PARIBAR AND KINSHIP

IN A MOSLEM RURAL VILLAGE IN EAST PAKISTAN

by

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Statement

I hereby declare that the whole contents of this thesis are my original work and the data were collected by myself during the field work in East Pakistan between 1962-64.

Tadahiko Hara

Tadahiko Hara
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to my two supervisors, Professor W. E. H. Stanner and Doctor R. L. Rocksby, without whose kind support and sympathy this thesis would not have been made.

I would also like to send my message of many thanks to the people of Gohira, especially to the Abdul Hai's paribar and the Badul Sharkar's, and to Sikdar gusti, by whose kind and benevolent cooperation the data have been collected. Peace be on them!
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

For two years between 1962 and 1964 I lived among the people of Gohira Union, thana Raozan, in the Chittagong District of East Pakistan, in order to study the domestic and kinship relations of Moslems.\(^1\) The place of study is situated 16 miles north-east of Chittagong, the second largest city of East Pakistan. (cf Map 1) The 'Union' is an administrative unit extending over an area of approximately 3,496 acres. It is divided into three sub-units or gram, this word being fairly translated into English as 'village'. The three gram are Gohira proper, Dalainagar and Kotwalighona. When I use the word 'Gohira', I shall consistently mean the traditional village of 'Gohira gram', which extends over nearly two-thirds of the total area and contains nearly two-thirds of the total population (123,999 at the 1961 Census). When I use 'Gohira Union' I shall consistently mean the larger administrative unit. Ordinarily the phrase 'the village' will refer to Gohira gram. The village consists of settlements or bari which number more than three hundred. They are usually a nucleated cluster of 5 - 20 houses.

Moslems form about 75% of the total population of the Union. Buddhists come next (15%) and Hindus are the fewest (10%). There are negligible numbers of Christians. Each religious community is segregated in its own settlements and follows its own way of life. The Moslems' settlements occupy the middle of the village. Those of the Buddhists are mainly in the western

\(^1\) thana = the second smallest administrative unit.
Map 1 East Pakistan and Location of Gohira
part of the village and those of Hindus in the eastern part (Map 2). The Moslems belong to the Hanafi school of the Sunni sect. Although the new reformist sect of Wahabis was established in the village quite recently in the case of my sample settlement, conversion occurred after the Second World War—there is no marked difference between two sects. There is a degree of emotional antagonism between the reformists and the traditionalists, usually hidden, but all are Moslems in the sense that they observe the primary tenets of the Moslem religion, generally known as "the five pillars", (2) and the same law. People of both sects can and do marry each other, although difficulties arise in arranging such unions. All stress their common Moslem unity against other religions.

Hindus and Buddhists had to be omitted from the study because, although a comparison was clearly desirable, there was a limit of time.

(2) The five pillars of the Islamic faith (Arakan) are: (1) Faith (Iman): (a) One God, (b) His Angels, (c) His revealed book, (d) All prophets. (2) Prayer (salat): (a) daily 5 prayers, (b) Friday prayers, (c) festival prayers, (d) eclipse prayer, (e) prayer for the dead. (3) Fasting (saum) in the month of Ramadan. (4) Charity to the poor (zakat). (5) Pilgrimage to Mecca (hajji).
Map 2 Details of Gohira Union
Gohira has a rectangular shape, 2 miles from east to west and 1 mile from north to south (Map 2). It is almost encircled by rivers and rivulets, the main rivers being the Halda, the Sattar, and the Shonai. Many rivulets divide the topography of the village, which is located on the flat underlying alluvium laid down by them. The soil along the river-banks is sandy but most of the village is covered by clayey silt, which becomes mire during the rainy season and cracks during the dry season. Although the village is nearly 12 miles from the coast, it lies on a riverine plain only a few feet above sea-level, and the Halda changes its direction of flow according to the tide. It is not rare to see dolphins there at high tide. The whole area slopes from northeast to southwest, but so gently as to be quite imperceptible. The surface of the village appears flat.

Marked seasonal changes occur each year with high regularity. During the wet summer (June-October) the Halda and other rivers are full of raging water and usually flood onto most of the area except the northern fringe of the village. During this period, the residential areas (settlements) are like islands. The houses are usually built on mud platforms 2-3 feet high, but in years of major flooding like that of May 1963, the water comes up to the middle of the houses, washing away mud walls and bamboo constructions. Many lanes and roads - except the main trunks - are annually submerged. The remaining roads are made muddy and slippery. Communications are cut everywhere. At the peak of the rainy season the villagers of the southern half can communicate with each other only by boat. Ponds used for many household purposes (washing, bathing, cooking, irri-
agination and sometimes drinking) are filled with brown water and sometimes fouled by dirty water from ditches. During the dry winter season (November-February) little or no rain falls for 2-3 months. Roads become dusty, and the shallow ponds and ditches dry up and become useless for washing or bathing.

After the harvest in December-January, the paddy fields become one continuous, open plain. This provides short cuts and good playgrounds for the villagers. Even big rivers can be crossed without a boat. (3)

(3) During the rainy season, the Sattar is more than 7-9 feet deep but not more than 1 foot during the dry season. The same is true for other rivers.

Professor Nafis Ahmed (Nafis Ahmed 1958; p.54) divided the year in East Pakistan into three seasons, namely: (i) winter (November-February), mild and dry; (ii) warm summer (March-May), north-western storms, one-fifth of total annual rain; (iii) rainy season or monsoon months (June-October), warm, rainy and humid. This division is roughly true also of the Gohira region.

Mean monthly maximum and minimum temperatures, and rainfall in inches, in Chittagong are as follows (compiled from Nafis Ahmed 1958; pp. 55-56):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Temperature Maximum</th>
<th>Temperature Minimum</th>
<th>Rainfall (inches)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>5.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>20.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>23.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>20.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>12.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>7.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>59.1</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A wide metalled road skirts the northern part of the village, and is the main link with Chittagong city. (Map 2) It was made in 1960 to connect Chittagong city to Rangamati, an administrative centre of the Chittagong Hill tract. Many small roads penetrate into the interior from this main trunk. None of them is metalled. Before the construction of this road, there had been no proper bridge over the Halda river and only a mud road had run from the city to its bank and from the opposite bank to Rangamati. People had had to cross the Halda by ferry (it was impossible to do so by foot even during the dry season). After that, they could go by bus—service to Chittagong city, or by train from Hathazari Station, 3 miles west. There was also an omnibus service to Rangamati. Even at that time, there were fairly frequent communications between the village and the outer world.

At present, there are the following transport facilities between Gohira and the surrounding area: (i) bus, (ii) auto-rickshaw (baby taxi), (iii) pedal rickshaw, and (iv) boat. The Rangamati bus service has three routes, every one of which starts from Chittagong. One goes to Hathazari, 3 miles west of the village, another to Raozan, 3 miles east and the last to Rangamati. The buses belonging to the latter two lines pass Gohira every 15 minutes during the rush hours on weekday mornings (ca. 7 a.m. - 9 a.m.) and evening (ca. 6 p.m. - 8 p.m.), and every half hour during the day. It takes nearly 50 minutes to Chittagong. The bus is the cheapest method of transport (Rs. 1 and 2 annas for 1st class, Rs. 1 for 2nd class) and is frequently used by adult males for business purposes (including commuting to firms in the city). It is very crowded in rush
hours, and it is not unusual to see men clinging on the door frame outside the crowded body of the bus. Although there are nine regular bus stops in the village, a bus can stop anywhere by request except during the rush-hours. The small auto-rickshaw is another means of travel, usually that for long distance. However, as it is quite expensive (Rs. 7-10 from Chittagong city to Gohira village, Rs. 5 the other way) it is rarely used by ordinary people. Moreover, there is no permanent auto-rickshaw waiting-stand in the village and people have to hire one from either Hathazali or Raozan, or await a casual cruising one. Well-to-do people use pedal-rickshaws, which cost roughly 6 annas a mile, within or between villages. In Gohira there are two permanent stands, where 4-5 rickshaws are always available between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. Within the villages, ordinary people prefer to go on foot, especially during the dry season, not hesitating to walk 2 or 3 miles. I have already stated that boats are one of the main means of transportation during the rainy season. Even during the dry season, they are used to carry goods from one village to another. Ferry services to cross rivers are also common. Having such means and being obliged to work in cities, most adult males have experience of living outside the village. However, women do not visit anyone outside except their relatives, who are found in the surrounding villages rather than in the city. Children under 15 years of age also rarely visit the city.

The smallest territorial unit of local administration is the union. Its affairs were managed by a union council of 10 elected members and 6 nominated by the Government. (After my departure, the system changed and all Council members were elected). The Council is administratively under a larger unit
or thana, which is administered by paid officials of the central Government. The tasks of the Union Council are diverse: it collects taxes, carries out welfare work, acts as a kind of lower court in civil law cases, reports deaths and births in the villages, and maintains law and order through village watchmen (several chokidars commanded by a dohadar) which it appoints.

Gohira Union has the following educational institutions:
(i) 1 Government Senior High School (6th to 10th grade);
(ii) 11 Government Primary Schools (1st to 5th grade);
(iii) 2 Moslem Religious High Schools; (iv) 1 private girls' school; and (v) there are private primary schools in most of the settlements. Of these, (i) and (ii) are financed by the Government, although students have to pay fees. Modern subjects are taught and the schools are in principle co-educational. There is no discrimination on the basis of religion. The Moslem High Schools are intended to train religious specialists and teach mainly religious subjects and certain subsidiary courses like English. They are financed by public donations and are free to students. The private girls' school is financed by a rich Hindu factory-owner but is open to every religion. The Moslem private schools give primary religious education to Moslems, and are financed by fixed public donations, mainly in rice. A priest (Imam or Maulvi) visits each school every morning (except Friday) to teach those children below 10 years old to read the Koran and to read Bengali script.
The Buddhist or Hindu schools provide a form of education preparatory or subsidiary to that of the Government Schools. As will be stated later, very few people pass the Matriculation Examination, which comes after the tenth grade. (4)

However, Raozan thana has long been famous in the area for its high percentage of literacy. (5) There are, comparatively speaking, many literate people in the village and its High School is accounted one of the best in the District.

Public health facilities are but fair. There is no proper hospital in Gohira and people have to go to Raozan for complicated treatment. However, in 1962 a dispensary was opened by the Belgian Social Welfare Work Fund and villagers can now enjoy primary treatment cheaply. There are also a few qualified doctors, several local practitioners of homeopathy, and several chemists' shops.

There is a main bazar where a market operates on Wednesdays and Sundays, and here over 20 shops (including teashops, chemists', clothing, stationery, rice, spice and grocery shops) are open throughout the week. Many commodities (fish, rice, meat, sweets, fruits, vegetables, earthen wares for cooking or storing water, bamboo baskets, etc.) are carried to the bazar from the surrounding villages on market days. Along the bus route are also five small shopping centres supplying sweets, tobacco, and stationary. Fashionable and expensive things like good furnitures or good Saris are usually purchased in Chittagong City.

(4) The educational system of East Pakistan is as follows: Primary School = The first grade to the fifth; High School = the sixth to the tenth; (Here comes Matriculation Examination); College or University = initial two years leading to I.A. or I.T., another two years leading to B.A. or B.T.

(5) O'Malley, 1908; p.168.
There are two local towns nearby, Hathazali and Raozan, but people prefer to go to the city.

There are no industries except for two small homeopathic medicine-factories, one Hindu and the other Buddhist. Although the former is fairly big, and well-known in Chittagong District, the workers are mainly recruited from outside the village. It is in the extreme eastern part of the village and has little concern with the life of Moslem villagers in Gohira village.

There is neither electricity nor piped water in the village. People use kerosene lanterns for illumination; 40 tube-wells, which have been sunk since 1961, supply drinking water to an increasing number of the villagers. Before this period, water from pond was used.

The 3,500-odd houses in the village all fell into one of three main categories namely:

(a) Brick-built houses ... 15
(b) Bamboo-wall houses ... 3048
(c) Mud-wall houses ... 498

\[ \text{3551(6)} \]

Middle class or wealthy people can afford roofs of corrugated iron. However, most roofs are still thatched with grass. Houses belonging to category (a) have brick floors; those in categories (b) and (c) have mud floors.

There is a post office in the middle of the village. Telegrams or money orders can be sent from it, but there is no telephone - the only one in the village is in the Hindu medicine factory.

(6) Data were collected by a government social welfare worker in 1962 on behalf of the Belgian Social Welfare Work Fund. (Husunara Begum Chowdhuri, 1962)
Newspapers are sold by a hawker, who brings them daily from Chittagong city. Although many people read newspapers when they are working in the city, only a few residents (perhaps not more than 50) do so (either in English or Bengali) in the village. A very few people working in the city have transistor radios. However, they usually keep them in the city or, if they bring them with them when they return to the village on holiday, take them back when they leave. One transistor radio was provided in the Union Council Office after the 1961 cyclone.

The distribution of the religious communities reflects the complex history of the Chittagong District. Moslem contact is said to have begun in the 14th century, but effective conquest of the district by the Mughal Empire is said to have come about only in the middle of the 17th century. Its inhabitants know very little of the history of the village, and the Moslems at least are not much interested in the subject. Some villagers said that their ancestors came to the area with the Mughal troops, and the Hindus of the area (Raozan thana has consistently had a substantial number of Hindus) are believed to be the descendants of Hindu clerks who came with them. However, no one knows the facts with certainty. Some villagers said: "Whatever our religion may be, we are one linguistically and racially.

(7) Chittagong had long been the battlefield of four powers: the Moslem Empire of Dacca, the Tippera Hindu Kingdom, the Arakanese Buddhist Kingdom and the Portuguese pirates. For details, cf. O'Malley 1908, Chapter II, and Syed Ahmedul Hoq, 1949.

(8) O'Malley 1908, p.57. A number of villagers who retain the title 'Khan' claim that they are the descendants of the Mughal troops. However, no one takes the matter seriously: being the descendants of conquerors or conquered is felt to have no meaning nowadays.
The ancestors of many Moslems are only recent (since 17th century) converts from either Hinduism or Buddhism." These comments are, I believe, close to reality. At least as between Hindus and Moslems, there are many similarities along with their cultural differences.

The normal and generally accepted term for Buddhists is Buruwa but they are sometimes called the Mogh people by non-Buddhists, and their settlements Mogh para. However, no one can say whether they are actually related to the Mogh tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tract. They are linguistically related with, and culturally similar to, the other inhabitants of the village. However, I got the impression that the physical features of the majority of Buddhist people are slightly different from those of the other religious groups. The Buddhists themselves resent the term Mogh, and those who describe them as Mogh do not deny their cultural or linguistic similarity but use the word as an epithet to show their own superiority.

Relationships between the three religious communities are fairly amicable. The people mix together in almost all civil functions. Crosscommunal social invitations, or dining together on special occasions like marriage, are not rare. I did not hear of physical violence between the communities although I found them fairly competitive emotionally. During the 1963 period of communal riots in Dacca and Narajanganj, there was no incident in the village except for dacoity practised towards the Hindu minority group, but even then most Moslems helped their Hindu neighbours to protect themselves from dacoity. Members of religions share "the honour of the village" against outsiders in various competitions like football games, etc. Hindus
and Buddhists proudly boasted in my hearing that they too, belonged
to the village from which came a Moslem who is now a high gov-
ernment official. Once, when the Government tried to settle
Moslem immigrants from India on land evacuated by Hindu emigrants,
the proposal was opposed by Moslems as well as Hindus. Among
their objections was the contention that resettlement would cause
tension among the communities. However, due to the difficulty
in getting jobs, and vague feelings of insecurity, many Hindus
have in fact emigrated to India since partition.

There are fairly marked communal differences in hair styles,
beards, and traditional clothing. Although such differences are
reduced by the introduction of modern clothing or styles, yet it
is not very difficult to differentiate members of the different
communities. Usually, there are also differences in the styles
of house construction, salutations, and other customs.(9)

(9) Hindu or Buddhist men follow modern hair-styles. Old Moslem
men wear beards or moustaches but Hindus and Buddhists rarely
affect beards. If they have moustaches they are meagre, or
formidable like that of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Moslem men traditionally wear a lungi, a garment of cotton
material sewn up like a tube, and a shirt. On formal occasions
they wear a long shirt, reaching to the knees, and pijama.
On the other hand, Hindu and Buddhist men wear a dhoti (one
long piece of unsewn cotton material), and a shirt on formal
occasions. If they wear a lungi on informal occasions, they
prefer mono-colored ones rather than the check-stripes of
Moslems. Moslems usually wear a white cap.

Moslem women traditionally wear a two-piece sari, with
small geometrical designs all over its surface. Hindu-Buddhist
women wear a one-piece sari, mono-colored and with embroidery
on its fringes. Hindu and Buddhist women have a beauty spot
on the forehead, and the married women draw a red mark on the
dividing line of hair. Customs are becoming much more hom-
egeneous. Both Moslem and Hindu-Buddhist youths wear European
coats and trousers. Moslem, Hindu and Buddhist women alike
wear a one-piece sari and beauty spots.

Hindu-Buddhist people greet each other by pressing their
palms together as in prayer, and say nomoshkar. Moslems say
a-salam-o-alukum putting a palm on the forehead or in front
of the mouth.
Whatever their religion may be, among themselves people all speak the colloquial Bengali popularly known as 'Chittagonian' or Chatgaiya. It is basically Bengali in its grammar and vocabulary, but there are some borrowings from Arabic, Portuguese, English and Arakanese. The pronunciation differs from ordinary Bengali, and Bengali-speakers living outside the district usually cannot understand Chittagonian.

Most of the people (even the lowest class) are bilingual in Chittagonian and Bengali. Many Moslems can also speak or understand Hindi. Although English is compulsory from primary school onwards, very few people can speak English fluently. The percentage of literate persons in the district, 30% or more, is said to be high for East Pakistan.

Although almost the entire village is covered by paddy fields, many people are engaged in non-agricultural labour. In a report by a government social welfare officer, the following were given for the year 1960. (10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of people engaged in cultivation</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of people engaged in service and merchandise</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of people engaged in manual labour</td>
<td>1452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3452</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occupations range from big import-export traders to shop-keepers, hawkers, government officials, clerks, factory labourers, daily labourers, sailors, cultivators and medical practitioners.

Many people from the village work in Chittagong city, Dacca, Karachi, or Narayanganj (in the latter case, as sailors).

(10) Husunara Begum Chowdhuri, 1962
These people usually leave their family in the village, and stay semi-permanently in the city visiting their homes weekly, monthly, or in extreme cases (ships' crews or those working in Karachi) once a year.

Many city-dwelling wage-workers and merchants hold small amounts of land in the village which they rent to tenant-cultivators, mainly on a share-crop basis, and use the product to maintain the household (paribar) from which they are absent. The main product is rice, of which there are three crops—augh, planted at the end of April and harvested in the middle of August; amon, the main crop planted in the middle of August and harvested in the beginning of January; and boro in the dry season. Boro cultivation is being extended with the help of the Belgian Social Welfare Work Fund. Some villagers cultivate peppers by hand irrigation during the dry season, which are one of the main cash sources of full-time cultivators. Vegetables are grown on sandy patches on river banks for domestic consumption.

Economically, agriculture plays three roles. For non-cultivators who are a majority in the village, everything is for self-consumption. For cultivators, majority of whom are tenants, the products are half for self-consumption and half for cash. For wage-laborers, the cultivation provides them chance to cash. The work group in cultivation is paribar, supplemented by hired wage-workers. There is no systematic economic cooperation among the villagers.

The settlement is commonly occupied by one or two groups of patrilineal kin (gusti). The prevalent type of household (paribar) is a small, domestic family group of 5 to 7 persons consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children.
Larger extended domestic groups are rare. There is a marked tendency to local endogamy within a radius of three miles. Marriage between near kin is not rare. Although there is an inclination towards patriliney, there is no marked unilineal structure. The rule of purdah (segregation of sexes) is kept fairly strictly among Moslems and makes a sharp differentiation of pattern of life between the two sexes.

Any group in the village is quite unstable due to competitive and individualistic attitude of the villagers. Many clubs for drama or for reading books were formed and dissolved because of conflict. There is no fixed leadership in any group. Socio-economic stratification among Moslems is quite unstable and wealth rarely stays in one family line more than two generations.

A study of these aspects of domestic and social life is the main topic of the thesis and they will be investigated later in detail.

The daily life of the villagers, pious Moslems all, is punctuated by the five prayers of the day. A priest of relatively low status (imam) utters the call (azam) for morning prayer (fazar namash) at dawn in front of the prayer-house (abadat kana). The early afternoon prayer (jahr namash) is observed at about 2 - 3 p.m., and the late afternoon prayer (ashrarnamash) at about 4 - 5 p.m. The Evening prayer (makril namash) comes after sunset at about 6 - 7.30 p.m. Finally, night prayer (eshar namash) comes late, before going to bed (8.30 - 9 p.m.). Before the last four prayers, calls (azam) are made by volunteers of the settlements.
As most of the villagers have no watches, time is calculated by the position of the sun. Calls and prayers become important points of reference in time, and divide a day into segments. People wake to the call for morning prayer and sleep after the night prayer. Appointments for meetings are usually made in terms of prayers, e.g., "after the night prayer". Perhaps the only exception is in the Government schools. The courses are given on a schedule based on a 24 hour time-system. Although there is one prayer-house for each settlement, men do not necessarily gather there. Some pray in their own houses and some in their working places. Women pray individually in their houses. Every Friday there is a special group prayer (juma namash), at which people gather from several settlements in a big prayer-house (masjid) to pray under the leadership of priests. Friday is a school as well as a public holiday. The two market-days of Sunday and Wednesday and the juma namash of Friday make up the larger time-unit of the village. (In the city, there is a confusion between Sunday and Friday holiday systems. Sunday is the day when people working in the city usually come back to the village).

As to the yearly calendar, there is confusion between the Moslem lunar calendar (hijri), the Bengali lunar calendar, and the western solar calendar. The present tendency is to use the solar calendar as the main system and to modify it by the former two, adding Moslem festivals. The hijri calendar is used for religious purposes and the Bengali calendar for cultivation.

(11) Although the words are used loosely, masjid normally means a prayer-house having a resident priest, while abadatkana means one with only a visiting priest.
The month of **Ramadan**, which comes around February, is the main modification. It is a month of complete rest and devotion. It is a prosperous period, for the harvest is in, and every **paribar** has enough rice. For cultivators it is a time of rest after the hard work of harvest in December and January; for Chittagong wage-workers it is a month of half-day work; and for those working in remote places it is a time of 1-2 months' leave when they can visit their **paribar** and relatives in the village. People over 15 years of age fast in the daytime during the month, but children, pregnant women, and sick persons are exempted. Even the most emancipated men hesitate to take meals during daytime in the village and, if they do, then quite secretly. Youths sometimes escape to Chittagong city, where restaurants are open behind half-closed doors. When the **azam** for late evening prayer is heard, people hurry home to take a snack. The main meal will be served at 8 p.m. or later, and at 1 or 2 a.m. Tea might be served before sunrise. During the daytime, people often sleep indoors. Due to these conditions, many social functions are avoided during **Ramadan**. The end of **Ramadan** means the end of ascetic life, and it marked by the festival of **Id-ul-Fitr**.

The time of **Id** is fixed by the appearance of the new moon. People begin to prepare for the festival one or two weeks before. They purchase cattle for sacrifice and new clothing for the members of their **paribar**, doing their best to buy better cattle and better clothing than their neighbors' at cheap prices. The **Id** is the beginning of the social season of

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(12) The appearing of the new moon must be 'approved' by a majority of men of each settlement. Although it is not continued to next page
village life. On the day of Id everyone, even enemies, must be treated in a friendly way as guests. Villagers, wearing their best clothing, gather at set places, some in prayer-houses and others in the open fields. Some settlements hold joint prayer meetings, others separate. There prayer is offered under the leadership of a priest. Only males over 6-7 years participate. After prayer, cattle are sacrificed one by one. The meat is divided among the poor, and relatives exchange visits.

After Id the weather is fine, and the condition of the roads remains good, up to the end of April. Economically, most families are still in a good situation. Many social functions, including marriages, dramas, and club activities are held during this period. People take advantage of the fact that many short-cuts are available through the paddy fields. Joint activities, like fishing by co-sharers of a pond, are also carried out.

When the north-west wind carries enough moisture to the land, in April, conditions begin to change. Most of the men who have jobs in distant places but have come home on leave begin to return to their work-places. Some cultivators begin to cultivate aush rice. The rain now starts to spoil the roads, and communications become more and more difficult. Now people have not enough funds to entertain guests or to pay for gifts. The same conditions apply about as much to wage-workers as to merchants,

*continued from previous page:

strictly necessary for individuals to see the new moon for themselves (some are satisfied to hear of the fact from others), people usually gather in front of the settlement to confirm the fact. The Government fixes the date for Id, but villagers follow the actual appearance of the new moon. In 1964 the people of the village under study could not see the new moon on the fixed date. Half of them (mainly traditionalists) observed it, but the other half (mainly reformists) postponed the celebration one day after consulting with priests of high rank.
many of whom are dependent on rice from the fields. The purchasing-power of villagers decreases. From that time to the harvest, it is a working period, with a short slack season at the end of October and the beginning of November.

In short, the yearly cycle is divided into three main periods: (i) a period of rest and devotion (Ramadan), (ii) a period of social activities, and (iii) a period of individual work, for there is no co-operative productive activity. The life of cultivators, wage-workers and merchants is equally regulated by natural-ecological conditions. I picked up a sample settlement and lived there for two years in order to make a detailed study. The settlement, Sikdar bari, was selected for the following reasons: (i) on my first reconnaissance I found the people quite friendly, (ii) the settlement provided a balanced distribution of occupations (Table 1), (iii) the distribution of kin-groups (one main patrilineal kin-group and three subsidiary ones) seemed typical, (iv) the majority of the people were of middle-class economic status, (v) the settlement was of sufficient size (216 persons living in 35 paribar) to make possible face-to-face relationships with most of the people, (vi) all the people of the settlement belong to the reformist sect of Wahabis, but in all respects the settlement still can be regarded as 'typical'.

The founder of the settlement, Shū Sikdar, whose descendants now form 24 paribar, came to the area from somewhere else eight generations ago. Many of his descendants had held titles of lands for long periods and had thus enjoyed the title of chowdhuri, traditionally given to landlords. Since that time they had enjoyed a middle-class status in the village. There were also
minority kin-groups in the settlement, some of whose ancestors had arrived a fairly long time ago. Others came as adopted sons to former residents of the settlement.

The most numerous occupations were clerical wage-workers, businessmen and cultivators. Other occupations were negligible.

