business is the fundamental means of livelihood for both of the villagers. In both the villages, there are different sorts of business opportunities have created over the last 15-20 years such as irrigation water selling, tractor, fishery, poultry, rice mill, brick field, Shaw mill and different shops etc.

There are other opportunities for non-farm activities that have been creating in both the villages. These opportunities are *rajmistiri*, mechanics, electricians, *kabiraj*, homeo doctor etc. In both the villages, there are a huge number of foreign service holders who have been serving in Middle-East, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, USA, UK, Bahrain. Thus the inhabitants of both the villages have a lot of foreign currency and they are economically solvent. As a result, the buying capacity has increased. The villagers do not suffer from food deficiency.

vi) In both the villages Baripara and Hossainpur, most of the rich and middle class people and few poor class people have earning from non-farm activities. But the small farmers and landless farmers are mainly dependent on agriculture.

vii) About 46% households in Baripara and Hossainpur are landless. The percentage of owner-cultivator (direct), owner-cultivator (indirect) and non-cultivating land owner in both the villages are about same. During the investigation (in the year 2003), no large farm household was found in both the villages.

viii) In both the villages the predominant mode of production is neither pure capitalist mode nor semi-feudal mode. It is also not the peasant mode of production but it is the combination of some other mode. We can vividly view this mode as the combination of semi-feudal and capitalistic mode where the use of family member as labor gave a significant characteristic of self-exploitation. This self-exploitation in some places has been defined as "petty peasant mode of production".

viii) In both the villages, the women could not enjoy their rights as the men. In spite of this they had some political, economical and social rights. They were subordinate to the male member. But this situation is being changed. Women are being involved in economic activities by taking loan from NGOs. They are involved in business like livestock, crops, etc. They are helping their husbands in economic activities. As a result, women are getting importance in their family as well as in the society.

ix) In both the villages the high status and middle status groups of people who were powerful in the past, became very nearer concerning their life style, education, landholding, economic position etc. Only deference between them is the presence of patronymics and lack of it that refers traditional status. But the situation was not so flexible in the past. Power is unequally distributed among the various groups of people in both the villages. This unequal distribution of power is related to the inequality of ownership and control of land and to the inequality of status to a large extent. The distribution of power influences the ownership and control of land and the status system.

x) The inhabitants of both the villages are divided into many status groups by the patronymics of Muslim lineage system. The high status Muslims of both the villages are known as "*ucho bangsha*" who are mostly powerful, Middle status Muslims are known as "*madhya bangsha*" and the low status are known as "*nichu bangsha* who is exploited by the power wielders."

xi) In both the villages the rate of literacy is increasing. Literacy rate of Baripara and Hossainpur in 1982 was 30% and 42% and in 1998 it was 58% and 51% respectively. In the year of 2003, literacy rate was 78.5% and 86.5%. Female education is at satisfactory level. The percentage of higher education (graduate and above) are about 4.65% and 1%.

xii) In both the villages there is a change in the value system. Young people do not obey the older properly. The new generation is being educated and thus they think of themselves as modern and smart.

xiii) There is a change that has been observed in the standard of living in both the villages. Most of the households had bamboo and wood made house at past. At present, 25% household in Baripara and 28% household in Hossainpur are living in buildings

xiv) In both the villages, class mobilization has been prevailing. Several households among the rich class have turned as poor. Again several households who were belonging to poor class have turned as rich. It is remarkable that a large number of poor people have turned as middle class. The view of the inhabitants in both Baripara and Hossainpur regarding the definition of poor, middle and rich class among them has also changed. The landless poor inhabitants of both the villages have been developing their economic position due to overseas migration and other job opportunities and small business. In both the villages, there are a large number of landless households who are not engaged in agriculture but they are belonging to middle and rich class. So, in both the villages, 'land' is not a precondition to measure the 'economic class'. About 57% of the poor class families have become poorer, and 43% have upgraded their economic position. Among the middle class families about 56% families have not been economically changed over the last 15-20 years. Within the rich families, 53% have become richer. So we can say that in Baripara and Hossainpur class mobilization has not been prevailing in a particular direction.

