

バングラデシュにおける  
労働移住とその社会的背景

ON LABOR MIGRATION AND ITS  
SOCIAL BACKGROUND IN BANGLADESH

— 移住者とムラに関する調査報告 —  
RESEARCH REPORT ON MIGRANTS  
AND VILLAGES

(バングラデシュ農村開発アカデミー配属)  
高田峰夫隊員報告書

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## ま え が き

本報告書は、昭和63年7月より2年間、バングラデシュのコミラにあるバングラデシュ農村開発アカデミー（BRDB）に青年海外協力隊の文化人類学の隊員として派遣されていた高田峰夫さんが、バングラデシュ国内における労働移動とその社会的背景について、調査・研究した成果をまとめたものです。

青年海外協力隊隊員は、各々派遣された国の人々と共に働きながら相手国の国造り、人造りに協力することを目的として派遣されますが、それと同時に相手国の人々との交流を通じて、相互の国際理解を深めることも大事な成果の一つです。今回まとめられた高田さんの報告書は、その意味で日本の方々にバングラデシュの農村の実情について知って頂く貴重な資料になると思われれます。

この報告書が今後のバングラデシュ研究や援助計画の策定の一助として活用されることを希望いたします。

平成3年10月

国際協力事業団

青年海外協力隊事務局

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## 要旨

この調査報告書は、バングラデシュ国における近年の国内労働移動 (internal migration) についての事例報告である。調査報告として現状の記述を主眼に置いたためと時間的な制約から、文献等の引用や言及、他の事例との比較考察は行っていない。そうした研究は、今後時間をかけて徐々に行い、順次発表するように心がけるつもりであることを、あらかじめお断りしておく。また事例研究であるために、対象範囲が地域的には極めて限定されているが、ここで描出された移住をめぐる姿は、現在のバングラデシュ全体に、とりわけその東部地域には、かなりの程度まで共通するものであるように思われるが、限られたデータを基にして断言することは危険であるため、この点に関しても、検討は今後の研究の課題とするに留どめる。

本報告の構成は以下のとおりである。

1. 序。2. ムラ。3. Kムラからの移住者。4. Mムラからの移住者。5. 結語。6. 提言。詳しい数値や記述は本文を参照していただくしかないが、とりあえずここでは各章の内容をごく簡単に紹介しておきたい。

序章では国内移住研究の必要性、研究方法、調査地、調査対象について簡単にまとめている。調査地は、バングラデシュ国コミラ県ムラドノゴール郡のコムパニゴンジというバザールかつバス交通の中継点からほど近い二つのムラであり、うち一つは全戸ムスリム、他の一つは全戸ヒンドゥーである。この地域はダッカやチッタゴンといった大都市から遠く離れ、一番近い地方都市であるコミラへもバザールからローカルバスで一時間半以上かかる遠隔地である。また、この地域は、すぐ近くを流れるグムティ川がもたらす突発的な洪水の被害を受けやすいが（現在改修工事進行中）、雨期の冠水に関してはそれほど大きな被害を受ける訳ではない。他の多くの地方村、とりわけ東部地区の地方村の平均的な像からさして外れることのないムラである。もともとこの辺り一帯が高人口密度地帯であるために以前から他地域への移住は比較的多く、近年はますますそれが加速する方向にある。

第2章前半では、ムスリム村であるKムラの概況を説明している。環境、ムラの構成、社会集団、政治、教育等に簡単に言及した後、土地所有と作付け体系に関連する近年の変化の傾向を指摘し、そうした中でこのムラの職業構造がどのような現状にあるのかをまとめてみた。そして、1) 農業外労働、2) 教育、3) 短期的な均衡（安定）と長期的な下方分解傾向、4) 農業労働（者）の見込みのなさ、以上四点をこのムラの現状把握の鍵として提示した。また、同章後半では、ヒンドゥー村であるMムラの概況を説明。環境等々への言及の中で、このムラのジャーティの構成の特徴としてSaha, Porddar という（少なくとも現在は）専ら商業に携わる人々がムラの過半数を占めるという点を指摘した。こうした特殊性と、バングラデシュにおけるマイノリティとしてのヒンドゥーという状況から、彼らの経済的な現状把握の困難さを指摘し、各種指標を基にした世帯別収入推定を仮に提示してみた。

第3章では、Kムラからの移出者の全般的な状況を説明し、特徴として、1) 移住圏の限

定（ジョムナ川を越えない）、2) Rural-Urban という移住パターンの卓越、3) 職業選択の多様性、4) チッタゴン市におけるリクシャひきの多見と政府関連職の散見、5) 移住の長期化、等々を指摘した。次いで、移住者の中から何人かを選び、インタビューをもとにした彼らの簡単なライフヒストリーを紹介。それらについての考察から、1) 「家族の戦略」としての移住、2) 上層と下層の移住者に見られる大きな格差（特に経済面）、3) 頻繁な転職、4) 親類間や近隣の住民間に見られる「職業紹介機能」、5) 移住によって得られた利益のビジネスへの投資と「生産なき流通」という傾向、等々の特徴を指摘した。

第4章では、Mムラからの移出者について考察。1) ムスリム村に比べて広い移住圏（しかし、ここでもジョムナ川が障害となっていること）、2) R-Uパターンの卓越と、3) 極端な商業への偏向（ある程度はジャーティ構成の特徴を反映したものか）4) 長期化、等々の特徴を指摘した。ついで、幾つかのライフヒストリーの提示と考察から、1) 比較的良好な労働環境、2) ここでも頻繁な職業転換、3) 親類間や近隣間の職業紹介機能、4) （物品の）流通ルートに沿った移住者の分布、5) 「ムスリムのオーナー、ヒンドゥーの支配人」という極めて特徴的なパターン、6) ここでも「家族の戦略」としての移住、等々の特徴を指摘した。

第5章では、移住者の分布、移住のパターン、職業選択、地方と都市との関係、という四つの側面に分けて全体的特徴をまとめて提示。

以上を基にして、第6章では、1) 早急に着手可能な方策として「公立職業紹介所」の設置を提言し、その際の条件を示した。また同時に、2) これまでの調査研究からの方向転換の必要性、それに関連して、3) 地方発展の核としてのバザール研究の必要、4) 地域差への配慮、等も提起した。

繰り返しになるが念のため付け加えておこなうならば、この報告はあくまで筆者の調査に基づく限られた知見からまとめたものであるから、今後のバングラデシュにおける移住問題とその展開、他の国内および国外の社会経済的状況との関連等については、さらに一層の現地調査による検討と文献等を用いた比較研究とが必要であることは言うまでもない。

1990年11月

## 0. Preface.

As many other developing countries, Bangladesh has now been experiencing the modernization and urbanization. Even if its wave is not so high and its speed is not so rapid, we cannot neglect its effect in rural area as well as in urban area. And the wave has not been attacking these two area separately, but synchronically and in the way that they affected each other. Moreover, we will have to expect that the wave will be stronger and its speed will be more rapid day by day. In the situation like this, internal migration is one of the most conspicuous phenomenon in this linkage and a key to solve this complex process of inter-relationship.

In this work, I will try to describe internal migration as (1) village-based, (2) individual-based and (3) quality(not quantity)-based case study. Although this work is a tiny one, I hope the work to show the real image of one of the most serious and urgent problems in Bangladesh and to help understanding for people to know the problem more clearly and exactly.

Besides, I will notify here in advance in one point. As this work has founded on my own fieldwork and for the time to write this report is very limited, I will describe this report mainly based on the data which has got by my own fieldwork, and will restrain to use the data of other published records or literatures as few as possible. I hope to complete more comprehensive and more general work in near future. Moreover, though I have not set forth the point clearly in this report, I feel some questions on some established theories (ex. dualistic pattern of migration, etc.) or on some accepted opinion (ex. the rural village is an stable and relatively closed world, etc.). Considering on

the character of this paper as research report and on purpose of this paper as presenting the exact image of migration in rural Bangladesh, and relating the time also, I can not help but decide not to mention on these points with full argument\*.

I have been conducting this research as a Junior Expert on cultural anthropology, research section, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD), Comilla. And as a despatched member from Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV), I have got financial support from JOCV for the research. I am very grateful to these two institutions. At the same time, I am also grateful to Mr. M. Solaiman, director, research, BARD, for his arrangement for my research work.

\* As an attempt to tackle with one of such questions, I have written a small article, ("Dualistic Pattern of Migration' Reconsidered", in press).



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## 1. Introduction.

### 1.1. Why is internal migration study needed ?

Generally speaking, many people tend to think the village world as closed and the village life as completed in itself. The village studies in last few decades have revealed that this kind of the popular image of village world and of village life is completely false and that we must consider the village in the more broad context, i.e. in the relationship among villages as well as in the relationship with cities. Needless to say, in such a situation in rural Bangladesh as 'by word of mouth' is the only one effective communication media (except radio broadcasting), migrants and their returning home village (as well as the villager's visiting to their relative migrant in the urban center) are the main information resources on the news ether of cities as well as of village. Villagers are able to know city life and new technological or socio-cultural movement in urban area by means of the information which migrants give, and city dwellers are also able to know new happenings and transformation in the village by the same way. Although there are many other effective element for both side, we cannot neglect the role that migrants play in this process.

Internal migration study, like international migration study, deals with so many types of migration as labor migration, marriage migration, migration for dependence, refugee movement etc., and I have already presented some papers on marriage migration'. In the case of Bangladesh, the migrants who move within marriage migration are mainly women. It is the case for Muslims as well as for Hindus and, therefore, to discuss on marriage migration is largely equal with to discuss on female migrants. In contrast with this, I

will discuss on labor migrant in this paper because the labor migrants are mainly men. Doing like this, in the case of Bangladesh, we may be able to cover fairly large part of subject.

As is known prevalently, internal migration consists of four categories of migration pattern, i.e. Rural-Rural (R-R), Rural-Urban (R-U), Urban-Rural (U-R) and Urban-Urban (U-U). Village-based labor migration study, as in the case of village-based marriage migration study, covers three of these four categories, R-R, R-U and U-R. In this sense only, we may have to take this kind of study seriously. And, as has shown in the other paper<sup>2</sup>, many part of internal migration studies has tended to bias toward macro-level, statistical and urban-based ones. To balance such a tendency also, village-based migration study will be needed.

As described above, Internal migrants are one of the main mediae between rural area and urban area. In addition to that, migrants themselves are one of the decisive elements for urban growth and, at the same time, their remittance, their behavior, and in some cases they themselves are one of the main causes for the transformation of village. Therefore, we will be able to expect that internal migration study will render help to both more effective rural development planning and more preferable urban development.

## 1.2. Method and Methodology.

I have conducted "village-based" internal migration study. This means the following research process ;

- (1) To select the objective villages.
- (2) Try to grasp the general situation in the villages.
- (3) To identify village-dwellers, out-migrants, in-migrants and return-migrants respectively.
- (4) Try to pursuit out-migrants one by one and to interview directly with them.
- (5) At the same time, continuing the research in villages to know more details.
- (6) To analyze all data sythetically.

I must admit that I could not completed these process exactly, but at least I have tried to conduct this study following this line. On the rest I could not complet here, I will continuously try to conduct the study in future.

Everyone will have to admit that this kind of "village-based" migration study is completely different from "urban based" migration studies in its character. Generally speaking, "urban-based" studies are tended to conduct research as follows;

- (1) Try to find in-migrants (from rural area to urban area) one by one (randomly) in the urban centers.
- (2) To interview with them, to identify their life in cities and try to understand their background roughly.
- (3) To analyze the data statistically.

Thus, we may summarize these two different kinds of study as follows. The former has such characters as micro-level, village-focused, sythetic and qualitative. In contrast with this, the latter has the characters as macro-level, urban-focused and statistical. Of course, these two types of studies have its own merits and demerits and both of these

two are indispensable to the internal migration study. Nevertheless, considering such a situation in Bangladesh as the existence of relatively many "urban-based" migration studies and the scarcity (nearly no) of "village-based" migration studies, relatively slow pace of urban growth and comparatively (and continuously) high pace of population growth in rural area, I have decided to select "village-based" study.

Concerning the research methodology, direct interview with individuals and oral history are the main ones. To grasp the statistical aspects of the village situation and of migrants, some patterns of formalized question have selected, but these questions are not asked in the form of questionnaire but in interview. For I feared the possibility that people give false (or skewed) answer against the question when they see the questionnaire in front of them. To ask the questions orally, I expected the more precise answer from them, but I do not know how much degree I have made success. The language used for the question is mainly Bengali, but in some special setting (the answerer is highly educated person and eager to talk in English, or it is very difficult to explain in Bengali because of the shortage of my knowledge on Bengali), English is also used.

### 1.3. Research Site.

I have selected two villages for the research. The one is Village K. and the other, village M.<sup>3</sup>. These two villages are situated nearly Campaniganj bazar (about 1 to 2 km. from this bazar), and it is about 2 km in a crow line from one village to the other. Campaniganj bazar is a main traffic junction in this area and there are four routs stretching to four cities in different directions respectively, i.e. Brahmanbaria to the northwestward, Nabinagor to the northward, Muradnagar to the westward and Comilla to the southeastward. Comilla-Brahmanbaria (and further, -Sylhet) highway is running by this bazar, and the bazar is sufficient to the daily use. But this bazar itself is rather far from large town (about 40 km from Comilla and from Brahmanbaria) and people must go all the way to go Comilla town when they need to get medical treatment in hospital, to visit to district offices or to purchase a little bit valuable goods exceeding dayly use. In this sense, we may be able to express this area as typically "rural". As many other rural areas in Bangladesh, there are many companies and the buses belonging to these companies offer frequent (but rather untrustworthy on schedule) bus service for the people in this area, especially for Comilla town. It takes for about one and half hours by local bus from Campaniganji bazar to Shashungasha bus terminal in northern-end of Comilla town.

The Gumti river is also running by Campaniganj bazar. This river has used as a main local river-transportation route from Meghna (Daudkandi) to Tripura State, India and even now a considerable number of country boat ("Nouka") has been coming and going on the river. From transportational aspect, however, this river has not been having much importance for the two villages. Nevertheless, this river affects very much

for these two villages in another ways. I will mention this point as occasion calls. These two villages are administratively belonging to Muradnagar Upazila, Comilla district.

These two villages are situated in the flood plains of the Gumti, a branch of the Meghna and very prone to flood. In nearly all parts of Bangladesh, there are few flood in last rainy season (1989). But, there were some exceptional areas, and the small area including these two villages is one of such exceptions. We must emphasize this "flood prone" character of the villages. In addition to this, this area is agriculturally less-developed area. Irrigation which utilizes the water of the Gumti combined with the net of canals has introduced just about few years ago. In spite of the introduction of irrigation, even now, we will hardly say this area productive because of its flood prone character. If the more effective system for flood protection will be completed, it will be possible this area to change more productive zone. But as of today, I can not say if it will be or not.

All households of village K. exclusively belongs to Muslim and all households of village M. belongs to Hindu<sup>4</sup>. I have conducted survey in all households<sup>5</sup> in village M.. In contrast with this, I have surveyed only two of three Paras<sup>6</sup> in village K. This selection has done intentionally, and I will try to explain its legitimacy in the following section.



#### 1.4. Objective Units and Persons.

In this study, I will deal "Paribar" as the basic unit for description. There are some reasons for the selection of this basic unit.

1) Many scholars employ an English term "household" for the description of basic study unit. I will not deny this way directly. Perhaps, it will be convenient to choose this term for the purpose of description as well as for the readers who cannot understand Bengali. Moreover, this word denotes other basic unit in other areas and it will be easy to compare. Nevertheless, I will not employ this term in this work. Because, ① there are some Bengali words which designate similar connotation such like "Paribar", "Chula", "Khana", and even in some cases, "Ghar", and I can not say with conviction that all these words denote the same connotation. ② Regardless of that these words designate the same connotation or not, I am not convinced that one or all of these words denote the same connotation with the English word "household".

2) As the other language-areas also, there are many dialects and local (area-limited) expressions in Bangladesh, (strictly speaking, in Bengal). Even within the Comilla district only, it is not rare that a certain word which is prevalently used by the people of area A is not different from the word of the people of area B. Unfortunately, the word for the English word "household" is one of such variable words. In my studying area, "Paribar" is the most popular and prevailing word and I will designate here "Paribar".

Though I will employ "Paribar" as the denotation of basic unit, yet there is another problem. "Paribar" designates two different levels of domestic groups, a small and simple form or an extended form, corresponding with the context<sup>8</sup>. People

expresses these two different levels of connotations by same one word "Paribar" following case by case. But, if we consider one specified time point, each "Paribars" have its own specified one form, i.e. simple form or extended form, and people (villagers) are not distinct one of these two form from another. Moreover, regardless of the difference of the forms, each "Paribar" has its own head-person ("Pradan") who is recognized by other villagers, and the members of a "Paribar" is fixed from the headperson's point of view, i.e. head-person (usually married-male), his wife or wives, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, in some cases that they have not divide their property even after the marriage of sons, married sons and his wife and his children, (married-out daughters are always excluded).

Although my main concern is on the labor migration, the labor migration is a part of larger labor-market problem as well as a part of migration general. And our concern is also lying on the relationship between rural-urban interlink. Therefore, it is not sufficient for our purpose to consider the labor migrants only. We must consider the rural labor-market and its surrounding environment inside and around villages as well as urban labor-market. That is, we must consider the peasants, agricultural workers, non-farmworkers such as merchants, office workers, teachers, Rickshaw-pullers, laborers, etc.. Although the full explanation on these people and their work is desirable, in reality, it is very difficult to conduct such work completely. Then, in this study, I will only mention on the workers belonging to the all "Paribars" which I have surveyed (including village dwellers as well as migrants) and some of the people surrounding them.