The poorest wage-earners were working for other members of the settlement as casual agricultural labourers or as market porters. The wage-workers ranged from factory apprentices and government clerks to clerks in a foreign import-export trading company. The salary-range varied from Rs.60 a month (R.1 = 2 Australian shillings) for the first to Rs.400 for the last, but the majority of wage-earners received between Rs.120 and Rs.150. To assess the income of traders was quite difficult; however, judging from their living standards, most of them were fairly prosperous. The position of cultivators in the economic ranking was rather low. Most of them were cultivating others' land on a share-crop basis. Many wage-earners were usually living in the city, leaving their paribar behind in the village. These conditions are shown in Table 1. Table 2 shows the demographic condition of the settlement during week days in seasons other than Ramadan. There was a remarkable difference between population officially stated by the villagers and the actual residents on ordinary week days.

Most of the forefathers of the settlement, including the present older generation, had had experience of working in Burma as servants, in shops, or as traders. One had achieved remarkable success during the First World War and had become the richest man in Chittagong city. Due to his success, the settlement has a nickname after the company's name,
### Table 1

**Distribution of Occupations and Residential Pattern in Sikdar Bari for Males over 15 Years of Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Resident in the Village</th>
<th>Daily Commuter</th>
<th>Weekly* Commuter</th>
<th>Fortnightly or Monthly Commuter</th>
<th>Yearly Commuter</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical wage-workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily labourers</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships' crew</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Those who returns to the village once a week*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Male Residents</th>
<th>Male Absentees</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
<th>Female Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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<td>20-29</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>94</strong></td>
<td><strong>82</strong></td>
<td><strong>126</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{Male absentees} \times \frac{100}{\text{Total population}} = 14.8\%
\]
Hati-kampanieru-barī. He died in the early 1930s and his sons are now living in the city with their parībar. After the partition of property following the father's death, not one of the sons is as wealthy as he was. However, they can still keep up their position in the city as rich men of the upper class, and they own fairly large amounts of land in the village, which some members of the settlement cultivate. When the father was living, almost all members of the settlement were working in his company, which dealt with the import-export of clothing. After his death, the company was dissolved and his employees had to seek jobs.

Most of the data I present were collected from the people of this particular settlement. However, for comparative purposes, I collected data from two subsidiary settlements, Moajin bari and Habildar bari, and from people related to the first settlement but living elsewhere.

Habildar bari was fairly big and could be geographically divided into 5 sub-sections. The settlement had 252 people grouped in 47 parībar. It was, as shown in the following tables, a bit different from the other settlements in the distribution of occupations; and was selected because of this difference. The economic level was comparatively low and, through poverty and lack of education, a majority of men had to work as ships' crews, factory labourers and cultivators. Ships' crews got one or two months' leave a year, but stayed in remote places like sea for the rest of the year. Most of the residents were cultivators, with a few clerks, businessmen or other commuters to the city. Thus, both the economy and pattern of residence exhibited significant differences compared with those of the other two settlements described. Almost half of the people were reformists.
and half, traditionalists. (Table 3-4)

From the other settlement, Moajin bari, only the main patrilineal kin group of 161 people living in 24 paribar was selected for study. Its members belonged to the traditionalist sect. It was selected because it was connected to Sikdar bari by a variety of ties of affinity and friendship. Being a relatively prosperous settlement, many of its members worked as businessmen or clerks. (Table 5-6)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Male Residents</th>
<th>Male Absentees</th>
<th>Male Total</th>
<th>Female Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>10-19</td>
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<td>20-29</td>
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<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>50-59</td>
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<td>70-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>121</td>
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</table>

Male absentees x 100 = 14.3%
Table 4
Distribution of Occupations and Residential Pattern of Habildar Bari Males over 15 Years of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Resident in Village</th>
<th>Daily Commuter</th>
<th>Weekly Commuter</th>
<th>Fortnightly or Monthly Commuter</th>
<th>Yearly Commuter</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical wage-workers</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory labourers</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
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<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age in Years</td>
<td>Male Residents</td>
<td>Male Absentees</td>
<td>Male Total</td>
<td>Female Residents</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>70-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>74</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{Male absentees} \times \frac{100}{\text{Total population}} = 16.8\% 
\]
Table 6
Distribution of Occupations and Residential Pattern of Moajin Bari Males over 15 Years of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Resident in the Village</th>
<th>Daily Commuter</th>
<th>Weekly Commuter</th>
<th>Fortnightly of Monthly Commuter</th>
<th>Yearly Commuter</th>
<th>?</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical wage-workers</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Factory labourers</td>
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<td>Daily labourers</td>
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<td>Ships' crew</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivators</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Professionals</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Students</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>146</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of Patrilineal Kin Groups = 1
Chapter II

Individualism, Equality, Sex and Prestige

A) General Comments

In this chapter I propose to describe some selected notions and concepts important in understanding the villagers' social behaviour, especially those related to their paribar (household) and kinship. They are: firstly the notion of the other world and that of individual, and then three main focuses of interest of the villagers, prestige, sex, and property. I say "focus of interests" as the villagers frequently show strong emotional reactions towards these topics, growing excited, quarrelling, and making accusations against each other when they are raised. They are also frequent topics in conversation.

The description will not cover the whole system of ideology and philosophy of the villagers. I should like to treat them here in a rather abstract way, out of the contexts of actual events. However, these abstractions are all drawn from observations of the villagers' behaviour or through conversation with them. The reader can see the expression of these notions in real social contexts in later chapters where I describe more concrete topics. This chapter is only a preparation for the latter. Naturally some of these notions are closely connected with the Moslem religion. We find some striking similarities between statements appearing in the books written by religious authorities and those uttered by illiterate villagers on the same topic. The former will be referred to where necessary, but this thesis aims primarily at describing the villagers' behaviour and notions rather than those of Moslems in general.
B) The other world and the idea of the individual:

During the course of research, I was struck by the relative indifference of the villagers to "the past". In not a single house was a written genealogy kept. Some people could not recollect even the names of their own grandfathers. The descendants of immigrants to the settlement of 2 or 3 generations ago could not state how or why their ancestors came to the particular settlement. There was no local historian nor any written history of the settlements or villages. I found difficulty in getting any information on local conditions in the past. "I don't remember", "I do not know.", "What is the use of asking about the past?", or just "Oh, the condition was the same as it is today" were the usual answers.

There were also other patterns of behaviour analytically related to the phenomenon above-mentioned. There is little emotional attachment to inherited property except that based on its utility. There is no concept of traditional occupation. The dead are buried simply, not commemorated, and speedily forgotten. A notion of "ascribed status" is weakly developed.

These phenomena, I believe, can be explained in general by the people's idea of stages of life and other related concepts.

The basic premise in Moslem theology is the existence of Allah, the Almighty. The villagers hold that He is the sole and absolute God who controls all events in this world. There are three important extensions of this concept by the villagers, which are related to their attitude towards other worlds, or stages of life. They are:

i) Pragmatic ways of thinking

The power of perception of a human being is quite limited.
There are many aspects of nature that only God can control and which the human being cannot perceive or understand, or predict. "Who can tell? Only Allah knows," is one of the common phrases used by the villagers.

ii) Most villagers believe that supernatural power resides in God alone. Only very rarely Allah endows the spirits of the dead with supernatural power and permits them to intervene in mundane affairs.

The villagers recognize four stages of individual life;

i) The stage before birth
ii) This world
iii) The world after death and up to the last judgement
iv) The world after the last judgement

For the villagers, i), iii) and iv) belong to the unperceivable category. They advance fairly simple statements about them but never go into detail. Priests are taught not to elaborate on these topics to the layman. (1)

The stage before birth can hardly be called a state of "existence". The only thing to be said on the matter is, "The human being is made from earth by the hand of God. He blows the spirit into the earthen mould and it becomes a human being," and that is all. There is no concept of re-incarnation.

The important point here is that each individual is seen as having unique existence independent of others.

(1) Once I enquired of these matters of a high-ranking priest who is residing in the neighboring village. After explaining then, he turned and said to his apprentice-priests, "Such kind of things must not be disclosed to the laymen. As he is a foreign scholar who is learning about our religion, I specially explained the matter to him."
He is evaluated by God and by his fellowsmen only through his achievements or attributes but through nothing else. He is spiritually free from the burden of the past and the acts of fellowsmen.

Case - 1
One of the most successful businessmen in the village came from my settlement. He is now dead. He was said to have had a father who was very poor and was a thief. An informant told me that the father was once caught red-handed while stealing and was tied to a tree and beaten publicly. However, the same informant frankly admired the businessman's good character and marvellous success. He envied him, saying, "You see how different he was from his father. He was so honest and so trusted by his employer that he finally did achieve success."

Another man, Shafi, was socially ostracized from the settlement for his misdeeds. However, no one tried to include his brother in this punishment.

- The unique independent individual is given a unique destiny (takdir) by God. A philosopher has defined the word takdir as "the law or measure which is working throughout the whole of creation." (2) The villagers say; it is "the limit of one's field of activity". Taking an example, A can either be an University professor, a small government clerk, or a beggar. This is a range of choice given to him by God. No one can overstep the limit and open new fields beyond that. However, each individual is also given free will to choose whatever he likes within the limit. Here appears the merit of deed (tadbir). The problem is whether one will utilize the best of the limit or not. If he works hard, he can be a professor, but if he does not, he will be a beggar. In that sense, the free will is "a limited free will". The Moslem concept of "good" or "bad" in a moral sense is related to this. He must be punished as bad by God as he did not use his powers to the full.

(2) Muhammad 'Ali, 1950, p.316
The limit of one's range of choice is not disclosed to the human being. The assessment is out of man's power of perception. What he can do is to check it through trial and error in life. This idea of takdir strongly motivates the people to work hard to achieve the zenith of their personal destiny. When I asked the reason for success in life, the villagers always stressed the importance of takdir (those who can speak English translate it as "luck"). It is believed more important than any other factors, including ability, effort (tadbir), one's economic background, or the existence of personal connection, etc. As no one knows what is given to him, it is worth while to try his luck in anything rather than to miss the chance. They are reckless in doing so as I shall show later in the section on occupation. If they fail, that shows that God had not given them the chance to succeed. The idea gives them psychological comfort. I neither heard of any suicide due to failure in life nor saw anyone in a depressed condition on account of personal failure. A failure in one line never oppresses the failed. A man will think, "Who can tell whether God would not give me a chance in another activity although He did not give it to me in this one?" They are quite optimistic in this sense.

Thus, for a villager, his past life has only limited importance. There is no causal relationship between failure in the past and possible success in the present or in the future. A man is relatively free from his own past. He is also given a unique destiny different from that of his fore fathers. Thus he feels himself free from the past generation, or the past of the society. What is important is to see whether he is getting at the right
track at the present or not, but not to indulge in retrospection.

At the moment of death of an individual, it is said that an angel appears and shows him a figure of Prophet Mohammed, asking him to identify it. It is said that after this examination, the spirit of the dead (ruu) must remain in one or other of two waiting rooms until the Last Judgement (hasharash maedan). One waiting room is for the spirit of good men, and the other for those of bad men. The former is said to be like a prison and the bad men will be ill treated there. After the Last Judgement, they are assigned to the heaven and the hell respectively.

As to the spirits of the dead, what is important in a social context is the idea of limitation of their activities. The opinion of the villagers varied on the status of the spirits of the dead. One man says that the spirits of the dead cannot come back to this world without permission of God. Another says that His permission will be given only to those of good men. A third says there are regular visits of good spirits from Thursday night to Friday. What is generally agreed is that the spirits of the dead cannot influence living people. Such supernatural powers are vested only in God. Maybe some selected spirits of learned men can be given them but not for the ordinary people. They can see "this world" they left and watch what their descendants are doing, but they cannot sanction them.

In this respect also, the living feel themselves free from the control of the dead and that of the past. They need not feel any particular responsibility to their ancestors. Their responsibility is to God. Indifference to the dead spirits is reflected in the lack of elaborate ritual of funeral and those of ancestor worship. When there is a death, the corpse is cleaned
by near relatives, wrapped in a plain white cloth, and carried
to the graveyard on a special bier. There people (adult males)
gather and utter a short prayer. This is to inform Allah of the
death. There is no ritual of the consolation of the spirit of
the dead as there would be no point in it.

The body after death is regarded as being only earth, and
lacking any sacred character. A bamboo fence may be erected to
show the location of the grave, and sometimes small saplings are
planted there. However, after the decay of that fence, quick
growth of trees and weeds covers the grave and make its exact
position obscure. Sometimes it is quite difficult for the vil-
lagers to locate the exact place of their grandfather's burial.
No one takes care of the grave very much. In the sample set-
tlement, there is the grave of a very successful businessman's
parents. It consists of a brick wall surrounding the site,
which is overgrown and never tended in any way. During the
1963 cyclone, a part of the wall tumbled down. Although the
businessman's three sons are living in the city and are quite
prosperous, no one has bothered to repair it. As there is
little sanctity about it, children can play on the old burial
ground. They can collect leaves from there as fuel and if
there is a betel nut tree, as there often is in local grave
eyards, they can harvest the nuts also.

The phenomena above-mentioned give basis for the Moslem
idea of "equality of men". Moslem ideology stresses the
equality of all men before God. What is meant here is not the
denial of any difference in ability but the denial of ascribed
status. Born as a man with his own unique destiny, no one
can inherit superiority from his predecessors by birth. Being a son of a successful man is not enough to make a man respected unless he is rich by himself or he has done anything prominent. Even in the latter case, "the success" itself is mainly the result of God's will. This being the case, expression of extreme respect is forbidden. Even Prophet Mohammed is regarded as having been an ordinary man, who could act as a mouthpiece for God's voice, but not exercise any supernatural power. Some villagers laugh at the custom of praying for Prophet Mohammed. They also laugh at the Hindu customary salute of bowing one's head to touch the feet of a superior. It is a sin (guna) to do so for such respect must be given only to God. At Id and on one or two other ceremonial occasions in the village, younger men of the Moslem community show respect to their elders by touching their feet with their hands, but unlike the local Hindus, they never bow their heads in doing so.

C) Prestige

Achievement, however, is highly valued. The villagers are very much conscious of ranking in terms of achieved status. Sensitivity to it is marked by the use of many status-charged verbal expressions and minutiae of behaviour. Ideologically, everyone has potentiality to be big and he is also highly motivated to be respected by others. The characteristics of Moslem society in my village are the open ranking system and the strong competition to achieve high status. There is less consensus among the villagers' subjective judgement of ranking in the village and everyone must make incessant display to convince others
of his superiority.

The ability to mobilize the support of others on any occasion is highly prized. Failure in moving others causes a strong feeling of shame. I frequently encountered this situation. If I wanted to see A, and asked B to invite him to visit me, B would invariably refuse to carry the message, fearing that he himself would be humiliated should A then decline or fail to come. He would feel himself to lose prestige both in my eyes for having failed to bring A along; and also in the eyes of A for advancing a request (though on behalf of a third party) which A was prepared to refuse.

Case-2

I shall select as an example the case of Osman Ghani, who was working in a factory where a Japanese engineer was working as spinning master. Once when I was attending a wedding ceremony, Osman suddenly appeared and told me that the Japanese engineer wanted me. I at first refused to go as by doing so I was afraid of both missing the ceremony and injuring my relationship with the party in the marriage. When refused his proposal, Osman shouted out in front of all the guests that the engineer was in trouble with his passport and the matter was very urgent. I took the matter seriously and reluctantly left the wedding. Osman was very proud of this. During the time the bridal party was preparing an untimely special meal for the researcher, Osman hurried them ordering this and that while repeating the urgency and importance of the matter. (He was only 22 years old and there were many elders there.) However, on the way to factory, he confessed that the matter might not be so urgent and when I met the engineer, I found it was not urgent at all. After returning to the village, I discussed the event with other villagers. Their opinion was that Osman had told his fellow men that he was a friend of Japanese shaheb (the researcher). Perhaps he was asked by the engineer in front of the fellow men. We believe that Osman had told him he would carry him immediately. It then becomes a matter of prestige. If he failed to carry the researcher (after taking two hours special leave and taking trouble to come back so far - - - 40 minutes by bus), that means the latter did not honour his labour. If the researcher is really his friend, he should come. Thus the researcher's refusal would have injured Osman's position in the eyes of his fellows. Osman in front of two parties of marriage had to face another crisis. If he failed to fetch the researcher, he had have to lose his prestige in the eyes of both parties, many of whom are either his relatives or friends.
To get support from the people in the village needs much skill as everyone is ready to refuse the proposal to show his prestige. If he has real power to threaten the other's life, say, he is the employer, he can simply issue an order. However, by such direct threat one can not control any large number of people. Moreover, if one offends the other's prestige too severely, there is a chance that the latter will revolt against him. People usually try to evade situations of conflict.

Men often go to great lengths to soothe the injured susceptibilities of others.

Case-3

Once a youth of 25 years old who was a leader of other boys refused to attend a marriage ceremony. At that time, an uncle of the groom, who was 60 years old and was also a classificatory uncle to the youth never hesitated to call the latter "eBr" (dada) rubbing his back by his lands (a gesture of soothing).

Case-4

Shajad was 19 years old. His father was of Sikdar bari but had stayed away elsewhere as a school-teacher. Shajad lived with father, and came back to the village four years ago. His mother was a woman of a distant town and used to complain about the degree of illiteracy in the village. The boy also behaved rather pompously, displaying his knowledge and experience. When he failed to matriculate and had to take the examination again, the youths of the settlement gave him a nickname "K.K.Roy". According to the boys, K.K.Roy, Chakma leader was said to have failed in election and to have had to try again and again. The boy felt really ashamed of his nickname. His father also tried to stop it, saying to a boy "Being a chacha (FayBr) to my son, how you dare to abuse him?", but he did not succeed. Actually the boy thus addressed is FaBrSo to Shajad. However, Shajad's father used the word to soothe the former.

It is also thought clever to use polite words and expressions to avoid the unnecessary conflict. The honorific paradigm of "the second person" is commonly used in any political situation. This is not a matter of etiquette. It is a common phenomenon that the same person who used polite words and behaviour to the another abuses the latter and depreciate him behind his back. Another common tactic is to instigate the others speaking of the common enemy (Let us join together against the common enemy."). Private persuasion is thus a most important technique because only by that method both parties keep their prestige. It is usually the case that public meetings end in disagreement because there everyone tries to maintain their prestige before
third parties. Real consensus usually comes only from private negotiation after the meeting. Such private negotiation by visiting from door to door takes much time. Only a man who is prepared to go from house to house and press his case privately can hope to mobilize any followers.

As we can assume from the above-mentioned description, power of oratory is quite important, and if one has this power, he can get high prestige even though he is still young.

While one may seek to win prestige by influencing others, another may try to win it by an exaggerated display of independence, refusing to listen to the advice or appeals of others, or behaving in a consciously eccentric manner.

Case-5

An example in the settlement is 32-year-old Hai, who has strong political interests, and was until recently the leader of a small following of youths, recruited from all over Gohira and even beyond. Once I discussed with him the reasons for the failure of the Belgian Social Welfare Organization agricultural Co-operative society, and he put his finger on several of the root causes, and suggested how the failure might have been avoided. I then asked him why, with his perception and following, he had taken no part in the co-operative society, to which he replied; "Let them try what they like. They started it. If they fail, and if they approach me to help, then I will do something." Being a clerical wage-worker in the city, he did not join the movement at the beginning. This is the movement originated by others. His prestige did not allow him to join in it which has no direct concern with his interest. However, if there is a proposal, then it is a chance to show his ability.

A man also can acquire prestige if he has the capacity to be a good intermediary. To be a successful intermediary, there are two requirements, namely; to have special personal relationship with an influential man (wealthy man or government high officials) through kinship or through friendship, and to have ability in communication (ability in reading and writing -education).
The latter needs some explanation. The problem of language is a major difficulty issue in Pakistan. As is well known, Pakistan has two official languages, Urdu (West Pakistan) and Bengali (East Pakistan); while English is important as a de facto medium of communication at higher levels. Although there is a movement to change the language medium in Governmental institutions from English to Bengali, many documents are still written in the former language. In private firms, too, where not a few higher posts are occupied by West Pakistanis ignorant of Bengali, English is indispensable for full communication. Almost any letter to any modern institution requires the filling in of documents, which are usually filled with formal and honorific expressions. Such expression is at least believed to be necessary to accomplish one's end smoothly. Thus the villagers are handicapped by the present linguistic situation. Being speakers of colloquial Bengali, they must learn how to read and write at least two languages other than their own to get on well; Orthodox Bengali and English. However, the level of literacy in the village is low. Table 7 shows the percentage of literate person for Raozan Thana. Table 8 shows the percentage of literacy among the wales of Sikdar Bari.

Out of 11 people in Sikdar Bari who can read and write English, only 6 are capable of writing documents acceptable for officials; and of the six, only two are usually available in the village. Yet the settlement is comparatively better educated than most others in the village. The percentage of people who can read and write English in the village may not exceed 5%.

Thus, due to these special handicaps of backwardness in
Table 7

Percentage of Literate Persons among Raozan Thana Population*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moslem: 9.9% 0.1% 9.0% 0.2% (Raozan Thana)

Hindu  25.1% 1.0% 28.0% 2.0% (Raozan Thana)

* Most of the Government statistical data are collected on a Thana basis and it is extremely difficult to get the data on Union or village basis. This table is compiled from the data kept in Raozan Thana Office.

** In the 1931 statistics, Rangunia Thana is divided from Raozan Thana.

Table 8

Degree of Literacy among Sikdar Bari Males according to Age and Language Ability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Ability</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>writing</td>
<td>writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reading</td>
<td>reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speaking</td>
<td>speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 up +</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
education combined with the necessity for fluency in two or three languages, "literacy" is highly coveted and respected. Literacy is related to education. The possession of a University degree is highly valued because it is the symbol of literacy in Orthodox Bengali and English. (The teaching medium in degree courses is English.) As the tables show, the younger generation could enjoy better position in this line.

Personal connection is regarded as being next in importance to "takdir" in achieving material success. People have a strong conviction that any promotion in any business firms or governmental offices is based on one's personal connection to the management, and this is usually true so far as I could discover. The following case will suffice to show the villagers' attitude on the matter.

Case-6

Once a village youth asked me to introduce him to a Japanese engineer who was working in a textile mill as weaving master. He wanted to get a job there. I asked his guardian's opinion, and the latter said: "I think it is alright because you are here. My nephew has a personal relationship to you. The Japanese engineer will treat him well and he can get promotion. However, what will happen after your departure?" I assured him that the engineer would favour anyone who works hard irrespective of his personal relationship to him. The old guardian was never convinced. After the enrolment, when the departure of myself and the engineer coming near, both the youth and the guardian approached me to ask the engineer to write the recommendation. According to their idea, there was no hope for the youth's future after my departure. Thus they began to prepare to shift the factory to another site, where another Japanese engineer was working.

Wealth is also an important criterion of ranking and is respected for two reasons.

i) It is a means to achieve physical comfort, which is a major target of everyone's life. People who have much wealth are respected and envied for their supposed ability to buy what
everyone would like to have but cannot attain.

ii) A rich man is always expected to help the poor according to the principle of zakat, or charity. Thus the poor show a submissive attitude towards the rich due to the expectation of material gain.

Thus wealth has three types of cultural manifestations, namely;

i) amount of income

ii) mode of consumption

iii) donation or charity to the mass.

The amount of a man's income is one of the common topics of ordinary conversation, and arouses great interest. "How much is he getting?" (or more directly "How much you are getting?") is a question quite frequently asked, and the answer always raises a heated discussion, frank envy, or contemptuous derision. It is also frequently used as a criterion of ranking and as a medium of boasting as well as backbiting. As the working places of the earning males of the settlement are rather dispersed, there usually is no way to check on a person's real income. Thus there is much scope for exaggeration in both positive and negative sense.

Case-7

Abdul Hai was a 32-year-old clerk who was working in a foreign trading company and getting nearly Rs400 per month. He was a merchant who had a clothing shop in the city. Their houses were close and they were connected by three former marital ties. Hai's wife was a Lokman's stepmother's brother's daughter. Both Hai and Lokman were well-to-do men in the settlement.

Once Hai's wife borrowed Rs5 from Lokman and neglected to return. One day, during Hai's absence, Lokman sent a messenger boy and asked Hai's wife to change a Rs 100 note into smaller cash. She had not got such a large amount of small change but recollecting the Rs5 she sent that through the boy. Her idea was that Lokman
in some way needed smaller money and the Rs5 might do. However, Lokman came to Hai's house and asked what the Rs5 means. She explained that she was indebted the amount to Lokman. Then he became angry and accused Hai's wife saying, "I never claimed that Rs5 to you before. Is it to remind me of that Rs45 I am borrowing from you?" "No, I only thought that you need some small cash." "Then why Rs5? You can give me Rs10 or any other amount. These days you are always showing your wealth. You sent this Rs5 to show your economic superiority to me. Your husband is now in high position in a company. You are showing off because of it." "May be my husband is a high ranked man in the company but our wealth comes only one day a month (on the pay-day). You are a rich merchant. You can feel proud of your money everyday. You are always showing your wealth spending Rs400-500 monthly yet you have no proper pati(mat) in your house to sleep on." "Though I have no regular income, yet I can spend Rs300 or Rs400 a day." "You always come and joke with us using bad words which I do not like. From now on, do not come here. If you think everyone is afraid of you, you are stupid. There may be someone who are afraid of you as you are supported by Farid Ahmed (the big merchant related to them). But remember, we have no connection with him." There were further exchanges of boasting. Later Lokman again appeared at the Hai's house and tried to reconcile with Hai's wife. He managed to turn the quarrel into a joke. Then he asked Hai's wife to give him Rs50 in smaller notes and take a Rs100 note, saying that the balance could be paid later. However, the latter had only Rs30 in hand and refused the suggestion.

However, we must notice that the crucial aim of getting wealth is to live in comfort. Moslem ideology never denies the physical and material gratifications of life. They rather deny the monastic life. Whatever the philosophical reason may be, for most of the villagers, sensual gratification is the main goal of life. Mere accumulation of money is not admired. Those who earn but do not spend are laughed at as stupid, or even regarded with dislike as being misers.

Case-8
Rashid Ahmed was a 60-years-old cultivator who, never having married, lived with his elder brother's widow and her two sons. He was fairly well educated, having gained his Matriculation and had once been a teacher in a local Primary School. He was a hard worker and had put some money. He had purchased several plots of land in the past ten years. However, he was criticized by the local youths. "You know he is working hard. He earns much. However, he never wears good clothing; he takes cheap meals. How stupid he is! He has purchased lots of land. But what is the use of purchasing when he has no sons to inherit it."
Money is thought to exist to be used. This utilitarian attitude is also applied in other spheres. To have acquired a skill is not so much appreciated until it is related to earning and next to the material gain. Income must be materialized. We will see later how lavishly money is spent in marriage and how keenly the items are calculated in terms of currency. At the time of Id, the value of bulls sacrificed is openly announced and discussed. The price of things are sometimes told with much exaggeration.

Zakat, or obligatory charity towards the poor, is counted as one of the five basic principles of Islam. It is regarded as a corollary to the possessing wealth. The rich man who does not give charity suffers in prestige and is not given respect.