Dissimilarities between the Two Villages Baripara and Hossainpur

Between the two villages Baripara and Hossainpur we may find out some dissimilarities that are discussed below.

- i) Baripara is a large village in size. The area of this village is amounting 360 acre. But Hossainpur is smaller than Baripara. The area of this village is amounting 179 acres.
- ii) Both Muslims and Hindus are living side by side in Baripara. But in Hossainpur only Muslims are living. Both Muslims and Hindus have their own religious beliefs, rituals, cults and religious activities. In the villages Hossainpur, the *musulli* are divided into several groups; Taab-league, Jamat-e-Islami, Hanafi Majhaab etc. The people of these groups are overlapping. There are also sub groups emerging among the *musulli*. Each of the groups has separate Islamic principles for their way of life. But in Baripara, the inhabitants are divided into two religious groups and each of the religious groups is divided into several doctrines. In Baripara the Hindus are performing their own religious rituals, cults, festivals such as *puja, joggo*, etc.

iii) Betel-leaf is cultivated enormously in Baripara. But in Hossainpur betel-leaf is not cultivated.

iv) The infrastructural condition and the educational facilities of Baripara are a little bit better than Hossainpur. Baripara is just adjacent to poursova and is forward than Hossainpur.

v) The number of households, *bari*, cluster and lineages of Baripara are about double than Hossainpur.

vi) In Baripara, the percentage of involvement in farm activities is more than Hossainpur. In Hossainpur percentage of middle farmer is more but in Baripara percentage of marginal farmer is more. In Baripara, the number of households associating with sharecropping is about double than Hossainpur. But in Hossainpur the number of households associating with mortgage is more than Baripara. In the year of 2003, 55.23% are owner cultivator, another 25.58% are owner cum sharecropper and 19.19% are pure sharecropper in Baripara. On the other hand 51.19 % are owner cultivator, another 26.20% are owner cum sharecropper and 22.61% are pure sharecropper in Hossainpur. 9.25% in Baripara and 21.51% in Hossainpur were belongs to middle farm households. Consequently, 12.03% in Baripara and 6.32% in Hossainpur were belongs to small farm households defined by agricultural census. Middle farm household thought to be self-sufficient.

vii) In Baripara, *samaj* grouping, leadership, kinship relation are based on both Muslim and Hindu communities. But in Hosainpur all these relation are based on Muslim community. Both Hindu and Muslim have their own *samaj* leader separately. In most of the cases they solve their problems separately but in some cases they all together sit in a *salish* for solving their disputes.

viii) In Baripara 'land' is selling and buying within poor, middle and marginal farmer. But in Hossainpur 'land' is selling and buying within middle and landless class. In Baripara few lands are being concentrated but in Hossainpur land is not concentrated. In Baripara, since after the liberation of 1971, the percentage of landless have been increasing. On the other hand, in Hossainpur, the percentage of landless has been decreasing gradually.

On the basis of the studied villages Baripara and Hossainpur, we can make a final comment that, the agrarian communities in Bangladesh have been changing due to transforming process of social stratification, diversification of occupation, change of national economy, effect of modernization and mechanization in agriculture, infrastructural development, intervention of GOs and NGOs activities etc. The rural people who are involved in agriculture are now intending to adopt new profession because agriculture is gradually becoming economically less profitable compare to non-farm activities. It is adversely affecting our total economy.