I will describe profiles of the each villages, its specific characters and its occupation structures (specially mention to the non-farmwork) in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, Migrants from village K. will be the main concern. In Chapter 4, I will describe the migrants from village M.. In both of these chapters, I will high light some migrants whose experience and career seems the most characteristic and convenient to consider on the patterns and processes of internal migration in these area, (and, if possible, in Bangladesh general). On the strength of the data presented at previous chapters and of the considerations on these data, I will conclude some points in Chapter 5. And at last, in Chapter 6, I want to show some recommendations on the internal-migration and its related problems.

## 2. Villages.

### 2.1. Village K.

In this section, I will describe the general condition of village K.. In addition to that, the occupation structure in this village will be also taken up.

#### 2.1.1. Environment.

The settlement area of village K. is situated on the natural embankment and, therefore, presents a island-like sight floating on the paddy field. In the time of flood, the settlement area really transforms its form as island, because all the paddy field goes down under the flood water. It stretches linearly from north to south, and a canal runs across in the middle of the settlement from east to west. This canal is the only way of irrigation for this village and brings the water all the way from the Gumti in dry season. This canal has originally functioned for the purpose of drainage, and even now, it brings away flood water from the village in rainy season effectively. The only local road runs along with this canal, and this road leads the people for east (and then south) to Campaniganj bazar and for the west to the next small village. It is about 0.5 km. from the westernmost of this village to next village and about 2 km. to bazar. People uses this road multi purposely and depends on it completely. When I went the village at first time, I could go there by motorcycle, (I could even go until the next village at that time). Last year's flash floods, however, had broken the road in some points and a bridge which laid over the crossing point of the road and the canal, and, after that, they have had to give up the use of Rickshaw or cycle and compelled to walk whether they like it or not. Concerning the settlement itself, it is over 1 km.

from northern-end to southern-end and more than 0.5 km. from eastern-end to western-end.<sup>9</sup>

#### 2.1.2. The Paras.

According to the 1981 Population Census, the household number of village K. was 245 and the population was 1336<sup>10</sup>. Perhaps, partly because of its relatively large number of household and population, this village has divided this settlement into three Paras, i.e. North Para (N. Para), South Para (S. Para) and West Para (W. Para). These Paras are keeping rather independent position respectively, but especially, there is large difference between N. Para and S. and W. Paras. This is not merely my personal impression, but it is founded on some objective conditions. Namely, ① there is the canal between N. Para and S. and W. Paras, and this canal plays as a kind of natural boundary between these two parts. ② there are two student cooperatives, and one is only of the student of N. Para and the other consists of the students of both S. and W. Paras. ③ we must point out the difficulty of communication between N. Para (especially northern-end) and S. and W. Paras (especially southern-end), because of its linear settlement shape. As I have pointed out, it is about 1 km from northern end of this village to southern end and, in contrast, it is only about half km. from this southern end to the northern end of the neighbouring village. Then, naturally, the communication between N. Para and S. and W. Paras tends to become estranged. ④ the villagers themselves sometimes say that "S. Para and W. Para is originally one, but N. Para is not". ⑤ the evidence which designates this villagers saying is the fact that people of N. Para had constructed their own small Masjid few years ago. Before that, all villagers met and prayed at the village Masjid together. But after that, except Eeds or some special occasions, people of N. Para has come together at their own Masjid.

Considering on these conditions of the villages and on the other conditions such as one researcher (I have conducted the research alone), the research methods employed (interview and participant observation), etc., I had decided to select southern half of the village (i.e. S. and W. Paras) as research site and to investigate this half intensively.

### 2.1.3. The Domestic and Kinship Groups

The household number of these two Paras is 124 (62 in S. Para and 62 in W. Para respectively), and the total population of these two Paras are over 600'. Geographically, S. Para consists of 8 (or, following some villagers saying, 9) Baris<sup>1 2</sup> and some isolated Paribars, and W. Para consists of 4 Baris. But, at least in the case of this village, Bari has less meaning, and each Paribars and, in the one more upper level, Paras seems to have more importance. Except the Baris which are the geographically co-resident groups, there are another type of groups. That is, Bangso<sup>3</sup>. Bangso is a patrilineal kin-group and seems to be equal to a lineage. As a kin-group, Bangso consists of the Paribars descended from a same certain ancestor, and the component Paribars are not usually crowded in one place. In many cases, however, a Bari and a Bangso tend to overlap in large part each other. Comparing to the Hindus (I will mention them later), this overlapping tendency of Bari and Bangso seems one of the most characteristic feature in Muslims.

The number of person who consists each Paribars is largely vary, minimum one to maximum nearly twenty. Although Bari itself plays not so vital role as a whole, brothers are next door to each other even after the division of the property (it usually happens after their father's death and, at the

same time, means the division of Paribar). And, though they sometimes struggles on the property succession, they help each other and this is one of the most effective mutual assistance in the village. Moreover, even though the role of Bari and Bangso is not so large, the relationship between (both patri- and matri-) uncle and nephew or between cousins are also important in the next place. This kind of kinship ties seems the key to resolve migration process in this area. On this point, I show give some examples later.

#### 2.1.4. Political Aspects<sup>14</sup>.

Although men do not have a patent for politics, in reality, village politics has been largely carried upon by adult males in this village. This limitation, however, will be suitable for the purpose of this study because the labor migration is mainly limited to the adult males only.

Perhaps it seems rather curious, but there is no leader who has officially recognized. Nevertheless, village politics is there, and it is realized on the delicate balance of power. There are three influential Baris in this village as a whole, two of them in S. Para and the one in W. Para, and each of these Baris have its own basis of power. One Bari in S. Para has called by villagers as well as by neighboring villagers as "Chairman Bari". Because two ex-Union<sup>5</sup> chairmen had appeared from this Bari. One of ex-chairmen is alive and he is, so to say, a focal point of the village politics today. The other one (he is a patri-uncle of the living ex-chairman and his Paribar is one of the most wealthy Paribars in this village) had dead few years ago, but his two wives have not divide their property, at least formally, and keep the latent power through their daughter's husbands. One Bari in W. Para has called "Member Bari", because the head person of this Bari was once elected as a Union Parishad member.

It is very interesting that, in these two instances, Baris are called by the titles of the influential persons. This may suggest that a Bari as a whole receive a favor of a prominent member of it, at least indirectly. A Bari itself plays a role of the support for that prominent member, though. There is another pattern. The third influential Bari, the another one of S. Para, is called "Munshi Bari". Although Munshi is one of some famous titles in Bengal Muslims, (and irrespective of that this Munshi is a authentic Munshi or a would-be Munshi), this Bari has been having its influence on its own way. Namely, some members (they are the members of a same Paribar except one) of this Bari are the highly educated persons, i.e. with M.A. or B.A. etc.. There are relatively few persons who received higher education in this village, and large part of them is the member this Bari. Though they (this Bari) have a substantive economic foundation which enabled some members to receive higher education, it is true that the elders of this Bari permitted the youngsters to get higher education, and that these youngsters are fairly evaluated by the villagers as the intellectuals. In other words, we may think of a possibility that, in this case, the courses of individuals are apprehended as the strategy of a Bari (or, strictly speaking, a Paribar), not of individuals.

We can observe the fairly large differences between these three prominent Baris and other Baris in the political importance as well as in the economical abilities which guarantees the right of speak. At the same time, In the case of these three Baris, we can observe the considerable differences on their bases. Confirming this point will have to be the key for interpretation on the individual life history of migrants, (in Chapter 3).



### 2.1.5. Education<sup>6</sup>.

In recent days, many people mentions the importance of education in this Bangladesh. Roughly speaking, the educational level (or a standard of education) affects more on non-farm occupations than on farm work (including agricultural laborers as well as landed farmers). Educational levels, then, seems to affect more on migrants. As a whole, the standard of education in this village is not so high. Being based on the general condition like this, we will be able to point out the following three points. Although there are some intellectuals in this village, the large part of the villagers are illiterate or, at best, staying on the level to write and to read very simple sentences. We must attend to this point first of all. In Secondly, the people who had received or has been receiving higher education largely belongs to the younger generation. Such difference of educational level among the generations may be appear as the difference of the occupation selection and, further, as the difference of migration pattern<sup>7</sup>. Thirdly, I have partly mentioned this point in the former section, we can observe the large difference of educational level among Baris (as well as among Paribars), then, we will fairly forecast the possible affects on the future processes of each Baris (as well as of each Paribars).

### 2.1.6. Land Tenancy and Cropping Pattern.

To understand land tenancy completely is rather difficult and time (as well as space) consuming work<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, here, I will only mention the minimum indispensable matters to interpret the problems on migration. First of all, we must pay attention to the fact that, generally speaking, average scale of landholding in this village is not so large or, comparing to the national average figure, rather small. That is, following the categories employed by the Agricultural Census<sup>19</sup>, there is no large farm (over 7.5 acres) and are only 6 (4.84%) middle farms (2.5-7.49 acres). In contrast with this, there are 72 (58.06%) small farms (0.05-2.49 acres) and 46 (37.10%) landless farms (below 0.04 acre)<sup>20</sup>. Among the landless farms, even exist two miserable Paribars which have not hold their own homestead plots. And even the most prominent Paribar (i.e. "Chairman") of this village has only 22 Kanis<sup>21</sup> (6.6 acres). In the situation like this, fixed patron-client relationship will be difficult to appear. In reality, we have found out only few exceptional cases which would be able to call "patron-client". Secondly, it seems rather surprising that, even under the severe condition like this, about two third of the Paribars call themselves "Krishok (farmer or peasant)". This curious situation may be able to understand by considering three different factors, i.e. ① the change of cropping pattern, ② agricultural labor, and ③ non-farm works.

① Only a few years ago, the irrigation (I have mentioned it earlier) has introduced in this village. Before that time, most popular cropping pattern in this village is "Aus-(flood)-Aman-Rabi crops". After the introduction of the irrigation, this cropping pattern has changed to the form as "Boro(IRRI)-(flood)-Aman-Rabi crop"<sup>22</sup>. This transformation of cropping pattern gave the great change of life condition

in this village. Because, comparing Aus paddies which are all domestic variations, Boro paddies are foreign high yielding varieties, then, the average yield of Boro is about three to four times more than that of Aus. Although the inputs like seed itself, fertilizer, insecticide, pesticide, irrigation water, etc. are expensive and bearing its expense is a hard task (in some extreme cases, it even offsets the yield increased), this change has enabled the villagers to support more persons by the products of the same size of the paddy field. Following the villagers sayings, before the introduction of the irrigation, it was possible to support only two persons (adults) by the products from the two Kanis, ( of course, in the minimum life level, i.e. two times of steamed rice meals with a few vegetables and once light snack in a day). But, now, it is possible to maintain four persons (two adults and two children = a small size nuclear family) by the products from the same size of land<sup>23</sup>. Of course, this is an ideal pattern and, in reality, it is rather difficult to support four persons by the products in the two Kanis because of the several restrictions. Nevertheless, we will not be able to neglect this point.

② After the introduction of irrigation, some landed farmers have began to employ agricultural laborers and the larger landed farmers (following the categories of Census, middle farms) have also extended the employment size of the laborers. Of course, though this extension of agricultural market has been not so large and we will not be able to appreciate so much, it is true that the number of agricultural laborers employed within the village has increased a little. We will also have to consider on the affects of this extension of employment opportunity on the landless or little farms.

⑧ We must also attend to the role of non-farm works and evaluate the affect of it on the landless or small farms. Concerning this point, however, I will describe in the following section.

Finally, and perhaps this seems very important point, we must point out the sudden rise in land price irrespective of cultivated land or of a place of residence and for commercial activity in this area<sup>24</sup>. For example, guessing from the cases of the buying and selling of cultivation land in the village, the average price of the land was about 5000 Tk/Kani in 1972. Except the exceptional period (i.e. flood affected year of 1974), this price has been continuously rising up. That is, about 20.000~25.000 Tk/Kani in 1980 and over 30.000 Tk/Kani in 1988, etc.. This rapid rise of land price had directly brought about the difficulty of the buying and selling of lands, and this difficulty of the buying and selling has had the important effects on two different dimensions. On the one hand, instead of the buying and selling of the land, many cases of the mortgage (and sometimes, lease) have appeared<sup>25</sup>. Because the same size of a plot of land has become to have several times more value than before, though the buying and selling of land had become difficult, yet people had been able to mortgage-out a small plot in the high price. Then, we can observe some rather curious cases that small farms or landless farms lend some considerable money (usually, from 4~5.000 Tk to 20.000 Tk) to get the right of cultivation and the larger farms borrow such money to fulfill their temporally expedient. On the other hand, instead of the buying a cultivation plot, some people have become to invest their money in the various non-farm works, because the small investment to these fields (for example, buying a Rickshaw, purchasing some amount of cigaret for peddling, etc.) had become much cheaper and easier comparing to buy a small plot of land.

### 2.1.7. Occupational Structure.

For the purpose of avoiding the unnecessary complexity, here, I will only point out four characteristic features. First of all, we will have to point out the small percentage of the self-sufficient landed farms (Paribars)<sup>26</sup>. Less than one third of the Paribars (38 Paribars) belongs to this category. Secondly, on the contrary to the first, we must point out the fairly large percentage of the Paribars which can not reach the self sufficiency by operating their own land<sup>27</sup>. Needless to say, this also means the existence of considerable number of the farms with side line jobs (including agricultural labor)<sup>28</sup>. Relating this point, we will have to attend to the existence of various non-farm works in and around the village. Of course, concerning this, it is difficult to neglect the closeness (about 2 km.) to Campaniganj bazar<sup>29</sup>. Thirdly, we can observe the multi-dimensional investments of the larger farms<sup>30</sup>. In one case, for example, there is a Paribar which own their own land more than 3 acres. This relatively large size of land produce the considerable surplus except their own consumption by itself. In addition to it, the head-person of this Paribar is in business as a cattle trader and this business gives an additional surplus to this Paribar. In the fourth place, we must pay attention to the existence of full-time non-farm workers living in the village. Such works as Rickshaw puller, bus conductor, fisherman, police, tailor, etc. are included in this category<sup>31</sup>. To summarize the occupational structure, I will show it in Table 1 and, to add the socio-economical aspects with it, I will show the simplified figure (occupational and social structure) of this village in Table 2.

Table 1, Occupational Structure in village K.

	Occu. pattern	No.	Contents of non-F
Landed	F(+) +non-F	7	Officer, Contractor, Shop owner, Cattle dealer, House owner, Student*, etc.
	F(±) +non-F**	17	Tailor, Madrassa teacher, Office worker, Student, Rickshaw owner, etc.
	F(±)	14	
	F(-) +S or AL	19	
	F(-) +non-F***	17	Peddler, Bamboo-seat maker, Road vendor, Bus conductor, Rikshow puller, etc.
Landless	non-F	29	Temp driver, Road vendor, Factory worker, Fisherman, Rickshaw puller, etc.
	AL +non-F	6	Rickshaw puller, Fisherman, Laborer, etc.
	AL	12	
Depend	F(-) +Depend	3	(Widows and the aged)

Abbreviations;

(+): surplus, (±): self-sufficient, (-): insufficient,  
F: farm works, non-F: non-farm works, S: sharecropping,  
AL: agricultural labor.

\*: Usually, the graduates of university or collage will not be a cultivator, but be a non-farmworker. Therefore, considering that going to university or collage is a form of investment for non-farm work, I will consider the students of these schools as non-farmworkers.

\*\*: Such a case that non-farmwork is primary and farmworks secondary is also included here, if the farmworks produce enough products for the consumption of the Paribar.

\*\*\*: Such a case as "F(-)+non-F+AL" is also included here.

Table 2. Occupational and Social Structure in the village K.\*

Census	Size**	Tendency	Form	Comments
roughly "Middle"	Larger	non-speci- alization	F(+)+non-F (7)	Rise or keep.*** Many migrants.
			F(±)+non-F (17)	Intellectuals.
roughly "Small"	Middle	speciali- zation	F(±) (14)	Keep or down.
	Small	non-speci- alization	F(-)+S·AL (19)	Keep or down.
			F(-)+non-F (17)	Keep or down. To be non-F primary.
roughly "Landless"	Landless	speciali- zation	non-F (29)	Keep or rise.**** Many migrants.
			AL+non-F (6)	Difficult to rise. Few migrants.
			AL (12)	Non-literate. Non- F is supplementary.

\*: Except depending Paribars.

\*\* : See, Note 26.

\*\*\*: "Rise", "keep" or "down" mean the on-going or future tendency of positional change of Paribars both in economical and social position in this village. The period of this estimated tendencies designated above are only limited to the point of time of the change of each Paribar-head.

\*\*\*\*: There are relatively many literates in this category. The large part of these literates usually are not so educated (mainly primary school and, at best, secondary school), but some of them has graduated (or been going to) the collage.

From these tables, I will point out the following four points as the key to understand the socio-economical structure of this village as well as the fundamental factor for the transformation of this structure. ① Non-farm works (including migration). ② Education, (especially, higher education). ③ Stability (or, in some cases, upward movement) in short time and fragmentation in longer term (at least, in the dimension of land holding). ④ un-prospectiveness if a Paribar adhere only to the agriculture (or, strictly speaking, cultivation). I want to explain these points in detail.

considering on the case of full-time farmer, I have found that, though some of them nominally hold 7 Kanis or more, it was only in nominal, but in reality, they operated only about 5 Kanis. Then, it is suspected that, except one case, almost all Paribars in this category have not been able to produce the surplus till today. Turning to our eye to the agricultural laborer (including the both categories "AL" and "AL+nonF"), we will have to admit that they consist of the bottom of the society and their lives are rather miserable. There are few kinds of jobs those who are illiterate and have no capital to invest can find employment. Moreover, these jobs demand some different kind of ability for the them (agricultural laborers). Even the works like Rickshaw puller, most popular work for the poorer people in this area, demand a kind of talent, except his own physical power, such as negotiation and a sense of management or business. Then, it is rather difficult for the landless people (especially, for the elders) to change their job. In addition, it is also concerning the third point, because of the Muslim inheritance law (or, customs) which prescribes the parity of inheritance among sons, all property including cultivation land must divide equally at the time of inheritance, (at least nominally). Therefore, for example,



in the case of self-sufficient and full-time farmwork Paribar which have 5 Kanis, if this Paribar have 5 sons, all of them fall within the category of insufficient farm after inheritance.