I have already described three main ways to achieve higher status in this society. Concurrent with them are three main indices of ascribed status, age, kinship position, and sex. Among them, sex is subordinated to kinship position and the latter to seniority in age. For example, a husband is superior to his wife but a young man is inferior to an aged woman. A nephew older than ego is respected but not an uncle younger than ego.

Seniority in age is subordinated to the three indices of achieved status.

Now let me touch the problem of accessibility to higher statuses.

Wealth and property rarely pass intact across a generation in the same line; and in the village it is unusual to find a family fortune enduring for long. The main reasons are as follows:

i) Due to the laws of inheritance, the property of an individual will usually be divided into numerous small shares after his
ii) Due to the physical discontinuity between generations, the wealth of one generation tends to be dispersed before it can be used effectively by the next generation. Those two aspects will be treated in more detail later in the chapter on "paribar".

iii) Due to unstable economic condition often one cannot maintain success in any occupation throughout his life.

The instability of economic ranking can be seen in the data on incomes collected from the Union Council (Tables 9-11). The data show the amount of income assessed by the Union Council for Union Council Tax. An assessment is made annually by negotiation between Union Council Members and the local leaders or elders of each settlement in order to lay tax. Thus it would be dangerous to take the registered amount of income as real. The amount is only an index to show one's relative economic position in the village assessed.

The income index is given in rupees per month. Table 9 shows the distribution of the income in the village. We can see the patterns of distribution of at least these ten years have been very constant. However, if we trace the shift of positions of particular individuals, we can see that there is a fairly high degree of mobility. Table 10 shows the range of increase or decrease of income of individuals from Sikdar bari. Table 11 shows the disturbance of ranking among the high income earners (those who are reported to have earned more than Rs1000 per month.). Both tables show that they frequently shifted in economic ranking. This fact is recognized by the villagers, which is
## Table 9

**Distribution of Income (Gohira Union)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Rs  0</th>
<th>1- 99</th>
<th>100- 199</th>
<th>200- 299</th>
<th>300- 399</th>
<th>400- 499</th>
<th>500- 599</th>
<th>600- 699</th>
<th>700- 799</th>
<th>800- 899</th>
<th>900- 999</th>
<th>1000- Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10
Changes in Individual's Income during Four Years Period
in Three Sample Settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference of Income between Years A &amp; B</th>
<th>Decreasing more than Rs100</th>
<th>Decreasing between Rs1-99 &amp; same Rs1 &amp; 99</th>
<th>Increasing between Rs1 &amp; 99</th>
<th>Increasing more than Rs100</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948-1944</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-1948</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1952</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1958</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.7%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data for 1958 is used in place of data for 1956, since information was not available for 1956.
### Table 11

#### Degree of Continuation of High Class Cash Earners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal Year (S.F.Y)</th>
<th>First time in the S.F.Y</th>
<th>In the S.F.Y and in the Previous S.F.Y.</th>
<th>Continuously for more than Two Previous F.S.Y.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* "High class cash earners" mean those who earn over Rs1,000 during a fiscal year

** Data are compiled from the lists of names picked from the Union Council Tax Register and are on the Union basis.
Manifested in colourful stories of individual failure and success.

When I say "education" in mentioning of ranking, that means primarily education beyond Matriculation examination. The differences of education below this line usually mean little in ranking system as there is no marked criterion to divide, say, the English-speaking from the non-English speaking individuals. To achieve this goal, they must have three qualities.

i) Their parents must have enough funds to maintain their household while the youths are engaging in non-productive activities.

ii) They must have enough funds to finance the education of the youth.

iii) The youth must have the ability to follow the school curriculum.

We must notice that many fathers die before their sons have grown up. They usually enter school when they are 6-7 years old. The Matriculation examination comes after 10 years' education. Thus to finish the I.A. course, the father must be able to earn until his son becomes 19 years old, the probability of which is not very high. Anyhow, there is little one-to-one correlation between the wealth of a father in his lifetime and the level of education of his sons.

Another phenomenon is that the student himself often resigns from the school by his own decision. Everyone recognizes that education is quite important in getting a good job and securing one's future. However, many students cannot follow the curriculum effectively up to Class 10. Moslem students are more handicapped in this respect than others. Because of purdah, Moslem women had have little education, and thus they cannot play any part in their children's formal education in their home. Fathers, on
the other hand, often work in the city and only occasionally come back. Many of the fathers themselves are illiterate. Students who fail, feel that their prestige suffers, and to fail in Matriculation invites contempt from mocking youths, as the story about Shajad shows. Many boys are afraid of failing in such examination. Giving up hope, many students give up their schooling and get into occupation using economic necessity as their excuse. Failing in one way, getting education, they are seeking the way up in another line, getting wealth through occupation. We must remember that to most of the people getting education as such is not a goal in itself. Education is valued as an avenue to a better job or to better status. Literacy is important as it can be efficiently used in adult life. "Why does one choose shorter ways to earn money and establish his own independent life?" they say.

Claiming relationship to a successful man is another way of earning prestige, but the marked instability of wealth and power limits its effect. The magnate of today may be the bankrupt of tomorrow, and this point may well be made against anyone who claims kinship with such a dignitary.

Education is also valued as developing ability in argument and rhetoric, but it is recognized that such ability must be innate as well. As will be explained later, many youths are from their early childhood educated not in a small circle of near kinsmen but among the peers. Thus a personal trait such as aggressive character is not necessarily transmitted from father to his son but brought out in the peer group.

In general, the characteristics of the ranking system in the
village are; i) Easy accessibility towards higher rank through diverse channels through nearby labour market of Chittagong, 
ii) Instability of ranking system. The ambitious could select whatever suitable for his condition. Heavy competition and inevitable spiritual and material discontinuity within a family line always disturb the formation of the neat order.

D). Attitude towards property

Two striking features of the villagers' attitude towards property are; The stress on individual ownership, and limitation on individual authority over property after death.

People have little notion of common property. Perhaps the only exceptions are the graveyard and the prayer house. All other property is individually owned. There is little real or moral interference with transactions of property made by the owner. Perhaps the only exception is the right of pre-emption which will be discussed later. Such principles of individual ownership and non-interference are internalized in individuals fairly early in their life. The following two examples show the attitude of the villagers.

Case-9
Children usually fish in ponds or ditches with home-made bamboo fishing rods making them fast to the bank. They leave the rods and make casual checks as to whether any fish is caught. Once when a group of boys were chatting near a pond, a fish was caught on one of the lines. A few boys began running to the house of the owner of the rod shouting loudly to inform him of the matter. The house was nearly 100 metres from the pond. I suggested to the remaining boys to land the fish lest it should escape, but all of them refused, pointing out that the rod was not theirs and the owner would be annoyed if they did so.

Case-10
Once a cow of Kabir intruded into Shafi's land and began to eat the leaves of a banana tree. Shamo, the 12-years old
daughter of Shafi found it and tried to chase it away but failed, and began to cry out. Just at that moment Sirazul's son, who was 7 years old and well trained in handling cattle was passing by. She asked him to drive away the cow. Instead of doing so, he too began to call out to the son of the owner who was playing at a little distance. Before Kabir's son arrived at the place, the cow had done a considerable amount of damage. The negligence of Kabir and his son was later condemned but no one said anything critical of Sirazul's son's behaviour.

As is shown in the above episodes, the principle of individual ownership and noninterference sometimes take an extreme form. However, villagers rarely seem to feel uneasy at living in such an egotistic world.

The right of full ownership is effective only during one's lifetime. A man can do anything with his property during his lifetime but he loses his control except over 1/3 of the total assets after his death. After his death, his debts and funeral expenses are paid and the remaining portion is divided according to the Hanafi code of law.

Thus there is little notion of "ancestral property" which must be passed on intact to the next generation. Property is always considered in a purely materialistic way.

E) Attitude towards sex

The villagers usually differentiate two aspect of sex; namely "the gratification of sexual desire (zenoshokti)" and "the usage of reproductive power (shantan proshop)" emphasis being put on the former rather than the latter.

According to the villagers, sex is given by God for enjoyment. Some priests insist that every human being should get full gratification of his sexual desire before he or she grows old. Most of the villagers regard "sexual power" in a morally neutral way,
i.e. sex is neither approved nor disapproved and the extent or qualities of one's sexual power are not sanctioned in moral terms. For example, they never condemn a person either for lacking sexual power or for having abundant sexuality, although such persons may be mocked at behind their backs.

The villagers always stress that the sexual instinct of a human being is so strong that no one can control it without giving it proper outlet through sexual intercourse. Whenever a man sees a woman (or vice versa), he feels sexual desire towards her. This sensation cannot be taken as morally bad because it is natural and unavoidable. As all men and women have the same instinct, they assert that social disturbance might arise from jealousy if it is left free. Another problem is the possible birth of illegitimate children. In Moslem society the responsibility of maintenance is solely on the shoulders of men. Thus such illegitimate children will lack all social standing. Marriage and purdah are taken by the villagers as institutions established to avoid such social confusions. This being the case, sexual indulgence within marriage is left free to the wish of the two persons concerned. No religious sanctions are attached. Married women are said to discuss their sexual experience with each other frequently. Men do not hesitate to exchange conversation on the problem.

As people regard the strength of sexual desire as uncontrollable, marriage and purdah are expected to be observed strictly. Both are taken as duty (kottoibo) incumbent on the human being, an offence against which is regarded as sinful (guna).

Marriage is instituted to set limits to the satisfaction of
sexual urges and it is a duty of all men and women who feel normal sexual urges, provided that the men can maintain their wives and children. The preventive function of marriage can be seen in the villagers' attitude towards a widower, a widow or the divorced. If, for example, a young widow (below 25 years of age) stays unmarried while rearing her children, she will surely be the target of gossip. Villagers said, "You know, she is still young. How can she control her sexuality without a husband? She must have some illegal relation with some other men. How can she not?" She may be condemned as a prostitute (kanki) and in extreme cases, she may be socially ostracized by the settlement. Such widows are urged to marry again by the people of the settlement. The same principle is applied to men also although less strongly. Case 11 shows an example.

Case-11
Shafi was famous for his sexuality. He was once accused of having incestuous intercourse with his classificatory MoSi. Being a homoeopathic doctor, he was also accused of having had intercourse with his widowed patients. He is said to have once been caught sleeping with a prostitute in a vacant house. During my stay, his wife died in a motor car accident. Seven days after her death, a religious-minded old woman who was related to him introduced him to her BrDaDa. And after another seven days, a new wedding ceremony was observed. The village women laughingly said "Oh, you do not know him. He can't wait." One of the reason of his hurried marriage was the necessity to have a person to nurse his many children (at that time five children including a baby at the breast), but another was to prevent unnecessary disruption of his sexual life.

Actual and suspected cases of adultery and illicit sexual intercourse are not rare. Many youths confessed that they had had sexual intercourse with married or unmarried women of the same settlement before they married. The young wife of an long absent husband is urged to go back to her natal paribar if there
is no old woman in her husband's paribar to watch over her chastity. In the following two cases strong actions were taken although there was no concrete proof at all.

Case 12
Shahedur Hoq’s wife (now 40 years old) lost her husband 17 years before. Although she was mal-treated by her husband’s brothers and sisters, she kept her widowhood for these years. Her son, Abu Taher, began to work as a businessman as a partner of Talep, who was below 30 several years back. Abu Taher and Talep became so close and they were calling each other “brother”. Talep visited Abu Taher’s house frequently, sometimes when Abu Taher was not there. The people of the settlement began to accuse her and she asked the judgement of the settlement meeting to keep her honour. However, public opinion was against her and meeting judged she was guilty. One of her husband’s brothers even claimed that at that particular occasion Talep was in her house. The meeting sent a searching party to her house and it forced into it ignoring the protest by her daughter and herself. Although they could not find Talep there, the meeting decided to cut social relations with the paribar and Shahedur Hoq’s wife had to do her best to restore the relationship. Talep continued to visit her house until one day some youths of the settlement intercepted him and threatened to beat him, since when he stayed away. This happened around 1962 and still some of the people of the settlement refused to attend the marriage of Abu Taher in 1964.

Case 13
Hafiz (30 years old) recently got a position of an officer in Pakistan Air Force and was working in Karachi, coming back once a year to the village. He married one of his relatives (25 years old) through love affair. His wife was fairly modern and used to go to Chittagong city and often talked with merchants face-to-face, which other villagers regarded quite immoral. When he left his wife in the village, Hafiz asked Lokman (25 years old, merchant) and his elder brother Shafi (32 years old, local homeopath doctor) to take care of her. However, she suspected that Lokman had intention to seduce her and sent her husband a letter informing the danger. Hafiz became angry and sent a letter of accusal to Lokman. The latter, as well as Hafiz’s brothers, sent letters and explained him the latter’s innocence. However, he could not be convinced. When he came back from Karachi, he openly abused Shafi for his negligence of his duty and threatened Lokman with his service revolver. He finally purchased land in his natal settlement and brought her to live there, where he could have old woman who could watch her chastity.

The whole incidents happened within two months in 1964.
Another reason for marriage is to beget children. The need for children is explained in three ways; i) to have support in old age, ii) to enjoy the companionship of children, and iii) to increase the number of the followers of the Prophet Mohammed. However, this last is only a secondary one. It is not a duty (kottoibo) but a virtue (punnya) or self-satisfaction to have children. If a spouse refuses to have sexual intercourse, it is a valid reason for divorce; but if a wife is barren, it cannot in itself be an adequate reason for divorce. Sexual life is regarded as essential element of marital life. It is said that if both satisfy each other in sexual life, there would be no divorce however poor their economic condition may be.

Although there is a strong social pressure to marry, the details of the marriage, i.e. to whom they marry, under what condition they make a contract, how to spend marital life, etc., are theoretically taken as a private matter between the husband and the wife, in which no one should interfere. The details of marriage will be explained in the chapter on the topic.

Purdah can be defined as the segregation of men and women to avoid unnecessary sexual excitement. People believe that such excitement is natural and unavoidable if the sexes come into contact with each other under normal circumstances and only way to avoid it is to prevent people of opposite sexes from seeing each other. Although women are expected to observe purdah more strictly than men, men for their part are expected to co-operate with women in this respect. Negligence to keep purdah on either side will be severely sanctioned. Legally they are expected to observe it against those whom they can marry.
However, the permissive range is usually widened to anyone of one's natal settlement and other near relatives, sometimes up to the second cousin. To the women, everyone of the settlement of their husbands are included in the permissive range. The servants are also included in this range. Although the communication within such permissive range is free and frequent, they are expected to behave moderately towards the other sex. It is said that the matured girls usually hesitate to come out even in front of their fathers or elder brothers. Every woman is expected to hide her body by proper clothing even from the eyes of her nearest kinsmen. Mothers are expected not to show their breasts to their sons after weaning.

The regulation of purdah has a bearing on so many aspects of village life that it is important to understand its strength and to realize how strictly it is kept.

In the village, a stranger or distant relative (distant more than the third cousin) cannot see any women over 13 years of age. If these people happen to come close to the women of prohibited range, the latter usually run away from the former and hide themselves. It is etiquette for such men to wait and give the women a chance to hide. If a male relative or neighbour of the women is present, he will sign to the visitors to stop when the women are. To ignore such a sign will be sanctioned severely. If the stranger is sitting inside a room from which he can see out, and a woman wishes to pass in front of it, she usually sends a little child to shut the door while she passes it at a run.

Case-14
Sikdar bari was near to the main road. A small lane passes
through the settlement and continues up to the next settlement. The people of the next settlement usually passed through Sikdar bari to catch the bus on the main road. The Sikdar bari people found that the frequent passing of such people was a nuisance for the settlement women. They decided to close the lane by constructing a latrine just on the boundary between the two settlements, but the latter raised no objection when the reason was explained, although they now have to take a detour involving on extra 5 minutes' walking to reach the main road.

Houses are constructed in such a way as to facilitate the observance of purdah. The plan below is of a typical middle class village house. There are variations according to the economic condition of the householders but the basic pattern remains constant.

The housesite is usually surrounded by bamboo fences so that women of the house can move freely outdoors without being seen when they are doing domestic work. At one side of the housesite is constructed the outer house, facing the road. It is usually occupied by the older male members of the paribar or by the bachelor youths. It is also a guest house and is used when a feast is given. For this reason, the house is not usually subdivided into smaller units. The male stranger is allowed to enter this house only. Beyond this is family quarters which he may not enter. When a woman has to communicate with a male stranger, she will come to the inner court and converse with the latter through one of the bamboo walls. Peddlers are allowed into the inner court. However, even in this case, the woman bargain through the bamboo walls of the inner house, and only allow their hands to be seen. The inner house is usually divided into compartments and occupied by married couples and other women. Usually there is also a kitchen and stockyard. A latrine is made in the bush and usually used by a few paribar.
jointly.

The domestic washing-unit is of two ponds. That at the back of houses is used by women for bathing and the front one for cooking and washing and for men's bathing. Usually, these ponds are shared by several houses. In both ponds, if there is no natural screen of vegetation to hide the women, a bamboo fence is constructed from the bank into the pond so that women can work and take a bath without anyone seeing them (cf. Figures). The inner court, the inner house, the kitchen, and the backyard are the women's place. Women use the inner courts or backyards as their passage between adjacent houses where they can come and go without being seen by any strangers.

These are essentials. When a man cannot afford to construct two buildings, he divides a single building into two parts by a bamboo wall and uses one compartment as an outer house for guests. During one case of marriage negotiations, the girl's parents refused the boy's proposal when they found that the latter's house had only one pond in front, and the girl would therefore not be able to keep purdah strictly. In another case, a husband who constructed a new house but had no pond at the back had to make special bathing place surrounded by bamboo fence by the request of his wife.

When a man working in the city wants to bring his paribar, it is more difficult for his wife and daughters to keep purdah. This is a major factor in deciding men to retain their paribar in the village while they themselves live in the city, returning house each night or at weekly or monthly intervals.

Women rarely leave their quarters during daytime. Even
Fig. 1 Plan of an Ordinary House
Fig. 2  Bamboo Fence Constructed in a Pond
marketing is done by men. No females ever go to market with
the occasional exemption of girls below 12 years of age, who
may be sent if there is no one else available. If there is
a boy of 7 or 8 years of age, even he would be sent in pre-
ference to an older girl. If the paribar is rich, a permanent
servant usually performs this task; or poor members of the
settlement may do it for a small charge. However, the usual
arrangement when there is no suitable person like the above
mentioned is to ask a neighbour to do the marketing free.
Such a situation is quite common among the villagers as many
of the adult men are working in a remote city as weekly or monthly
commuters. In other words, quite large number of paribar cannot
be self-sustaining in everyday life and there is always the
necessity to have sympathetic friends.

Most of outdoor tasks are for men alone. There is no prohibi-
tion on women's earning, but there are few women doing so as they
have no legal responsibility to give money for paribar budget.
Moreover, the rules of purdah prohibit them from appearing in
public. Thus only a widow or a woman from a very poor paribar
would engage in domestic work in others' houses. The principal
outdoor activities of women are fetching water from the well
and washing in the domestic pond. Young girls below 13 usually
go out to collect leaves for fuel. Most indoor activities are
the women's responsibility. However, when a feast is organized,
it is always the man who cooks and serves the meal to the guests.

Women can visit other women of the same settlement by way
of the passages at the rear of each house fairly freely, and
especially at night during the period of the full-moon, they
visit each other's houses frequently. They can also visit relatives outside the settlement if they get permission from the responsible man; from their parents if they are unmarried, or from their husbands if they are married. When requested by his wife for permission to visit her natal paribar, the husband feels obliged to give it, and refusal to do so sometimes causes sharp quarrels. Formerly, it was written on the marriage certificate that the wife could claim her husband's permission to do so. Careful arrangements must be made, and many precautions must be observed by women during such visits. Usually a bright moonlight night is selected for visiting other houses. Night-time is selected so as to reduce the risk of being seen by strangers. However, even then the burka (a black mantle extending from head to ankle) will be worn when they leave the settlement. There must be a male escort, usually the husband's younger brother, own brother, or any other younger male relative of her own and her spouse.

During daytime, the women must be more fully protected. There must be an escort and she must wear burka, too. Beside that she will usually carry an umbrella, both to shield herself from the sunlight, and to hide herself from others. If she meets a male stranger on the way, she lowers the umbrella so that it hides her. She must also walk on the extreme opposite edge of the road when she passes by him. If she meets him on a narrow road where there is little room to pass, she stops at the spot, crouches on the extreme edge of the road facing away from it and hides her entire body behind the umbrella. For his part, the man is expected not to look that way.
When a woman travels by rickshaw, the seat is usually curtained off by a big sari so that no one can see inside. Sometimes we see a motor-car curtained in the same way. The purpose of such behaviour is to hide the woman completely from outsiders. Even in the women's quarter of their own house, they are expected to dress themselves up so as not to show any part of their body even to near relatives. If a woman wears thin fashionable clothing that exposes her arms, she will be criticized as shameless.

Women not following the custom are severely accused and sometimes suspected of their chastity.

Girls below 2 or 3 years sometimes go naked. However, by the age of 3, girls are made to wear clothing at least below the navel. Up to 5 years of age girls mix fairly freely with boys of the same age, but after 7 or 8, they very rarely do so in play although they never hesitate to come out in front of strangers. Girls over 10 years of age are expected to cover themselves like grown women. Although boys 7 or over are expected to join in such public religious functions as Id, the girls are completely excluded from the public functions.

After menstruation, which normally occurs when a girl is 13 or so, she is obliged to keep purdah strictly, being of an age to marry and bear children, and being thought to experience sexual desire. Mental maturity, and indeed physical maturity in its wider sense, is rarely taken into consideration by the villagers. They have full status to marry. When villagers talk about "child marriage", they mean marriage by the girl before menstruation. They say that girls below 10 years of age...
cannot understand the meaning of purdah fully. A degree of negligence by such young girls is therefore permissible. There is no systematic education in this matter except sporadic check and scolding by the elders. The girls usually imitate what their elders do. The education of women is handicapped by this system of purdah. Formerly the villagers used to say that education would "spoil the women's character and make them into prostitute." These days, however, parents admit the importance of female education. They think that education of girls will help them in finding suitable mates.

But it is unusual that women undergo schooling for more than five years. There is a functional barrier, because up to Class five they can study in the near-by primary school, 5 minutes walk from the settlement, while students above that level must go to the High School, 20 minutes walk away, and people think it wrong to make girls attend the school as it is more difficult to keep purdah. Usually children enter the primary school when they are 6-7 years old. Thus they will reach the age of 12-13 when they finish Class five, which is the usual age for first menstruation among girls. Although the girls are seated separately from the boys in mixed class in the High School, most villagers are reluctant to let them attend.

Case-15
Once there was a bright Moslem girl studying in a Hindu girl's High School. When she became 13 years old, her father suddenly announced her resignation from the school. The teachers at first misunderstood the reason for this, thinking it was his poverty, and suggested him that the school would give her a scholarship. The father said, "No, no, not that. The other day, a priest saw my daughter and scolded me for sending a mature girl to school, thus exposing her in public. That is why I am making my daughter leave school." The teachers explained
to him that his daughter was a brilliant pupil and again suggested that she should continue her study, but it was no use.

Table 12 shows the educational level of the living members of Sikdar bari.

The High School recently opened a special morning class for girls only. Several new female teachers are enrolled. However, not one of the girls of Sikdar bari attends there. The reason given is the long distance between home and school. The Belgian Social Welfare Work Fund tried to run a female adult education class in their residence, with a female nurse teaching a class. Only a few women of the village attended and all of them were Buddhists working in that Social Welfare Work institution.
### Table 12: Educational Level of the Members of Sikdar Bari

#### a) Male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Grade</th>
<th>Completed or Attending</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Ma*</th>
<th>IC*</th>
<th>BA*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>6-13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>31-40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41-</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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#### b) Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Grade</th>
<th>Completed or Attending</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Ma*</th>
<th>IC*</th>
<th>BA*</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>6-13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>17-20</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Ma: Matriculation exam. passed  
IC: Intermediate exam on Commerce passed  
IA: Intermediate exam on Arts passed  
BA: Bachelor of Arts  
BT: Bachelor of Technology
A) Occupational career of individual.

As is shown in the tables in chapter 1, there exist in the village many occupations other than cultivation. People usually change their occupation many times during their lifetime. These changes are sometimes caused by dismissal from a company or failure in business or other accidents, but more often through the choice of the person concerned. The change is made sometimes within a large category like business, but often also between categories, say from wage-work to business. There is little continuity between the occupation of an individual of one generation and those of his descendants. And moreover, although the change is made by the free choice of an individual there is some consistency in the occupational life history of the individuals.

Sons of cultivators usually begin their work when they are very young (over 10 years) as assistants to their fathers. However, many youths of non-cultivators' paribar can enjoy relative freedom until except for doing some casual work. Some of them are forced to go to school but they usually do so quite reluctantly. It is a common sight in the village that the youths (15-25 years of age) gather in a circle under the shade on the bank of ponds and gossip together for hours at a time. It is through this conversation that each youth makes up a colourful dream of the world outside his village. The city is always described as the place where there is a variety of entertainments such as cinema, women, and restaurants. We must notice that although many of their fathers (or elder brothers) are working in distant cities, the youths
before getting their first job rarely have a chance to visit even Chittagong city. Their image of city-life is made solely on the information given by others.

The fathers of these youths can rarely provide adequate information. They may die before their sons reach the age of 15 or 16. Some of them become old and incapable of work and retire in the village by that time. Those who are still working in the city are also old and the frequency of their return to the village decreases. That means the fathers are either inaccessible or without proper information to give to the youths. Table 13 shows the condition.

There are differences between the social condition when the fathers were working and that of the present. Before the Second World War, the people in my village and particularly its Moslem inhabitants were said to have had few chances to work as clerks in government offices or big private companies. This is because at that time East Pakistan was merely part of the hinterland of Calcutta and there were few local factories. Also they were less well educated than most of their Hindu competitors.

At that time, the only way for Moslem villagers to be prosperous was to go to Burma as lower-class-workers in private shops or restaurants and then take up self-employment as hawkers of small traders. If they achieved some financial success in Burma,

(1)"Therefore, in 1947, the Pakistan province of East Bengal inherited only 10 cotton factories out of 400 in India, none of Bengal's 106 jute-mills, not a single iron and steel plant, paper-mill, chemical works, coal mine or established hydroelectric project. It was left with about 49 seasonal jute baling presses (only 27 pucca presses), 58 small rice-mills of all descriptions, 3 sugar factories and 1 cement factory." (Nafiz Ahmed "An Economic Geography of East Pakistan", 1958, p.211)
Table 13
The Pattern of Residence and Age of the Fathers of the Male Youths between 15-25 Years of Age
(Data collected from Sikdar Bari)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's age</th>
<th>Staying &amp; Working in the village</th>
<th>Weekly Commuter</th>
<th>Staying outside more than 7 days a week</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49 &amp; less</td>
<td>1(2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3(3)</td>
<td>4(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 &amp; over</td>
<td>6(17)</td>
<td>1(1)</td>
<td>3(4)</td>
<td>10(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7(19)</td>
<td>1(1)</td>
<td>6(7)</td>
<td>18(31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Numerals in parenthesis is for the number of sons between 15 and 25 years of age.
some of them opened shops in Calcutta. This was then almost the only way for the uneducated villagers to become prosperous. Almost all adult males more than 40 years of age have had experience of working in Burma. (2)

After the Second World War, conditions have changed. Chittagong city has become much more important as the only modern port in East Pakistan. Many big government offices like the Customs office have been established and many big factories opened especially after 1956-1957. Some middle class Hindus left the country to go to India due to fear of communal riots. (3) Moreover, although officially there is no religious discrimination in giving jobs to the youths, many companies give preference to Moslems over Hindus. The managers of some foreign trading companies (import-export) told me that they preferred to employ Moslem clerks as they could make better personal connection to Government custom officers or to big businessmen, a majority of which were at present Moslems.