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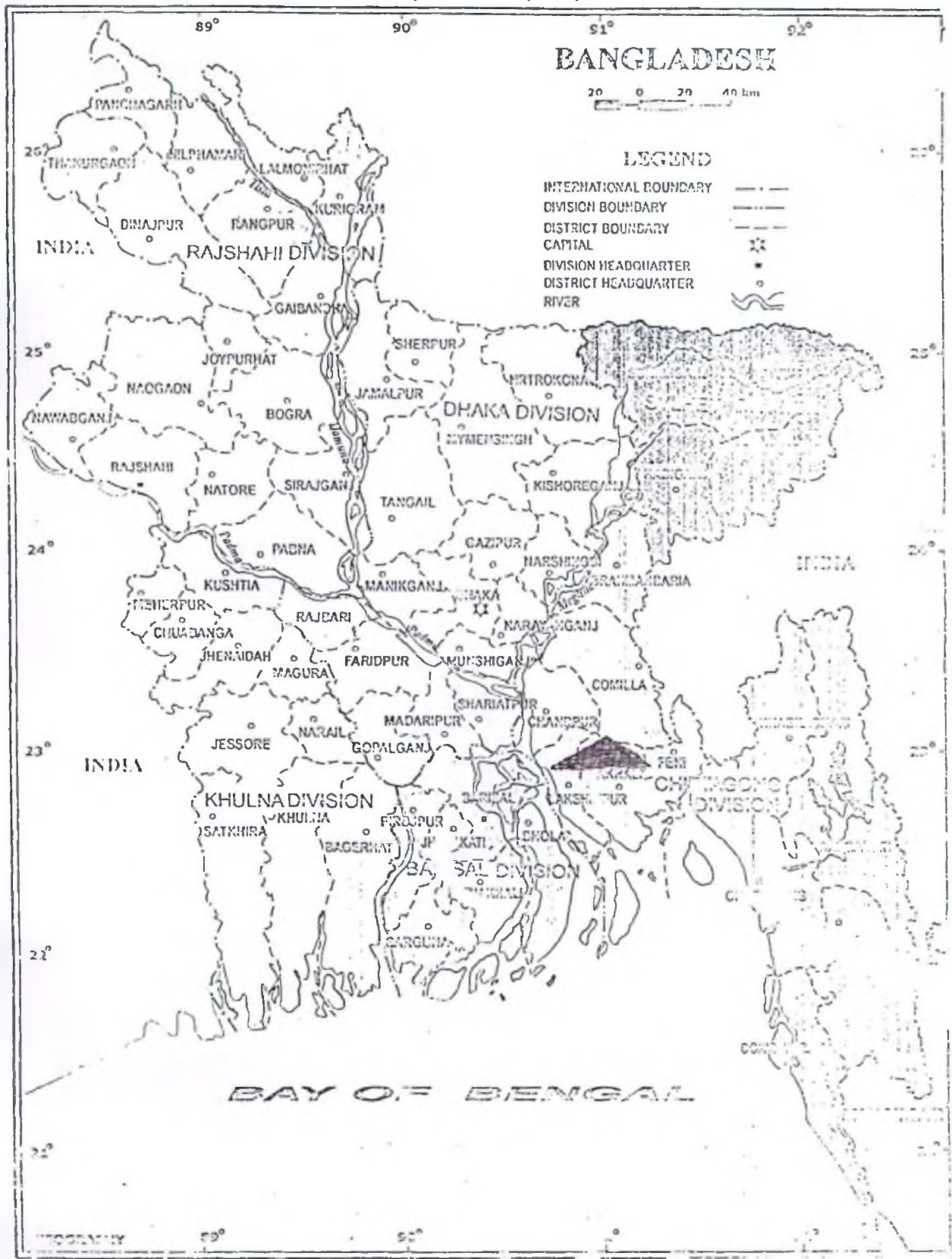
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