All these facts suggest the short term stability and the tendency to fragmentation (③), on the one hand, and the significance of non-farm works as well as the unprospectiveness of the Paribars which adhere only to the cultivation (① & ④). When a (or some) member of a Paribar try to lounch into the non-farm works, though we must admit the importance of (more or less) the capital for investment, we will also have to evaluate the education as one of the most fundamental and decisive factors. As the comments and notes which designated in Table 2 show, almost all part of educated (or, at least, literate) persons are found in the two different categories, i.e. "F (+/±)+non-F" and "non-F". Here, non-farm works take a primary place, (or, at least, same as the farm works). In contrast with this, we can find only few educated person in the other categories. Moreover, we can also find many migrants in the same two categories. Though we can not say that all migrants are educated (especially, in the case of poor migrants), yet it is the fact that we can find rather high percentage of educated person in the migrants than in the ordinary village dwellers. In other words, we will have to pay attention to the significance of education as the "passport" or "pre-investment" to launch into the non-farm works.

## 2.2. Village M.

In this section, I will describe the general conditions of village M.. Considering the present situation of this country, that is, the majority of the population is Muslim (and we will have to pay attention to the real situation of the rural Muslim village at first), and avoiding the unnecessary duplication of the description, I will only mention to some characteristic points which this village and villagers have<sup>32</sup>.

### 2.2.1. Environment.

Relating to the environment, first of all, we must point out the existence of the Gumti river by this village. This river is a branch of the Meghna and its width is just 30 or 50 meters in this area in the dry season. But, because its source begins from the Tripra hills in Tripra state of India and that area is famous for its heavy rain fall, once there is concentrated heavy rain in the Tripra hills, the Gumti brings a large quantity of water to its basin even in the dry season. Unfortunately, this village is just situated at the outside of the corner of this river, then, this village had to receive the serious damage in each time by flash flood or by erosion. This village have lost a considerable area of land for homestead as well as for cultivation by the erosion for these few years and this had affected to the village and the villagers in two different ways. On the one hand, as the direct effect, some Paribars had abandoned living in the village and left for other places, mainly urban areas. On the other hand, though (and, perhaps, because) they had a tendency to prefer the non-farm occupations, especially business, the villagers have been tending to abandon the farm-works and to devote their energy much more to non-farm works for this period. I am also

suspecting the another effect of this erosion of the river as the possible reason for the lack of unity (on which I will mention later) in the village in spite of its relatively small settlement area. Because the erosion have been persuading the villagers to resettle or remove day by day and this means the frequent change of social relationships<sup>33</sup>, many villagers might have lost their intimate relationships with the neighbors and this might have lead to the lack of unity in the village. Besides, last year, the flash flood of this river has deprived the only route to the main road from the villagers. People has had to depend upon the "Nouka" (a small country boat) for their daily shopping and going to school, except a few months of dry season.

In the case of this village also, as in the case of the village K., the closeness to the Campaniganj bazar is doubtlessly one of the decisive elements to formulate the village's character. In the case of this village, however, I have not been able to decide this point as cause or as result. Because about half of the Paribars in the village belongs to the merchant Jati, a caste which traditionally destined to be appointed to the business, and in reality all the (working) members of these Paribars are merchant even now, bazar or commercial area has been being indispensable for these Paribars<sup>34</sup>.

### 2.2.2. Domestic and Kinship Groups.

As I have already mentioned, this village is a very small comparing to the average size of the villages. Following the data of Census<sup>35</sup>, this village consisted of only 40 Paribars and its population was 268 in 1981. Perhaps, reflecting such compactness of the village size, all the Paribars crowd in a relatively small settlement area and there are few social or geographical groups in the village.

This village nominally consists of two Paras, i.e. East Para (E. Para) and West Para (W. Para). In contrast with the case of village K., this Paras play nearly no role in the everyday life. Or, the villagers rarely mention on the word "Para" itself as well as on the existence of Para. The only one exceptional case which these Paras have some meaning is the time of Saraswati Puja (the festival or ceremony of goddess Saraswati). Only in this time, they divide their settlement area into two parts and each of them ritually compete in the scale and beauty of the decoration of the goddess and in the liveliness of their dance and music. But, this dividing of the village itself had started only about ten years ago, and frequent resettlement of the Paribars have not given these groups (Paras) a kind of rigidity as a group. Moreover, villagers never tried to explain on the social organization in this village by the word "Para". In this sense, it is difficult to see Para as a group which has meaning from the social point of view except in this Puja time.

In this village, perhaps, most important social units are seen each Paribars. It is well known to the many scholars that, comparing the Muslim Paribar, average size of the Hindu Paribar is rather large. This contrast is sometimes expressed as "Hindu large family" vs. "Muslim small family". In my own experience also, this tendency has confirmed. In contrast to its rather large scale Paribars, they are not

eager to consist of Bari as in the figure that Muslim form, i.e. a assemblage of houses which surround one small courtyard. But, this fact does not directly suggest that their relationship with their close relatives are not so intimate. On the contrary, their relationship among relatives seems sometimes more intimate than those of Muslims. Nevertheless, it is also true that they are not eager to formulate Bari, comparing the cases of Muslims. We might explain this point as follows. In the case of Muslims, to formulate a Bari and to live geographically close compensate for their relatively weak relationship among close relatives. For example, in the case of debt, Muslims tend to hold some mortgage even from his own brothers. If the amount of money exceeds some line, and if the payment has not realized, they persuade to sell or to hand over such mortgage. Jansen has shown an example of such case, (Jansen, 1987, *ibid*, Cap.4, Case 2). In contrast with this, in the case of Hindu, the relatively close kinship ties do not need the form that close relatives live together in one place<sup>36</sup>.

To summing up these two points in other words, this village has only one kind of effective social (as well as geographical) group, i.e. each Paribars. Except that, they have substantially no social group and, instead that, they have another kind of means which enable them as if to be united, i.e. the consciousness of belonging to the same small village. Because, on the one hand, they have keenly been conscious of their position as minority, and, on the other hand, all of the Paribars in the village crowd in the relatively small area, they have a rather strong consciousness of belonging to the same village, compared to the case of village K., (and, perhaps, to the ordinal Muslim villages). This consciousness contributes to make a intimate atmosphere among the villagers and this atmosphere sometimes appears in the form of "fictive kinship relations" among those who have no real kinship relation<sup>37</sup>. I will mention this point later.

2.2.3. Jatis<sup>38</sup>.

There are six Jatis in this village. ① Saha. They are traditionally merchants or businessmen and they are about half of Paribars in this village. ② Porddar. They are traditionally the dealer (especially, of yarn) and there are six Paribars in the village. ③ Chokrabarnti. They are traditionally Takur (a professional priest) and there are only three Paribars in the village. ④ Shutrardhar. They are traditionally carpenters or woodworkers and there are 10 Paribars in the village. ⑤ Biswas. They are originally peasants and there are only three Paribars in this village. ⑥ Das. They are traditionally fishermen and fish sellers and there are three Paribars in this village<sup>39</sup>. Even now, large part of the Paribars keeps their traditional occupations, and this continuity of occupation among the generations is the most characteristic point in this village<sup>40</sup>. As is shown here, about half of the all Paribars of this village are Saha and they are so to say "dominant caste" in the village. The next to or as same as Saha, the Porddars come, because, though the traditional occupation of Porddar is rather restricted in its field, they both are the merchants or dealers and we can find only one exceptional case against Jati endogamy in which a daughter of a Porddar married with a son of a Saha. Except the Paribars belonging to these two Jatis (these Paribars are over two third of all Paribars in this village), other four Jatis are rather weak and marginal in their position socially or economically. But there is one exceptional case (or time). It is the time of Pujas. As I have mentioned earlier, Chakrabarnti is a priest Jati. Although many of them except one full-time priest of the Kali Mandir (the shrine of goddess Kali) are working for

another kind of occupations in everyday-life, all the villagers except them must depend on them at the time of Pujas. Only they can behave as the priests at that time, then, other villagers must depend on them, irrespective of their (Chakrabarntis') everyday social or economical position.

#### 2.2.4. Political Aspects.

It is very difficult to describe the political situation in this village. Although there are a few Paribars or Paribar-heads who are economically in good position comparing to the others, but they seem to have such political power corresponding to their economical power. This is partly because there are six different Jatis in this village. This prohibits all the Jatis from uniting or gaining solidarity under the leadership of one or some eminent persons, and because, as I have mentioned earlier, the erosion and flash floods urge some Paribars to resettle and this prohibit the development of solid relationships among Paribars. At the same time, I suspect the another possible explanation to this problem. I had repeatedly tried to investigate the kinship relations among each Jatis respectively. But, though I could find the internal kinship relations in Chakrabarnti, Shutradar, Biswas and Das, I could not find the sole internal relationship between Saha and Porddar. That is, in each cases, I have found plural lineages in a Jati. Therefore, in situations like this, although the Paribars belong to the same Jati, it is very difficult to unite all member Paribars even under the name of a Jati.

#### 2.2.5. Education.

First of all, in the case of this village, we will have to point out the high standards of education. There are very few adult males who had not received primary education. In contrast with this, we can find a considerable number of people who have graduated from high-school or higher educational institutions. Secondly, however, we can find only one person who had graduated with M.A. on, in spite that there are considerable numbers of people who have graduated collage (I.A.) or degree collage (B.A.). We may able to explain these two points as follows. As I have mentioned earlier, the majority of the Paribars in this village traditionally destined to the merchants, businessmen or dealers, and, as I describe this point later, "merchantization" have already spread to the other Jatis. In order to be merchant, they must receive the education in a certain grade, i.e. S.S.C. or H.S.C., but, comparing to receive the more higher education, i.e. B.A. or M.A., to be well trained as merchant in the place of real trading is more important for them. Perhaps this is the reason why they have received relatively higher education but not top level<sup>11</sup>.

#### 2.2.6. Occupations.

The majority of the villagers (adult males) are working for the business. Only two Paribars are full-time farmer (but, relatively small), one Paribar is a full-time priest, one Paribar is a fisherman as well as fish seller, and two Paribars are full-time fish sellers. As individuals, there are two highschool teachers, about ten carpenters, one civil



servant, four international labor-migrants, etc.. Except them, about three fourth of total male working population are working for the several kinds of business, including employees, small shop keepers, dealers, medium or large wholesalers, etc..

I will not exactly describe the social and economical structure in this village<sup>42</sup>. Instead that, I will try to designate here the estimated total income of each Paribars and its distribution<sup>43</sup>.

Table 3. The distribution of the estimated total income of each Paribars.

Estimated income per month	Jati	No.	Total
5000 or over	S	6	9
	P	1	
	C	1	
2000~4999	S	13	23
	P	4	
	Sh	5	
	D	1	
below 2000	S	3	15
	C	2	
	Sh	5	
	B	3	
	D	2	
Total		47	47

Abbreviations: S=Saha, P=Porddar, C=Chakrabrnti,

Sh=Shutradar, B=Biswas, D=Das.

We will be able to point out three characteristic features from this table. At first, the large part of dominant casts (including Porddar, in this case) belongs to the middle or upper categories. Especially, in the upper category (over 5000 Tk/month), 8 of 9 Paribars belonging this category are consists of Sahas and of Porddars. Secondly, except one case of Chakrabarnti, all the Paribars belonging to the other four small Jatis are included in the middle to lower categories. Thirdly, almost all Paribars belonging to the lower category consist of those Paribars which are non-merchant full-time workers, i.e. fishermen, fish seller (peddler), peasants, carpenters, bus conductors, etc.. In other words, those Paribars who have committed business as shopkeeper or employee in the market place or have persue the second line belong to the middle category or more upper, not to the lower category.

### 3. Migrants from Village K.

In this section, I will describe the migrants from village K., and try to consider some features which migrants have.

#### 3.1. General Descriptions.

##### 3.1.1. Area.

We will be able to point out some characteristic features from Table 4 and Figure 2. First of all, a large part (about two third) of the migration cases has happened in Zone 0, and Chittagong has been given a great weight in these cases. (On defining the zone, see Note 44). Secondly, About one third of total migration cases has gone to Zone 1, and about two third of these cases has only concentrated to Dhaka. Thirdly, we can not find any migration case which has gone to north-western or south-western part of Bangladesh across the Jamuna. Fourth, at the same time, we can find no case to migrate-out to Tripura state of India across the border line. Fifthly, once across the border line, all cases have or had gone to the middle east countries, i.e. Saudi Arabia or Libya. Perhaps, this is because of the "oil boom" or "oil dollars". This supposition may be certified that three of four migrants gone to Libya has already returned to the village and, even though they (return migrants) want to go there again, it will be very hard for them to go there under the recent world economic conditions. Summing up, to say as a whole, the migration area of this village are very limited, especially to the eastward and to the westward.

##### 3.1.2. Migration Patterns.

At first, a large part of the migration cases are R-U pattern, and these cases are, needless to say, all non-farm

Fig.1, The Route Map of Related Area.

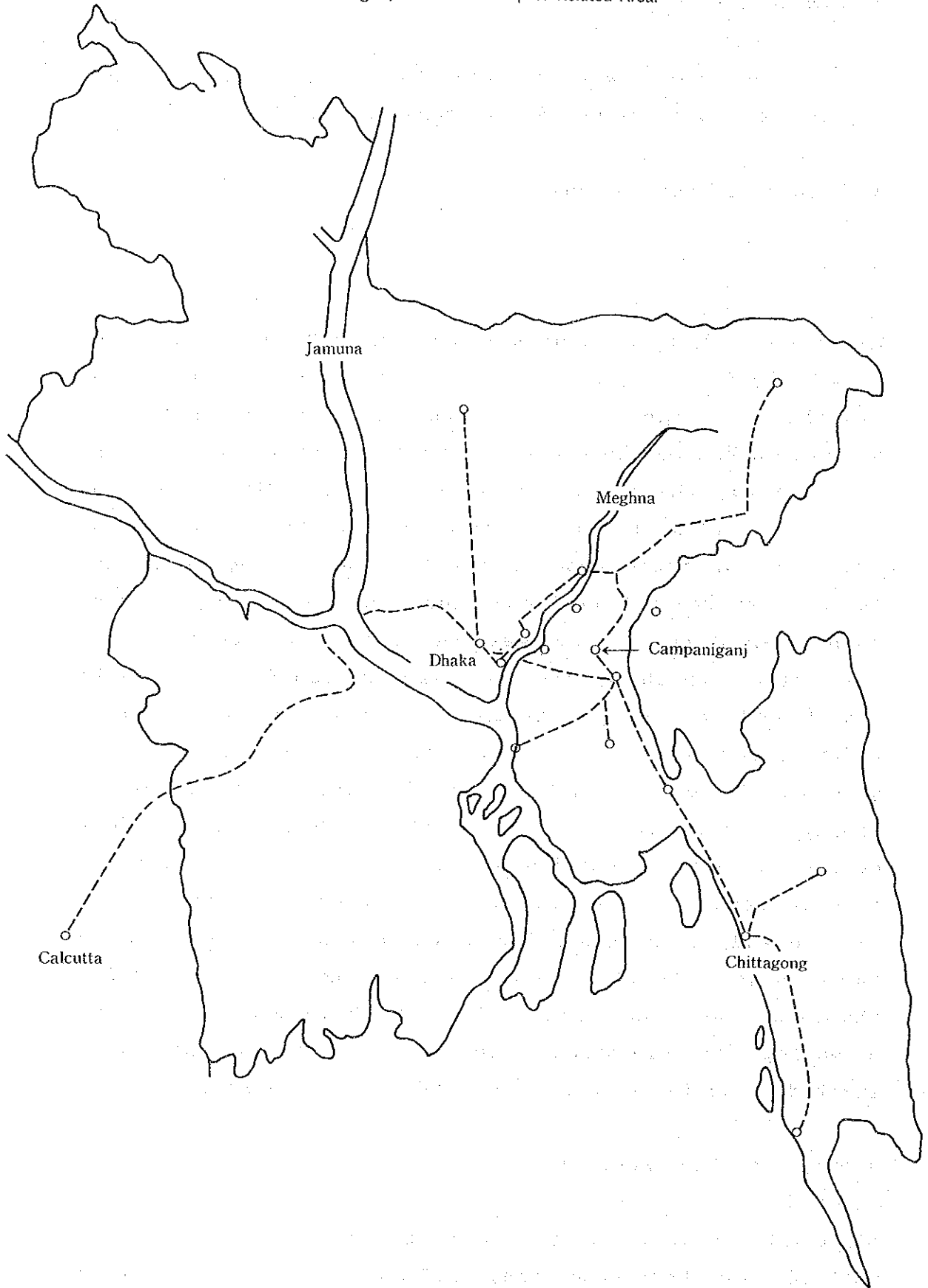


Table 4. Migrants from Village K<sup>44</sup>.