Thus there are many new jobs now. For the uneducated poor, the main opening is to become lower class manual laborers in factories or other institutions. For the educated there is a

---

(2) "In 1931-32, before a serious check has applied to these migrations, more than a quarter of all the 1,018,000 Indians in Burma were East Bengalis, chiefly from the Chittagong district." (Nafiz Ahmed, 1958, p. 298)

(3) Population in Raozan thana (Note the slow increase of Hindus)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>39946</td>
<td>43981</td>
<td>44849</td>
<td>+10.10%</td>
<td>+1.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33.0%)</td>
<td>(30.8%)</td>
<td>(28.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslems</td>
<td>67747</td>
<td>81862</td>
<td>96255</td>
<td>+20.83%</td>
<td>+17.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(56.0%)</td>
<td>(57.3%)</td>
<td>(61.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>13231</td>
<td>17036</td>
<td>16222</td>
<td>+28.76%</td>
<td>-4.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.9%)</td>
<td>(11.9%)</td>
<td>(10.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Collected from Raozan Thana Office, Sanitary Section)
clerical job. These are new types of job and they are unfamiliar to many of the elders. The source from which a youth is most likely to obtain information on these matters is his peers. It is usually the case that these young informants exaggerate the more pleasant aspects of city life to show off their superiority to those who are still residing in the village. As their audience is rarely able to check what actually they are doing in the city, they can say almost anything. This tendency is strengthened when the informants are youths who have come back to the village after failing in a job as they frequently do. In the former case, they have the status of an earner, which gives prestige. However, in the latter case, the informant's position is necessarily somewhat discredited by his failure. To keep up with other more successful youths and to keep their position high, they tend to exaggerate the joyful aspects of their lives.

At first the youths are encouraged to go out of the village by such talk. The next important consideration is that the youths are highly motivated to live independently and parents also encourage such ways of life. If a son turns 15 years of age and if he is earning or going to earn, he is treated as if he is an independent adult. If a youth tries to get some job, there is no easy way of preventing it to stop it. Whatever his age may be, one's earning is taken as "his" and no one can ideally interfere on that usage.

Case-16
Once I tried to engage a college student, Kotobuddin (19) as my interpreter. His father had died nearly ten years before and he was living under the care of his youngest elder brother (28 years old and married). I was afraid that the work might disturb
his studies and also that too much money might spoil his character. Thus I first went to his guardian to consult him on the matter. At first his reaction was rather cool. When I began to talk about the amount of payment, the latter stopped me and said, "Oh, I do not care to discuss that. It is his affair and not mine. If I say something, my younger brother will certainly be annoyed. Money is really a delicate matter even among brothers. I cannot say anything. Please ask him yourself."

During the period between the first earning and marriage, there are few obligations for the youths. Their fathers have responsibilities of maintenance to sons. Their (youths) earning is regarded as their own personal property. They may spend their earnings on their own enjoyments without contributing anything to the paribar budget. Of course there would be a problem if the father was poor. However, there is no effective sanction he can invoke. It is rather one-sided obligation on the part of the father. Supposing a son ran away from his house, and failing to make a success, he comes back, the father usually has to maintain him irrespective of his former contributions. Conditions after marriage, however, are totally different.

Case-17
An old guardian told his nephew who began work in a factory in Chittagong recently, "Alright, you can spend your earning on what you like except on nasty things (gambling, women, etc.) You need not contribute anything to paribar. You can take out rice and meat from the house (actually the youth did). But remember, you must take your responsibility on yourself and your wife and children after your marriage. Until that time, you may do what you like."

Such indulgence gives much encouragement to youthful irresponsibility. There is always a guarantee of refuge if they fail. It is not rare that youths boldly venture into the outside world
without or against the consent of the parents and work there for sometime without ever sending a letter home. Some of them fail eventually and have to come back to the village, but these youths are treated in every way like the other unmarried sons, and are maintained by the fathers. Their status in the village is not at all degraded by their escaping from paribar; on the contrary they usually proudly tell their adventures, and stress how they managed their lives independently without any help from their fathers. Many people have had such experiences. If we check the life histories of these people, we can find the common direct motive of these escapades is their aspiration to be independent of paternal authority.

Case-18
A boy once failed in the class when he was studying in the eighth grade. He kept it a secret from his house. However, it was disclosed sometime later and he was seriously beaten by an elder brother. Later he rashly destroyed his elder brother's diary and was again beaten by him. Thus he escaped from his paribar taking out his mother's ornament when he was 18 years old. He stayed in Dacca working in an iron casting factory and was found by a relative. He was carried back to his house by his father after one year's absence.

Case-19
Another youth was studying at college. He was a bright boy and ambitious for high marks. However, once his father ordered him to take a half-day holiday and supervise the latter's shop. There was a dispute and he ran away to Dacca. There he worked in a friend's clothing shop. It was told to the father by the friend and he was carried back after several months.

Many youths leave their education unfinished preferring to earn a living rather than continue study.

People rarely stay in one job for long. It is not rare that 30 years old man has changed his occupation 5 times. One man of
has changed his occupation 13 times. This tendency continues until a man gets to be about 50 years of age, and feels his powers declining.

The process of this change is not random. Although there are lots of minor explicit differences, the undercurrent principles are two. That means, people seek:

i) Independence

ii) Higher income.

The quest for independence is reflected in people's strong aspiration towards "business" in preference to "wage work". Many wage workers regard their present position as a transitory step towards businessmanship. A lower government officer who is 30 years old is now secretly investing money in business and thinking to change his occupation in the near future. The reason for such preference is explained by the villagers in the following way.

a) "Suppose you are working in the A.K. Khan company (one of the biggest industries in East Pakistan), can you be the head of the institution? Surely you cannot."

b) "I do not like a salaried man's life as I must be obedient to my superiors. If you become a businessman, there is no question of being dominated by others. In your business the whole responsibility is on you. It is you who succeed and get the profit. In other's company, the profit is not yours however, big it may be."

Here the business is only a symbolic form of "independence".

c) "You can get much money by business. Look at the salaried
men. They get Rs100 or Rs200 per month only. But business you can get Rs1000 or more if you are successful. Here the amount of income is the main factor. (4)

The same principles underlie the reason for rapid change of occupation. They do so i) when they found the superior too demanding, and ii) when they found other jobs where they could get more money, however small an amount the difference may be.

There is little sense of vocation and occupation is not regarded as a life goal. To be specialized in one technique is valued only in so far as it is connected to the amount of income and a comfortable life. Another value which supports this tendency is the reliance on luck (takdir). Men never hesitate to enter an occupation hitherto completely unknown to them, as they could have hope in their success. It is usually the case that the villagers prefer to take risk and aim high rather than accept a lower standard of life with reasonable security.

Another factor working is the nature of human relationship among Moslems in my village. The characteristics of human relationship in my village is that it is very much "contractual" in nature. By the word "contractual" I mean that "the contents and the quality of the objects exchanged is fixed by mutual consent.

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(4) It is quite interesting to see the similar tendency among the factory workers around Dacca studied by Dr. Ahmed Hussain (A.F.A. Hussain 1956)

He said that of the factory workers; 31.1% prefer factory work, 40.2% prefer trade, 18.9% prefer farming, and remaining 9.8% prefer other occupations. (p.217-218)

As to the reason of preference to trade; 51.3% as they thought the trade was an independent profession, 39.0% better income and prospects, and remaining 9.7% gave other reasons. (p.218)
between the two parties through bargaining and both parties make interaction only within the limit." Thus it is always breakable if one party fails to fulfil its conditions. People never involve their whole personality in one particular relationship. There are few emotional attachments to the opposite party. People working in any institution rarely feel loyalty to it. They never feel any guilt in abandoning the institution where they are working if they find it not rewarding them properly. As the occupation is an instrument, the institution similarly is also only an instrument.

I have so far touched the ideological base for the frequent shift in occupations. There are also several social conditions which make the shift frequent, namely.

Many of the companies are owned and financed by individuals and thus there is few prospect to be the head staff unless one is related to the owner through close kin ties. People say (and I believe it is really so) that there is no fixed system of promotion in pay scale and in positional ladder and it is mainly by personal favour that one gets success. Under such conditions, people believe that the only way to get one's salary increased is to shift from one institution to another finding a better salary.

Moreover, due to the sudden increase of firms and due to the frequent resignation or dismissal, there are always vacancies. As many occupations are of a simple nature and need little skill, and as there are few specialist classes, the shift is comparatively speaking easy.

One of the characteristics of the village is the existence of many long-term absentees.
As was shown in tables in Chapter 1, 63.8% of males between 20-50 years of age from three sample settlements, leaving their paribar, work outside the village and come back once a week, or less often. The reason for this working pattern has been discussed before in the section on purdah. The length of absence from the village differs according to the location of the working place and the marital status and age.

i) Those who work outside Chittagong District usually come back once a year for the Id festival on one or two month's leave. The majority of such people are ships'crews working in Khulna, Barishal or India. (24 persons, 26.1% of all long-term absentees, work in such places. Eleven persons, (12%) work in other places and come back yearly.)

ii) 52 people, 56.5% of the total long-term absentees, are working around Chittagong. If they are unmarried, they usually come back once a month or less frequently. If they are married and young, the frequency of return increase up to once a week. After they become old, the frequency again decreases.

B) Cultivators.

In explaining the characteristics of cultivation in my village, it is necessary to describe the shift of ownership of 89 plots of paddy field around the sample settlement Sikdar Bari between 1931-1963. (A plot is a small area of paddy field surrounded by demarcation bank, whose average size is around 0.07 acre.) (Table 14)

Although it is quite difficult to trace the actual process
### Table 14
Shift of Ownership of Lands around Sikdar Bari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Owner</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>Non-R</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>L-R</th>
<th>D-R</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Plots</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Acreage)</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>2.905</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>13.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Size of one plot (Acreage)</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **L**: 1931 owner is still living in 1963
2. **D**: 1963 owner is the lineal descendant of 1931 owner
3. **R**: 1963 owner is the collateral relative of 1931 owner
4. **Non-R**: 1963 owner is non-relative living in the settlement
5. **O**: 1963 owner is an outsider to the settlement and not related to 1931 owner
6. **L-R**: The plot in 1931 had been divided between L and R by 1963
7. **D-R**: The plot in 1931 had been divided between D and R by 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>L</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>Non-R</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>L-R</th>
<th>D-R</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Plots</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area (Acreage)</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>2.905</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>13.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Size of one plot (Acreage)</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of transmission, it can be assumed that "D" got land through inheritance and the rest except "L" got the land through purchase or mortgage. We can see how frequent the shift of ownership in the latter way has been. (5) If one asks the villagers to whom they sell land and from whom they borrow money, they will answer simply "those who have money." However, due to the principle of pre-emption, it is customary that a man about to sell land must first ask his relatives or neighbours to purchase their land. In such case they are given priority. If the pre-emptor can not afford to pay the price which the seller offers, then anyone who can pay can be the buyer. Fyzee states that the persons who have right of pre-emption are:

a) Co-sharer in the property

b) A participator in immunities and appendages (a person who is entitled to such easement as a right of way, or discharge of water.)

(5) Same tendency can be seen in another village in East Pakistan. S.A. Qadir gives the following table. (S.A. Qadir, 1960, p.63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>location 'Dhanishwar'</th>
<th>outside</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passed by Gr.Fa</td>
<td>54.7 acres</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed by Fa</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased by Self</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Mo or WiFa or</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by exchange</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>146.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed by GrFa</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed by Fa</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased by Self</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Mo or WiFa or</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100% 100% 100%
c) The neighbour, the owner of adjoining property. If there is any conflict among these, priority is given in alphabetical order.

Neglect to inform the pre-emptor raises strong emotional reaction.

Case-10

Naki once sold his portion of the pond to Kaerujjama's Paribar. Although the latter is living in the same settlement for two generations, he is not closely related to the main patrilineal kin group where Naki belongs and thus he could not get any right in the pond. Kaerujjama thus had had to ask others (Naki and his BrSo Lokman) to use their pond. However, during these 10 years, Kaerujjama's sons made a remarkable success in business by managing shops, while Naki has been failing in his own business as a contractor. The latter had to borrow money from the former and gave his portion of the pond as mortgage. Failing to return the money he borrowed, Naki had to give the portion of pond to Kaerujjama. He did not inform his co-shares, Lokman and his sister Wadud's wife, of the transaction. Not knowing the right was transferred, Naki's children began fishing in the pond. Looking at this, Kaerujjama's grandsons (both parties are 8 or 10 years old) claimed that they had no more right to do so. Naki's children asked Lokman of the matter and it came to be disclosed. Lokman became very angry with Naki for his negligence and it was reported that he threatened to kill him. The matter was discussed with the rich businessman who came out from Lokman-Naki's kin group, who was residing in the city and who was the owner of shops where Kaerujjama's sons are working as managers. They finally came to the conclusion that Lokman and Hai (Wadud's So on behalf of his mother) would pay Kaerujjama the amount equal to that Naki borrowed from him and the pond must be sold to the formers.

Some authority stated that "- - -the object (of pre-emption) is as far as possible to prevent strangers to a village from becoming sharers in the village." (7) This is really true.

(6) A.A.A. Fyzee, 1955, pp.289-290, Also "Pre-emptors of the same class are, in Hanafi law, entitled to pre-empt in equal proportions, notwithstanding that they are owner of unequal shares."
(7) Fyzee, 1955, p.283-284
The table above shows that out of 66 transfers of paddy fields without inheritance, only 9 are between members and non-members of the settlement of the former. Thus a transfer of land is usually a reshuffling among the settlement people. As map 3 confirms, the lands around the settlement are usually owned by members of that settlement. Pre-emption also makes it difficult to shift one's residence from one settlement to another. There is no objection if an outsider comes to live in the settlement but it is usually difficult for him to purchase land for a residence. Even if he gets one, he must generally ask someone for the use of his ponds. Thus most people migrating to settlements other than their own were able to claim kinship or affinal relationships to one more of its members, and made good their claim by invoking some latent right to land there held by a female. Kaerujjama above-mentioned once lamented the matter and said that he could not get enough land even for his residence. Having an expanding paribar (18 members including 4 married couples) he is really in difficulty. He has been secretly purchasing land in his wife's natal settlement and planning to shift there.

The frequent shift of ownership of land is an expression of unstable economic statuses above mentioned. We must notice that people have little emotional attachment to the particular land. As is the case of occupation, they rather count on utilitarian value of the land. They want to keep the land because it has economic value but not because they inherited it from forefathers. Thus from the seller's point of view, he will sell land to "whomever offers high price". The realization of
pre-emptive right is the expression of the pre-emptor's desire to get economic value than to keep the ancestor's land.

The result of the frequent reshuffling of land ownership can be seen if you compare the Maps 3 and 4. Although the lands owned by the people of the settlement cluster around the settlement (Map 3) the lands owned by each owner are dispersed all over the area. (Map 4)

Possession of some paddy land is still much prized even among clerical workers and business men. It can be used to meet the needs of the owner's paribar remaining in the village. It is also purchased in preparation for economic crisis and retirement. And it is only these people who have cash for purchasing land. Table 15 shows the relationship between the occupation of earners in paribar and the amount of land they hold. The data were collected by the Belgian Social Welfare Fund for 1845 paribar of the village in 1962 and arranged by me. Their classification of occupation is not so detailed and not well defined but we can see that many lands are kept by people who are not cultivators.

Much of the paddy-cultivation in the village is by sharecropping (baga). When main earners of such landholding paribar are in the prime of life, usually there is no one to cultivate in that paribar. They usually leave it to tenant cultivators on share crop basis and get a part of products. If one has a fairly adequate income, he may hire a permanent servant on wage basis and use him for cultivation as well as for domestic works. In such a case, he must hire extra daily laborers at special occasions like transplantation or harvest. In the case of baga usually tenants take care of such extra laborers.
MAP 4

Distribution of Owned or Cultivated Land

s = Owned by Abdul Hal and cultivated by others
r = Owned and cultivated by Rashid
H = Cultivated by Rashid but owned by others
h = Owned and cultivated by Hussain Ahmed
S = Cultivated by Hussain but owned by others
s = Owned and cultivated by Shirazul Hoq
i = Owned and cultivated by Idrish
j = Cultivated but not owned by Idrish

Legend:
- s: Owned by Abdul Hal and cultivated by others
- r: Owned and cultivated by Rashid
- H: Cultivated by Rashid but owned by others
- h: Owned and cultivated by Hussain Ahmed
- S: Cultivated by Hussain but owned by others
- s: Owned and cultivated by Shirazul Hoq
- i: Owned and cultivated by Idrish
- j: Cultivated but not owned by Idrish

Legend:
- N: North
- Scale: 1/32 miles
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acreage of Land owned</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0.1-</th>
<th>1.1-</th>
<th>2.1-</th>
<th>3.1-</th>
<th>4.1-</th>
<th>5.1-</th>
<th>10.1-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-worker</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer (daily)</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired householder</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman-Cultivator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired householder-Cultivator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer-Cultivator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-worker-Cultivator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People often turn to the land only late in life, when they have reached the age of fifty or so and found themselves obliged to give up his attempts to succeed in other work. Only a very few (usually retired ship masters) can afford large amount of land to live on as self-cultivators (10 kani=4 acres is said to be the minimum amount of paddy field to live on as self-cultivator). Many retired persons have to become tenants. After the death of the landowner, the land will be equally divided into small units among his sons and it is usually the case that none of them can continue to be a self cultivator as their father was. A man can cultivate independently from the very beginning of his occupational career only when:

a) the father had an unusually large amount of land (that means, he was a successful businessman or a ship master),
b) the number of siblings is few so that a portion given to a son may be large enough, and ,
c) the son is not sufficiently educated to be a clerical wage earner and has not enough cash to start a business.

Such situations are rare and it is unlikely that self-cultivatorship can persist in the next generation.

Many of the cultivators are tenant cultivators with some land of their own. In many settlements there is an ample supply of land available for rent from the people who are working outside. These people prefer to ask the members of their settlement (usually relatives as well) to cultivate their land as they think the latter are more reliable than outsiders. Any settlement has such tenant cultivators parasitic to absentee middle class businessmen or clerks.
A tenant may hold land on any one of three tenures:

i) Fixed rent system (**mora baga**)

ii) Share crop system of 50-50 (50% for landlord and 50% for tenant) (**shaman baga**)

iii) Share crop system of 1/3-2/3 (1/3 for landlord and 2/3 for tenant) (**te baga**)

The fixed rent system is condemned by Moslem people of the village as sinful and is usually only practised by big absentee landlords. It is condemned because people regard this type of lease as a kind of "usury" (**shud**). Any kind of occupation involving the payment of "usury" (say, a money-lender working on fixed interest) is **theoretically** prohibited by Islam. The villagers' notion of "usury" has been expressed as follows (**villager's comment**): "If one lends something to another and gets extra benefit and if the amount of that benefit is fixed beforehand irrespective of the result of the borrower's business, that extra benefit is called **shud**."

For example, if Mr. A lends Rs100 to Mr. B and make treaty to receive Rs10 after one month, the extra Rs10 is regarded as interest because the amount of benefit Mr. A will get (Rs10) is already fixed before the result of Mr. B's business is known. On the other hand, if Mr. A makes a treaty that he will get 10% or half of the total benefit, it is not an interest. In the latter's case, he is regarded by villagers as a business partner though he did nothing but lending the money. Such benefit is called **munafa** and the lender's action is morally approved by the villagers.

The big landlord in the city insists on the fixed rent
Chart 1

Pattern of Land Tenureship in Sikdar Bari in 1963
(See notes in the following page)

Tenant (Income in 1961*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenant</th>
<th>Income in 1961</th>
<th>Landlord (Income in 1961)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Abul Kashim</td>
<td>Rs 50</td>
<td>1) Abdul Wadud (Rs 300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owning 2 plots</td>
<td>2) Islam</td>
<td>2) Mohammedul Rahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs100</td>
<td>(Rs 150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Sirazul Hoq</td>
<td>Rs100</td>
<td>3) Lokman (Rs 300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owning 7 plots</td>
<td>4) Shafi Ahmed</td>
<td>4) Fazrul Karim (Rs 150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Idrish</td>
<td>Rs100</td>
<td>5) Nur Ahmed (Rs 200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owning 16 plots</td>
<td>6) Rashid Ahmed</td>
<td>6) Okil Ahmed (Rs 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Kaerujjama</td>
<td>Rs500</td>
<td>7) Toful Ahmed (Rs 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owning 3 plots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Hussain Ahmed</td>
<td>Rs250</td>
<td>8) Farid Ahmed (Rs5000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Non-member of</td>
<td>(---)</td>
<td>9) Jofur Ahmed (n.r.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement, A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Non-member of</td>
<td>(---)</td>
<td>10) Non-member of Settlement, A' (---)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement, B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Non-member of</td>
<td>(---)</td>
<td>11) Non-member of Settlement, B' (---)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement, C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) Non-member of</td>
<td>(---)</td>
<td>12) Non-member of Settlement, C' (---)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement, D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Income in 1961 is taken from Tax Registration of Union Council
** Among Rs300, Rs200 is by his name and Rs100 is by his nephew's
*** Rs500 is the sum of his sons', not being registered by his name
**** Rs150 is by his son's name, not being registered by his name
***** n.r. means not registered
Notes to Chart 1

Note A: Tenants No.1-6 and landlords No.1-5 belong to one patrilineal kin group and are resident in the settlement. Landlords 8 and 9 are related to the people above but are living in the city. Tenants 7 and 8 and landlords 6 and 7 belong to minority kin groups in the settlement and are residents in it. Tenants 9-12 and landlords 9-14 are unrelated non-residents of the settlement.

Note B: Age and other description of tenants No. 1-8:

1) Abul Kashim 57 years old, ex-wage earner. His only son is a wage earner.

2) Islam 47 years old, continuously cultivator. His eldest son (19 years old) is helping him in cultivation.

3) Sirazul Hoq 53 years old, ex-wage earner. No one is earning or helping him in cultivation.

4) Shafi Ahmed 32 years old, ex-wage earner, homeopath doctor. No one is earning or helping him in cultivation.

5) Idrish 48 years old, ex-businessman. Recently returned to business again. No one is earning or helping him in cultivation.

6) Rashid Ahmed 60 years old, ex-wage earner. His one nephew (19 years old) was helping him but this youth got a job in a factory recently. Another nephew is working as a businessman.

7) Kaerujjama 65 years old, ex-businessman. Four of his sons are working as businessmen.

8) Hussain Ahmed 70 years old, continuously cultivator. Three of his sons (30, 25, and 20 years old respectively) are helping him in cultivation. One of his other sons is working in a factory.
system as he is not in a position to carry out regular inspection. Moreover, he can operate the system as he does not care what happens to his reputation in the village.

However, most of the landlords are owners of only a few acres. Because of the reasons given above, they are reluctant to purchase land far from the settlement. The landlord wants ease of inspection by himself, plus the informal supervision and network of information provided by the presence of his kin and friends in the area. Often the tenants are landlords' relatives living in the same settlement. In many cases no one landlord can supply enough land to one tenant, and usually tenants have to lease lands from several landlords. Since so much land is available for lease, a tenant is not forced into dependance on one particular landlord, and changes of landlord are not infrequent. Table 16 shows the pattern of cultivation on 248 plots around Sikdar Bari which are shown in Map 3. Table 17 and the chart shows the relationship between landlords and tenants of 84 plots whose owners are living or came out from Sikdar bari.

Although the data were collected from the plots which are indicated on Map 3, the tendency seems to me to be generally the characteristic of land tenancy in the village. This is confirmed by the general comments by the villagers.

We can see from the table that most of the land is tenanted by men who are relatives and members of the same settlement. Nineteen plots out of 22 which were owned by the residents in the settlement and were cultivated by non-relative residents in the settlement belong to a person who had been ostracized
Table 16
Pattern of Tenureship of Land
Illustrated on Map 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those plots cultivated by owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those plots cultivated by tenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those plots where there are no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Among the 99 plots, 13 have been given for tenant cultivation since these data were collected in 1963.

Table 17
Relationship between Landlords and Tenants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Tenants</th>
<th>Landlord's Relative in Sikdar Bari</th>
<th>Landlord's Non-relative in Sikdar Bari</th>
<th>Those belong to Settlements other than Sikdar Bari</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Landlords and its Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident-owners in Sikdar Bari: 5</td>
<td>15 plots</td>
<td>23 plots</td>
<td>1 plots</td>
<td>39 plots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentee (mora baga): 1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentee (shoman baga): 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
by his patrilineal kin group, Nur Ahmed. It was the main core of the settlement and if he had not been in normal social relationship with others, no doubt many of the plots would have been leased to other relatives.

From the tenants' point of view, relatives are preferred as landlords as they are more easy to negotiate with in an unexpected crisis. However, tenants feel no special obligation to related landlords. "If I pay the rent, that is enough," so they said. Landlords also regard their tenant relationships in purely economic sense and never interfere with the private life of their tenants. Contracts are usually made quite informally, often without making any documents. As there are many possible alternative landlords and also alternative occupations, the position of a tenant is fairly strong. Landlords cannot enforce what conditions they like, but have to deal with their tenants carefully through bargaining and negotiations.

Case-2

Farid Ahmed (60), Owner No.8 in chart is the son of a successful business man from Sikdar bari. He is related to the main patrilineal kin group. He is living in Chittagong city but he has a fairly large amount of land around Sikdar bari in the village and used to sublet it to the people of the settlement for rent. He appointed an agent and gave him authority to select his tenants and responsibility to supervise the cultivation and to collect and carry rent to the city. The agent was given casual help as fee. Farid insisted on the fixed rent (mora baga) system.

In May, 1963, a big cyclone followed by floods struck Chittagong District, and many houses were destroyed. Most of the stocks of paddy for consumption and cultivation were spoiled. The bad weather also affected the sowing season. Many tenants came to the agent, Rashid (Tenant No.6, 60 years old), and complained that they could not cultivate land properly. He persuaded them to continue cultivation, promising to negotiate with Farid on the amount of rent. Rashid was Farid's distant cousin and helped the latter in his matriculation examination through tutoring and thus expected him to give special consider-
ration. The result of cultivation was bad as expected. In some cases, the harvest was below the amount of rent. Seeing the result, Rashid asked Farid to change the rent system from mora to shoman (50-50 share crop) for that year only. The latter refused the proposal (February, 1964). Some tenants said that they would not cultivate Farid's land any more. When the special agent of Farid came to the village, the tenants asked to pay the rent by long instalments. They were thinking to refuse cultivation in next sowing period. They believed that if they did so, Farid would excuse the remaining payment and ask them to continue cultivation. The proposal was refused.