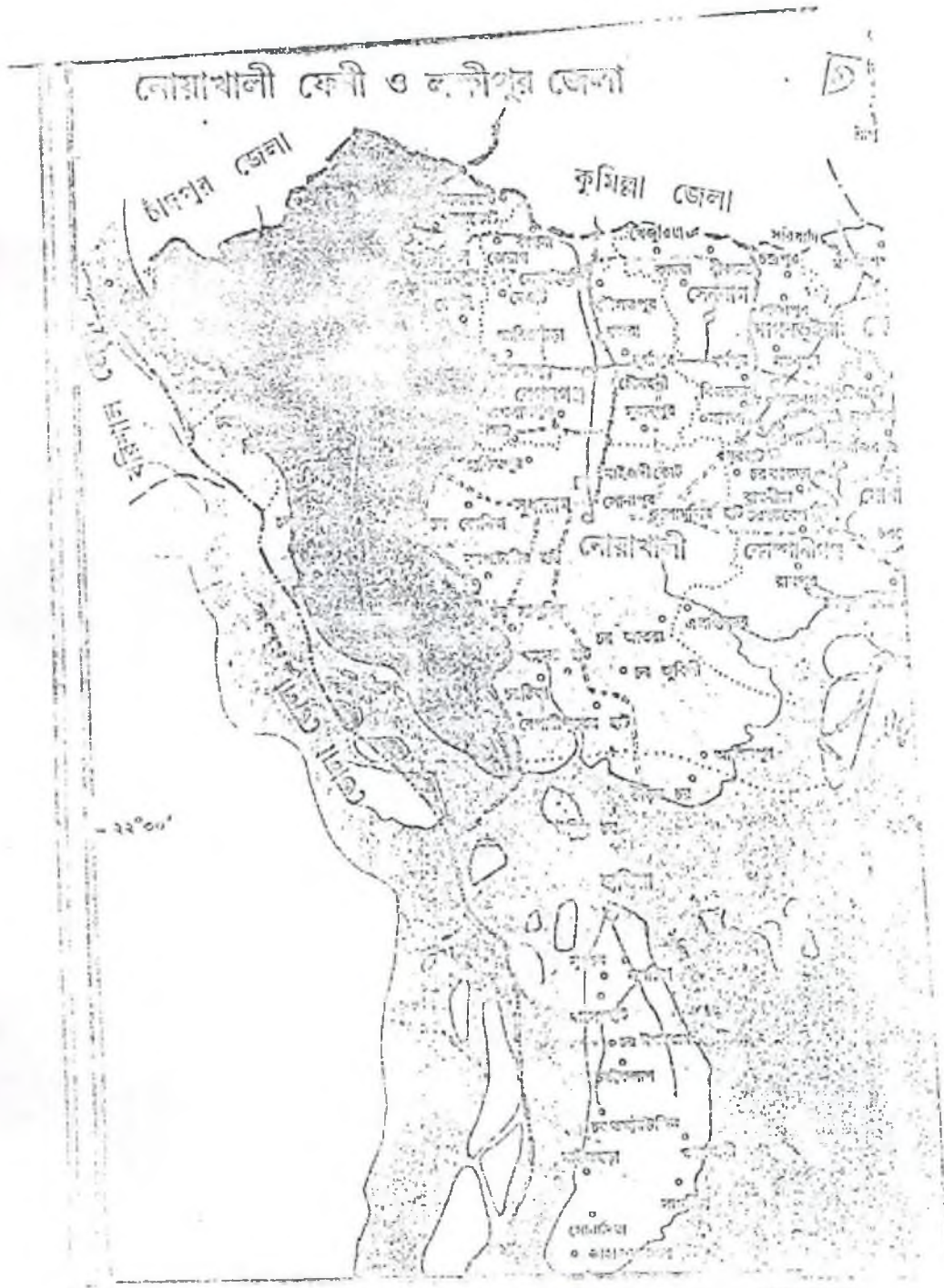
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Annexure