Zone	Place	Occupations and No.
①	B.baria	Factory officer.
	Chittagong	Army, Government officer, Policeman, Laborer, Rickshaw pullers (9), Sewer, (Factory worker (F)), (Craftsmen (2)), (Servant).
	Comilla	(Laborer).
	Feni	Re.
	Homna	Agricultural laborer.
	20	Kasba
(5)	Sylhet	Current office worker.
①	Cox Bazar	Sewer
	Dhaka	Factory worker, Insurance Co. officer (2), Policeman, University student, Unknown.
	Mymensingh	Forest visa officer.
	9	Rangamati
⑤	Libya	(Driver), (Guard)*, (Laborer)*, (Unknown)*.
	Saudi A.	Unknown.

Abbreviations: ( )=cf., F=female, Re.=retailer,

\*=completed.

Provisos: All the cases designated here are at the time of the end of 1989, except the cases with \*(=completed). There are some other cases of return migrants as well as temporally or seasonal migrants, but all those cases are excluded here. (I will mention some of those cases in the text. On the divisions of the zones, see Note 44.

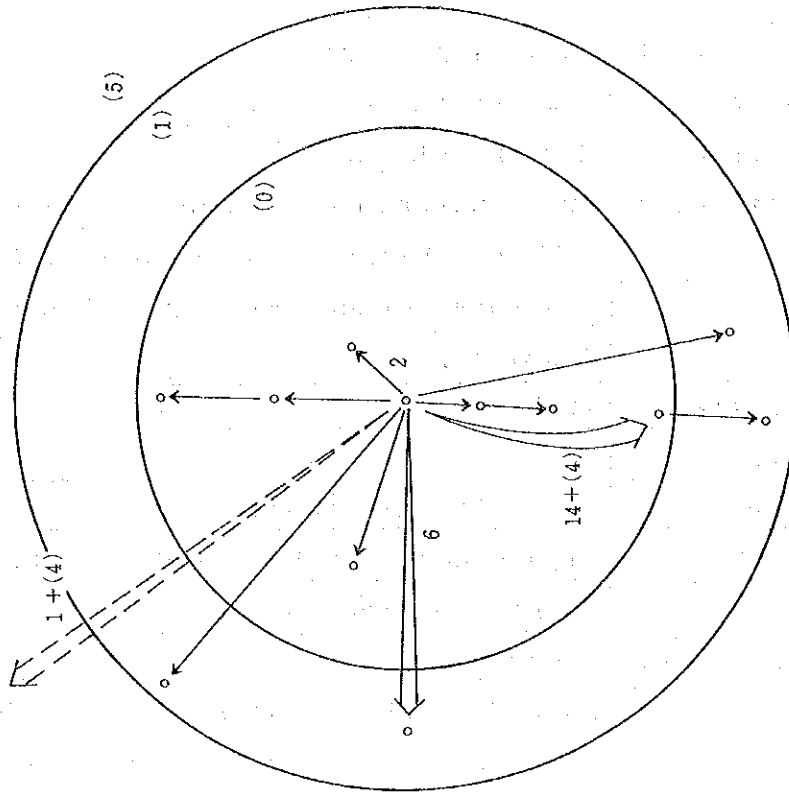
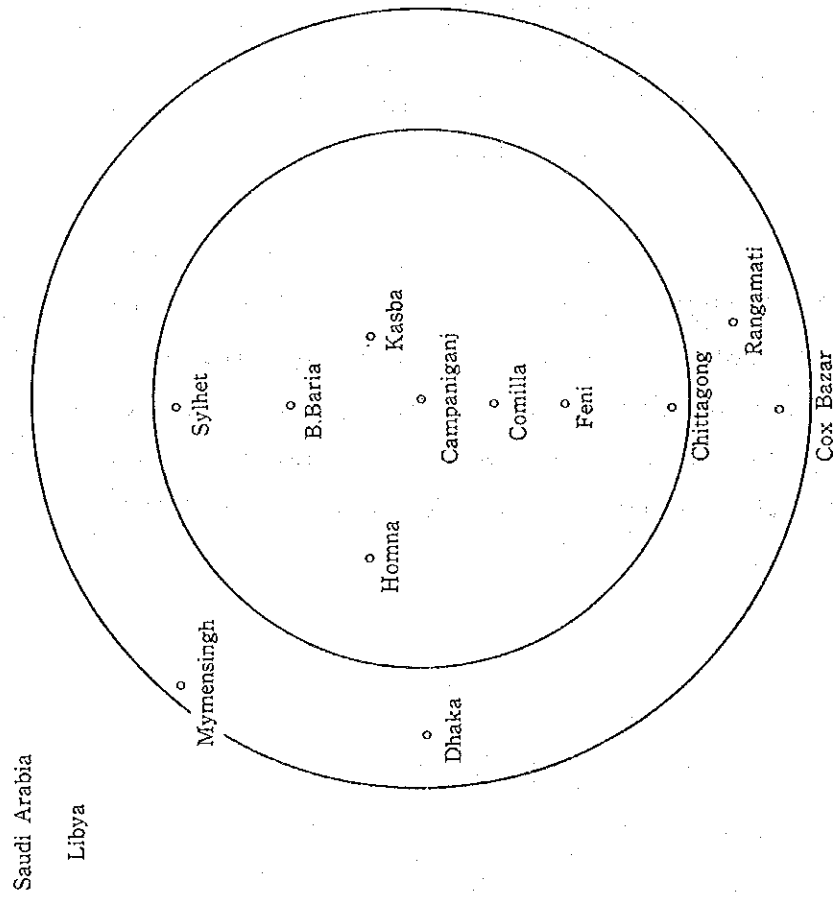


Fig. 2, The migrational Area of Village K.



works. The destinations of those cases which went to Comilla, Cox Bazar, Feni and Sylhet (to Chittagong and to Dhaka, of course) are all urban area or, at least, sub-urban area. In the second place, on the contrary, we can find only four R-R migration cases, i.e. two cases to Kasba, one to Mymenshingh and one to Rangamati, and three of four cases are non-farm works, i.e. contractor, high-school teacher and Madrassa teacher. In other words, we can find only one case of farm work in migration cases designated here. Thirdly, however, though I have not listed-up here, we can observe a few seasonal migration at times. All these cases belong to R-R pattern, and, roughly speaking, these are observed in the harvest seasons of Boro paddy. That is, they have migrated-out the place where the timing of harvest is a little different from that of this village to seek the harvesting works. As easily understood, these works (or migrations) are aimed as the complementary work for supplying the shortage of agricultural labor works in the village at that time. The destinations are largely northward, especially Sylhet. But, these are very rare and irregular and, as far as I know, there are very few person who has migrated plural times on this pattern. Therefore, we will able to see this pattern as marginal. At last, seeing as a whole, we will recognize the existence of a kind of "dual migration pattern" in this Table. But, at the same time, comparing this table with Table 1, the following two points become to be clear. That is, though the pattern may be called as "dual migration", in reality, the duality is not so clear. In other words, we can observe, so to say, a graduation there. Moreover, the lower part of migrants is not equal with the lowest or bottom in the village. Therefore, at least in this point, the hypotheses, the richer is "pulled" migrant and thee lower the "pushed", will have to be changed<sup>45</sup>.

### 3.1.3. Occupational and Seasonal Features.

First of all, we will have to point out that we can find the relatively many variety of works in the migrants and that but, at the same time, we can find a few merchants in the migrants. Secondly, we can find a fairly large number of Rickshaw pullers in the migrants working in Chittagong. Except them, there are some persons who had once migrated-out to Chittagong as a Rickshaw pullers and returned home after that. Some of them (only few person) had saved a little amount of money as he had worked in the Chittagong, they bought a Rickshaw and, now, they are working as the owner-pullers of the Rickshaw in the neighbouring area of the village. But many of them had just changed the working place from Chitagong to the village and are working as a Rickshaw pullers paying the dayly fixed rent to the other owners, irrespective of the difference of their working place. Thirdly, we can find some cases of the civil servants or workers working for the semi-govermental institutions, i.e. goverment officer, army, policemen, forest visa officer and current office worker. Some of them are educated persons, i.e. with I.Sc. or B.A., but some persons had only graduated the primary school or a little more. That is, this village (and, perhaps, many Muslim villages) has been supplying both the upper class officers and the lower class workers to the public sector. We will have to attend to this fact for comparison with the case of Hindus. Fourthly, we can find a few persons who have got the job in large companies. We should pay attention to the fact that two of three these persons are the most educated persons, i.e. with M.A., in this village.

Concerning the term of migration, a large part of the migration cases are relatively long term, at least one year to sometimes 10 or 20 years. In some rare cases, the terms



are more than 30 years. In the second place, as has described before, we can find a few seasonal migration cases and most of them has migrated only once. Thirdly, in the cases of Rickshaw pullers, we can observe that almost all of them has repeatedly come and gone between the village and urban area, i.e. Chittagong. Interestingly, these "oscillations" are usually determined by the factors of only one side, i.e. their own village side. In other words, they work in their village only in the period when the agricultural works of their own small plot are busy or the wage of agricultural labor is extremely high, and, except those period, they work as a Rickshaw puller in the Chittagong. Needless to say, in this case, the main income resource is the Rickshaw pulling. This oscillation continues as long as they work as Rickshaw pullers. Fourthly, let us also mention on the cases of international migration. As far as I know, all of them have migrated-out through the agency of some officially permitted agents. All the conditions, term, the kind of works, payment, accommodations, etc., are designated beforehand in the contract form, and they (migrants) had migrated-out and come back following the contract. We will have to attend to this "official" and "fixed" characters in these international migration cases. Perhaps, this will be affected by the difference of the destinations. And at last, we will have to point out that, almost all migrants are, irrespective of the internal migrants or of international migrants, limited only to the relatively young adult males. The large part of migrants belongs to the twenties<sup>45</sup>. Especially, we can find the young migrants with no exception in the public sectors as well as in the cases of large companies. Perhaps, this reflects the fact that it was not so long ago to enter the migrants from this village to these fields.

### 3.2. Some Selected Life Histories of Migrants.

In this section, I will designate some selected (and truncated) life histories of the migrants from this village. I have selected three cases from the upper strata of the socio-economical stratification in this village and two cases from the lower strata for the purpose of showing the several patterns that migrants walk'. Needless to say, there are many other migrants (and return migrants) and the life histories corresponding with the number of them. Though some of those life histories are very interesting and worthy to read, considering on the space and the specified theme that I am dealing here, I have given-up to adopt those stories. I hope to deal and argue those stories fully in another article in near future. All the personal names designated here areonyms and those matters on which the troubles may happen are omitted beforehand.

#### A. Md. Nazurul Islam.

After I've graduated a high school in Campaniganj, I've passed S.S.C. in high grade soon. From the next year on, I've learned at the Comilla Polytechnics (one of the famous collages in Comilla as well as in the neighboring area) for three years. At that time, I'd boarded with a person who isn't my relative. Of course, with payment. The fee was about 500 Tk/month, if I remember right. I've graduated the Institute at 1980 and gone to Dhaka soon after graduation. Well, I was so lucky that I had entered Dhaka University (top university of the country) and studied management there. Completed the course, I have got the M. Com. (the degree of the master of commerce). My uncle (FBy. he and his deceased elder brother hold more than 10 Kanis and they are one of the most wealthy Paribar in the village) prepared all the expense needed for the study and the boarding. Perhaps

you know ? My father has already dead in my boyhood and my uncle has no child. Then, my uncle has taken care of us as his real children and we have also thought him as a real father. Anyway, I've completed the study. At first, I have found employment in a registration company. That company was nominally registration but, in reality, the main affairs were a kind of survey on something related on the shipping companies. That company wasn't so bad, but after one and half years, I have changed my job. It's my present job. Cause the payment were much more good than that of former company at that time. In both cases, I've found my job from the help-want columns in the news paper. Perhaps because my school records were relatively good, it's not so difficult to find the jobs. The present job is a kind of insurance business. This company is one of the largest in the Bangladesh. My position is an officer in charge. Payment ? It depends on your guessing. Including my university age, I've been staying here (Dhaka) for more than eight years. At first, I'd stayed in my relative's house, but now, I'm rent a flat of a house at 1200 Tk/month. Including this money, the average total expenditure per month is about 5000 Tk or more. O.K. ? Of course, my wife and son, just an year old, are living with me.

Kursid Arom (a younger brother of Nur Jahan(C)) ? Yes, he comes from my village. He isn't my relative, but I'd recommended him to that post. Why ? Because I know him well for long and I love him. But above all, he was the only person who has finished B.Com. and had advanced to M.Com. course at that time, and he was smart and prospective. Frankly speaking, it's also suitable for me to work with the person from my own village. Future ? I love the village life as well as urban life, and I hope my son to be so. Now, I,m on a hunt for one or two shops in Campaniganj bazar. Of course, I myself won't run the shop. Just to be a owner. It's also for the future. But, I won't return to and live in the village, anyway.

B. Salamgeer.

I've graduated high school and collage at Campaniganj. After that, I had a plan to go to Dhaka University, but unfortunately, I'd fallen ill for a good while. Then, I had to give up the plan. Still, Dhaka was the most suitable place for my study because there are many relatives in the city and there are no relatives in the other cities where the universities exist, like Chittagong. Then, I had taken an entrance examination of Jagannath University and passed the examination. Considering the several conditions like lecturers, lectures, etc. (and, perhaps, his own preference or ability), I've changed my major from social science to philosophy. Frankly speaking, it's partly because that I had a friend whose major was philosophy and I could expect to borrow his notes etc.. Study ? Moderately, both in the result and from my intellectual point of view. Future ? Occupation ? I won't work in Bangladesh. If possible, in Europe or in America (U.S.A.). Is it possible to go and work in Japan ? Anyway, I won't work near here (near the village). If there will be some prospective jobs in the city, of course, Dhaka, it'll be all right. Expenditures ? You mean money ? Usually I've spent 1500 Tk/month, at least. My father prepares. Now, I'm staying at my cousin's (MZD's, and strictly speaking, MZ<sub>e</sub>DH's) house and all the fees, including meals, are free. Then, I've spent that money mainly for associating with my friends. City life ? Of course, good.

C. Nur Jahan.

I've passed S.S.C. in 1975. Soon, I'd started to work as an Army Civil Officer in Comilla. After the one year service, I'd stopped that work and opened a pharmacy shop in Campaniganj. I'd rent a room for the shop and invested about

15000 Tk at that time. The average income at those days was about 1500 Tk/month, if I remember right. I'd again changed my job in 1978. As an activist of B.N.P. (Bangladesh National Party), I'd worked for about three years in Cmpaniganj. After the drastic political change, I'd took a rest in my home for several months. In 1982, I'd gone to Saudi Arabia. In my resting period, I'd requested an agent in Dhaka to prepare for me to go abroad at the cost of total about 45000 Tk. All the preparations, the preparation of working visa, of air ticket, etc., are included in the money, but for preparing all, it took about nearly one year. I'd worked as a factory worker and worked with the many foreigners including four other Bangladeshis. That job was a hard one, for working time was twelve hours per day and holiday was once in a week. Room was prepared, but I'd had to pay for my meals. The payment was about 6000 Tk/month. Following the contract, I could get a vacation with pay, but couldn't. Anyway, I'd transmitted about 4000 Tk/month to my home. Though some part of the money had been spent by my parents, yet there was about 40000 Tk as residue at the time of my returning home. In 1986, I'd tried to start as a contractor investing that money as a capital. At first, I'd started as a Upazila building contractor and learned the business near here (the village). After several months learn, I'd decided to start as a real contractor. At first, I'd set up a company for the receiving of tender. At the same time, I'd gone to Rangamati, for there were many works to receive and it's rather easier to enter a new contractor to the jobs there. This company was in reality my one-man company, and all the order I'd received has completed by employing the day laborers. Income ? I won't say that, but at least I can say "not sufficient but moderate". Future ? I'll do my job (contracting work) for the time being. After that ? Insh'allah.

D. Karim Miya (the elder brother of Hakim Miya(E)).

Now, I'm working as a Rickshaw puller here (in Chittagong). I've been here from 1977, or maybe, 1978. Anyway, I came here about twelve years ago. At first, I'd worked at a flour mill. The first one year with no pay, and from the second year on with half pay, for I was just a boy at that time. My Bhai (brother, but Z<sub>E</sub>H in reality) had introduced me the work. I'd worked there for about eight years. After that, I'd become an age to be able to pull a Rickshaw, then, I'd started to pull. This time also, my Bhai (the same person) had introduced me an garage<sup>'s</sup> which were (and are) existed near downtown (in the middle of slum area with such narrow road that only Rickhsow or some other small vehicles can come and go), for he'd already been a Rickshaw puller at that time and worked for the garage. I'd worked for the garage for about three years. In this period, I'd married with a girl from a village near Muradnagar bazar (about 5 km west of his village). After the marriage, I'd looked for some other kind of work, because the Rickshaw pulling is hard work and not so profitable. My uncle (Z<sub>E</sub>HMB<sub>v</sub>, then strictly speaking, he is not uncle) had introduced me a job in Joydepur, Gazipur (north of Dhaka), and I'd decided to change my job. But, frankly speaking, I,d known nothing except that the job is a employee of a shop. After I'd gone there, I'd found that the job was, in reality, just a store keeping job of very small grocery shop and the payment was just 400 Tk/month. Though the owner had looked after all the expenditure, 400 Tk was far from sufficient to maintain my family (wife and an infant). Even Rickshaw pulling gives much money than that. Then, I'd changed my job and started to pull Rickshaw in Chittagong again. Only a month ago (in November, 1989) I came here again. The rental fee for a Rickshaw is 40 Tk/day, but usually two persons pull one Rickshaw in turn, one from early morning to 2:00 PM, and the

other from 2:00 PM to the late at night, then in reality, 20 Tk/day. Real income ? 50 Tk in a day and only 20 Tk in the next day. It's difficult to say. Of course, nothing in the day I don't pull Rickshaw. You know, Chakkuri (the regular employment with fixed payment and with some other accommodation) is much more good. But, it's difficult. Especially for the person like me. I have no education and no money. My father have no cultivation plot in the village. What can I do ? Now, I'm living in Chittagong and my family in the village. That is, I'm dividing my housekeeping two parts. Needless to say, it'll be better to join. But, all the prices of goods, including the house rent, in the city are very high. Then, I can't live with my family in the city. On the other hand, there is no job in the village. If there is, also because the expenditure will be much more cheap and I will expect some help from my relatives in the critical time, living with my family in the village would be more preferable. But, in reality, it's impossible. Anyway, to pull the Rickshaw hard, I'll get a small amount of money, and, if I lucky enough, I might have a chance to save some amount of money to purchase a used Rickshaw in future. Night ? I'm boarding here (one very small room of a large collective-type house made of bamboo seat and standing in a corner of a slum) with my sister's family (her husband is the Bhai mentioned earlier), of course, paying a little money for expenditure. To do like this, I can save just a little more money and take it to my home, can't I ? In this small room (about 4 or 5 m<sup>2</sup>), four person, I, my sister, her husband and their only one daughter, are living now. Too small ? What can I do other than this ? O.K. Let's go to my brother's (his younger bother's) room. Not so far from here.