Two or three days later, Farid himself came to the village. A meeting was held in a house of Sikdar bari between Farid and nearly 20 tenants. After being refused the proper rent, Farid shouted that he would not lease land to the tenants directly. He proposed an indirect tenant system in which a man would pay a fixed amount of cash to Farid and the former could make any contracts with real cultivators on the latter's land. However, he requested a fairly large amount of cash which was out of consideration from the ordinary point of view and he also requested advance payment. No one could come out except Kaerujjama who was not related to Farid through kinship ties. With some reservation, the latter proposed to accept it. However, there were some minor disagreements and decision was postponed.

All this was actually bluff on Farid's part. As one neutral person pointed out, Farid had no real intention to change the system. It was a kind of threatening to get agreeable conditions from the tenants. Kaerujjama's acceptance was unexpected interference. Farid did not give any decision and waited the tenants' reaction. When Rashid visited him one week later, Farid never touched the problem and donated some amount of money to give a feast for the people of the settlement at Id festival. This was to give a good impression of him to the tenants. He also secretly met another cultivator Hussain Ahmed (Tenant No. 8, 70 years old) and asked him to cultivate his land next year. The latter refused it. He declared to the others that he would not cultivate Farid's land as the latter was mean and always raised trouble. On the other hand, Kaerujjama (Tenant No. 7, 65 years old) took it as Farid's real intention. He tried to stop children of Sikdar bari collecting edible berries from Farid's tree. This was told to Farid by Rashid. Rashid stressed that Farid's relatives were now dominated by a non-relative. Farid found here a good excuse to stop his bargaining and also a chance to raise his good reputation. He agreed to take his rent by instalments and asked every tenant to continue cultivation on the same conditions as before. This decision was made in March.

C) Concluding remarks.

One of the sociological significances of the phenomena above-mentioned is that "occupation" can neither be a criterion
to organize people into interest groups nor work as a way to establish permanent superior-subordinate relationship among particular people. A successful man can temporarily establish his control over others by introducing them to the institution where he is working, and put them under his official control, but there is no assurance of long endurance of it. The relationship through land is also unstable and moreover, it is a kind of co-operation of equal statuses. Both small landlords and tenants are in need. Moreover, often the economic status of landlords is lower than those of tenants (cf. chart). Another consequence is that there is little crystallization of "wage worker's life" or "businessman's life" although there exists several differences in minor points. The difference in style of life is often based on that of education of husbands-earners rather than on occupation.

Each paribar of city dwellers have two lives. One is that of earners in the city heavily relied on cash economy, and the other is that of the paribar remaining in the village. In the city, these earners have to keep the certain living standard which suits their jobs and their atmosphere. Most of the cash earned is spent on that. On the other hand, the life in the village is rather neglected from the point of view of the cash expenditure; it is half supported by the products from the paddy fields. People remaining in the village use traditional cooking instruments, less furniture, and enjoy less entertainment. In one case, a salaried man spent Rs200 for his life in the city and gave Rs 100 for his paribar of 6 members. The request from the women who are confined in the village is not much. The
earner himself feels inconvenience as he only comes back once a week or less. Quoting a city dweller's comment, "I am enjoying a quiet simple country life once a week after spending six noisy days. Here everything is peaceful." He took the life in the village as a kind of regular escape. In other words, the style of life in the village is quite homogeneous irrespective of the diversity of occupations or that of the working places of main earners.

Another important consequence is that the long absence of an able member makes *paribar* incomplete in many aspects. It also prevents the proper functioning of any social groups in the village. These will be more fully explained in the succeeding chapters.
Chapter IV
Territorial Groupings

A) Why nucleated settlement?

Each settlement is a tight cluster of houses varying in size between five and thirty in most of the cases. Often it is composed of one cluster of patrilineal descendants from a single ancestor, but many settlements have also two or three subsidiary ones. The factors responsible for this nucleated settlement pattern are many and among them, law of inheritance, need for security from robbery and rape, ecological conditions, and preemptive right in land transaction are most important.

When division of property occurs after the death of a person, the male heirs sometimes divide his house into equal portions and each occupy one of them. However, in later generations when the space becomes inadequate, someone has to construct a new house somewhere else. In such cases, economic and ecological conditions make it difficult to establish a house at a distance.

As I have stated before, the house must provide various facilities; two constructions (one for bachelors and another for women and married ones), kitchen and two ponds (one in front and another at back). The pond must be protected by high banks from floods and sewage in the rainy season, but during the dry season it must not dry up. If one is to have ample water during the dry season, it must have a depth of more than 20 feet and size often more than 600 square feet. Thus the construction of a new house requires much land and much labour. Granted that they have enough land and funds to fulfil these conditions, another problem is finding a suitable site for a house, where they will
be safe from flood water and where they can get easy access to
the main road. It is usually the case that houses near rivers
are constructed on an artificial earthen mound, a few feet high.
Natural mounds in the area (however low it may be) are few.

Even socially, the people of the newly established settlement
had to face two dangers, dacoity and rape. Although the situ­
tion in the village has become far more peaceful after the Ayub
Khan's Martial Law Regime, still local police power in the village
is so weak that the villagers have to organize self-defence
parties whenever there is any social insecurity, which is not
rare.

This being the case, many people have to remain in their natal
settlement whatever their desire may be. In the latter, they
hold inherited right on ponds, which they can share with other
related houses, and residential areas, and can expect
support from ample number of fellow members at crisis like
the above-mentioned.

The right of re-emption also makes it difficult to establish
oneself in a settlement where one has no birth right. I have
already quoted the case of Kaerujjama in a previous chapter.
Such settlers have a hard struggle to acquire right on any items
in the settlement. One of the ways to break such barriers is to
contract marriage with the members of the main patrilineal kin
cluster and utilize the bride's latent right of inheritance,
This method is often consciously used by new settlers.

B) Name of the settlements

Each settlement is deemed to have a single founder, who is
usually the ancestor of the main patrilineal kin cluster in it. It is usually called after the name, title, or occupation of its founder. Thus my sample settlement is called Sikdar barī as it was first established by a person Shu Sikdar a few hundred years ago. But a settlement may be named for other reasons; for instance, if a member achieves marked fame, people used to take his name rather than that of the founder. It is not rare that a settlement has two names. For example, Sikdar barī above-mentioned has another name "Hati kampanieru barī" after the name of a big company established by its successful member during the First World War.

The word "barī" is used in many ways. Firstly it denotes "house construction", secondly "a patrilineal kin cluster (often a part of a settlement)" and thirdly "the settlement". The villagers' usage is quite unsystematic.

For example, at the end of my departure, I donated a football to the children of Sikdar barī. I carelessly told them "This is for the children of Sikdar barī" without any specification of the word. I meant it for the settlement. However, this comment raised anxiety among the children of the minority patrilineal kin clusters and they came to me one by one to check whether they could use it or not. This confusion reflects the ideal pattern of the settlement, "a settlement composed of one patrilineal kin cluster". When the villagers like to stress the kin relationship in a confusing situation, they rather use the word "gusti" to mean such kin cluster.

Another word for the settlement is "para". Again the usage is confusing. It denotes "a settlement" as well as "a group of
settlements with certain unique characteristics." They often use the word para-shalda to mean an elderly leading figure in a settlement. However, when para is used independently without any suffix, it more commonly means a cluster of settlements. The criteria which differentiate such settlements from others may be geographical isolation, religion shared by their members, or other features. The word rarely seems to be used to denote a group of settlements which includes one's own. Thus from the point of view of the people of Sikdar bari, all Buddhists' settlements on their western side are called generically Buruwa para and Moslem settlements in the south, Dokkin para, but from the point of view of the people of Buruwa para and Dokkin para, each settlement has a unique identity and they would be unlikely to use such a phrase.

C) Functions of the settlement

The settlement has few functions as a unit. When there are any, most of them belong to either those related to religious activities or those related to the maintenance of peace within the settlement. There is no co-operation in productive activities. However, the settlement is informally regarded as an unit of village activities and administration. The census and any survey are compiled by touring officials with the collaboration of the settlement elders. The former would not bother themselves to visit door to door. The votes in an election are often estimated on settlement basis by local politicians, who might say "Sikdar bari is mine but Abuddar bari is his," or "We can get 50 votes from this bari but only 10 from that."
Here the words like "Sikdar bari" चालन used to describe "an area" rather than "a social unit".

Most of the larger settlements have their own prayer-houses and religious primary schools. If there is a full-time priest, the prayer house is called masjid. However, in many cases, the priest is living elsewhere and visits the settlement only for a few hours a day to preside over some of the daily prayers and to teach in the religious school. In such a case the prayer house is called abadatkana. It is usually a bamboo house built and maintained by the settlement. Often it is built by the donation from some rich man. Although the place is maintained by the people of the settlement, any Moslem man has right to use it, as also the graveyard, where anyone of the religion who died in or near the settlement can be buried.

The religious primary school (madrash) is an important institution. Its attendance is compulsory for all children. As a fee, guardians (usually parents) of the pupils pay a fixed amount of paddy to the priest-teacher. Children usually begin to attend the class at four or five years of age. It is co-educational. There is no fixed class system and children can begin and finish their course according to their ability. The subjects taught in the madrash are mostly related to religion (morals and principles as well as how to pronounce Arabic script) except for primary Bengali reading and primary counting. It is not unusual to have pupils attending both madrash and government primary school simultaneously. Beside the maintenance of abadatkana and madrash, the Id festival is also a rare occasion on which communal co-operation is seen. After the group prayer which is often
observed with the people of several adjacent settlements, each settlement begins the sacrificial slaughter of cattle. People of a settlement select one site and bring their cattle there and slaughter them helping each other. However, they do not share meat. Meat belongs to the owner and his paribar.

All atempts to organize community undertakings or co-operative projects at settlement level by private individuals have failed, save in the field of religion. During my two years in Sikdar bari the sole undertaking to which the whole of its members lent their support was blocking a lane to another settlement to prevent its use (previously mentioned) and thereby to safeguard the purdah of their women, which is also a part of religion. People have few other common interests as a group either in material or spiritual sense. Although they own their lands around their settlement, their interest in them are quite diverse and there is no co-operation. Fishing in the pond is another communal activity but only the owners (a part of the settlement) join. The exclusive aspects of personal rights are always stressed, especially where property is involved, and as a corollary, people take great care to avoid showing any undue interest in the activities of others where property is concerned. The following case will show the situation.

Case-22. At the time of 1963 cyclone, all out houses of Sikdar bari except two were blown down. Clearance of the wreckage was done quite individually. Rashid and his FaBrSo Wadud had been using the same construction, dividing it into two by a bamboo wall. After the destruction of this house, Wadud's paribar which had enough labour for the task, began to clear only own half, leaving the other as they found it, while Rashid left everything until he found suitable time.
Sanctioning public offences and settling disputes are other functions of the settlement. A mere quarrel is unlikely to involve intervention by the people of the settlement unless the problem is related to the religious code like adultery, illegal sexual intercourse, or theft. In all other disputes, intervention by the settlement is made only when there is a request from the both parties concerned. A meeting to settle such problems is called *sharish*, which is organized by all adult men (those over 17-18 years of age) in the settlement. If the dispute is deemed to involve the religious code, a settlement meeting for judgement (*sharish*) is held promptly; and will be prepared to employ force to back any decision it arrives at. If the dispute is deemed to be a secular one, *sharish* will meet only if asked to mediate by both parties concerned; but once mediation has been accepted, the judgement is binding on the disputants, and should one of them subsequently attempt to dispute it, it is regarded as insult to *sharish*. Customarily, every dispute is expected to be dealt by *sharish* before it is presented to the Union Council functioning as the lowest court. If both failed to settle the matter, the case will be sent to the local court at Raozan.

The only method of negative sanctioning which the settlement has is social ostracism against the convicted and his/her *paribar*, by the *sharish* attendants and their *paribar*. In such case, no one in the settlement may co-operate with the convicted person's *paribar*. They will get no help in cultivation, in getting loans or in any transaction of money and goods. There will be no social intercourse (no invitation to any function,
no attendance at any function given by the convicted, and no talking to or visiting of the guilty persons. If the offender makes an apology and accepts the sharish's decision then the sanction will be withdrawn. There is no material compensation to the sharish. The application of ostracism to the parivar of the convicted is rather against the principle of individual responsibility. Villagers agree that the parivar members of the convicted are innocent and thus theoretically have to be excluded from the sanction. However, they say that such exclusion would make the sanction ineffective, and hence, the sharish cannot achieve the goal to give inconvenience to the convicted himself. However, this conflict between the ideology and practical need often makes the ostracism less effective.

Although there are few functions of the settlement as a unit, a parivar cannot function in isolation, without having close and neighborly relations with at least some of the other parivar in the settlement.

Firstly, any parivar share rights in its ponds with others. Although the individual right of possession is discrete and transactions can be made independently, the nature of the commodity (water and fish) requires some kind of communal action in repairing and fishing in them. All owners must be consulted in such matters. In the former case, the charge for repairing must be distributed according to the size of shareholding and in the latter, fish must be distributed in the same way.

I have already stated that there is a symbiotic type of relationship between the small landholder who lives and works in the city, and the village cultivator who rents and tills
his land. Neither can prosper without the other.

Another important phenomenon is that most paribar lack proper communication with the outside world owing to the long term absence of their male members. Due to the regulation of purdah, women cannot go out for marketing. Many commodities like fish, meat or vegetable which are essential to village diet, must be bought at two marketing days in a week. Due to hot weather and the lack of refrigerating facilities, people can keep only small amounts of perishable foods. Regular attendance at the market is essential to most paribars. Thus there must always be some resident adult male who will act for them as a messenger and porter. Moreover, these paribars with long term absentees get only a limited amount of cash because most of the cash income must be spent in the city to maintain the earner there. The longer the earner's absence, the more the chances of temporary financial difficulties at home. If the wife of a monthly commuter runs short of cash at the middle of the month, she must somehow manage in some way to survive another 15 days. Lending and borrowing of minor cash and food are common among women of the settlement. In other words, paribar would be in difficulty even in the daily life if their social relations with their neighbours in the settlement were completely cut; which, rarely occurs. The safe-guarding of property and the chastity of women are, as already stated, other important functions among the settlement neighbours.
Chapter V
Marriage

A) Puberty and the age at Marriage

There exist both the arranged type of marriage and the love-match. Although the former is more common, the latter can also be seen frequently. As there is a strict rule of purdah, the love-match only occurs among near relatives and or the people living in the same settlement, to whom the rule is relaxed.

Boys usually have some knowledge of sex by the time of their first marriage. They begin to acquire knowledge fairly early in life, at 12-13 years of age. However, the boys at this age are rather discouraged by the elders in trying to get it. When the boys become 18-19, the elders begin to regard them as mature and to take a more permissive attitude toward the problem of sex. However, these youths rarely discuss the matter with their parents or real elder brothers. Sister's husband, peers, or other distant relative elders close in age are the main source of information. The reading of books on sexology is not positively encouraged, but is negatively overlooked by fathers. The boy's elders take the attitude that knowledge of sex at this stage is fitting and necessary. However, there is no formal way of teaching this knowledge. After getting knowledge, usually boys have to wait long before they marry. It is believed that most males have had premarital experience in sexual intercourse either with prostitutes in the city or with the women in the neighbourhood (mainly in the settlement) married or unmarried. Actually there were
some cases in which wives conceived children during the long absence of their husbands. When peers gather, women are the most common topic of conversation. They pass remarks on girls' features or physical beauty and exchange stories of their sexual adventures in the city.

The situation among girls is rather different. As I have stated before, the girl after menstruation (ca. 13 years of age) is regarded as mature and a marriage can be arranged for her. However, she is still mentally as well as physically immature. Unlike boys, many girls marry without full knowledge in sexual affairs. Both mother and daughter feel shy in discussing the matter of sex, and classificatory elder sisters, elder brother's wife, or grandmother are those persons from whom the girl usually first learns about sex. Again, peers are quite open to each other on the problem. If the girl marries at the age of 15 or more, it is likely that she has some knowledge of sex and sometimes real experience in it. Married women are quite open on the problem and often discuss the technique of intercourse among themselves.

The existence of many private love-affairs does not necessarily mean that people ignore them. If people who are married are found to be tangled in such affairs, divorce is probable. Unmarried lovers usually but not necessarily are urged to marry if their relationship is disclosed; and especially so when the girl becomes pregnant. Such people are morally condemned but the period of social condemnation never continues for long unless those condemned adopt an aggressive attitude against interference. The following incident shows an example.
Case 23

Once Momen (28) had a love affair with an orphan girl who was serving in his Mobr's house. It was discovered by a man servant of another house. The latter saw them going into a house for madrash at siesta time and informed Idrish, a leading character in the settlement. People could not catch the lover red handed, however. They at first caught the girl and asked the name of her lover. They were intending to arrange marriage between Momen and the girl if the latter confessed his name. The girl refused to answer and was seriously beaten. Although there was no direct proof (the only proof was the comment by the witness of seeing them going into masjid), the people also tried to summon Momen to ask him questions. Momen's mother hid him in her house and bitterly accused the people of condemning her son without any direct proof. At night she sent Momen secretly to a relative in a distant village, and he did not come back for 2 or 3 months. The people became angry at the mother's aggressive attitude and ostracized her paribar. The girl was later driven out from the settlement. The ostracism was later relaxed as usual. Momen was no longer avoided or criticised, and his part in the affair was forgotten.

The girl usually marries younger than the boy. One reason for this is that parents are rather afraid of keeping girls unmarried for long after menstruation. These girls, being now physically mature, are believed to have developed their sexual desire already. The development of the breasts and other features of womanliness attracts the eyes of boys. Thus the parents are afraid that either men may try to seduce the girls or the latter themselves may approach the former to satisfy their desire. Such girls, moreover, have acquired the power of conception with the consequent danger of illegitimate children.

I have little statistical data for the time of the first menstruation. However, from interviews I got the impression that most girls begin to menstruate when between 12 and 14 years old with the mean at 13 years. The villagers define child-marriage as marriage before menstruation. In such cases, the wedding ceremony may be observed at 9 years or so but actual
co-habitation is usually postponed for another 2 or 3 years until after the girl's menstruation. Such marriages are rare. Villagers told me that girls usually marry for the first time at 12-15. This subjective assessment was endorsed by the data. Table 18 shows the age at first marriage of 34 living women from Sikdar bari whose husbands are also living.

This illustrates that the girls in the village have, over a long period, usually married at the age of 12-16 years. However, some villagers told me that the age of girls at the time of first marriage is gradually increasing. Table 19 shows the marital status of 63 girls from my three sample settlements whose ages are between 12 and 20 years.

This illustrates that girls nowadays usually marry after 14 and rarely remain single after 18 years of age. Parents begin to think seriously of their daughter's marriage when she becomes 13 years of age and begin to worry if she is not yet married after 16 years. An unmarried girl over 20 years is an almost unthinkable phenomenon.

The same principle is also applicable to males. "If you keep a boy unmarried for long, his moral character may suffer. Get him married as soon as possible after maturity when the economic condition is favorable." But there is another consideration; it is believed that too early a marriage may injure the health of the boy. One mother stated that the period from 16 to 18 years is quite dangerous for boys, and that if boys marry at this early age, "the smell of the wife" spoils them. That is, excessive sexual indulgence may injure the health of the boy. However, after the marriage, the parents cannot interfere
Table 18:

Age at First Marriage of Women (from Sikdar Bari)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 years up</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 39 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median age at first marriage for women who are 40 or more years old in 1963 .......... 13 years old

Median age at first marriage for women who are 39 or less years old in 1963 ............ 13 years old

Median age at first marriage for the all 34 women ............ 13 years old

Table 19

Marital Status of Girls between 12 and 20 Years (From 3 Sample Settlements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in 1963</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
on such a matter and thus they try to prevent their sons from marrying during this period by giving them no encouragement. In the case of boys, there is another factor; the "obligation to maintain their wife and children". Parents may exempt single boys who are earners from any contribution towards the central budget of the paribar. However, their attitude changes sharply after the sons marry; the boys cannot get any further exemption, and failure to make a contribution towards the central budget in such a case may lead to the partition of the paribar. Thus, although the villagers regard boys over 19 years of age as mature in a physical sense, their marriage is sometimes delayed until much later. Table 20 shows the condition of the spouses of the women in Table 18. One can see in Table 20 a wider age-range for males than for females. This is because a girl's early marriage is related mainly to the constant, socio-religious ideology, while a boy's is the result of the interplay of two factors, one constant, the other a contingent variable, i.e. the economic condition of the individual. It is also due to this reason that there has been little variation in the age of girls over the period for which information is available, but that for boys shows a tendency to rise. In Table 21 you can see the same.

In investigating the age of males at their first marriage, we must also consider another factor, namely their relative order of birth. Usually the first son and only son will marry earlier than others. Table 22 shows the condition.
Table 20

Age at First Marriage of Men (from Sikdar Bari)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife's Age</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>26</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 up</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median age at first marriage for men whose wife's age in 1963 is 40 and up ................. 20 years old
Median age at first marriage for men whose wife's age in 1963 is below 39 ........... 22 years old
Median age at first marriage for all 34 men ........................................... 21.5 yrs. old

Table 21

Marital Status of Boys Whose Age is between 20 and 30 Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in 1963</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>26</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22

Correlation between the Birth Order of Men and their Age at First Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth Order</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>25</th>
<th>26</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>30-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eldest &amp; Only Son</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Son</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median age at first marriage for eldest and only sons .............. 20 years old
Median age at first marriage for the other sons .................. 25 years old
B) Finding a suitable mate

In Muslim marriages in my village, it is always the boy's side which must initiate action during the process of selection. The girl's side often feigns a lack of interest in the matter unless the potential groom is an extraordinarily desirable match or the girl is becoming old. In most cases, the girl's side behaves high-handedly in deciding the conditions of the marriage contract, posing their own and insisting on it strongly. It is said that if the girl is rejected severely, it injures her prestige. In such a case people suspect that there must be some defect in the girl. On the other hand, a refusal by the girl's side has little effect on the boy's reputation. In the latter case, polite excuses are made such as the immaturity of the girl or the acceptance of an earlier proposal are advanced. The boy's side is never afraid of being refused. Usually the girl's side receives several proposals simultaneously and the negotiation takes the form of cross bargaining. There is often strong competition among the boy candidates and there is much maneuvering. The girl's side utilizes its position as effectively as possible.

Marriage is theoretically regarded as a private affair between the husband and the wife. Their opinions are highly regarded and no one can force them to marry against their will. However, this does not necessarily mean that the parents leave everything free in the hands of the boy and the girl. A marriage often becomes a prestige issue to the parents. Moreover, the parents of both, and especially those of the girl, are ideally expected to finance the marriage and to be the chief representative in the pre-marital negotiation. In many cases both
boys and girls lack a proper communication channel to find a suitable mate due to the strict segregation of sex, and leave the matter to their parents. This is especially so for the girl who is too young to have any definite ideas on her future mate and still too dependent on the elders to resist the parents' opinion. On the other hand the boy earning by himself and having crystalized his image of the ideal bride sometimes shows strong resistance.

Clashes between the boy or the girl and their parents occur when the former are engaged in a love affair of which the parents do not know. Not all love affairs necessarily lead to such conflicts. If the parents think the match suitable, they will positively help them in negotiation. When there is a difference of opinion between the boy or girl and the parents, the former often wins his point.

The marriage is arranged among the members of the paribar concerned. Only the boy, the girl, and their parents can make the decision. Although other people join in the marriage ceremony to help the paribar, they cannot affect the central problem such as to whom one marries or under what condition. Nor can they stop the marriage. They can show their discontent, if any, only by absenting themselves from the ceremony.

The marriage involves three main functions: gratification of sexual desires, maintenance of wife and children, and the procreation of children. The first function is given the most importance.

As to the bride, her physical beauty, the shape of her face, features and skin colour, of the greatest importance; and
is often an item on which youths compete with each other. The importance of the sexual role is reflected in their image of the ideal wife. The duty of a wife is usually explained by the vague phrase "to give satisfaction to the mind of her husband". When further asked, the villagers pointed out that a wife's sexual duty was of the greatest importance. That means, the wife must not refuse intercourse except at the time of menstruation. Refusal can be a valid ground for divorce. Secondly, she must display her sexuality for her husband's enjoyment. She is expected to wear clothing attractive in his eyes. We must notice that many domestic duties such as cooking, washing, or even the breast-feeding of children are theoretically not necessarily regarded as indispensable and ability in their performance is often neglected in the selection of a mate. In other words, division of labour in the paribar cannot ideally be the basis of marriage. The villagers explained the matter in the following way: "A servant can cook and wash; another woman can give milk to your children; or your (Boy's) mother, sisters, or brothers can help you. However, there is one thing which a wife alone can give, and that is her sexual services. This is her prior duty." A local priest stated that the husband must hire a servant if he is requested to do so by his wife and if he is solvent. There are other factors which make the girl's ability in domestic affairs a minor one. Most of the girls marry fairly young before they acquire much skill in domestic duties and there is not much difference among them. Domestic work must be taught by their mother-in-law or sisters-in-law. Moreover, the work is fairly simple and they can easily master
its technique soon after the marriage. Most marriages are arranged between neighboring villages and there is not much difference in the level of living between paribars. The girls rarely need any special knowledge to adjust themselves. Management of paribar budget is another important duty of the wife but again this is a quite simple task.

As to the education or intelligence, villagers' answers are often confusing. Education of the wife is often mentioned during the process of selection. However, people thought that it should not be higher than that of the husband's. The idea of marrying a wife of higher education made the villagers laugh, as did that having a wife older than the husband. In both cases, the villagers said, the husbands who were supposed to be dominant could not control the wife and the condition would lead to maladjustment. Intelligence or knowledge is rarely counted as a major virtue in the females from the point of view of the males. I found that the knowing-nothing-but-relying-upon-husband type of girl was always the ideal of the youths and was also a popular figure in the Pakistan cinema. Education is not regarded as important for the girl, but is often regarded as a criterion of the economic ability of the girl's paribar, which is an important item the boy's side takes into consideration. Table 23 shows the relationship between the educational level of all living husbands and that of their wives in Sikdar bari. In general the higher is the husbands educational level, the higher will be that of his wife.

The tendency is for the boy's side to show more interest in the girl's social background than does the girl's side for that
of the boy. This is because the boy's new paribar can claim economic help or property from the girl's natal paribar through her latent right of inheritance to her father's property. Many parents told me that they would like to have a wife from a paribar economically more prosperous than their own.