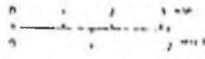


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NOAKHALI ZILA

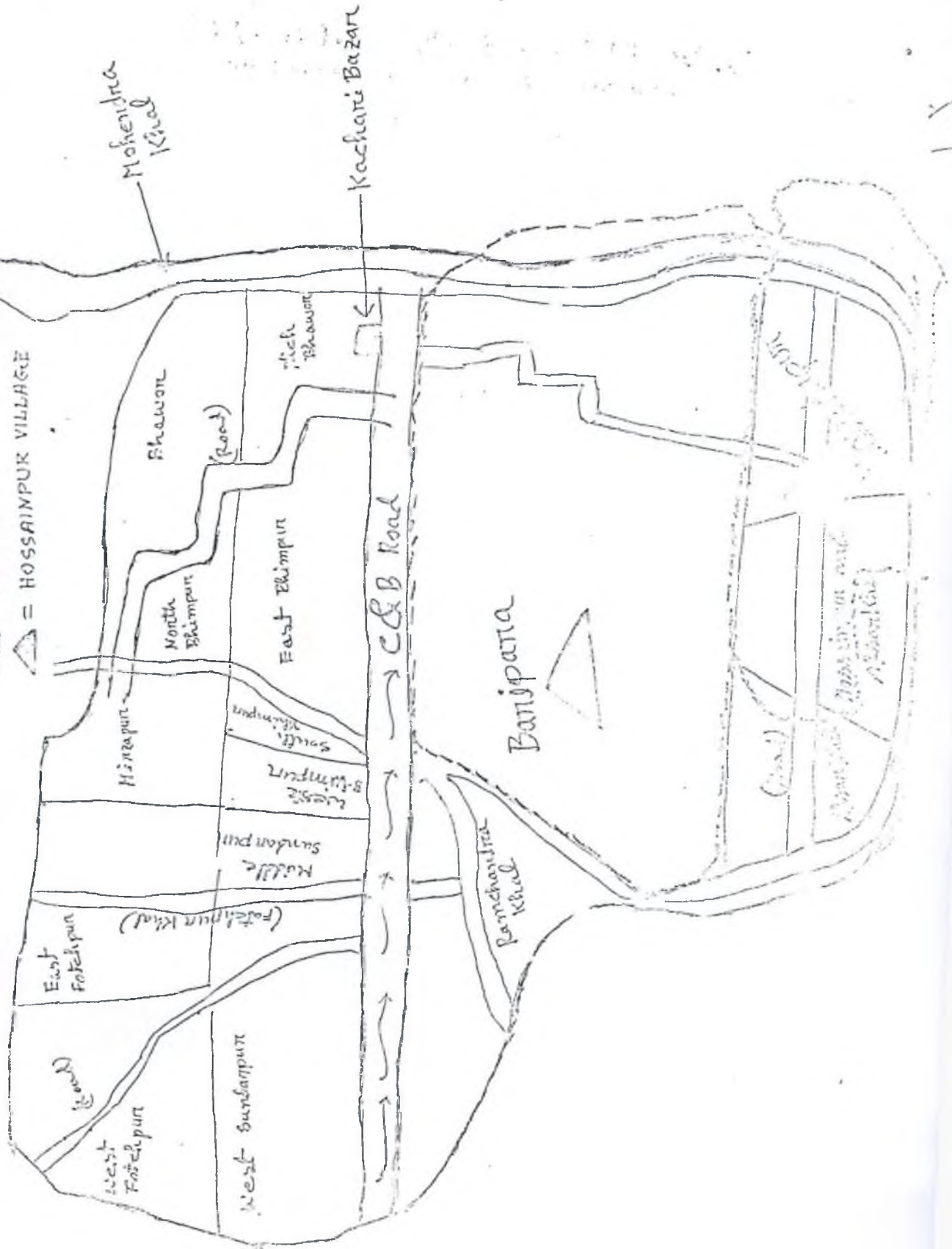
MAUZA GEOCODE MAP
10-CHATKHIL UPAZILA

65-NOAKHALI DIST.