E. Hakim Miya (the younger brother of Karim Miya(D)).

I'd come here (Chittagong) about two years ago. Age ? Maybe, 16. Or could be 17, 18, I don't know. Education ? No. Not at all. Before came here, I'd just a boy and played here and there around the village. Nothing more. Just idled away my time. I'd come here because my brother (Karim) knew the owner of this garment. I don't know how they met. To cut and sew by using the sewing machine is my work. Cut, sew, cut, sew. Working hours ? I don't know. I'm living here in this room (very small room made of bamboo seat with concreted floor with no window except only one doorway, about 6 or 7 m<sup>2</sup>). When we sleep, spreading a small mat (made of ragged clothes) on the floor and sleep. That's all. How many person ? I, owner, owner's two younger brothers, and him (pointing to a young boy who looks like as same age as Hakim). We, five. But, owner's two younger brothers are working in the other place as cloth seller. Of course, selling the cloths which we sewed. All the time as we being up is the working time, from morning 6:00 to night 12:00 or 2:00, except three meal times and the rest after meal. Maybe, 12 to 15 hours we works. Not always working hard. Sometimes with chatting. And, if I feel tired, then rest or sleep. Like so and so. All meals are prepared by the owner's aunt (owner's FZ<sub>Y</sub>). She has lost her husband, maybe dead, and is living in the next room with her children. All the house work is her work and, instead that, the owner gives her all the accommodation. Give and take. We make pants or shirts for children. Cheap ones. Payment ? 100 Tk/month. Because I'm still an apprentice. Of course, all the accommodations are free. But, for once I go back to the home, at least 100 Tk is needed for the bus fee. I go back home once in two or three months. Holiday ? No. We work on Friday, too, except the Praying time. When I go back home, that is my holiday.



### 3.3. Consideration on the Life Histories of the Migrants.

First of all, we can point out "the migration as the strategy of a Paribar", not of the individuals. In the case of Karim (D) and Hakim (E) brothers, we can observe this point clearly. Because their two sisters had married out and their fourth and fifth brothers are very young (about 8 and 5 years old respectively), we will have to think on the first three sons. The first son is Karim (about 22) and he is a Rickshaw puller in Chittagong. The second son is about 17 or 18 years old and he is working as an agricultural laborer in the village. Despite Karim's saying, his father have small cultivation land (about 1 Kani) and his father and this second son cultivate this plot together. At the same time, this son has once tried to go to Sylhet as a seasonal migrant for cultivation. The third son is Hakim and he is a apprentice of sewer in Chittagong. Their parents, especially their mother, expect the second son to live in the village with them, for they become to grow aged, they have another their own two young sons and a wife and a son of Karim, and, of course, they all need the guardianship of some young adult male. The second son also recognized this expectation. Like this, the three sons specialize their ways in their specified and differentiated directions. We can find some converse cases of this pattern in the village. In those cases, the parents adhere to the cultivation in spite of their landless (or small land holding) position, and urge their sons to take the same work as their father do, i.e. agricultural labor, or, at least, try to do nothing for changing their conditions and their occupations. As a result, except some limited time as transplant and harvest seasons of Aman and Boro, they must suffer the un- and under-employment all at once. And, then, they must bear the hardship as the twice (or once) in a day extremely poor

meals. Comparing this, in such cases like Karim and Hakim brothers, though the payment or the earning are poor, all of them, including their family members in the village as well, can take two meals and one snack in a day. In addition, if they are lucky, i.e. with no problems like sickness or accidents, etc., Karim will be able to get a small amount of money enough to purchase a used Rickshaw and Hakim will be a independent sewer with the earning 1500 to 2000 Tk/month. (If Hakim will be more luck, he will be a owner-sewer running the similar size shop as his present owner). This difference between two cases is a negligible one.

We can find another example in the case of Nur Jahan (C). At first, his parents had prepared the money for his going abroad. In the next step, he had transmitted about 4000 Tk/month to his home, and the two younger sons (except third son) had gone to school by spending some part of that money as school expenses. To do so, the second son (Kursid Arom in the life history of A) had graduated the collage and got the job in the insurance company by the recommendation of Nazurul Islam. After that, he had once tried to go New Zealand, but failed. Nevertheless, he has been looking for some another opportunity to go abroad. The fourth son had also received and is receiving higher education. After returning home, as I described before, Nur Jahan tried to start as a contractor by investing a considerable amount of money which he had transmitted to his home before. The third son remains. He had graduated primary school only and sometimes sells the cloths at the bazar as a vendor. But, their parents have become aged and, in reality, he is managing all the land they have, about 7 Kanis. Their father expect the third son to look after his own and his wife's old age, and the other sons also expect that. Like this all four sons differentiated their future ways respectively.

Secondly, we may point out the large difference between upper and lower stratifications, especially in economical aspect. For example, in the case of A, he said that his average expenditure is about 5000 Tk/month or more, and, in the case of B, he spends 1500 Tk/month only for the association with his friends. On the other hand, in the case of D, his employer in Joydepur payed him only 400 Tk/month with accommodations, and, in the case of E, though he is just an apprentice, he receives only 100 Tk/month with poor accommodations. We will not be able to neglect this great difference between the two stratifications. But, at the same time, we will have to attend to a fact that, though these lower cases looks poor, they are in the rather well conditions than those working as agricultural laborer and staying in the village.

Thirdly, we can point out the frequent job change in the migrants. In the case of A, he had change his job after one and half years work in the first company. In the case of C, perhaps he is one of the most extreme cases, he had changed his job as the following order, i.e. Army civil officer, an owner-manager of a pharmacy, the full-time activist of a political party, factory worker in Saudi Arabia, contractor in the neighboring area of the village, owner-contractor in Rangamati. We can also find such frequent job change in the lower stratification. In the case of D, he has changed his job as flour mill worker, Rickshaw puller, the employed shop keeper and Rickshaw puller again. Curious enough, in any case, we can not find any meaningful relationship between the former job and the following job. Perhaps, it is one of the points to investigate more.

Fourthly, we can point out "the job-mediate function" among the relatives or the neighbors. In the case A, Nazurul Islam had recommended Kursid Arom to an officer's post. In the case D, his sister's husband (Z<sub>E</sub>H) introduced Karim to the first job (flour mill) and to second job (Rickshaw garage), and a remote relative (Z<sub>E</sub>HMB<sub>V</sub>) introduced him to the third job (store keeper). In the case E also, Karim introduced his younger brother, Hakim, to an owner of small garment. We will have to appreciate, especially, that function among the relatives.

Fifthly, we will have to attend a tendency that the migrants tend to invest the money earned by the migration not to the land, i.e. the investment into the village, but to the capital for small business. But, in this case, business only means the marketing system or the distribution mechanism, that is, does not imply the productive activities. Of course, it is partly because of the rapid rise of land price on which I have mentioned before. We may express this curious phenomenon as "the distribution without production". For example, in the case A, he will invest his money to purchase small shop ( following his saying not designated the story, a kind of retail shop of such like grocery, etc.) in Campaniganj bazar and, moreover, he will not be a manager but just an owner. In the case C, he has been investing his money for contract. And in the case of D, he wants to purchase a used Rickshaw.

Except these conspicuous points, we can point out supplementary the following two features. At first, in the two upper migrants who had migrated-out to the large city (in these cases, Dhaka), one tendency is common to them,

that is, all of three (including Kursid Arom) does not want to return to the village. On the contrary, two of them (Kursid and Salamgeer) have fairly strong inclination for going abroad. In the second place, we must pay attention to the extremely poor residential condition among the urban poors. In the case of both D and E, they sleep four or five persons in a very small room and we cannot help suspecting that the occupying area per person may not so far exceed 1 m<sup>2</sup>. In addition to this, considerable number of colonies (including those area where Karim and Hakim live) in slum area or in the fringe of the city have no drainage system of everyday use and have no latrine. From the urban planning's point of view, this may suggest a serious problem.

#### 4. Migrants from Village M.

In this chapter, I will describe the migrants from village M and try to consider some features the migrants have.

##### 4.1. General Descriptions.

###### 4.1.1 Migration area.

As is seen from Table 5 and Figure 3, the large part (about two thirds) of the migrants have gone-out to Zone 1. This is the most conspicuous feature comparing with the migration cases of village K.. Moreover, the destinations are scattered in the Zone, like Bhairab, Madbti, Narayanganj, etc.. At the same time, the significance of Dhaka as destination is far less than those cases of Muslims. Secondly, In contrast with the first point, the migration cases within the Zone 0 are very few, except the three cases to Chittagong. Thirdly, except some special migration cases to West Bengal state, India, we can find no migration case to the north-western or south-western areas of Bangladesh across the Jamuna. Fourthly, we can find a migrant who has migrated-out to Tripura state, India. I can only designate one case here in the Table 5 and Figure 3, but among the dependent war period, large part of the villagers had gone to the refugee camps in Tripura state and experienced the camp life, and some of the villagers and the some relatives of the villagers had stayed there even after the war. Therefore, even now, some villagers have been keeping the close relation with them and we will have to appreciate these points. Fifthly, though we can find some out-migration cases to West Bengal state, India, these cases had happened just after the war or, at least, several years ago, and, further, some of these cases had happened after their once going-out to Tripura state. Moreover, we can observe no out-

Table 5. Migrants from Village M.

Zone	Place	Occupations and No.
①	Candpur	(Wh(S)).
	Chittagong	Wh(S+Sh), University student(S).
	Laksham	(Re(S)).
	6 Nabinagar	Re(S).
(2)	Sylhet	Government officer(P), Unknown(S).
①	Bhairab	Wh(5S), (Re(S)), (Wh(2S)),
	Dhaka	Re, Wh.
	26 Madbti	Wh(2S+2P).
(3)	Narayanganj	Re(6S), Sewer(Sh), Wh(5S+P+2C).
②	Agartara(I)	Unknown(Sh).
④	W.Bengal(I)	(Unknown(2S+D)),
⑤	Japan	Unknown(2S+C+S*).
	Kuwait	Unknown(S*).

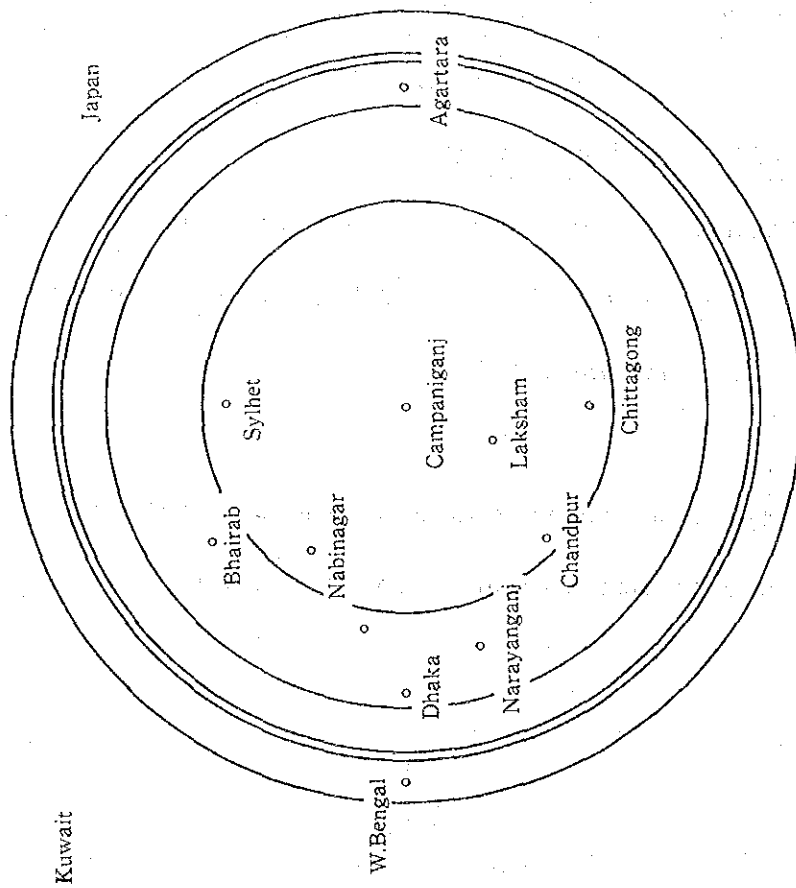
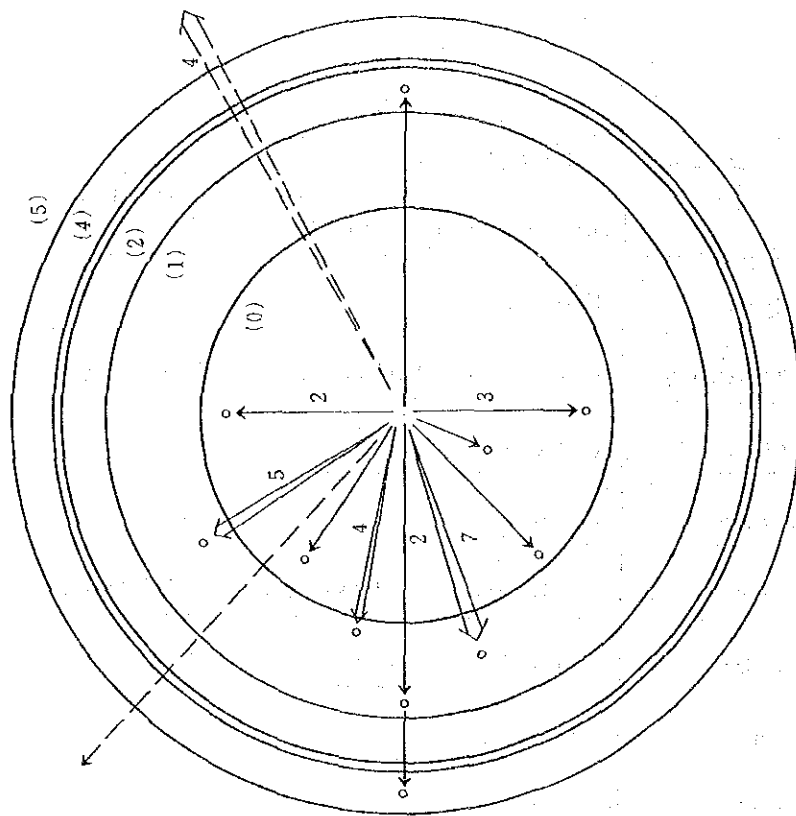
Abbreviations: ( )=cf., C=Chakrabarnti, D=Das, I=India,

Re=retailer, S=Saha, Sh=Shutradhar,

Wh=wholesale.

Proviso: All the conditions are same as Table 4, except the additional designation of the Jatis.

Fig. 3, The migrational Area of Village M.





migrants to this area in recent years. Sixthly, in this village also, we can find the international migration case to the middle east countries, but, it is only one case and it has finished, that is, the migrant has already returned home. In contrast with this, we can find four migrants who have migrated-out to Japan. Though one of them has already returned to home, the other three are even now working in Japan. Moreover, the two return migrants, the one from Kuwait and the other from Japan, are trying to go to Japan and, at least in present, they are not working except maneuvering to go abroad. It is suspected that the difference of religion blocks the out-migration to middle-east countries. Comparing to this, though the difference of religion exists, the religion plays not so great role in the everyday life of Japan and this may, (at least, in part) stimulate the comparatively many people trying to go Japan, except the great hope of high payment. To summing up, seeing as a whole, the migration area of the migrants from this village is rather wider than that of the the migrants from village K., but, in this case also, the Jamuna is a great barrier for the migration.

#### 4.1.2. Migration patterns.

First of all, almost with no exception, all the migration cases (at least, all the cases on which I know well) belong to R-U pattern. Even in those rural destinations like Nabinagar, the real destination is the market place only and, in this sense, it is difficult to say this case as R-R pattern. Secondly, we can find no seasonal or temporary migration case among the migrants from this village. Thirdly, we can not observe the "dual migration pattern" in this case. Perhaps, this may form a striking contrast to the cases of Muslim village K.