The father of the boy is ideally expected to finance the marriage and is also expected to be the chief negotiator in the marriage bargaining. However, the father often cannot fulfil these roles for several reasons.

a) Many fathers are usually absent for much of the time from their paribar in the village, and come back only once a week or less frequently.

b) Purdah is an obstacle to the father in the way of collecting information about potential spouses.

c) Sometimes, and especially with younger sons, the father has passed his peak earning capacity by the time his sons are of an age to marry: he may find himself failing in health, or in financial difficulty; and in some instances a father dies before all his sons are married off.

On the other hand, the mother of the boy is in a better position than the father to collect such information, since only a woman can meet and assess the character of the girl, and also there are often strong reasons why they should participate in the marriage negotiations. That is the possibility of quarrel between the bride and the mother-in-law. Due to purdah, the pair are thrown into close and continuous contact; and the tensions inherent in this relationship are increased by the limitation of the roles they can play. It must also be noticed...
that due to the long absence of their menfolk working in the
city, there is often no ready intermediary if there occurs a
quarrel. We have noticed that, by the time his son marries,
a man is often in or entering the period of economic decline
that forms part of the individual's life-cycle. His wife, aware
of this, takes all the more thought for the kind of daughter-in
law she will have, since after her husband's death she will be
greatly dependent on her son. She naturally tries to play a
decisive role in selecting her son's future wife. She usually
tries to draw the girls whom she knows well. The girl may be
a relative or a daughter of her friends in her natal settlement.

A man has two main duties in his marital life. One is gratifi-
cation of the sexual desire of his wife, and the other is the
maintenance of his wife and children. The marriage certificate
(kabin nama), which is usually kept by the wife, has the fol­
lowing two columns always; a) the minimum amount of money the
husband promised to give to the wife monthly, and b) the fre­
quency of the husband's visit to the wife. The statement made
in the marriage certificate is often nominal. It is usually
the custom to state that the husband must visit the wife at
least once every six months though actually many people come
back only once a year. However, if the wife wishes to do so,
she can use the document as legal evidence. These statements
are a kind of symbolic expression of the husband's duties in
marital life.

The qualities in a husband desired by the average girl are
broadly similar to those her parents look for; sexual attrac-
tiveness and the economic ability of the boy to maintain the
girl. What the parents of the girl first investigate is rather the latter. The kind of occupation is not so important as the amount of income. However, the actual income is often difficult to assess, and people have to use many criteria in doing so. One of them is the housing condition. Education is of the utmost importance as it is the most positive assurance of higher income. The economic standing of the boy's paribar is of secondary importance as the girl's side cannot expect any specific help from it, but only that from the boy as a personal favour. The father of the girl plays a great role in selecting her mate as he is more likely to be able and active due to the girl's marrying early. Moreover, in this case there is no problem of purdah and he can easily assess the ability and character of the boy.

The parents of the girl consider another aspect of the girl's welfare, the social circumstances of the settlement of the groom. Marrying into another settlement is a fairly big change of life to a girl, who has to do so early in her life (13-15 years of age) and has been grown up under purdah system. She is normally lonely there and feels helpless when she meets antagonism from the people of the husband's settlement. Purdah and the distance between settlements (at least 200ms) make the communication to her natal settlement difficult. It is especially so during the rainy season when the condition of roads become bad. Thus the girl and her parents usually try to marry the girl to a settlement where at least one female relative or friend is already established. The interest of the girl is likely to coincide with that of the relative or friend above-mentioned,
because she also needs some help. The latter is always willing to introduce the girls of her natal settlement as brides to the members of her husband's settlement, or to give strong support to such arrangement. The girls of her natal settlement to the people of her husband's settlement and also give strong support whenever there is such an arrangement.

Closeness of marital residence of the daughter is preferred by the girl's parents as well as by the girl as it gives a better chance of communication and mutual assistance. It also gives a better chance to protect the position of the daughter by frequent investigation and intervention by her parents and brothers. Such intervention is quite common. However from the point of view of the boy, the closeness of the girl's natal paribar sometimes has a bad effect on the peace of his own paribar. The villagers said, "If the wife's natal paribar is quite close, every incident comes to the ear of her parents. Then it usually happens that the latter make a trifle into a big disturbance."

Moreover, from the point of view of both the boy's side and the girl's, there is a better chance to select the bride from the neighboring areas as the communication channel is fairly developed within such places. Thus the people usually find the groom and the bride from the place "not too far but not too close."

The villagers frequently mentioned the importance of the boy's or the girl's "gusti" or "bongsho" (family circle) during the process of selecting a mate. However, what people are indicating by these words are often the current condition of
the boy's or the girl's paríbar in economic terms rather than any qualities supposed to inherit by virtue of descent. Although they often inherit titles like Khan, Kaj, or Chowdhuri, intermarriage between these title categories is quite frequent. They do not hesitate even to marry people of different nationalities or different race provided they are Muslims. The position of a man of mixed descent is not necessarily inferior. The people are, as I have stated before, rather indifferent to history. Moreover, under such unstable economic ranking, it is rather useless to trace back a glorious history of ancestors.

There are two religious sects in the village, the reformist Wahhabi and the traditionalist Sunni. Some of the people are very much concerned with the formal differences when arranging marriage. However, there are few differences in the daily social life of these sects and many marriages were actually arranged between them. The differences that exist are too minor to be real obstacle.

This being the case, although there is no prescribed rule that a man must marry within any definite locality, the majority of women marry within a radius of 1½ miles from their home so that visiting is easy even for young children of 7-8 years, as is shown in Table 24. There is no marked historical change in this respect. Some of the women who came from a distance are Burmese, who were brought from the husband's places of work in Burma. Excluding these, the territorial radius of marriage rarely exceeds 5 miles.

If we arrange the same data using two other criteria, a) the difference between the first wife and other wives,
### Table 24

**Distance to the Natal Settlements of Wives from their Present Residence (from 3 Sample Settlements)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance Wife's Age</th>
<th>Same Settlement Less than 1½ miles</th>
<th>1½-3 miles</th>
<th>More than 3 miles</th>
<th>Not investigated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 and up</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 and below</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not investigated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 25

**Distance to the Natal Settlements of Wives from their Present Residence and their Status as Wife (from 3 Sample Settlements)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance Status of Wife</th>
<th>Same Settlement Less than 1½ miles</th>
<th>1½-3 miles</th>
<th>More than 3 miles</th>
<th>Not investigated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Wife</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsequent Wives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 26

**Distance to the Natal Settlements of Wives from their Present Residence and the Birth Order of their Husbands (from 3 Sample Settlements)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance Birth Order of Husband</th>
<th>Same Settlement Less than 1½ mile</th>
<th>1½-3 miles</th>
<th>More than 3 miles</th>
<th>Not investigated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elder Sons*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Sons</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Sons</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Male siblings are divided into these two categories. If the number of male sibling is odd, the middle one is omitted from tabulation.
b) the birth order of the husbands,
we get the results shown in Tables 25 and 26.

Firstly, there is a tendency for the first wife to be selected from a settlement closer at hand than those of later wives. This can be explained by the removal of parental interference when a boy marries his first wife, his parents usually arrange the matter. In this case, detailed information on the girl's paribar or the girl herself is sought by the parents, especially by the mother. The girl tends to be selected from the neighboring area where detailed information is more easy to acquire. On the other hand, the man usually establishes himself economically by the time of his second marriage, while his parents may be weak or dead. In such case, the man is free to select a girl whom he likes, and her physical charms are more important. The territorial range of selection widens.

Secondly, although there is no marked co-relation between the birth order of husband and the distance of the natal paribar of the wife, an only son and to a lesser extent an elder son tends to marry a girl from the neighboring area. This phenomenon also can be explained in the above-mentioned way. The parents are still at the time of the elder son's marriage and can interfere with it. Moreover, the range of the information network at the time of marriage of the elder son is comparatively speaking narrow. By the time of the younger son's marriage, the paribar may have developed wider network through the elder brothers'wives and sisters' husbands. As will be explained in more detail later, these BrWis or SiHus used to help the younger brother of their husbands or wives in many ways.
The tendency to local endogamy among only sons will be explained in relation to two factors. Firstly there is a high probability that the parents will live with the son and they take a great part in arranging the latter's marriage. Moreover, an only son is more highly valued as a bridegroom as he can be expected to inherit the parental property intact and without wrangling, that sometimes accompany partition. Thus not only are the parents likely to select the bride from an area familiar to them, but also their relatives and/or neighbours are more willing to give their daughter to the boy.

There is no prescription against the marriage of near kinsmen, save those prohibited by the Koran (1), nor any prejudice against it. However, there is a custom that if there are several proposals simultaneously, the preference is given to any relative of the father's side of the person concerned.

Table 27, 28 and 29 show the frequency of near kinsmen marriage. (Hereafter, the system of abbreviations in Murdock's "Social Structure", 1949, is used to denote the kin position.) Most of FaSiDa and MoBrDa in the tables are first cousins. The relationship between the descendants of a brother and those of a sister is not remembered for long. However, the descendants of the brothers usually live in the same settlement and thus the sense of kinship persists. One third of "classificatory FaBrDa" in Table 27 are distant cousins.

(1) They are, from the point of view of men, Mo, Da, Si, FaSi, MoSi, BrDa, foster Mo, foster Si, WiMo, step Da, SoWi, WiSi. Chart 2 shows the condition of intermarriage among Sikdar gasti members.
### Table 27
Wife's Kinship Position and their Status  
(from 3 Sample Settlements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife's Relationship</th>
<th>Non-relative</th>
<th>Classi-Factorie</th>
<th>Classi-Factorie</th>
<th>Classi-Factorie</th>
<th>Classi-Factorie</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to husband</td>
<td>FaBrDa</td>
<td>FaSiDa</td>
<td>MoBrDa</td>
<td>MoSiDa</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife's Status</td>
<td>First Wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subsequent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 28
Wife's Relationship to their Husbands  
before Marriage and Present Age of Wives  
(from 3 Sample Settlements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife's Relationship to Husband before Marriage</th>
<th>Non-Relative</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife's Age in 1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and older</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 and younger</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 29
Wife's Relationship to their Husbands  
before Marriage and the Husbands' Birth Order  
(from 3 Sample Settlements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband's Birth Order</th>
<th>Non-Relative</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elder Sons*</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Sons*</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Sons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Male siblings are divided into these two categories as shown in the footnote for Table 28.
There are few marriages to nearest kinsmen. No particular kinship position is given preference and other factors like economic condition often play a more important role. The near kinsmen have the advantage of knowing well each other and tend to be selected as there is abundant information. It may be abundant about an unrelated neighbour as about a kinsman. However, we must notice that there is a case of one boy who rejected a proposal from his FaBrDa and married the daughter of a rich immigrant Moslem from Mysore in South India. The proposal from the girl's side is rare but it sometimes happens when the boy's economic prospect is extraordinarily good. Marriage with a patrilineal parallel cousin which is characteristic of many Moslem societies does not obtain here. This is not because of the demographic conditions of the patrilineal kin clusters. Table 30 shows the number of married males between 20-35 years of age in Sikdar gusti. Table 31 shows the distribution of age of their wives. Table 32 shows the number of girls between 15-30 years of age who have already married from Sikdar gusti. In addition, we have 4 virgins between 15-19 years of age.

The girls in Table 32 are all classificatory FaBrDa to the men in Table 30. However, of all marriages of the individuals only one was between FaBrDa and FaBrSo. The remaining 11 boys selected mates other than their FaBrDas.

I have already stated that many women try to recruit their relatives or settlement mates as bride. The fairly large number of affinal marriages and MoBrDa marriages is the result of that tendency. There is no MoSiDa marriage. This looks like the result of the less frequent communication between married sis-
### Table 30

**Distribution of Age of Married Men of Sikdar Gustü Between 20 and 35 Years of Age in 1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Married Men</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-35</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The youngest is 21 years old.
** The oldest is 35 years old.

### Table 31

**Distribution of Age of the Wives of the Males in Table 30 in 1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Wives</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-35</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Wives</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The youngest is 15 years old.
** The oldest is 25 years old.

### Table 32

**Distribution of Age of Women between 15 and 30 years old in 1963 of Sikdar Gustü who have already Married out**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Women</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Women</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The youngest is 15 years old.
** The oldest is 25 years old.
ters who have no legal duty to each other. Normally FaBr is always living in the same settlement. There are frequent contacts with one's FaSi's paribar and MoBr's paribar as there are several duties towards one's natal paribar and WiFa's paribar. (MoBr is usually living in the same settlement as MoFa.)

Frederick Rose and J.C. Goodale have pointed out that when there is a big gap of age between an older Hu and a younger Wi, and a lesser gap between siblings, it functionally becomes difficult to marry FaSiDa. In my village, the gap of age between Hu and Wi is fairly big (7-15 years in favour of Hu). However, as the gap of age between siblings is bigger than the gap above-mentioned (14-22 years), there is no functional limitation in marrying FaSiDa. (2)

The parents of either side rarely welcome a marriage contracted as a result of love-affair. However, the tendency is always for the wishes of the boy and girl to be stronger than the objection of the parents, as marriage itself is taken as a matter primarily for the former to decide on.

The go-between (ukil) plays three important roles in marriage. Firstly, by employing a go-between, the parents and other persons concerned can extend their range of possible matches. His role is more important because of such factors as less channel of communication due to poor transportation, long absence of fathers, regulation of purdah, etc. Another important function of a go-between is to be a tension releaser. I have already stated that people are very concerned of ranking and highly competitive.

2) F. Rose, 1960
J.C. Goodale, 1962
The competitiveness reaches a peak in the negotiation preceding marriage. There is always high tension between both parties. Both (especially the girl's side) try to use every occasion to show their dominance over the other. Both tend to assume the attitude that they are not much interested in this particular match and are always ready to end the negotiation. They often argue minor problems with exaggerated intensity. This kind of behaviour continues right up to the end of the marriage ceremony. However, trifling the occasion may be, the resulting argument may expand to unexpected proportions.

The marriage proposal is always liable to be revoked right up to the end of the marriage ceremony itself. One villager told me that "there is no marriage without a quarrel." This is very true according to my experience. If there seem to be no subjects for an argument, they will invent some. The function of the go-between in this situation is to provide a channel of communication between the two parties limiting the extent of their direct contact with each other. He has no power of decision over any matter, his function being merely to pass information on the more delicate matters (especially the amount of gifts exchanged) between both parties, sometimes intentionally distorting the facts.

His third function is to be one of the witnesses of the marriage. This role will be reactivated if there is any trouble like divorce later.

The material rewards of a go-between are slight. He must pay a certain amount of money from his own pocket. He rarely gets special respect once the wedding ceremony is over.
to the wedding ceremony. His role is limited in the stage of premarital negotiation and that is all. Villagers often found difficulty in recollecting the name of the go-between at their own marriage.

Although there is no rule that the go-between must be a man of any social position (in any sense), he is usually a relative to one of the contracting parties concerned. He is often an affinal such as the boy's/the girl's own or classificatory SiHu. In such cases, his role is regarded as a kind of service by the SiHu towards his wife's relatives. His service is an expression of an already existing relationship and rarely works to create new ties, as it may in some other societies. As they are relatives, they are often given a great degree of trust. In one case, a father did so trust his DaHuFa as a go-between for his another daughter's marriage, he could not tell even the name of the groom's father on the one day before the wedding ceremony. However, usually such relative go-between is related to both sides and acts for his own benefit, getting their good will. A go-between is needed in a love match, just as in any other marriage, at some stage of negotiation.

C) Cases related to the proceeding two sections

In this section I present two cases to illustrate the actual process of marriage negotiation. The first, a fairly long one, shows that of a love match and the second, that of a go-between arrangement.

The main figures in these two cases, Farid Ahmed (32) of Moajin bari and Abdul Hai (32) of Sikdar bari were related through
several kinship ties and close friends as well. They studied together from high school up to college and both joined in political activities in the 1950's. They belong to different religious sects, Farid an ordinary Sunni, and Hai a Wahabbi.

Abdul Hai's father was a clerk, first under his relating big merchant and later under the latter's youngest son. His economic condition was slightly above the average standard in the village. Hai was quite active in political activities being once a secretary of Chittagong College Student Union, and due to that he had to resign from the school. After that he worked as a clerk under his father and later got a job in a big modern company. Now he is working as a senior clerk in a foreign trading (import-export) company. The first story is about his love-match with Farid's younger sister Amatun Nur.

Farid Ahmed was a son of the big merchant Ibrahim. Although the economic condition of Ibrahim was gradually becoming worse after the Second World War, still he is far richer than Hai's father. Farid educated up to I.A., but after that he has been unemployed and lived on his father's income.

Case-24

The marriage between Abdul Hai and Amatun Nur was a love-match. They are well known to each other since their childhood. As they are relatives, they have frequent chance to meet each other. When she was 12 or 13 years old, both boys passed Matriculation examination and engaged in political activities. During the period, Hai used to sent minor items like magazines to Amatun whenever he visited her house to meet Farid. Farid's house was fairly modern and the rule of purdah was not kept so strictly. When Farid ordered her to serve tea for his guest, Hai used to raise objection to prevent her being seen by others. Hai and Amatun fell in love during the period. Every now and then several proposals of marriage for her were made but no one was accepted by her parents. There was a proposal from another girl to Hai, too. Farid, without
knowing a love affair between his friend and his sister, supported the arrangement but Hai confessed his love and asked him to arrange his marriage with Amatun. Farid promised to do so and told his mother of it, asking her to refuse any proposal from outside. He informed her that he had already given his word to Hai on the matter.

At that time, Amatun's MoBrSo also began to make approaches to her. However, there was a bad relationship between her father and the MoBrSo's house and it did not encourage him to accept it although the other party was very keen on the arrangement. Once the MoBrSo's mother carried Amatun to her house by motor-car and kept her there long. Hearing this, Farid went there and tried to bring her back to his house against the will of all members of the MoBrSo's paribar, but he failed. After a few days, he again went there, this time with Hai, and succeeded to do so. Amatun herself did not like this cousin and never gave answer to love letters which he sent her through a little boy related to both. A love letter was disclosed to her mother but the latter passed no comment against it as she thought the arrangement rather suitable. The MoBrSo approached her in many ways later but none of them was successful.

During the period, Hai also used to refuse any proposal made to him disclosing his love affair with Amatun. However, once his younger sister found a photo of Amatun in Hai's album. She found her very beautiful and showed it to her mother and a relative. Without knowing that the girl in the photo was her son's lover, the mother praised her seeing her wearing fashionable veil while being photographed. She thought her pious in religion keeping purdah so strictly but this was misinterpretation. Although the girl was related to Hai's mother, the latter could not recognize the former. One of the woman married to Hai's settlement was Amatun's FaSi easily recognized who she was and gave a good comment on her to the younger sister.

All matters related to Amatun's MoBrSo came to Hai's ear through Farid. Being afraid of losing her, Hai finally wrote a letter of proposal and Amatun gave her consent through Farid. Then Hai approached to his mother with Farid. At first Farid told her that he brought a girl's photo who would be suitable as Hai's bride. Then Farid tactfully encouraged her saying that there was another candidate, and that she must hurry up if she intended to accept her. Their love story was also disclosed. Farid said, "Go to my mother immediately and tell her that you are going to bring Amatun to your house as a bride. Also tell her that there must not be any objection as you have come to fetch her brother's daughter." Then Hai's mother said that she could not do anything without the permission of her husband who was at that time staying in the city. Hai told his mother, "You see, mother, if a son becomes adult, there is no need of getting permission from his father in such matters." She trusted her son very much and went to Amatun's house to ask for the girl.

Hearing the proposal, Amatun's mother at first refused it saying that she was arranging the marriage of her daughter to her brother's son (that MoBrSo of Amatun) but Hai's mother insisted on it.

Amatun's father who was usually staying in Chittagong was eager to give his daughter to a rich man. After rejecting
several, he found a suitable one and accepted his proposal and the plan for the wedding was finalized. They were about to fix the date for marriage ceremony, and for that purpose a delegation from the boy's side came to Amatun's house. When it arrived there, Amatun's father was just asking his wife her opinion on this arrangement. She could not give answer and asked her husband to postpone the decision, and the delegation returned. Then she told him of the affair between Hai and Amatun. The father became very angry as he was not satisfied with Hai's behaviour and his economic condition, and as he was not informed before. Amatun was sent to a Girl's High School in Chittagong.

After the incident, Farid did his best to soften his father's mind but he could not succeed in doing so. However, getting support from many relative-friends, finally the father became ready to negotiate with Hai's side. He said, "Let me see what kind of go-between they can send." The Hai's side selected a relative, who was a Union Council Member and finally succeeded in getting the father's consent.

When the held a meeting to decide the detail of their wedding ceremony, Amatun's MoBr came to Amatun's house by chance. He became angry finding his son was finally rejected. Later he did not attend even the wedding ceremony.

After the engagement, Hai's side did its best to win the heart of Amatun's parents. Hai's father casually handed Ibrahim a few money for Amatun's tea or meal expenses and his mother used to send good clothing to her house. Looking such behaviour, some villagers suspected that Amatun had already had Hai's baby even before their wedding ceremony.

The episode illustrates many facets of social life in the settlement. First is the strength of friendship. Farid supported Amatun and Hai even in the face of his own father's anger. Such support from friends in arranging marriages is not an uncommon thing and is a popular theme in cinema films. In another case, people planned to kidnap a girl for their friend when her father gave strong objection.

We can see throughout the story the effect of bad communication among paribar members. Both Farid, his father and his mother had different ideas on Amatun's marriage and often did whatever they liked without any consultation with others. Hai's mother also, although with much hesitation, went to Farid's
house without informing her husband. This is typical of Moslem paribar where there is a sharp demarcation between the men's life and the women's and many of the earners work in the city. We can see that the opinion of the boy and the girl is valued more highly than objections from their parents. Hai's comment, "If a son becomes grown up ---" was accepted by his mother without any objection.

Both fathers are authoritarian but their roles were rather minor due to their being resident in the city. The mothers, on the other hand, played important in arranging the marriage and often played intermediary among male paribar members.

There was a competitive situation between Amatun's MoBrSo and Hai for Amatun's favour. Both used a variety of tactics to strengthen their positions. The girl's side was always superior. Hai's paribar had to send many gifts and had to select a go-between of high status to satisfy the sense of self-respect of Amatun's father. It was especially so as the match was regarded as good from the point of view of Hai's side as the girl was beautiful and her father was rich.

We must also notice that the paternal relative got better chance than the maternal one.

The story also shows the intimate relationship between mothers and their sons but this will be more fully treated in the next chapter.

The second story is about the above-mentioned Farid's arranged marriage. The story is exceptional only in the respect that the girl's side was very eager to arrange marriage; but it also shows the kind of difficulties which the boy's side
has to face in selecting the mate.

Case-25

Farid had fallen in love with many girls before his marriage. The last one was a girl in the same settlement. She was very beautiful and he was on the point of marrying her. However, she has already engaged to someone and he could not do so. After her marriage, Farid began to drink to forget her. He had refused so many proposals that came to him until he became 32 years old. This was quite exceptional for the only son of a wealthy merchant, and his parents worried about him very much.

At last the parents found a girl who was a daughter of the Chairman of the Union Council of the adjacent union, a big merchant and a friend of high government officials. The girl's side was quite favourable towards the marriage and began to prepare for it quite actively. When his parents asked his opinion he answered in the following way, "Once there was a proposal from a girl whose father proposed to give me Rs10,000 in cash if I agreed to marry her. However, you, mother, refused it saying that the girl was not beautiful. I also want a beautiful girl, otherwise, I won't marry." Unfortunately, this girl's house was not well known to Farid's house and no one knew what she looked like. Therefore, a women's delegation was organized and sent to the girl's house. The members were, Farid's mother, his widowed FaBrWi, and his sister Amatun. Farid especially asked to bring back report on her physical beauty. His father gave his wife a golden ring and ordered her to give it to the girl if all or at least 2/3 of them were satisfied with her. When she saw the girl, she found her nice and gave the ring without consulting the other members, which means contracting engagement. The other two, however, did not regard her beautiful, but found her thin and lean, and not the buxom beauty which Farid was hoping for. When they returned to the house, the other two women bitterly disagreed with the mother, so the father decided to look the girl by himself; but he also found her not very pretty. At that time, the mother persuaded the father saying, "It is no use your saying good or bad of the girl. Who will live with the bride? Not you! You always stay in the city and come back only occasionally. It is I who must live with her." To which he reluctantly agreed.

However, Farid was not satisfied as everyone was saying different things about the girl's appearance. Farid decided to cancel the engagement. He sent a letter to the girl's father and told him of his unwillingness in the arrangement and also his intention to cancel the engagement. Receiving this letter, her father rushed to his house, where Hai (the husband of Amatun) received him. The poor girl's father, weeping, told him that a breaking of the engagement at this stage would spoil her future prospects. Hai sympathized and told Farid to think over the matter again but this led to the quarrel between the two. Both parties thought the matter over and finally decided that Farid himself would see the girl. This was quite exceptional as it was against the rule of purdah. Finally he gave his consent.
Again in this episode, we can see that the mother played an important role. The boy's will was much respected. The opinions among paribar members rarely reach easy consent. There is no single source of authority within the paribar. We must also notice that the girl's beauty was one of the central problems rather than her economic condition.

D) The Negotiation of marriage settlement

The main theme of negotiation is the amount of the brideprice. According to the villagers, this can be divided into two categories. We must notice that the division does not necessarily coincide with that according orthodox Islamic principles. What I am here treating is the notion of the people of the particular village rather than the great tradition written in the text books.

These two categories are:

a) Johr That portion of the payment which must be completed by the time of the wedding ceremony. It is in the form of ornaments, some portion of which should be paid at the time of the engagement ceremony.

b) Mahr That portion payment which is deferred but must be paid after marriage by the husband at the request of his wife. Johr usually takes the form of gold ornaments such as a necklace, armlet, headband, ring, etc. The percentage of this portion to the total amount of the bride-price is a vital issue in the bargaining since it is that portion which the groom's side has to provide by the time of the wedding ceremony. The other portion (Mahr) usually remains as debt of the husband towards the wife. If the relationship between the husband and the wife is
good, this portion often remains unpaid indefinitely. However, the nature of this deferred portion as debt is not eliminated by this fact. The husband always feels obligation towards the wife in this respect and some, if solvent, try to pay it in terms of land or other commodities. Sometimes he announces to his wife that he is giving her a particular commodity as payment of part of the bride-price. However, in many cases, there is no such formal announcement. Legally, the husband must pay this deferred portion before his or his wife's death. If he dies earlier and before paying this debt, the portion is taken from his inheritance. If his wife dies before him, he must ask his wife's pardon at her death bed. I have never heard of such a request by the husband being refused if it was made.