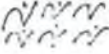
PUNCHGAON UNION MAP

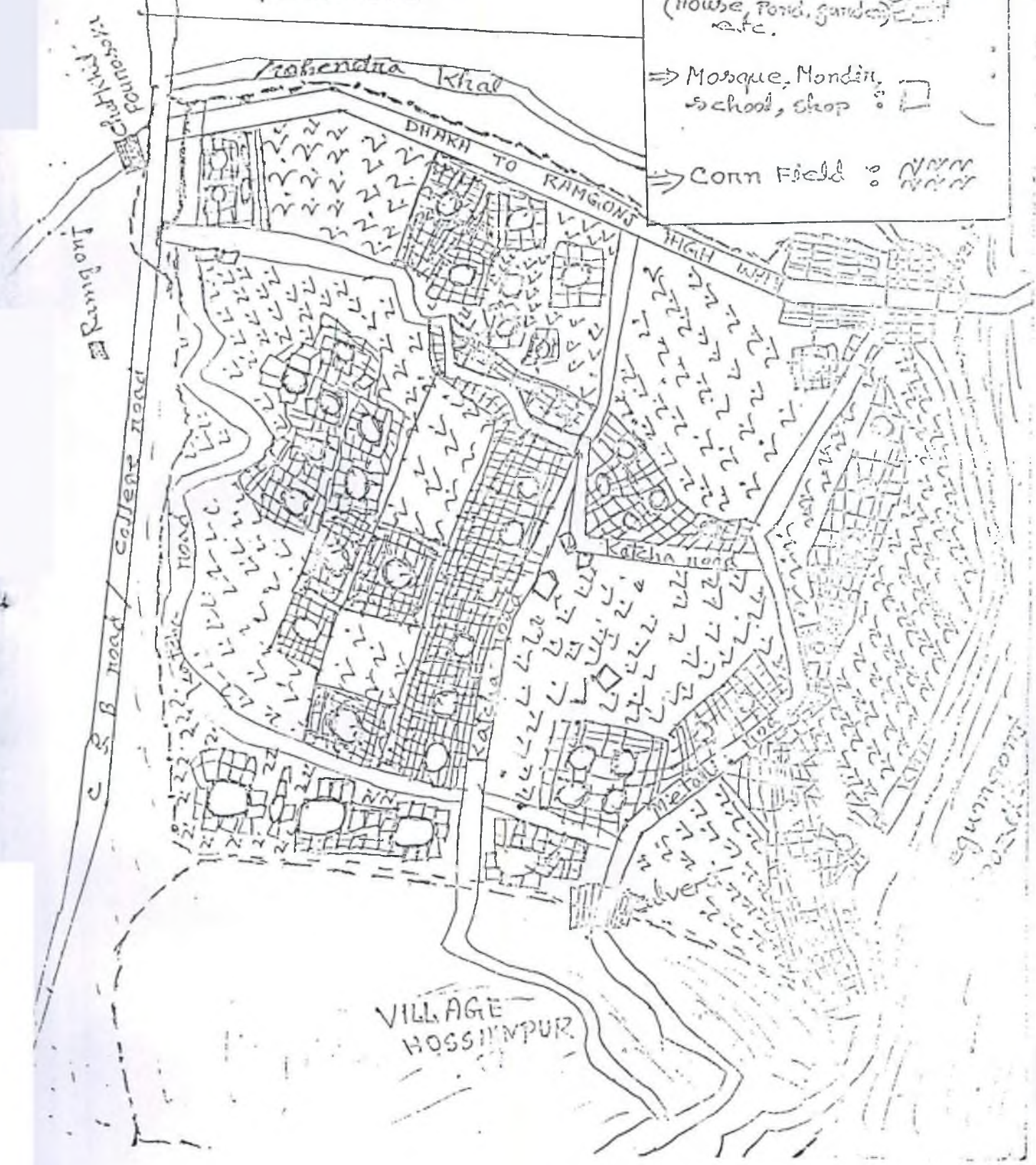
△ = BARIPARA VILLAGE
△ = HOSSAINPUR VILLAGE



BARI PARA VILLAGE

Legend

- ⇒ Homestead land :  (House, Pond, Garden) etc.
- ⇒ Mosque, Mondir, school, shop : 
- ⇒ Corn Field : 



Dhaka University Institutional Repository
HOSSAINPUR VILLAGE