#### 4.1.3. Features on Occupations, Terms and Age.

On the occupations, we can point out four features in the cases of migrants from this village. At first, all the migrants only participate in the non-farm works. Secondly, we can find very limited kinds of works among the migrants from this village. That is, irrespective of the difference of the destination, almost all migrants work as the merchants or businessmen. Thirdly, though they work as the merchants or businessmen, we can find a few retailers among them. In other words, irrespective of the owner-manager or the employee, the large part of migrants work for the wholesale shop. Although this may, perhaps, partly relating to the characteristic distribution of the Jatis in the village (i.e. about half of all Paribars are Saha), this is the most characteristic point of this village. At last, it is a distinctive point from the cases of Muslims, we can find no migrants who work for the government or large company, except only one case (semi-governmental tea board officer in Sylhet). This is, perhaps, because of the reflection of the villager's consciousness that it is very difficult to do well (including promotion) as Hindu minority among the overwhelming Muslim majority. (As far as I know, the percentage of the Hindus in such organizations are rather lower than their population ratio). This consciousness may, in converse, strengthen their specific tendency to be wholesalers.

On the term, we can point out three features. Firstly, we can find many long term cases in the migrants from this village. Sometimes, the term of migration exceeds 30 years. In contrast, we can find only one migration case whose term

was settled beforehand, i.e. the case of international migration to Kuwait. Thirdly, all the four case of international migration to Japan are suspected as illegal ones, i.e. working without working visa. Therefore, the terms are not decided. The only way they decide their working term is the disclosure of their dishonest act or the decision to finish by themselves.

On age, we can here also point out the age-specific selectivity of migrants, i.e. to concentrate to the younger adult males. But, comparing to the cases of Muslims, this selectivity is not so clear. Instead that, we can find the considerable number of elder adult males among the migrants. Even a few aged migrants just before the retire are included among them. This fact will correspond the first feature which has been pointed-out on the migration term, i.e. the inclination to be long term.

#### 4.2. Some Selected (and Truncated) Life Histories.

##### A. Shantu Chondro Saha.

When I was studying at the high school in Campaniganj, in 1971, the independent war had broken out. The social atmosphere was so bad, especially for the Hindus, then, we (all my family members) had to escape from the village. We'd go to the refugee camp at Agartala, Tripura state, India, and stayed there for about 8 months. After coming back to the village, I'd again started to study at the high school, and passed S.S.C. in 1973. After the matriculation, I'd to stay in the village and idled away my time, because I couldn't find any job. In 1975, I'd got a job in here (Bhairab bazar). That was the employee of a rice wholesaler. My uncle (FB<sub>v</sub>) had introduced me the job. I'd worked for about one and half years at that shop. But, following the bankruptcy of that shop, I'd lost my job and returned home. For about two years, I'd stayed in the un-employment. In 1980, I'd again got a job in here. This time, the job was as same as the former one, i.e. the employee of the rice wholesaler. How did I get the job? It's rather complicated. When I'd been working here at the first shop, I'd got acquainted with a man who had come from Bogra and worked for an another rice wholesaler. On the other hand, after loosing my first job, I'd sometimes visited here and looked for the next job. One day, he, that man, had told me that he had found an another job in the neighboring area of his home, Bogra, and he would recommend me as the successor instead of him. Then, I'd got my second job. I'd worked there for about 7 years. In 1987, I'd been in trouble with the owner concerning a subtle problem. At the same time, I'd already acquainted with one person who had planned to set up a new rice wholesaling shop. Then, I'd resigned my second job and gone back to the village. For about one year, staying my

home in the village, I'd sometimes visited here and negotiated with that person on the new enterprise. Considering on my rich experience and knowledge on the trading of rice, he had offered me a post as joint operator. Of course, the owner is him, a young Muslim man, and I'm just an joint operator. But, differing from the employee who works in the fixed payment, the joint operator can get the payment in the sharing base. That is, the more sales grows, the more my reward grows, too. Needless to say, this is an exceptionally good treatment. Perhaps, this is because of my experience and knowledge and of the personally intimate relationship with him. In the beginnings of 1989, the shop has opened and I've been working for this shop since then. Except we two, we employ the other one young Muslim man as an accountant. The owner and him were born near here. Only I came from the outside. We purchase all the goods (rice) near here, i.e. from the neighboring area of Bhairab bazar and once concentrate it here. The buyer are mainly the retailers coming from the neighboring small bazars. We usually hire some laborers. They aren't employees but work in piece work, i.e. 2 Tk/bag (1 bag = 2 maunds = about 76 kg) for bringing-in and 3 Tk/bag for sell-out. When our business is busy, we hire more, and when isn't, we hire less. They are all the villagers of the neighboring villages and come to work everyday from their villages. Though they are living in the village, they are usually the landless and full-time laborers. Night ? I'm living here (shop) and sleep here. My wife is living with my parents in the village. We have no child. Usually, I go back to home twice a month, and that time is my holiday. Income ? 2000 Tk/month at my former job, and, in present, it depends on your guessing. Of course, more than that.

B. Shadhon Chondro Saha.

(He is the younger brother of A, Shantu. They are five brothers. Shant is the third and Shadhn is the fifth). After studying at a college in Campaniganj, I'd passed S.S.C. in 1983. For about 5 or 6 months, I'd stayed in un-employment. In 1984, my second brother had introduced me to a job in here, Madbti bazar. That job is the present one. At that time, my second brother had been working here as an employee of a small wholesaler who had only dealt in yarn. And he'd introduced me to one of another fellow traders. But, he'd resigned the job and gone to Japan two years ago. As an apprentice, I'd worked with no payment for the first one year. From the second year on, I've been working as a regular member. Payment ? 2000 Tk/month with all meals and accommodation. Working time is from 8:00 AM to 9:00 PM. When I go back to home, that is my holiday. Not fixed one. We deal only polyester yarn made in Taiwan, and its trading route is from Taiwan, via Khatunganj, Chittagong, via Tan Bazar, Narayanganj, to here, Madbti. You know these places ? Right. Some men from my village are working at these places. But, we are doing business with the other shops at that area. Anyway, it's certain that our villagers are working at these places. Of course, they are dealing the same kind of yarn as well as with the other things. All the goods are transported by the truck. But, we don't go to Narayanganj by ourselves. That is, all the goods are once brought in the auction market near this shop, and put up to auction. We just buy the goods from the market and bring it in the shop. We sell all the goods to the garment near here (Madbti). Owner ? He is a Muslim man born in here. But, usually we two, means I and him (he had pointed at an another employee), manage all. He is a Hindu from Ramchandrapur, Muradnagar and he is also S.S.C. pass. Owner ? No, not educated at all. He even doesn't know the trading of yarn

well. but he know well on the investment, that is, about how much will he able to get the return by the investment. Laborer ? We have two. They attached to this shop only, but the payment is not fixed but piecework. All the laborers come from neighboring villages and the full-time worker. As far as I know, all the laborers are Muslim.

C. Krishna Chakrabarti.

After passed S.S.C., I'd entered Comilla Victoria Collage (the most famous collage at the Comilla). I'd stayed at a student hostel. It cost about 300 Tk/month, but my father prepared it for me. When I was class third, the independent war had broken out. To keep the estate, my family had stayed in the village, but I'd gone to a refugee camp in Agartala, Tripura state, India. In the refugee camp, I'd worked as a helper writing in the distribution cards. I'd stayed there for about nine months. After the war, though I'd returned to home, I'd already given up to continue my study. In 1972, I'd got a job in Nabapur, Dhaka. That was a radio and TV mechanic work. Of course, I wasn't know the work well, but I'd learned the work gradually. Perhaps, you know Goulangur (G. Chondro Saha, about 28 years old, who are working as an employee of a tea wholesaler distanced only about 300 meters from the shop Krishna works). His uncle (FB<sub>r</sub>) had worked at an another radio and TV shop in Nabapur, and he'd introduced me to that shop. I'd worked there for about four years. But in 1976, the owner of that shop, a Hindu, had decided to close the shop and left for India, then, I'd lost my job. At that time, I'd already bored that mechanic work, and wanted to get a desk work in a shop. Then, I'd tried to search for such a job and come here, Narayanganj. Because my second brother (they are four brothers and he is the first) had been working here as a independent retailer dealing vegetables at that time. Now, he's returned home and been

working as a peasant. He wasn't suited for a merchant. Anyway, we was here. Accidentally, he'd sold the vegetables in front of this shop and I'd got acquainted with the owner of this shop. He'd been just looking for an accountant and offered me the post. Then, I've been working here. Payment ? 2000 Tk/month with accommodation for my family, that is, I myself, wife and three children. Yes, we lives in a flat of a building near here. We are the wholesaler dealing the fruits and some flesh vegetables, such as orange, apple, grape, spinach, onion, etc.. Almost all goods are imported from India via Nabapur. One employee, a Hindu, is in charge of the consignee and transportation of goods. Usually, he comes and goes between two places, Benapur (a frontier town by the road to Calcutta) and Narayanganj, fifth or sixth times in a month. I'm in charge of the selling of the goods in shop. The buyers are mainly small retailers in and around Narayanganj city and visit this shop for buying as occasion calls. An another employee is a Muslim and comes from the same village the owner comes, just opposite side of the river (Buriganga), but they aren't relatives. He's in charge of selling the residual goods, about half of all goods. He sells these goods for the small retailers and venders in and around this market. Owner, a Muslim man, looks after the works of our three. Working hours and holidays are not fixed, because the arrival of goods is irregular. Association ? My younger brother (the fourth) works for a vegetable wholesaler near here. He is living with us. And, Goulangur. I'd introduced them to their present jobs. Yes. Goulangur's uncle had introduced me to my first job and I'd introduced him (Goulangur) to his present job. Intresting ?



D. Maron Chondro Saha.

I'd stopped my study at class nine in 1982. Neither because of the economical problem of my family nor because of my inability on the study, but because I'd just wanted to commit business as early as possible. Soon, I'd started to work as an apprentice of a grocery shop in Narsingdi. With no payment because I was an apprentice. It's all right, but the work wasn't so interesting, then, after 3 months, I'd resigned. My elder brother (they are five brothers, he is the third, and his first brother is working at a salt wholesaler in Chittagong) and the owner of that shop were acquaintance, then he'd introduced me the job. Anyway, I'd stayed at my home for about a half year after the resignation. In 1983, I'd got a job in Narsingdi again. That was an employee of a salt and oil wholesaler and introduced by my sisters husband (Z<sub>E</sub>H) who was working there (Narsingdi) at that time and are even now working there. This time, as a regular member. The payment was 300 Tk/month with meals and accommodations. But, curiously, though I'd worked for the shop for three years, the payment I got hadn't increased. I couldn't felt any prospectiveness on the job and I'd resigned that job in 1986. Soon after that, I'd visited here (Bhairab) for the purpose of calling on Omar Babu<sup>9</sup>. You know him? He is the most prominent person among the businessmen from my village and one of the most influential person in the Bhairab bazar. As far as I know, he possesses three large wholesale shops in this bazar. He and his family had migrated in here so many years ago, about thirty or forty, I don't know exactly. Perhaps because of that, you don't know him. He's rarely visited my village after his moving, but almost all the villagers know him as Omar Babu. I'd usually call him "Mama (MB)", though he isn't my real Mama or even my near relative<sup>50</sup>. I'd visited here for depending on him. He'd given me a job in one of his

shops. That was a muscovado wholesaler and I'd worked for the shop for about three years. The payment was 700 Tk/month in first two years and 800 Tk/month in the third year. Here also, I'd felt a kind of frustration on the job, because I was just a subordinate worker and the payment wasn't so good. Until that time, I'd got acquainted with some persons working for or running the other shops and one of such people had offered me a new job in a shop near there. Then, I'd changed my job and has been working for this shop since this summer (1989). This time, the payment is 1000 Tk/month and I'm not a subordinate worker but an accountant. I'm fond of this job far better than former job. This shop is a salt wholesaler. All the goods come from Majheerghat, Chittagong by ship. Yes, there is one man from my village in Majheerghat. You know him ? Right. He's also working for a salt wholesaler there. We, our shop, have the business with an another wholesaler near his shop and he sometimes visits here for business. We sell the goods to some small retailers in Bhairab bazar or coming from neighboring small market places. But, in large part, we re-sell the goods to Sylhet. Sometimes bringing by small ship, sometimes by truck. In this sense, we are secondary wholesalers. Only the owner and two employees including me are working here. Owner was born here, but the another employee came from Nabinagar. Of course, we have some laborers except us, as same as in the case of the other shops. Night ? I'm staying here (in the shop). Working time ? From 8:00 or 9:00 to 20:00, with two hours lunch time rest. Sunday close. Except that, I can get the extra-holiday once or twice a month to go back to the village. Marriage ? No, no, I'm just a boy.

E. Gopal Chondro Saha.

Perhaps you know my mother. She was living in our village home alone till this rainy season (1989) but we lost our home and all homestead plot by the flood and the erosion of the Gumti. Then, she'd come here (Narayanganj) and has been living with us since then. We are five brothers and living all together in a flat of buildings except the fourth who are working for a gold-work shop in Dhaka. I'm the second brother and the first three brothers including me are doing business as a small cloth retailers respectively. The last brother is an apprentice of a yarn wholesaler in Tan bazar (Narayanganj). Born place? Of course, in our village. We all were born in that village. After graduating class seven of high school at Campaniganj, I'd started to work for a small grocery shop in Burmi bazar, north of Dhaka. Maybe, it's 1967 or 1968. My father who'd been working in the Bangla bazar near Sadarghat, Dhaka at that time had introduced me to the shop. But, in 1969, the owner of that shop had feared and hated the threatening atmosphere before the independent war, closed the shop and fled out to India, perhaps to Calcutta. So like this, my first job had finished. Soon, I'd joined my elder brother's small business. At that time, he'd already started to do the business as small cloth retailer on the roadside. Not the vender. We'd had a small platform made of wood about four by six feet wide and 1.5 feet high and kept a fixed place on a road side. That's our shop. But, in 1971, the independent war had broken out and we'd had to go to the refugee camp in Agartala, Tripura state, India for avoiding the violence. Unfortunately, I and my elder brother had been late to go there and we two had had to stay in another refugee camp separately from our family for about eight months. After the war, we'd returned to Narayanganj and started the business again. In 1973, I'd left from my elder brother's shop and

started a new small shop as the similar from as my brother's. That had situated just by the shop of him. We purchase, even now, all the goods from the hosieries in the back street of the main road of Narayanganj and sell these. You know Sudeer (Sudeer Shutraddhar, see Case F) ? We purchase the goods from hosieries like that (he's working for a hosiery). In 1981, I'd married a girl from Kuti, Kasba and lived sepelately from my brothers. But, in 1987, we'd again started to live together because a beautiful flat of a building had found. Until that time, all the things had been well. But, in 1988, we'd affected the big flood. You know that ? Realy ? That's the most serious one I've ever seen. Flood water had even came here and our shop (a plat form made of wood) had floated. I'd lost all the goods. My brothers were also in the similar situation. Unfortunately, coinciding with the flood, strictly speaking, soon after the flood, the government had decided to dismantle all the illegal road-occupying constructions like our plat forms and we lost our plat form as well as our business place. After that, I've been doing business like this, in front of my acquainted shop. The owner of this shop isn't my relative or even the villager of my own. But, he is very kind person and lend me this place with no rental fee. But, though I have a fixed place to sell, now, I'm just a vender. Before the flood, I'd usually got about 4000 to 5000 Tk/month except the necessary expenses. But, now, I get only about 1500 Tk/month. Of course, I want to have a shop, irrespective of the rental or of my own, but both the rental fee of a shop and the down payment of purchasing a shop are extremely high and we must give up the plan. Anyway, we (his bothers and their families) are living with helping each other, and getting along somehow in this city.

F. Sudeer Shutrathar.

I'd graduated class 6 and, after graduation, I'd worked for about 3 or 4 years as a helper for farm works in the village. Even now, I'm sometimes cultivate my own land when I come back to the village. Anyway, after that, I'd gone to Medinipur, West Bengal state, India and worked for a small garment as a sewer for about ten years. There were (and are) my elder sister and her husband in Medinipur, and I went there for depending them at first. But, I'd looked for the work by myself. After ten years work, the working conditions, including payment and some other accommodations, hadn't been so improved, then, I'd returned to Bangladesh (East Pakistan at that time). I'm not remembering clearly, but it's about ten years before the independent war. After that, I'd stayed the village and worked as a peasant for about five years. At that time, I'd sometimes visited here, Narayanganj, for my second brother (Sudeer himself is the last of three brothers) had worked for a hosiery here as a sewer at that time. To do so, I'd got acquainted with some person, mainly workers and some owners of the hosieries, and I'd found a job from such association with the peoples. This time also, I'd worked for a small hosiery as a sewer. I'd worked there for about six years. But, suddenly, the independent war had broken up and I'd had to go with my all family to the refugee camp in Agartala, Tripura state, India. After the war, I'd come back to the village first, and then, returned to Narayanganj, but the post which I'd occupied had been already lost. I'd gone back to the village and cultivated my own land again. Until that time, I'd lost my father and my second brother who had worked in Narayanganj. Only my first brother had remained in the village and worked as a carpenter, a traditional occupation the Sutrathar has been doing. In this period also, I'd sometimes visited here and looked for a new job. After for

about seven years, I'd again got a job in a hosiery. That is my present job. I've been always working as a sewer, and now, I,m only sewing the cloths for children. Payment ? Not fixed, but piecework. Usually, about 1200 to 1500 Tk/month. Working time is roughly 9:00 to 21:00 and formally Friday closed, but in reality, working time is not fixed and we sometimes work even in Friday. If I don't so, I'll not be able to get enough money to bring back home. Night ? I'm staying upstairs (third floor of this building and he works in a small dark room on the second floor). There are many small rooms like this (about 10 to 12 m<sup>2</sup> with no window but only one door way). All these rooms are possessed by the owner of this hosiery, that is, he is the owner of this building as well as this company. Except these, he owns some shops to sell the goods we made. But, I don't know exactly about it. Accommodation ? Only sleeping place can available. Except that, nothing. I must prepare all meals by myself.