The bride-price becomes the bride's personal property. No one else can claim her portion. However, it is always the girl's guardian who negotiates the amount on her behalf. In the case of the groom, his guardian similarly plays the role of chief negotiator. For the girl's father the amount of the bride-price has a close relationship with his prestige. He tries to raise the amount as high as he can within the locally accepted limits. It is the display of the prestige of the girl against the boy, or rather that of the girl's father versus that of the boy's father. It is also a display of their prestige against their fellow villagers. The amount of bride-price must be announced formally or informally to the public. The villagers show strong interest in the affair and make much gossip over it. The boy's side tends to suffer more in this conflict of interest. If his side pays more it can be regarded as a display
of his solvency or rather the display of his father's solvency. If the boy's side is rich enough to pay extraordinary large amount both are happy in doing so.

However, paying a lesser amount of money does not seriously damage the boy's prestige because it shows the positive willingness of the girl's side in this marriage arrangement. Rather it gives prestige to the boy. Usually the boy's side leads the way in reducing the amount of the bride-price, when they are of medium economic standard.

Table 33 shows the amount of the bride price in marriages contracted with girls of the village over years from August 1961 to February 1963.

Table 34 shows the value of the ornaments which were handed over at the time of wedding ceremony in the same marriages. Table 35 shows the percentage of the value of ornaments to the total value of the bride-price.

The samples in Tables 33-35 were taken from the administrative unit, the Union. The people of my three sample settlement can be ranked as middle or upper class in this bride-price grading.

These ornaments are in a somewhat different category from the engagement ring in use in European countries. In the latter case, the monetary value of the ring is only secondary, and the ring is mainly a symbol of contract, and to the girl that of status. However, in Moslem society, the economic value is more important than the form. They rarely discussed the matter in terms of form (say, whether it is a ring or armlet) but they discuss it in terms of value using some universal unit like tola (weight) or its monetary value.
Table 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Bride-price (Rs)</th>
<th>0-499</th>
<th>500-999</th>
<th>1000-1499</th>
<th>1500-1999</th>
<th>2000-2499</th>
<th>2500-2999</th>
<th>3000-3499</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The lowest amount is Rs300.
** The highest amount is Rs5500.

Table 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Johr (Rs)</th>
<th>0-199</th>
<th>200-299</th>
<th>300-399</th>
<th>400-499</th>
<th>500-599</th>
<th>600-699</th>
<th>700-799</th>
<th>800-899</th>
<th>900-999</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The lowest amount is Rs100.
** The highest amount is Rs900.

Table 35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ratio of Johr to Total Bride-price</th>
<th>0-29%</th>
<th>30-39%</th>
<th>40-49%</th>
<th>50%+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The lowest ratio is 3.3%.
** The highest ratio is 50%.
Land is rarely transferred between the boy and the girl's side at marriage.

Items other than the bride price will be bargained over in the preliminary meeting of the guardians. Usually the boy's side has to provide:

i) The fee for the dresser and barber of the bride.

ii) Sweets and pan leaves with betel nuts for the people of the bride's settlement.

iii) If the groom is a complete stranger to the settlement of the bride, he must provide money for the people of the settlement.

iv) The bride's clothing from underwear to the sari, which she will wear at her departure to the groom's settlement, cosmetics, mirror, etc.

v) Clothing for the younger siblings of the bride, who are expected to accompany with bride to the groom's settlement.

The girl usually takes to the new house certain furniture like bedding, cups or clothing boards, dressing tables, etc. These are items on which bargaining is made. The bargaining is not purely economic. As it involves prestige, a trifling error in the conduct of negotiations can be the cause of much trouble. Any unreasonable proposal is taken as an insult. A refusal without proper excuse can also be taken as insulting.

This bargaining and display continue up to the very end of the marriage ceremony. Up to that time, theoretically at least, any agreement can still be broken.
Case-26

The son of a fairly well-to-do man became engaged to a girl of a neighboring village. Everything had been prepared and the boy's party arrived elaborately dressed at the girl's house ready for the wedding ceremony. When the function began, the girl's side presented new conditions and requested a small amount of land from the boy. It was their legal right to do so as there had been formal acceptance yet, and the marriage document had not been signed. However, the boy's side did not agree to the proposal, although they had plenty of land to give, and the marriage was cancelled. The boy's party withdrew from the girl's house and after returning to their village, the elders consulted about the matter. It would have been a serious waste if they had stopped the boy's marriage as everything was prepared, cows and goats were killed and cooked, gifts from the relatives and friends accepted, and so on, they began to search for another bride, found one within seven hours, and conducted the ceremony on the same day. This is an extreme case; however, similar conflicts and disturbances are fairly common. In another case, the bride's party were reluctant to accept the ornaments and clothing sent by the groom finding them poor and the ceremony was delayed for 10-12 hours. After the function, the angry groom visited his WiFa's house only once in 30 years.

The villagers interpret the significance of the payment of brideprice as follows. Firstly, it is "compensation for the utilization of sex of the female." The second is to establish the woman's position in her husband's house, preventing any maltreatment of her. The deferred portion of the bride-price (2/3 of the total amount) plays the great role in the latter aspect. In Sikdar bari the total bride price is usually Rs2000-Rs3000, of which the deferred portion will be Rs1200-2000. The average salary for a clerk, who passed only matriculation and is of the Rs3000 class of bride price, is normally only Rs130-150 per month. The cost of living in the city is quite high. If he has a wife and children, it is quite difficult for him to save money. If he could save Rs10 per month, then it would take 200 months (16 years) to clear his debt for his wife. I am not here saying that every husband does pay off
the debt. What I am stressing is the weight of the debt to the husband. If a husband divorces his wife without proper cause, (adultery, etc.) he must instantly pay off the debt and other expenses. On the other hand, if the woman divorced her husband without proper reason she must also return the cost of the marriage for which her husband paid. However, on this problem of re-payment of bride-price at the time of divorce, there is usually much confusion.

The main factor which affects the amount of the bride-price is the relative economic statuses of the parties concerned. If there is a big gap in favour of the boy's side, the amount will be increased. If the quality of the boy is extraordinarily good, the amount will be decreased. If the groom is a relative, the amount is normally decreased.

As has been said before, marriage is deemed essentially a contract between the husband and wife. Whoever joins in the negotiation of the marriage, it is only these two who must keep to the conditions of the contract. They alone bear the responsibility for subsequent breaches of it. In theory, it is the groom and the bride who have the final power of decision in settling the conditions of the contract, as well as in making the decision to accept a particular individual as spouse.

No one else except the parents has a hand in the main bargaining except some minor items like the stranger's fee for the people of the bride's settlement. (Usually Rs20-50). In such cases the youths of the settlement first decide the amount they would like to have and ask the guardian of the bride to pass the information to the groom's side.
E) Remarriage (divorce and the death of spouses) and polygyny.

The termination of marriage may occur for one of two reasons: i) divorce and ii) death of either spouse.

Moslem marriage is a civil contract but not a sacrament. It is a contract in the sense that; i) it is based on mutual consent between the bride and the groom, ii) "provision is always made for its breach, to wit the various kinds of dissolution by act of parties or by operation of Law" (1), and iii) "the terms of marriage contract are, within reason, capable of being altered to suit individual cases." (2)

For most people, divorce is a predictable phenomenon in marriage. Although it is not a desirable contingency, divorce as such rarely injures one's reputation. People are rarely affected in their judgement of an individual by the fact that he or she has been divorced. Marriage is only an institution to pursue personal pleasure. If either party is dissatisfied with any aspect of marriage, it is useless to continue it. Such a marriage is a mistake and failure to recognize that mistake is foolish. It is worse to submit to an unhappy domestic life than to end that unhappiness by divorce. The people laugh at the Hindu prohibition of divorce saying, "They drink anything offered them, even a poison."

As people feel comparatively little shame at divorce, it proved easier to collect data on the matter about than I had expected. Once I was asking Naki of Sikdar bari the number of divorces in the settlement, and when I came to the name of Jofur, who had in fact divorced three wives, Naki could not recollect the exact number. Jofur was just there cutting wood

(1) and (2) Fyzee, 1960, p. 71
in front of the room where we were sitting and Naki poked out his head and asked Jofur loudly the number of his divorces on which the latter answered "three" without any hesitation. One man told me proudly that his father had nine wives, and had divorced several of them.

For men, divorce is fairly easy. Traditionally a man can divorce his wife simply by the "three calls" (tin talak), i.e., by repeating thrice the formula "I divorce thee". After the [installation] the Ayub Khan Government (since 1958), it became necessary also to get approval from the Union Council, but this is largely a matter of form. As to the procedure in divorce, Moslem law usually orders one month's intermission between each talak. During the initial one month, the couple have to live together; if there is sexual intercourse during this period, the first talak will be void. Then during the one month following the second talak, they must live separately. The people said that these periods have to be spent in thinking over the matter coolly. However, in reality the intermission is often omitted. A woman also can claim divorce with the help of her relatives.

As marriage is a private matter between husband and wife, no one else can interfere in it. Thus the divorce procedure is fairly easy to operate. The obstacle is re-payment of the balance of the bride-price and the cost of ceremony.

Divorce is easier for rich because they can better afford to pay the remaining balance. Sometimes exaggerated tales are told of the tremendous frequency of divorce observed by rich men. The subject is discussed by the villagers with open envy.
The causes of divorce are many. Most of them are personal troubles between husband and wife such as sexual mal-adjust
ment, disobedience by the wife, violence by the husband, or negligence of his duty to maintain his wife, etc. As one of the main purposes of marriage is stated to be sexual gratification, divorce for the first reason is fairly common. The following example shows how a wife divorced her husband for his weak sexuality.

Case-27

Shahedur Hoq's daughter married a boy of a neighboring village in which his relative Shafi acted as intermediary. The boy's house was not known to the people of his settlement and the girl married without knowing much of her husband's condition.

After marriage, the husband was found to be living in one-
roomed bamboo house with his widowed FaBrWi and her children, who completely dominated him. The bride explained the situation thus: "My husband is stupid. He always follows his FaBrWi's orders saying, 'Oh I cannot refuse her order. I must do what she likes.' He did not even have sexual intercourse with me without her prior permission. (Ironic exaggeration) My house has only one room. Thus it is inconvenient for us to enjoy sexual relations in the night. I asked my husband to divide it into two rooms by erecting a bamboo partition, but he refused as it might give the impression to his FaBrWi that we are going to separate our paribar. On one occasion the old woman with her children went to her natal house, and I approached him to enjoy the night (Note the recurrent theme of sex), but he slept without touching me." She also stated the following episode. "After the wedding ceremony, we once revisited my natal paribar together. Usually it is the custom to bring a certain amount of money as gift but do you know what my husband took? Three annas! This was handed over to him by his FaBrWi for his biri (local cigarettes). You see how stupid he is! Also it is the custom that a newly-wedded couple joke with the members of the house and the couple 'enjoy the night' when they come back to the bride's natal house. What happened was that my husband slept the whole night after dinner without taking any notice of me. How could a wife take initiative in such affairs if a husband did not take initiative? I asked my sister (her classificatory sister) about her husband, and thus I realized how stupid my husband really was!"

The mother of the bride invited her husband with her daughter. It is usual that the husband returns a bit earlier in such case, leaving his wife behind. The husband must ask about the date
of the wife's return. When the bride's side checked the husband about the date, he said he could not tell and asked the bride's side to make enquiry of his brother. When they asked the elder brother, he also replied he did not know. Hearing this, the mother of the bride became angry and refused to hand over her daughter to the husband. She was trying to get her daughter divorce the husband. The bride quoted the following instance to me to explain her position. "Once a similar thing happened to my cousin Sulaiman's daughter. She was married to the nearby settlement, but her husband was unemployed and never brought her home single penny. Thus when she came back to her natal paribar, Sulaiman's wife refused to hand her over to the husband. The husband then came to apologize to Sulaiman and his wife, promising to earn more money, but at first the parents did not allow him to take away their daughter. The daughter was finally persuaded to return to her husband, but had again to come back on a result of the husband's misbehaviour. That kind of thing occurred many times. In this way she used to come back to her parents repeatedly. If I follow her way, I may also spoil my life. That is why I am following my mother's advice and staying here."

The conflict between any third person and a spouse will rarely be the cause of divorce. For example, there are frequent and severe quarrels between many women and their daughters-in-law, but a man may rather prefer to live separately from his mother than to divorce his wife.

The children of a broken marriage legally belong to the divorced husband, and they usually live with their father. But young babies can remain with their mother during the weaning period, and I have seen a cases in which a girl lived with her mother even after maturity. In such a case, she is still regarded as a full member of her father's gusti, and can claim normal inheritance.

Another frequent cause of dissolution of marriage is the early death of young wives. This tendency for wives to predecease their (and possibly younger) husbands exists to a marked degree, even though in many cases the wife is much younger than the husband.
Unfortunately I am unable to support this statement with statistics from Gohira, but can present partial data from the official thana mortality figures for Raozan, showing the age at death for males and for females over the period 1938-1963.

Although the data are incomplete as we have no number of living persons at the years listed, we can see the difference between the pattern of distribution for females and that for males. In the case of males, there are two peaks, one in the age grade 0-9 and the other in the age grade of 60+. However, in the case of females, we can count three peaks, one in the age grade of 0-9, another in the age grade of 20-29, and the last one in the oldest age grade. This coincides with my family census data where we can find many deaths of young wives. We cannot attribute this phenomenon to any particular disease.

The thana sanitary officer, and a European nurse in my village who is specially concerned with female patients, both gave me the following explanation independently: young mothers usually suffer from chronic anaemia and thus are less resistant to infection. They explained that it is due to malnutrition after over-frequent child birth. That means, one birth usually follows another before the mother can recover from the effects. Thus women in the highly reproductive age (20-29) are always suffering from anaemia. The explanation seems to me to fit the differential death rate of young females. However, as I am not a medical expert, I only point out here that many marriages were dissolved due to the death of young wives. As I have already stated before, every healthy man and woman who is sexually able is expected to marry, and frequent dissolution
Table 36
Age at the Time of Death (Raozan Thana)

a) Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>0-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>1655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>3405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>1331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>0-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>3655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of marriage leads to frequent remarriages. Table 37 shows the relationship between the number of marriages of men and their age.

We can predict the future marriage chances for younger men, as the figure for married men over 50 years old (including those already died) can be taken as the normal incidence of multiple marriage. As we can see, more than half of the men married twice or more often.

Dissolution of marriage also occurs with the death of the husband. As I will show later in more detail, there is a fairly big gap of age between husbands and wives. If a woman can survive a dangerous period of her twenties, she will most probably outlive her husband. However, in such cases, the wife's age is likely to be 40 or more when her husband dies. Thus for her there is no problem of remarriage. There is a tendency that men when remarrying, usually choose women even younger than the deceased or divorced earlier wife was. For example, if Mr. A (25 years old) married to Miss B (15 years old) and later this Miss B died at the age of 25 years, Mr. A (at that time 35 years old) may choose Miss C (sometimes ex-Mrs. D) of 20 years of age. Thus the gap of age between a husband and his second wife, or later wives, sometimes widens remarkably.

Female virginity is much appreciated, and especially sought by men who have had no experience of marriage. There are also ample number of the divorced and widow/widowers and they marry each other.
### Table 37

**Frequency of Remarriage among Men, by Age**

(Compiled from 3 Sample Settlements)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2-9</th>
<th>3-9</th>
<th>4-9</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 30-39</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 40-49</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 50-59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 60+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Deceased</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Total</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| d+e+f. 50up & Deceased | 38 | 27 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 35 |

---

* Those already died are included here.

** Causes for 127 remarriages are as follows:

i) Due to death of wife: 58 cases
ii) Due to divorce: 49 cases
iii) Polygamy: 13 cases
iv) Reasons unknown: 7 cases

*** Median number of marriages by men whose age is over 50 or who have died already is 2.0. (The figure for the persons already dead include three individuals who are said to have married 19, 16, and 9 times. However, no one can recollect the details. Thus, in calculating the median number of marriages, I counted only such marriages the details of which are traceable. Therefore, the number of marriages of the above mentioned three persons are reduced to 6, 6, and 5 times respectively.)
One can have up to four wives at any one time. However, a man has to treat equally and thus it is economically impossible for most men to have more than one wife at a time. It is also necessary to have permission from the first wife if a man wishes to take a second one, and a jealous wife would usually not allow it. Only three of the living married men from my three sample settlements keep two wives, and none keep more than two. However, youths frequently express their desire to have a number of wives.
F) Marriage ceremony

The marriage ceremony is secular rather than religious, and it reflects the nature of marriage as secular contract. There are no intricate rituals like those which can be seen in Hindu marriage ceremony. For example, in a local Hindu marriage ceremony, the date is selected according to the religious calendar. Even the time of a bride's first entry to the groom's house is fixed by an astronomer. In the case of Moslems, the date and time are fixed only according to the convenience of the parties concerned. Owing to the lack of formal leadership and proper planning, confusion and delay are very characteristic of a Moslem marriage. Everyone tries to use the occasion to exercise their dominance over others. The delay of the ceremony for 2-4 hours is quite common.

Case-2

Hussain Ahmed gave consent for his daughter to marry a young man employed as a member of a ship crew. The date was not fixed and they waited the boy's period of shore-leave. The latter unexpectedly got nine days' leave from his firm and returned to the village. The youth's parents at once decided to arrange the ceremony within that leave and sent a message to Hussain Ahmed to try to organize it within the next few days. The latter accepted the request and summoned an emergency meeting of the settlement to ask the help of everyone. It was held only a day before the ceremony.

On the day of the ceremony, the groom's party was supposed to arrive at 10 p.m. but it actually came at 4 p.m. This was extremely late even for the village, and the bride's side bitterly attacked the groom's people for their slowness. In reply, the latter explained that they could not collect enough people to accompany the groom in the allotted time, and they had to wait for more. As will be stated below, the number of the groom's attendants is quite important prestige issue and the people of the groom's side did not scruple to cause a 6 hours delay for this reason alone.
The wedding ceremony has two main functions for the groom, the bride and their guardians:
a) To get witnesses for the marriage
b) To make a display of one's superiority.

I have already stated that only a very limited number of persons join in deciding the conditions of marriage. However, as a kind of contract, the marriage requires witnesses. They are for the written contract, where the condition of marriage is written. Throughout the engagement ceremony and the marriage ceremony, the attendants are witnesses in this respect. Thus being the case the condition of the marriage which is a private matter in theory must be announced publicly at the ceremony.

The marriage ceremony is yet another situation where people compete. There are four main parties, the groom's guardian (usually his father), the bride's guardian (usually her father), the people of the groom's settlement, and those of the bride's. Each party tries to outdo the other in display. The ceremony is very tense situation as both parties are very touchy, and the least sign of disrespect and neglect may cause a disturbance. As I have said before, bargaining over the marriage conditions may continue right up to the end of the ceremony which makes the situation worse. As the ceremony itself is a secular one, it is not main concern of the people to smoothe the proceedings or to observe the ceremony with solemnity.

Another important element which colours the marriage ceremony (but not the engagement ceremony) is the beginning of the joking relationship between the groom's party and the bride's one. As a rule, affinals of the same age grade are in a strong joking
relationship. People in this tense situation try to reduce the tension by employing this joking, or to disguise existing hostility into a joking relationship. Often unnecessarily vulgar behaviour is exhibited. If both sides are satisfied in the marital arrangement, the joking is answered by another joking. But if this is not so, the joking may be answered by real hostility.

The items on which people strongly feel pride or shame during the marriage ceremony, and those on which they tend most to comment are: a) the qualities of groom or bride, b) number of attendants from the groom's side, c) quality of meal served by the bride's guardian, and d) amount of present carried by the groom's party.

The marriage ceremony has five phases; namely,

a) the meeting for preparation of the engagement ceremony (panchella)

b) The engagement ceremony (jora)

c) the meeting for preparation of the wedding ceremony (panchella)

d) the wedding ceremony (vie)

e) the bride's visit to the natal paribar (the marital residence is patri-viri local).

Two panchella are very similar. Anyone is just like any other. They are meetings at which the close relatives of the groom and/or the bride ask the people of the settlement for their help. Usually the role of the host is not taken by the guardian but by one of the closer relatives living in the same settlement. Usually one night before the ceremony is selected for the panchella. The meeting is summoned by the guardian.
2-3 days before. Usually it starts after the night prayer. If there is any proper room in the house, bamboo mats are spread over the floor and people sit on them. If not, they make a special enclosure in the garden by hanging curtains to form walls.

When people are gathered, the leading elder asks the host about the purpose of the meeting. "Moiuddin, you asked us to gather here. What do you want to say?" Then the host explains the purpose: "My brother Rofiquddin has a son called Jalaluddin, and we are going to make him marry a bride, a daughter of Kamaluddin of Rofurapur. Tomorrow we are going to the bride's house to observe jora/vie. I know you can help us in the function." Then an account is given of the bride, her father, and the conditions of the marriage, mainly the amount of Mahr-Johr, or the details of the gift. If the guests care to ask anything about the groom/bride or their marriage, they will do so. (The opening of the panchella on the bride's side is almost identical.)

If the meeting is that of the groom's side, the number of attendants to the ceremony, the time of departure, etc. will be discussed. If it is of the bride's side, the number of guests expected, the preparation for the reception, the number of cattle which must be slaughtered, the kind of dishes to be prepared and the method of entertaining, use of fireworks, etc. will be discussed. At the end of the discussion, tea, sweets, and pan leaves will be served. Any male member of the settlement, whatever his age may be, can attend and sit in the meeting. It is a joyful occasion too for the children. For women, and girls, who do not attend, sweets and pan will be
On the day of jora, the groom's delegation arrives at the bride's house dressed for the occasion. First the names of the boy and girl with father's names, age, location of the houses are announced; then the conditions of the marriage (Johr -Mahr), the groom's fee for the people of the bride's settlement, and date of the wedding ceremony, etc., are announced. These details have already been discussed beforehand and they are only officially confirmed at the jora. When the confirmation is agreed on all matters, the leader of the groom's delegation gives the token of engagement (Usually part of the gold ornaments promised as Johr) to the representative of the bride's side. They exchange the words of promise (wada). "We accept Amatun Nur, a daughter of Ibrahim as the bride of Abdul Hai, a son of Abdul Wadud. Thus we give this as a token of the promise." "We accept it."

The banquet will be held after or before the ceremony according to local convenience.

After this ceremony of engagement, the groom can freely visit the bride's house and talk to her. A joking relationship begins to generate between the relatives of both the groom and the bride. Usually such visiting groom is the target of teasing by the bride's relatives. The length of the period of engagement varies and there is no rule about it. Weddings are usually celebrated between December and March, as the harvest is completed, people have leisure and cash to spend from the sale of their produce; and, since it is the dry season, cross-country travel/communication is easy. Moreover most of the
absentee workers will have returned home, on their annual period of leave, which may last for two or three months, and usually falls in February so that they can observe Id at home.

The marriage ceremony always follows the same pattern.

The Groom's side

a) The foregathering of relatives.

There is no fixed time for assembling. Many people miss the following functions. At the latest, they must be present before the groom's departure. The number of attendants is a most important issue, and people never hesitate to postpone the departure if there are not ample guests (both male and female) to accompany the groom.

b) Trimming of hair and bathing of the groom

From this function onward throughout the marriage ceremony, the groom's friends, his sister's husbands, and affines of the same age (talto bhai) play an important role. From this function on, they always wait close to the groom and give him every possible help in many matter. We must notice that these people are all in a joking relationship with the groom. His brothers, whose relationship to him is rather tense, and rank coloured in favour of the elder brother, are not usually selected to help him.
To the groom, the marriage is an occasion for bashfulness, and he is expected to behave in a shy and modest way. Throughout the ceremony, he must not talk loudly, and must walk slowly. He is expected to hide the lower portion of his face with a handkerchief to show his shyness. People said that they used to select people in joking relationship with him as his assistants so that he would not feel any loneliness, and would remain cheerful during the ceremony.

C) Changing clothing in front of public.

This is the first public performance. The groom sits on a special seat amid a circle of male friends and relatives and changes his clothing completely. Every item of his marriage ceremony must be new from underwear to hat.

D) Donating money for the groom

During the above procedure, a plate with pan leaves is put in front of the groom and guests donate money which they put on the plate. The amount varies according to the donators' economic condition and its range comes between Rs1 and 100. One of the reliable friends or relatives take notes of the donations (including gifts other than money.) Such gifts and money used to be left open for long until the departure of the groom.

E) Procession to the bride's house

When the groom is ready and ample numbers of attendants have assembled, they start for the bride's house. If the house
of the groom is rich enough a motor car will be hired for the groom's use, and specially decorated with coloured papers, while buses will be prepared for the guests accompanying him. Sometimes a palanquin is hired instead of a motor car. In either case, small children of the groom's relatives will accompany him in the same carriage. The role of the children is similar to that of his adult assistants, that is, to make the shy groom cheerful. Fireworks may be let off before the groom's departure.

The bride's side

There is no definite function in the bride's house except those of decorating the bride, and preparing a meal.

After the arrival of the groom's party at the bride's settlement the following function will be performed.

6) Ceremonial stop

When the procession of the groom approaches the bride's settlement, friends are sometimes fired by the bride's side.

When it arrives at the entrance of the settlement, its entry is ceremonially blocked by the children of the bride's settlement. No attempt to enter is made and the people of the groom usually halt where they are and wait.

During the blockage, the children and youths of the bride's settlement come out to see the groom. The hold-up is eventually removed by the gift of sweets. If the children and youths are satisfied by the sweet, they may allow the groom and his people to proceed. But if not, they continue to hold up the procession by asking for more. It is a kind of bargaining. The length of the blockage varies according to the situation. It may
continue for more than one hour. A long delay may harden attitude of the groom's side.

§§) Inviting the groom's party to the seat and the groom's giving money to the youths of the bride's settlement.

After getting permission from the people of the bride's side, the groom's party is invited to the seats. Often a special decorated platform of wood is made for the groom. If it is made, again there will be blocking of the groom by the youths of the bride's side. They will demand a fee for their labour in constructing the platform. This is often taken as a fee for the people of the settlement as a whole. If the platform is not made, the money will be given later sometime before the groom's sitting. Although the amount for such fee is negotiated beforehand, it is usually the case that there is further bargaining. If there is no preliminary decision, there will be heated discussion. The bride's party feel insulted if the amount is too small. From the point of view of the groom's side, they can reduce expenses by trying to reduce this fee, and at the same time show their superiority to the bride's side. ("You are not worth for such a large amount.")

Usually, the children accompanying the groom, friends, his sisters' husbands or talto bhai sit on the platform with him; the rest of the people sit here and there as they like. Tea will be served and again they have to wait for sometime. During this waiting, printed broadsheets may be distributed by both parties, sometimes of a poem, and sometimes an essay. In either case, the quality of the compositions will be compared.
It is another of the items in which both parties compete.

The content of these broadsheets well illustrate the villagers' attitude towards the marriage ceremony, and in one printing written by a groom's younger brother, the marriage is described as a battle between two armies led by the groom and the bride.

"Many a wealthy conqueror attempted to win Kurshid (name of the bride—Hara) but the courageous lady opposed and defeated them. (There were many proposers to marry but the girl had denied them.) This time a victorious conqueror proceeded with the force of a tiger, large army of followers and weapon to conquer the fort (bride's house—Hara). The army of Kurshid could not resist and was defeated. ———The enemy of Kurshid had equipped themselves with modern fine arms like villi (local cigarette), cigarette, and matches.