#### 4.3. Considerations on the Life Histories of the migrants.

First of all, we can point out that the migrants from the village M. are working in the relatively good conditions. Except case F, all the other migrants work as a desk-worker, not physical laborer, and the payments of them are at least 1000 Tk/month with all accommodations. Even in the case F, (this is the exceptional case because almost all the other migrants are working as merchants), he receive 1200 to 1500 Tk/month and this payment is moderately well comparing to those of case D and case E of village K.. Further, The difference among the migrants is not so large in economical aspect, i.e. we can not observe the dual migration pattern (or flows) in the migrants from this village. But, at the same time, in these cases also, the employment conditions are not so stable and the working hours are relatively long. We will not be able to overlook this point.

Secondly, as same as in the cases of Muslim village, we can find frequent change of job in these cases. In the most extreme case, that is, in the case A, migrant has changed his job three times in the same place, Bhairab bazar, in the same kind of job, rice trading. Or, in some other cases, though the dealing goods are different, many of them usually change their job only in the business world. In these cases, however, we can find some different aspects from those cases of village K.. To say in relation to the first point, they easily change their jobs when they think their present job as not so rewardable, and such change of the occupation continues until they think their job as, at least, moderately satisfying. Considering on the cases designated here, the course of change or the way of promotion may be able to describe in the four steps as follows, i.e. apprentice → subordinate worker → accountant → joint operator. As the factors which enable to realize such

frequent and prospective occupational change, We will have to attend to the following two points. At first, they are recognized by the other people, irrespective of the Hindus or Muslims, as the professional merchants or businessmen. Especially, in the wholesalers, they are recognized as the real dealers. It is doubtless that such kind of recognition on them contribute their easy and frequent job change, at least in part. Secondly, and perhaps this will be more important point, they have "time to wait for coming of or meeting with the more prospective job". This is the decisive point. Imagine in the case of a Rickshaw puller or a laborer. Perhaps, they may wait one or some days for the more prospective job. But, if they wait much more days, it means the severe starvation for them and their families. That is, irrespective of their willingness or not, they must work, even it is not so profitable one. But, in the cases of the migrants from this village, they sometimes wait for the new and more prospective job for one year or more. Such a kind of spare both in time and economy, in other words, the composure, will doubtlessly contribute the more desirable occupational change.

Thirdly, as in the cases of Muslims, we can point out "the job-mediate function" among the relatives or the friends. Especially, the role of close relatives is fairly large in the mediation. For example, those peoples play this role as FB<sub>y</sub> in case A, second brother in case B, brother and Z<sub>E</sub>H in case D, and father in case E. The different factor from the cases of Muslims is that they have many relatives and friends (or acquaintances) in the same or similar occupations and these people mediate between the owner of the shops and the migrants from this village one after another. Relating to this point, we must point out the role of "fictive kinship relation". In the case D, he call a person who is not his relative in fictive kinship term as



"Mama (MB)" and, to do like this, he express the intimacy and, further, psychological dependence to that person. As a result, in turn, that person played as the real "Mama" and gave him (D) a post. Though I had not designated here any more, I had found some other cases in which such fictive kinship relation plays an important role in the mediation of the occupations.

Fourthly, we can find "the distribution of migrants along with the commodity distribution route". In case B, the migrants from this village distribute along with the route of yarn, i.e. Khatunganj in Chittagong, Tan bazar in Narayanganj and Madbti bazar. In case D, along with the route of salt, i.e. Majeerghat in Chittagong and Bhairab bazar. Perhaps, we may think this, at least partly, as a result of "the job-mediate function among the relatives". But, to say more clearly, I will have to investigate this point a little more.

Fifthly, we can observe a very characteristic pattern in some cases, i.e. "Muslim owner and Hindu manager". In the cases of A, B, and C, we can find this pattern. Further, at the same time, we can also observe another pattern in these three cases, i.e. "the local-born owner and the outsider manager". To superimpose the former pattern on the latter, we can get a complex pattern, "the local-born Muslim owner and the outsider Hindu manager". I do not know how far this pattern is applicable to Bangladesh as a whole, but, nevertheless, I suspect that this pattern will be largely applicable at least to the (urban) wholesalers. Moreover, in addition to this pattern, we may suggest an another pattern in the case of wholesaler, i.e. "regular member (Muslim owner, Hindu manager or Hindu-Muslim employee) and piece worker (Muslim laborer)". We can observe this pattern in four cases, A, B, C, and D.

Sixthly, as same as the Muslim cases, we can point out "the migration as the strategy of a Paribar". In cases A and B, though their first brother had separated from their family, other four brothers keep a Paribar and walk the different ways respectively. The second brother is going abroad (to Japan) and working there, the third is the rice trader in Bhairab (case A), the fourth was once going abroad (to Kuwait) and is now staying home, and the fifth is a yarn trader in Madbti (case B). The wife of the third brother is taking care of their aged parents and the other brothers contribute the household economy as wage earners. In case C, the first brother (C) is working in Narayanganj and maintain his own Paribar there, (third brother has dead recently), and the fourth is a fruits trader in Narayanganj. The second brother keeps their village home and their aged mother, and maintain the small cultivation land as the only successor. In case D, all the five brothers even now keep the one Paribar and contribute in the different ways, i.e. the first brother as a trader in Chittagong, the second as the cultivator and their own house keeper (including the taking care of their aged parents), the third as a trader in Bhairab (D), the fourth as an employee in Nabinagar and the fifth as a student. In case E, the five brothers keep a Paribar and are living together except the fourth. The first three brothers are the independent cloth retailers in Narayanganj respectively, the fourth is an employee of a gold-work shop in Dhaka and the fifth is an apprentice of a yarn wholesaler in Narayanganj. The fourth and the fifth brothers had tried to be a cloth retailer as their elder brothers were at first, but they had been recommended to do another kind of job by their elder brothers for the purpose of making variety in the occupations within their Paribar and, as a result, stabilizing their Paribar as a whole.

At last, seventhly, we may point out the "merchantization"

of many Jatis originally destined to the other occupations. For example, in case C, he is a Chakrabarti who has traditionally destined to the professional priest and his father was the priest following their tradition. But, including himself, none of his brothers follows their father's occupation, i.e. the first brother (C) as a fruits dealer, the second as formerly a vegetable seller and now a peasant, the third (he has died recently by accident) as bus conductor, and the fourth as a fruits dealer. In case F, he is a Shudra who has traditionally destined to a carpenter and his father was also a carpenter. But, among three brothers, only the first brother follows their father's occupation and, in converse, the second and the third (F) had started to work as sewers. Considering on the space, I did not designate another example here, but there are another examples of this "merchantization" among the migrants as well as non-migrants. We may suspect this phenomenon as the survival strategy or the adaptive strategy of the Hindus considering their own specific social position in this country, i.e. the minority among the Muslim majority.

Except these features, we may point out some additional points. At first, we can point out their special relation with India, irrespective of their willingness or not, i.e. refugee camp experiences in cases A, C, E and F, the evacuation of the owners in the cases of C and E, the existence of the relative in India in case F, etc.. Secondly, as same as in the cases of Muslims, we can find many single males among the migrants, irrespective of they are real single or the married. Thirdly, we will have to pay attention to the poor working and living conditions of the garment workers, i.e. small dark room with no window in the case F as same as in the case E of Muslim village.

## 5. Conclusion.

From the descriptions and considerations designated above, we will be able to say the following points as conclusion.

### Distribution.

1. Geographical selectivity or bias: The migrants from these two villages are distributing in rather limited or narrow area and, in these cases, the boundaries are the Jamuna in the west and the border line in the east.

2. The connection between some specific area and some specific type of industries: There are two different kinds of connection. ① As in the "yarn" or "salt" cases of some Hindu migrants, there are some cases of connection that does not reflect the the state of affairs in the village but the distribution lines in the country. ② On the other hand, as in the Rickshaw puller cases of Muslim migrants, we can find an another kind of connection that reflects the historical relationship between a specific area (the neighboring area of these villages, in this case) and an another specific area (Chittagong, in this case)<sup>51</sup>. At any rate, we will have to attend to the migration which is restricted by the more large factors than the small networks of people.

### Migration Pattern.

3. It is certain that R-U migration pattern is the main one, but, at the same time, we must pay attention to the nearly innumerable variation among this pattern.

4. We can find a kind of dual migration pattern (or flow) in the cases of Muslim migrants. But, it seems rather danger to conclude that the rich migrants are restricted by pull elements and the poors are restricted by the push elements. In addition, we must admit the fact that, though the poor migrants are certainly poor among the migrants, they never are the poorest or the bottom in the village. Moreover, such

a dual migration pattern is not found in the Hindu migrants, at least in the clear form.

#### Occupational Selection.

5. The importance of the "network" among the people: We can point out some factors to formulate the network, i.e. kinship ties, geographical closeness, educational career, association in the occupation, etc.. Especially, the kinship tie or relation (including the fictive kinship relation) play a great role in many aspects. The most important aspect of such a network is the "job mediate function". Except this, human network functions as the base of information exchange in everyday life.

6. The effect of economical difference in the village on the occupational selection: ① As the difference of the standard of education. ② As the difference of "the possible waiting term" for the prospective job. ③ As the difference of the investment possibility as occasion demands, e.g. the bribe to get a new job.

7. Migration as "the strategy of a Paribar": Some scholars, especially, who belongs to the neo-classical school, tend to think that migration is decided by the individual migrants and their will has the decisive meaning. But, as I designated before, many migrants select their own jobs and working places following the will of a Paribar as a whole as well as their own will. We will not be able to overlook this point.

8. Frequent job change: Irrespective of Hindus or Muslims, we can observe this tendency clearly. Especially, those who had once done a job outside the village tend to change their job more easily. And we may see the international migration on the production of such frequent and easy job change.

9. The conspicuous bias on the job selection following the difference of religion: As I described before, this is unquestionable point. We may suggest three different factors

as the cause of such bias, i.e. ① the difference of the standard of education, ② the effect of the father's job, especially, the Jati bound occupation in the case of the Hindus, ③ the selective trend which is affected by the difference between majority (the Muslims) and minority (the Hindus, in this case). Relating this point, I have suggested the two characteristic phenomenons, i.e. "the local Muslim owner and the outsider Hindu manager" pattern in the case of the wholesalers and "merchantization" in the case of the Hindus.

10. The extreme difference in the working conditions: We can clearly observe this point in the cases of the Muslim migrants and villagers. At the same time, such a difference in the working conditions directly means the existence of the large difference of living conditions in the Muslim migrants and villagers. Relating this point, we will also have to point out the severe working and living conditions in the cases of garment workers.

11. As a part of the job selection, we will be able to include the investment to start a new enterprise. Needless to say, many people, irrespective of migrants or village dwellers, try to save some part of their income and to start a new enterprise. As I designated earlier, however, almost all of them try to invest their money only to the small business or trading. They rarely try to take stock in a company or they themselves rarely try to establish a new industry, even if it is a small cottage industry. In other words, they rarely invest to the productive field and mainly invest to the field of distribution. We may call it as "the distribution without production".

#### Rural-Urban Relationship.

12. The fallacy of the image of "closed" or "self-sufficient" village: We must pay attention to the situation in the recent days that, in reality, as in the case of

Muslim village, many people (or Paribars) can not maintain their life without non-farm works such as Rickshaw pulling or small business even in the village. Large part of such non-farm works presupposes the existence of the wider market outside the village. Relating to this point, we must attend to the close relationship between the villages and the bazar, (in this case, Campaniganj bazar). In other words, we must attend to the infiltration of the money economy to the village. But, except that, we will have to pay attention to the another aspect of the bazar, because, as a result of the increasing of the landless farmers (not of the infiltration of the money economy), bazar has become to have meanings as the labor market (in this case, it very means the selling and buying of the agricultural or some other kind of labor) and as the purchasing place of the necessaries of life.

13. The "continuation" between the rural sector and the urban sector on the non-farm works: Once a person becomes to take part in a non-farm work such as Rickshaw pulling or small business, he tends to change his working place easily from the village to the city and vice versa. We can observe this phenomenon most typically in the many cases of Rickshaw pullers in Muslim village.

Recommendation.

1. (From the conclusion 2 and 5), aiming at to be the equal opportunity for every worker, a substitute of the effective network will have to be given to those people who have not such network. For the purpose of realizing this aim, I want to advocate to establish a kind of "public employment agency office". To bring a practical result, the following conditions will be needed for that office.

① To prepare every kind of jobs, especially, those jobs which the poor and illiterate people will be able to do.

② Considering on the existence of a great number of uneducated and illiterate people, some official staffs (both men and women) are stationed and they mediate jobs by interview.

③ Especially for the poor people, mediation fee must not be collected.

④ At the same time, to keep always a considerable number of jobs, the announcement or information activity will have to be conducted for the employers, and, in this case also, mediation fee must not be collected from them.

⑤ To give the employee candidates the sufficient opportunity for the spontaneous job selection.

⑥ To designate the working conditions clearly and to aim "the right man in the right place". In addition, it is preferable to have the employment security function in this office at the same time.

⑦ Aiming at the practical results, this office must be started in the small scale, in the limited area and in the form as adhering closely to the area. But, at the same time, the employment informations prepared will have to be collected also from the other places, especially from the cities.

Putting this plan in operation, at least, the conditions in two concluding points (8 and 10) will be able to expect the



improvement.

2. (From the conclusion 12 and 13), to change the customary ways of research, investigation and planning, which completely cut the two sectors (rural and urban) apart, to a different ways which attach importance to the continuity between the rural and the urban. To say concretely, we will have to admit the limit of traditional ways of rural development such as the improvement of agricultural technics, the introduction of the new technic to the agriculture, the encouragement of cottage industry, etc., and have to aim at a total development considering the multiple possibility in the cities at the same time. At this juncture, especially, we will have to appreciate the roles of local middle or small cities much more and to consider the possibility of a continuous development with their neighboring areas, for the purpose of avoiding the unruly concentrated rush of people to a few large cities. In this case also, "the public employment agency office" mentioned above seems to be able to play a great role. (The improvement of the concluding points 4, 6, and 9).

3. In this connection, we will have to investigate the relationship between the rural villages and their neighboring bazars and to consider the role those bazars play. Under certain circumstance, we will be able to suppose the bazar as the core of local development.

4. (From the conclusion 1 and 2), we must consider the difference of the areas in Bangladesh much more. For this, the comparative and intensive investigation in the different areas will be indispensable, and to base it, the development plans for the respective areas will have to be prepared.

## Notes.

1. "Marriage-in and marriage-out as a part of internal migration: a case study of a Hindu village in Comilla, Bangladesh", mimeograph, BARD, 1989, P.29. "Marriage-in and marriage-out as a part of migration: a case study of Muslim village in Comilla, Bangladesh", mimeograph, BARD, 1989, p.33. "Marriage migration in Bangladesh: Case study", in "Reports of the workshop on micro-level village studies", BARD, 1989, pp.21-36.

2. Considering the character of this paper as research report, I will not designate the titles of studies one by one. For the present, suffice it to say briefly that, concerning the study trend on internal migration in Bangladesh up to 1980, see Nazurul Islam and Josna Begum, "Internal Migration in Bangladesh: A Review of Literature", Center for Urban Studies, Mimeograph No.9, 1983, and that, on the study after that, migration studies have been conducted by the researchers belonging to the Bangladesh Institute for Development Studies, Center for Urban Studies and International Center for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh. In recent few years, some new kind of studies has appeared (ex. A. Q. Mahbub, "Mobility pattern of working people from rural areas in Bangladesh", Vol.29-30, 1985-86, pp.73-91), but I will not mention to these works here, as I have not enough time to go through these works.

3. For the purpose of keeping villager's private affairs a secret, I will only designate the village like this.

4. At the point of the beginning of this research, this is the case. But, because of the erosion by the Gumti, some households of neighboring Muslim village have flowed in the domestic area of the village M., and some households of the village M. have migrated-out to the cities and other Hindu villages. Nevertheless, even now, these Muslim households which flowed in this village are consciously as well as politically belonging to their former village and, in this sense, village M. keeps its Hindu character completely.

5. Here, I will use the term "household" as a translation of a Bengali word "Paribar". As E. Jansen pointed out, "Chura", "Khana" and, even in some cases, "Ghar" are used

for the expression of the same or similar connotation, (Erik Jansen, "Rural Bangladesh: Competition for Scarce Resources", University Press, Dhaka, 1987, p.52). I will mention further in this point in Section 1.4..

6. "Para" is a subdivision of a village. Usually, small village has not such subdivision, but large village has two or three (in some special cases, four or more) Paras under its domestic area. In some cases, it has its own visible natural boundary such as canal, large road, etc., but in another cases, it has only socially recognized distinction without such visible boundaries. Moreover, "Para" is the word which is generally employed in this area, but in another area, "Bari" or some other words are employed for the same connotation. We will have to pay attention to such difference of the usage of domestic expression.

7. On the problem, which Bengali terms correspond with "household", E. Jansen already suggests its difficulty, (E. Jansen, *ibid.*, p.322). But, Jansen's perspective is one sided view which sees this problem only from the English word "household", not from Bengali words. On the other hand, as he showed clearly on his Appendix's title, ("Defining and delimiting household in Bhaimara"), his argument is mainly limited to Manikganj area, west of Dhaka. Moreover, his argument did not even mention the word "Paribar". In other areas like this studying area, however, people rarely use such word as "Chura" or "Khana", but "Paribar", "Ghar" or "Basha" are the prevalent ones.

8. HARA Tadahiko designates this distinction as "Pritak Paribar" and "Ekanno Paribar". Following his descriptions, "Pritak Paribar" is "a small and simple form of a man and his wife and their unmarried children", and "Ekanno Paribar" is "the larger extended form". Unfortunately, in this studying area, such kind of distinctive words are rarely used, and one word "Paribar" is used for these two ways. Nevertheless, following the connotations of the word or the intention of the villagers, his explanation seems almost appropriate to this case, (Tadahiko HARA, "'Paribar' of a Moslem Rural village of Chittagong District, East Pakistan", (Japanese), in "Mihzokugaku-kenkyu", Vol.34, No.3, 1969, pp.252-273. Tadahiko HARA, "Two levels of a domestic group:

An Islamic case and its applications", (Japanese), in "Journal of Asian and African Studies", No.15, 1978, pp.1-14).

9. I will not mention here on geology and on the climate of this area for the economy of time and space.

10. "Bangladesh Population Census 1981: Community tables of all Thanas of Comilla district; Part II", Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1985.

11. I cannot help but show such vague number, because there are so many periodical (not seasonal) migrants and it is very difficult to determine the exact number of village dwellers. They sometimes come and go between the village and other places, mainly urban areas, and they have, in reality, double right of residence both in the village as well as in the other place where they work. They are one of the most characteristic migrants of this village, but I have not enough space to describe their life history in this paper. Except them, the number of dwellers (including home teachers and Imam of the masjid) is 612 in March 1990.

12. "Bari" is an assemblage of the houses and consists of some (usually from 5 to 10, but in some cases, nearly 20) Paribars. All houses are usually standing around a courtyard and building up a stock. The member Paribars of a Bari are usually belonging to a lineage ("Bangsho" or "Gusti" in Bengali), but not always. A Bari sometimes tends to break up if its size becomes too large. Before breaking up, one large Bari tend to hold some subdivisional groups in it. In this village also, we can observe such phenomenon.

13. In other area, sometimes "Bangsho" is called "Gusti". But, in this area, Bangsho is the most prevalent term and I will follow the villagers saying.

14. I will not fully describe the village politics and the power structure of this village. The descriptions designated here are only limited to help the understanding of the differences of migration strategy among each Paribars (and, in some cases, each Baris).

15. Union is a bottom level of administrative unit and usually consists of 10 or 20 villages. It is said that about 20,000 population has held in a Union. Its chairman is selected by the election. Union Parishad (Union local

government) is the end of the distribution of the relief goods or something other, and Union chairman has considerably strong power on this matter. Therefore, the election of Union chairman tends to be a place of conflicts (and, in some cases, a place of violence).

16. For the economy of the space and to keep away from excessive intricacy, I will not mention here the each detailed figures one by one.

17. Unfortunately, I have not enough time to test on this point statistically. At the same time, the number of children who receive the primary education (including those of Madrassa) has been rapidly increasing in this few years. We will have to attend to the process if this trend will spread to the higher education or not, exceeding the mere bottom-up. But, at the same time, we must think the possibility that the present difference in economy will be appear as the future difference in educational level as it is, because there is the large difference in the percentage of receiving primary (as well as higher) education among Baris.

18. For example, let us consider on the case of a Paribar in this village. Perhaps, this case seems one of the complicated cases, but not so rare. When I was ask the Paribar headman at first, he gave me a reply that he had about three Kanis. ("Kani" is a most popular domestic land measure unit in this area and 1 Kani is equal to 0.3 acre. But, in the other area (for example, Kotbari, Comilla), 1 Kani is equal to 0.4 acre, and in another area (for example, the neighborhood of Barura, Comilla), 1 Kani is equal to 1.2 acres). Once I asked in details one by one, however, the following facts had been appeared. Although he had 3 Kanis and 7 Shotoks ("Shotok", or sometimes called "Shotangsho", is equal to 1/100 acre), 2.5 Kanis among these had mortgaged-out to the other Paribars (one of them is a Paribar of same Para in this village and the other is a Paribar of the neighboring village). There are several mortgage patterns in Bangladesh. In this case, the name of the mortgage is "Kot" (in some other area, sometimes called "Banduk") and this is a debt instead of the mortgage-out of land operation right. Therefore, he had cultivated his own

land only 22 Shotoks (0.22 acre). At the same time, however, he had sharecropped (in the ratio of fifty-fifty) 2 Kanis of another Paribar's plots. Moreover, complicatedly, he had also sharecropped 0.5 Kani of his own land which once he had mortgaged-out to the other Paribars. Then, he had operated total 3 Kanis 7 Shotoks (22 Shotoks as his own land and 2.5 Kanis as the sharecropping land). But, if we consider the fact that sharecropping must pay about half of its products instead of its operation right to the land owner (strictly speaking, the owner of the land operation right), we had better to estimate that he had about 2 Kanis (strictly speaking, 59.5 Shotoks) only at that time. If we really want to grasp the land tenancy as a whole, as in this instance, we will have to attend to the many variables such like land holding, many types of lease and mortgage, sharecropping, selling and buying, etc.. But in present, this is the task beyond my strength. I will argue this problem in another paper in future.

19. "Bangladesh Agricultural Census 1983-1984", Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

20. These figures may seem rather extreme ones. But, following the Population Census ("Bangladesh Population Census 1981: Community tables of all Thanas of Comilla district", Part II, 1985, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics), total area in this Union is 1517 acres and the number of households is 2677, i.e. about 0.57 acre/household. Therefore, the figures mentioned here is not so extreme ones from this point of view. Of course, this is rather little comparing to the average figure of Muradnagar Upazila or of Comilla district as a whole. In this sense, we may rather difficult to call this village as "average". But if we consider the fact that total area of this country is unchangeable and, in contrast with this, the population of the country has continuously and rapidly growing, to investigate the village like this will be contribute the resolution of the future problem in this country, at least in part. Besides, these figures are only nominal, and it is difficult to say that these figures reflect the real situation. I will mention this point later.

21. See, Note 18.

22. "Aus", "Aman" and "Boro" are the names of the domestic paddy season and the general name of the paddy growing in these season themselves respectively. Usually, "Aus" is a few months before the flood season, "Aman" is a few months after the flood season and, after that, winter crop season and "Boro" come. "Rabi" is a general name of winter crops (and sometimes its season itself) and these crops mainly consist of some winter vegetables, wheat and mustard.

23. Many villagers had agreed on this point. But, at the same time, they had given the following conditions. They must cultivate on the cropping pattern as "Boro- Aman- Rabi (especially, mustard)" and they must cultivate all these crops in a same plot. They must cultivate HYV (IRRI) in Boro season. They must cultivate their own land (not sharecropping base) by themselves and this land must be irrigated in dry season.

24. I suspect that this sudden rise on land price is a common phenomenon throughout Bangladesh, but I have no firm evidence to prove my suspicion in present. Therefore, I will limit my description as "in this area" here.

25. Comparing to the mortgage, the case of lease have not so increased. I do not know the exact cause of such difference, but, perhaps, they might prefer the flexibility of term in mortgage than the fixed term in lease. At the same time, along with this change, the decrease of sharecropping cases and the increase of hiring agricultural laborer have happened in the village. This change, however, seems to be a result of the increased production per unit (i.e. the increased profit per unit) and of the relatively low rise of wages for the laborers, not of the rise of land price. We may be able to seek the answers of the question, why the wages for the agricultural labor has shown the relatively low growth comparing to the increased production per unit, in two ways. On the one hand, comparing to the growth of production, the growth of the price of agricultural products has shown the relatively low pace. On the other hand, and perhaps more important, the population growth (in consequence, the growth of working population as well) has continuously shown the high pace in this period.

26. In this case, this "self-sufficient landed farms"

includes the surplus farms as well as the just self-sufficient (but not surplus) farms. Concerning the farm size, I have not decided by the nominal landholding, but by the total evaluation of ① functional land holding size (own plot=1, mortgage plot: in =1 and out=-1, leased plot: in =1 and out=-1, sharecropping plot: in =1/2 and out=-1/2), ② the number of and the age structure of a Paribar members, and ③ the evaluation by the other villagers.

27. This, of course, means "the land whose operation right a Paribar has", i.e. including mortgaged-in land, leased-in land, sharecropping land as well as their own land.

28. This will be achieved by two different ways. The one is, in the case of only one man worker in a Paribar, that one adult male plays two roles at once or alternately. For example, small landed farmer and agricultural laborer, agricultural laborer and Rickshaw puller, a full time teacher with his own cultivating land, etc.. The other is, in the case of the existence of plural working forces in a Paribar, that the one of them pursues cultivation and, at the same time, the other pursues another line. For example, farmer and office worker, farmer and businessman, farmer and Rickshaw puller, etc.. The migration is possible in both cases, as the periodical or seasonal migration in the former case and as the division into the two part, the migrants (in any forms) and village dwellers, in the latter.

29. But, because we can find so many numbers of bazar in everywhere in Bangladesh and it is unrealistic to exclude all areas neighboring bazars from the consideration, we may not be able to overestimate this point.

30. Following the categories employed by the Population Census, the large part of them belongs to the "middle farm (2.5-7.49 acres)" and the relatively large size farms among "small farms (0.05-2.49 acres)". However, the farms with 3 or 4 Kanis can also produce the surplus if this Paribar have very few members (ex. only husband and his wife, or mother and his single adult son).

31. Many migrants (even one international migrant case) are included in this category. Because all Paribar members except the migrant himself are living in the village and and their daily expenditure are only depending on the incomes of



migrants. I had counted-in these Paribars (including the migrants themselves) as villagers.

32. There is another reason. Perhaps considering on their own position in this country, i.e. as minority, many Hindus (including the villagers of this village) have become to very sensitive over the research in general. Especially, the people aged over 25 is very sensitive or fears to be investigated., because they have been clearly bearing the days and the happenings around the independent war in mind. Almost all of Paribars (in some cases, all members of a Paribar, and in another cases, some of a Paribar) had experienced the violent hands laid on them, the days of refugee camps and the loss of some or considerable part of their estates at those days. Therefore, they (more or less) suspect all kinds of research as a first step of another exploitation, and, though they had recognized the purpose of research and gave the answers to the questions which they had judged as harmless, they gave the vague or false answer or even stopped to reply as soon as the question came in contact with such points as income, estate, relatives (especially, the relatives in India), the relation with Muslim, etc.. From this reason also, I can only show the rough descriptions comparing to the case of Muslim village. Of course, I had collected a fair amount of data on those troublesome points and some of them seems very valuable to interpret the real situation going on this country, but, considering on their (Hindu people's) anxiety, I will intentionally present the vague expression in some part.

33. Because the erosion has been going on gradually and the resettlement or evacuation has been emerging in the unit of Paribar (not Bari), they could not maintain their original relationship with their close relatives in the same village as same as before.

34. But, as far as we consider the present or near past situation of the village, this problem seems not so important. Here, it is sufficient just to point out the point as one of the main factors which affected the character of this village. If we try to make clear on this problem, we will have to investigate the history of this area, especially of Campaniganj bazar. This is a task beyond

my strength in present.

35. "Bangladesh Population Census 1981: Community tables of all Thanas of Comilla district", Part II, 1985, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. At the beginnings of my research in this village, the number of Paribar was 47. The number of population was 316, i.e. 6.720 persons/Paribar. After that, because of the repetitive flush flood and of the erosion by the Gumti, two Paribars had evacuated from this village and another 8 Paribars had resettled in the village.

36. Of course, this is only one of some possible explanations and I will agree that there are many exceptional cases. Moreover, we will have to admit the possibility that some traditional laws which the Hindus keep have prohibited to formulate the Bari as similar as those of Muslims. That is, at least, there are two different restrictions on marriage in the case of Hindus. The one is the endogamy among the people who belongs to the same Jati (caste). The other is the exogamous restriction which prohibit to marry with the people who belongs to the same "Gotro" (family, family line or exogamous group). Unfortunately, even now, I have not been able to confirm the exact range of this Gotro, but this exogamous rule seems (more or less) contributing to prohibit the formation of Bari which many relatives live in one place.

37. Curious enough, this consciousness does not bring the unity or any effective group or system to this village. Villagers only share this consciousness and, sometimes, this consciousness plays an important role among the villagers. Nevertheless, villagers do not try to develop this consciousness to the more real form, ex. a group or a system as meeting or assembly. I suspect that coexistence of some Jatis in a village prohibit the development to this direction. See, Section 2.2.3.

38. As well known to the scholars, they use "caste" in two different ways, i.e. Varnas and Jats or Jatis. In this paper, I will only mention caste as Jati, i.e. a social system which destines the people to belong their own specified occupational group. We can observe some different kinds of (sometimes, nearly hierarchical and, in another cases, parallel) relationships among the groups. All of the

members who belong to a Jati traditionally destined to do a specified job. Though this kind of rigidity has been gradually loosening, even now, it is the case that the sons tend to succeed their father in his business. At the same time, this Jati is famous for its special character as endogamous group (or, strictly speaking, category). Comparing to the case of the traditional occupations of each Jatis, this endogamy is far more strictly followed by the Hindu people.

39. The serial numbers designated here are not show their hierarchical status in the village, either religiously or socio-economically. Besides, there are several Jatis which share the same Jati name in Bangladesh. For example, there are another Das who has traditionally destined to another kind of works. For the purpose of avoiding the confusion, I have designated here their traditional occupations.

40. I suspect that such a kind of continuity of occasion among the generations is more general in the Hindus than in the Muslims.

41. And, perhaps, this will be related to the another point that villagers prefer to be a merchant or businessman, not to be a civil servant, because, considering their social position as minority in Muslim country, to be a civil servant or to get the job in a large company will not so prospective for them. In contrast to this, to do business by themselves or to get the job in relatively small shops seems more prospective for them, because the individual ability plays a larger role in such conditions.

42. On the reason of this point, see Note 32. In addition to this, we have been able to observe the fact that there are some richer Paribars with no cultivating land and, in contrast, there are some poorer Paribars with small cultivating plots. Therefore, in the case of this village, it seems rather meaningless to evaluate the socio-economical position of each Paribars by means of comparing the land holding. Moreover, I have found a extreme case as follows. I have visited a certain Paribar. In my first impression and the impression that I have had after the visiting there several times, that Paribar seemed to be in just middle or middle-low class in this village. But, after my first

visiting research to an urban area, I have reminded that they kept a considerable quantity of their property not in the village but in the city. Of course, such a case like this are not so many and such a Paribar tend to change their dwelling place from village to the city sooner or later. Nevertheless, though the cases are not so extreme, we will have to consider the possibility of the cases like this. I have tried to evaluate the economical conditions of each Paribars, and will designate it later as a hypothesis. But, though the out-looks and the scales of some shops look like similar, there is striking differences in their turnovers between wholesalers and retailers. In addition to this, when I have asked on the goods, the turnover, the gross sales etc., they gave me only vague answers. In the cases of the Muslims, roughly speaking, we tend to receive largely right or rather exaggerated answers when I ask them the question on their social or economical conditions in cities. In contrast, in the cases of the Hindus, their answer tend to underestimate on their conditions.

43. This list show a total incomes of each Paribars, then, in the case that there are plural work forces in a Paribar, the figure is a adding-ups of all incomes. As the criteria for the estimation, I have employed the following points, i.e. to own and manage his (or their) own shops or not, to manage his (or their) own shops or not, joint operation or mere employee, the number of working forces in a Paribar, etc. plus, to own cultivating land or not, its size, its operation form, etc. plus my own impression (especially in the case of migrants). To avoid the over-estimation, I have counted those figures which seemed to situate on the border line between two classes in a lower class. These figures are estimated at the end of 1989. Besides, the border lines I have employed here (i.e. 2000 Tk/month and 5000 Tk/month) do not correspond with the categories employed in Census. Because I think that these border lines will most properly reflect the socio-economical structure of this village, I have dared to employ these figures.

44. The zones designated here are divided by the following criteria.

+1. Large rivers without bridge (i.e. the Meghna, the

Jamuna and the Padma) and hill area (ex. the hills between Chittagong and Rangamati, etc.).

+2, Border line.

More +1, by air (But, the number has not so significance, because all the cases belonging to this category are only included in Zone 5).

45. I will argue on this point with subtlety in the other paper.

46. Because of the inadequacy of the Census registration system, and, perhaps, partly of the character of the Muslims who usually not so keen to conscious on their own age as well as on the ages of their family members, many villagers can give the reply as "about 30" or "over 40", etc.. Of course, I have roughly tried to do the age-estimation, but its result was far from satisfaction. Then, I had to present in such a vague ways.

47. It is very sorry , but, for the purpose of avoiding the excessive complexity as well as simplifying the argument, I have had to truncate the stories. In this case also, to argue fully (and with subtlety) in this point will be a future task.

48. A Rickshaw garage. Usually, the owner of some Rickshaws keep a place for maintaining Rickshaws and that place is called as "garage". The systems of Rickshaw pullers, owners and their organizations are complicated and I have no space and time to argue these here.

49. "Babu" is a term of reference, usually using with the personal name as "Omar Babu". This term contains feeling of respect, and mainly the Hindus and the Buddhist use it.

50. "Mama" literally means mother's brother, but sometimes used as a fictive kinship term like this. In Bengali, roughly speaking, irrespective of the difference of the Hindus or the Muslims, to refer Mama not only expresses the the reference to some person but a kind of intimacy and psychological dependence to the person. Here, suffice it to say that, as well known to the anthropologists, though we say all of them equally as uncle, the meaning of MB is largely different from that of FB in respective cultures, and the argument has been continuing on this point.

51. I have not fully designated here, but the large part of

Rickshaw pullers working in Chittagong has come from a very limited area, i.e. Muradnagar and Debidwar Upazilas, Comilla. I do not know the reason of this historical relationship, but I suspect the possible existence of another kind of relationship in this country.