Kurshid the heroine, being aware of her defeat, sent a messenger to arrange negotiation. ———We heard that our elder brother (the groom—Hara) also decided to show mercy as the famous Alexander the Great showed it to Pru.———Our elder brother could not overlook the charms of the heroine's behaviour and decided to pay her proper respect. It seems to us that the sudden agreement is a happy match. ———When it is asked of Kurshid what is her opinion on this agreement, she answered that it is very happy and acceptable arrangement. ———Soon the condition of war will return to that of peace and both of them will leave her for the sacred fort of Horadia (the groom's village)."

This well dramatizes the antagonism and competitive attitudes of both parties during the wedding ceremony.

Another printing, prepared by a bride's young siblings expressed similar aggression from the bride's side. It also describes the firm attitudes of the bride's relatives on the welfare of the bride in her lonely life in the groom's house. It first addresses the bride and next to the groom.

"Oh elder sister,

Is your marriage today? A brother from unknown village will come to take you like a lightning flash. You are crying as you are about to go to an place. Where shall we go if you shed
(We do not know what to do if you cry.---Hara)
Who will take care of us kindly at the time of meal and bath?
(after your departure---Hara) In exchange for a sister, we will get a brother---------

Oh the groom,
Before the wedding ceremony, we had in our mind a childish idea about the groom. We do not know what kind of brother you are. However, you must remember that our elder sister is very sensitive. Today you made us sisterless. Very well brother, here we have a word for you ear.
If our sister gets in to trouble, you must touch your forehead to the ground and make apology. Be careful and do not do anything wrong to our sister.---------"

Another one written by the groom's side jokingly expressed the tension between affines, speaking to the bride in the following way.

"Hello, elder brother's wife! You are very mysterious. Why did all upon my elder brother? It looked as if you know how to steal, otherwise how you can steal my elder brother from us. Now you are caught red-handed. Tell us whether we shall call the police or not. Now you are sitting disguise as a wife.

Regard us as your favorite siblings. Do not get angry with us for our bad words to you. Do not regard us as your enemy. Do not be afraid of the new place. You will be always praised by us. You must take care of my elder brother. Our elder brother is the most favorite one among us. You will also get such affection if you treat us as your own siblings.---

K) Ceremony of welcome

When the bride's party is ready, the ceremony of welcome is made. Small children of the bride's relatives, 5-11 years old, carry a flower garland and hang it on the groom's neck. If it is a marriage of a well-to-do house, the children go in procession singing a song of welcome. After that, some money is given to the children. These children put sugar to the groom's mouth by hand, and the groom does the same to the children. After that, the people sitting beside the groom (the assistants
above mentioned) try to delay the children there for sometime. The latter, usually girls, show shyness and try to escape. The assistants of the groom grab their hands and jokingly force them to sit besides them. Some children in one marriage threw sugar over the groom instead of putting it in his mouth. Such minor roughness is not taken as misbehaviour, but rather as an essential part of the ceremony which increase the fellowship of the peoples of the both sides. The children are especially selected so that the groom may not feel shy. After the function, a cup of milk covered with a piece of cloth will be brought to the groom who drinks it.

i) Inspection of the groom's gift

This is one of the climaxes of the competition between the groom's party and the bride's party. The elders of the bride's side sit round and the representatives of the groom's side or the go-between open a trunk/trunk and pass the gifts to the former for inspection. The items are checked one by one. In front of the people of the both sides (inspection by elders is made in public) the quantity and quality are openly discussed. The essentials are: Gold ornaments (johr), Clothing for the bride, from underwear to sari and shoes, toilet equipment (such as face powder, hand mirror, perfume, lip-stick, etc.), and clothing for small siblings of the bride if any. The bride and her siblings are expected to wear these when they go to the groom's house. The check is carefully made. Gold ornaments are often weighed on the hand to check the quality. If there is any doubt, the bride's elders can request the receit to check
the price. If either party is dissatisfied, there can be a breach of the engagement. People used to hold a formal debate even when there was nothing to say. After getting general approval, the bride's side carry the gift inside the house to show it to the bride. The bride usually carries her furniture to the groom and these are displayed around the platform where the groom sits. Often the names of the donors and description of their gifts are announced one by one.

j) **Akda**: approval by the groom and the bride of the arrangement

A priest from the bride's side first asks the opinion of the bride who is inside the house on the arrangement. After getting her approval, he comes out and asks the groom his opinion. He first states the name, age, father's name, and locality of the bride; and asks the groom whether he intends to marry her under particular conditions (agreed amount of *Johr-Mahr*). The question will be repeated thrice. When it is finished, a passage of the Koran is recited and the groom's prayer is made.

The groom has to sign on the marriage document (*kabin nama*). This is a document recording the marriage conditions. It is kept by the bride and she can claim proper treatment from the groom according to the conditions written on it. It only becomes important when there is danger of maltreatment by the groom leading to divorce, and often women cannot find their documents. The main items written on the document are as follows.

i) The names of the groom and bride, their fathers' names,
residences, ages, whether the bride is maiden or not, and similar details.

ii) Names of the witnesses on both sides.

iii) Conditions of the marriage contract, the amount of the bride price, and of deferred portion of it, any special conditions, the amount of living allowance which the groom promises to give to the bride, the maximum length of absence by the groom, etc.

This document must be signed by witnesses from both sides.

After this, the groom is invited into the house to see the face of the bride.

k) Feast: release of tension.

The big feast then follows. This is a joyful moment for everyone. There must not be any restraints. It is etiquette for the people of the groom's side to eat without reserve. The bride's side also force the former to take food. This behaviour is a symbol of their new relationship.

l) Returning to the groom's house

The groom's party may stay one night in the bride's house as the ceremony often continues till midnight.

The bride's departure is a sad occasion, and close female relatives like mother and sister of the bride cry loudly and try to delay the procession. At last the bride is escorted into her palanquin or motor car and is carried away with some of her relatives (again including small children) and the groom's party.
When she arrives at the settlement of the groom, the women welcome her. From that day, the people of the settlement (all women, and men younger than the groom) visit her with some gifts. The gifts are essential and taken as a fee to see the bride's face. One groom half-jokingly accused of his friend saying, "How can you come to see my beautiful bride by bringing such a poor gift?"

The sexual relationship will be occurred after three days delay, when the bride is physically mature. After one week, the bride will visit her natal house with the groom and small children and stay there for some time.

G) A case history related to the preceding sections

The following case will illustrate the tense situation in ordinary marriage ceremony.

Case 29 Shahed Rahman was a middle-class cultivator in the village. He decided to accept a proposal from a boy in the neighbouring (continued to the next page)
village to marry his daughter. The father of the groom was a friend of one of the bride's MoBr. At first the father of the bride was not very willing but the mother's brother (wife's brother to the father) pressed him to accept. It was decided that the groom would provide 20 bundles of pan leaves and the John-Mahr would be Rs 5000. It was also decided that 9 tolas of gold had to be paid at the time of the wedding.

The wedding ceremony was from the very beginning a scene of confusion. When the groom's party arrived at the bride's house, the bride's relatives, friends and neighbors were still taking their meal. (Usually the bride's guests are served a meal before the wedding ceremony begins.) They had to cook a new meal for the groom's party so that the latter had to be kept waiting for nearly two hours outside of the house. The bride's side explained the situation saying that they did not know the size of the groom's party beforehand and awaited their arrival; and thus the cooking was delayed. The groom's side became angry but were eventually pacified. However, here the groom's side had overlooked one thing, namely, the money for the youths. One of the bride's party told me that they could have the groom kept waiting outside for 2 or 3 days if they had liked, to punish such negligence. However, the bride's party did not do so as there were several high class guests on their side and people thought it not proper to raise a disturbance. Tension was raised when the groom's side offered only Rs 2 for the girl's barber (kamini), whereas the usual fee from people of a such class was Rs 10.

When the investigation of the things carried by the groom's party began, the excited bride's party made careful check to find out any minor mistake on the groom's side. Firstly, they found that the amount of gold was less and the other side approved their mistake and promised to give more later. Then a person of the bride's side said the quality of sari brought for the bride was extremely bad and worth only 20 rupees. The groom's representatives answered that it was worth 50 rupees and the groom bought it in Calcutta. Then the bride's party requested them to show the receipt. The other party answered that the receipt was not given at Calcutta when the groom bought it. Listening to the excuse, the bride's father began to shout out saying that his prestige was very much injured as the groom's gift-sari was of lower standard than that given by his guests from the city. He was too excited and finally fainted. During this discussion, it was also found that there were no shoes for the bride. The bride's side demanded them and the groom's side eventually produced some. The bride's side accused that the other side had hidden them intentionally. They also found many other mistakes and discussion continued for hours. The father claimed that he would not give his daughter and ordered to throw the clothings brought by the groom to the nearby river. Finally the groom's party apologized and said that the groom could not check his gifts beforehand. They promised that the groom would purchase another sari later.

The groom's party arrived at 7 p.m. but because of this disturbance, the whole function ended only at 1 a.m. in the next morning. Even after the signing on the marriage certificate, no one could tell whether the father would allow the groom to accompany the bride or not. The go-between who was by chance absent during the ceremony rushed to the house in the early
morning. He at first accused the bride's father of his negligence of not calling him earlier and claimed that he could have made a good compromise before the situation became so serious. He also accused the groom's father of behaving so meanly, although he had ample money. Anyhow, through the help of this intermediary, the groom was able to take the bride back to his house. Due to this trouble, the bride's side lost its confidence in the groom. They raised the amount of Johr-Mahr from 5000 rupees to 6000 rupees. They said they would send two men regularly to check whether the groom and his people were maltreating his bride in future.

The case well illustrates the way they compete each other in marriage ceremony and regular disturbances in it. It also shows the importance of an intermediary in settling the problem. The function of Mahr-Johr is also illustrated.
A) Economic relation within parobar

The parobar can be defined as a cluster of relatives sharing a single cooking-hearth. The basic unit within a parobar is a husband, his wife and their unmarried children. The maintenance of the latter group is the responsibility of the husband.

The maintenance of the wife is a contract which the husband should keep in exchange for her sexual services. Usually the amount of the monthly living allowance which he has to give her is mutually agreed and is registered in their marriage document. She need not work extra-domestically to maintain herself or her children. He cannot rely upon anyone else in this respect. The relationship between a husband and his wife as a maintainer and a maintainee remains unchanged until divorce or the death of either partner.

The relationship between a father and children changes as the children's statuses do. Before the boys begin to work, the relationship is similar to that between the husband and his wife, a one-sided obligation to maintain. The difference is that the father cannot expect any return. Even after the beginning of the earning of the sons, there is no moral obligation for them to maintain their parents and their siblings, but it is virtue to do so. Villagers rarely give severe sanctioning to working youth who are not contributing any money to the central budget. The earning son can, if he wishes, live on his own, cutting himself off economically from his natal parobar. The decision is in his hands not in those of his
father. Whatever the former does, the latter's obligation is not removed or diminished; and he has to support the former, if he comes back to the parental house. Due to the bad living condition of their houses in the village, these youths tend to live in the city living at their own expense without contributing anything to their natal paribars. The girls remain as maintainees of their father throughout their life until they marry.

I have already described the change of status of such youths after marriage. There is no further obligation on the part of the father to maintain a married son and his new maintainee (SoWi and SoChn). Let me call such set of a maintainer and his maintainee as "an unit of maintenance". The formation of larger paribar by many of such units is based on pure contract between the earners. The relationship between the dependants of one earner and those of the other is economically indirect. The amount of each contribution is fixed between earners through negotiation, and it is to be spent on food and house repairing. If there are any extra common expenses needed, they will negotiate time to time. The remaining portion of each earner's income is used for clothing or other expenses of each unit. The earners and their dependants often jealously guard the interest of their own unit.

Thus being the case, although the same word paribar is used to denote a group of relatives who take meal from the same kitchen, the nature of ekanno paribar (paribar of the same kitchen) which includes two or more couples is different from that of pritaku paribar (separated paribar) where only one
A couple exists. The former is economically based on secular contract and the latter on the law related to the religion. The paribar is an unit of consumption but it is not a property-owning unit. The principle of individual ownership is strictly observed except over the funds in the central budget. Although they are living under one roof and taking meals from the same kitchen, the ownership of every article is definite and no one can use another member's property without the owners' prior consent. In most paribar where the members belong to one unit of maintenance and whose children are still young, most of the immovable properties, the house construction, land for house site, ponds, and fields are usually owned by the husband. The paribar is maintained from his cash-income. Home grown rice usually provides at least part of the total domestic consumption. Once a son begins to earn cash, he can begin to buy his own land with any surplus left after contributing to the family budget. Legally this land is the sole property of the purchaser, but his other brothers tend to claim rights in it on the ground of their contribution. Such claims tend to be voiced at those times when new contributions to the paribar budget are due; and when the paternal property is finally partitioned, there is usually hot disagreement over the disposal of such plots of self-acquired land.

The division of property rarely occurs during the father's life time. As the children's responsibility of maintaining the father is not culturally emphasized, the father always prefers to keep his property under his own control, partly to keep his children permanently linked to the paribar by expectation of getting products, and partly to provide his own
food supply after retirement. Thus we must distinguish the division of the paribar by the establishment of separate cooking hearth from the partition of parental property.

The division of paribar involves the division of residential place. If the division occurs by initiative of a son, he may purchase his own land and construct a house and shift there. If the division is based on mutual consent between the son and the father or other earning members of the original paribar, the original house construction must be divided into two by bamboo partitions. Or, the father may give either land or house construction. But the transfer is often not registered and the legal rights over such land is not at all clear. It is usually the case that such house-site and house are not counted as a gift by the father and must be taken into account as part of the total patrimony at the time of final partition. However, in such cases the son who is dwelling in the house can at least be given priority over other sons in selecting this house and site as his. As to the produce of the paddy fields owned by father, the son can give no claim. If the father wishes to divide the produce between two paribar according to their size of membership, he can do it. If he wishes to give it to one son only, no one can prevent him.

However, the division of paribar usually follows rather than precedes the division of inherited property after the father's death.

People in this area follow the Hanafi code of law. There are many books on the Hanafi code and it is not the researcher's intention to recapitulate it. The emphasis will be put on its
modification by local customs in the following description. After the death of a man, the following expenses must first be deducted from the property left:

a) Any debts left by the deceased
b) His funeral expenses,

As to the remaining portion, the deceased can allot by will only 1/3 of his total assets. The rest is non-discriminately divided among the heirs according to the code. Villagers always prefer the latter type of division to that during the father's life-time because discriminative life-time division always causes severe conflict between brothers after the father's death.

If a man dies, leaving a widow, sons and daughters, which is the usual state of affairs, the wife is entitled to 1/8 of the total estate after deduction of debts and funeral expenses. The rest is divided among the children in the proportion of:

a son 2; a daughter 1. However, the daughter usually passes her right of usufruct on the property to her brothers (the sons). She can choose any brother to pass her right but she usually does so to all of her brothers indiscriminately unless there is any one with whom she quarrels. For example, if she has some usufruct rights over a paddy field, it is cultivated by her brothers and the produce consumed by them, while the sister still retains her right of ownership on the land. If she likes to claim it for her own use, she can legally do so. The Court will support her if the brothers resist her. The brothers usually have to ask nominal permission from their sister for the kind of crops they are going to cultivate on
the land when they like to change them. The husband has an interest in his wife's property but general opinion disapproves of any attempt by him to get it under his control. There is a proverb: "If a man uses his wife's property, he will spoil his own."

Such a gift of usufruct by a sister to her brothers creates a strong sense of indebtedness in the brothers' mind. Moreover, her retention of right protected by legal code always threatens the de facto occupation of property by the brothers. In exchange for the usufruct, the brothers have to help her in any crisis. This includes interference in case of misbehavior by her husband as well as economic help. However, if there is urgent need of a large amount of money by the sister, she usually raises it by selling her rights over property to her brothers. After such an event, given by her brothers tends to lessen. If there has been no such arrangement, sister's son can claim the property as her legitimate heirs after her death.

I have already stated that a fairly big portion of the bride price still remains unpaid after the betrothal ceremony, and becomes a debt of the husband to his wife. Thus the married woman usually stands as a creditor to two persons, her husband and her brother. The brother's service to the sister is often of great help to her husband. In consequence, the married woman has a double hold over her husband.

A woman's economic position in her conjugal paribar is further strengthened by her possession of jewels and other valuables. The paid portion of her bride-price is usually held in the form of jewels or land which is purchased after
marriage. As the woman has no obligation to maintain any other person, the husband cannot officially coerce her into using it for paribar expenses. It is only by her benevolent consent that her property can be so disposed of, and it is often used against the husband's will. At a time of domestic financial crisis like unemployment of the husband or children's schooling, the wife's property may prove vital, i.e., as a pledge or capital asset to sell for cash. Thus economically, a married woman's position in her husband's paribar is critical.

A characteristic of Moslem Paribar is that it has no strong enduring economic frame-work to unite the members into an effective unit. Because of the emphasis on individual ownership, there is no concept of ancestral property which must be transmitted from one generation to another. Because a father cannot, under Hanafi Law, make personal disposition by will of more than a third of his property, the sons can inherit their shares irrespective of their behaviour towards their father. Thus married sons usually tend to escape early from the natal paribar where the old parents live without much income. The one-way obligation of maintenance by the father gives positive encouragement to the sons to separate themselves temporarily or permanently from their natal paribar, being assured of maintenance there whenever they choose to seek it.

These factors always invite (or at least encourage) the fission of a paribar into two or more smaller units of maintenance when it is composed of more than two couples. Even when there is only one couple, an earning son may go out from
their natal paribar having the assurance above-mentioned. This tendency is accelerated by the demographic conditions in paribar which will be discussed in the next section.

B) Developmental Process

I have so far described the economic relationship among earning and owning members within paribar. However, to understand the nature of the Moslem paribar fully, we must take the demographic condition into consideration. In the following description of the developmental process of I should like to show mainly how the conflict among these property-owning members comes to be intensified at particular stages of the process and alter the structure of paribar.

It seems to me that we can assert 5 primary demographic conditions in my village relevant to this problem.

I call them primary conditions, because they cannot be explained by combinations of other demographic conditions, but only by other physical or social conditions.

They are:

PDC-1=Early first marriage by momen (median=13 years of age)
PDC-2=Comparatively late first marriage by men (median for eldest and only sons=20 years of age, median for other sons=25 years of age)
PDC-3=Frequent divorces
PDC-4=Frequent death of young wives
PDC-5=Frequent remarriage by men to much younger girls, so that the second wife's age at the time of marriage is usually much younger than that of the first one at her
death. (Hu's age-1st Wi's age-Median 10.0 years; Hu's age-later Wi's age-Median 14.5 years.

These conditions have already been analyzed in detail in the earlier chapter on "marriage".

The secondary demographic conditions deriving from these primary demographic conditions are as follows.

SDC-1=Big gap of age between the husband and his wife (Median (Hu-lWi)=10.0, Median (Hu-later Wi)=14.5)

SDC-2=Big gap of age between the eldest son and the youngest (Median=13.0; In more general, big gap of age between the eldest child and the youngest, median to full sibling =14.0, median for half-siblings=22.0, median for all siblings=15.0)

SDC-3=Big gap of age between a father and his sons (Median Fa-estSo=30.0; Taking father over 50 years only, Median Fa-yestSo=45.0)

SDC-2 is caused by the long reproductive time-span of women (from 15 years of age to 35-40 years of age). We must notice that the reproductive time-span of a paribar can be greatly extended by the man's remarriage to younger wives. Tables 38-43 show the distribution of figures relating to above-mentioned conditions.

I shall now go on to trace the consequence of the above-mentioned phenomena and describe the typical developmental process of paribar. For convenience, I should like to begin my description at the stage when a newly wedded couple start their own independent paribar just after their wedding. As we shall see later, such a condition is likely for middle
### Table 38

The Gap of Age between Husbands and Their Wives in the Cases of Their First Marriage*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hu's Age minus Wi's Age</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hu's Age in 1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>94**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* More samples were added to those compiled in Tables 1 & 3.

** Median length of gap between husband's and wife's age: 10.0 years.

### Table 39

The Gap of Age between Husbands and Their Wives in the Case of Their Remarriages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hu's Age minus Wi's Age</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hu's Age in 1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median length of gap between husband's and wife's age: 14.5 years.
Table 40

The Gap of Age between the Eldest and the Youngest Child Whose Father is over 50 Years of Age or Have Already Died.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Sibling</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full sibling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half sibling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median length of gap in ages for full siblings: 14.0 yrs.
** Median length of gap in ages for half siblings: 22.0 yrs.
*** Median length of gap in ages for all siblings: 15.0 yrs.

Table 41

The Gap of Age between the Eldest Son and the Youngest Son Whose Father is over 50 Years of Age or Have Already Died.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-</th>
<th><strong>Total</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median length of gap in ages between the eldest and the youngest sons: 13.0 years.
### Table 42

The Gap of Age between Fathers and Their Eldest Sons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of a father minus age of his eldest son</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-44</th>
<th>45-49</th>
<th>50-54</th>
<th>55-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of eldest son</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median length of gap in ages between fathers and their eldest sons: 30.0 years.

### Table 43

The Gap of Age between Fathers and Their Youngest Sons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of a father minus age of his youngest son</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-44</th>
<th>45-49</th>
<th>50-54</th>
<th>55-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father's age in 1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-29</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median length of gap in ages between fathers over 50 years of age and their youngest sons: 45.0 years

** Median length of gap in ages between fathers and their youngest sons: 40.0 years.

### Table 44

Number of Children from Living Married Women of Sikdar Bari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Age</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>30-39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or younger sons whose father has died. Let us presume that the husband (Hu) is 25 years old and his wife (Wi) is 13 years old. Usually she does not bear a child until she becomes 15 years old.

From then on, the size of parihar increases for some time by the regular birth of children to the couple. However, to judge from my parihar census, women rarely bear children in successive years. The average gap between two children seems to be one of at least 2 years.

There are few parihar which do not lose one or two children before they grow up. However, the average number of children born of one woman remains fairly large. Table 44 shows the number of surviving children at the time of research from mothers of Sikdar bari. Considering the further increase of children from younger mothers, we can say the average number of children from a mother after menopause comes around. The age of girls at the time of first marriage is sometimes less than the gap of age between eldest child and youngest child in a parihar. (Median 13 against Median 15 respectively). Thus, if the elder children are girls, they begin to marry out from the parihar about the time of, or even before, the birth of their youngest siblings. This is especially so when the husband takes another wife after the death of his first one. Thus the tempo of expansion of a parihar begins to slow down somewhere around 15 years after the husband's first marriage (Hu—40, Wi—28). Often the size of the parihar begins to shrink at this stage, i.e., births slow down or cease while growing junior gets married.

This shrinkage continues for perhaps 10 years or less,
during or about which time the wife loses her reproductive capac­
ity. Around that period, the first son usually marries, by which time, his father may be approaching 50 and his mother 38. This is nearly the end of the earning life of his father.

According to the villagers' comments, a man over 50 is "old" (bura); whereas a woman becomes old (buri) after 25-30 years. When they are speaking of buri women, they are thinking of sexual attractiveness. On the other hand, when they are speaking of bura men, they are mainly thinking of the decline of earning ability (white hair is said to appear after 45 years of age).

This is the time when a man thinks of abandoning his ambitions of "success". However, if the father still lives, he can contribute some money. At least, he is still the owner of his property. If the first son lives with him, he can eat the produce from the father's fields. Moreover, the first son can, if he wishes, get his mother/father's wife to look after his bride, both in the sense of instructing her in household tasks, and in that of guarding her chastity during his absence. The parents prefer to live with the first son partly for emotional reasons and partly to get hands and new income source. The latter reason becomes more important when they feel themselves becoming old. However, the large joint paribar rarely continues to exist for long. There is the possibility of a severe struggle between a mother-in-law and the bride for domestic authority. Women get power through their husbands' earning ability. At this period, both husbands (father and his first son) are economically still able to earn and thus their wives behave high-handedly.
Another conflict usually occurs between the sons. The second or third son may marry before his father dies. In such cases, the new couple also live with their parents and married elder brother for some time. We must notice that at that time, the sons' statuses are most diversified. One can see the following conditions.

i) the first son, married and earning, with several growing children.
ii) the middle sons, earning unmarried or newly married with one or few children.
iii) The younger sons, not earning, unmarried, and completely dependant in the paribar.

The conflict between the eldest and middle son is usually marked by complaints from the latter. He usually complains saying, "I have no one to support except myself and my wife only. My elder brother has lots of children. We must also entertain his affinals if they come. In that case, why I must contribute so much?"

Another conflict exists between the eldest son and the dependent younger sons. The latter appear as a burden to him. From his point of view, he is limited in the free use of his income. Having dependants besides his own wife and children, he cannot accumulate money. His daughter's marriage may be approaching and this will impose on him a heavy economic burden.

If, as is not uncommon, a paribar half-siblings the conflict becomes severe. A father's decline or death often coincides with this critical diversification of interests among the male siblings. Thus there is no authority to control them and their contributions to the central budget become for them an urgent
and acute problem.

This conflict sometimes leads to the partition of the paribar. In such a case, usually but not necessarily, the eldest son establishes a paribar of his own with his wife and children, and the younger sons jointly live in another. This type of partition is most in accordance with the general pattern of interests. The middle son who has few dependants of his own feels his younger brother to be a burden. There is a tendency for parents to choose the younger son to live with if such partition occurs. The reasons are as follows:

i) As the main cause of partition is economic conflict, parents usually live with younger sons in whose paribar income per capita is high.

ii) If there are non-adult younger sons, they are still legally in the custody of their parents and the latter have to live with them.

iii) If a step-relationship is involved, the surviving mother, i.e., the second or third wife of the father always chooses her own sons to live with, and normally they are the younger sons. In this case the father will be induced by his wife to accompany her.

iv) There is likelihood of conflict between a mother and her eldest son's wife.

However, as there is no prescribed rule, no single case is regarded as exceptional or illicit.

Table 45 illustrates the state of affairs. As you can see, no one pattern of fission cannot be a majority. In any case, the position of old parents is unstable and they often shift
### Table 45

#### Timing and the Mode of Fission of Paribar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Existence or non-existence of parent at the time of fission</th>
<th>Father Dead</th>
<th>Mother Dead</th>
<th>Father Living</th>
<th>Mother Living</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence pattern of living parent after fission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother living with the youngest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother living with one of the middle sons</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother living with the eldest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two mothers living separately, one with one of the elder sons, another with one of the younger sons</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother living alone</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father &amp; Mother jointly living with the youngest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father &amp; Mother jointly living with the eldest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father &amp; Mother living separately, one with the eldest son, another with the youngest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father &amp; one Mother jointly with the youngest son and another Mother with the eldest son</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not investigated</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Their residence many times from the paribar of one son to another, whenever they make quarrel with the latter.

Many problems arises from the premature death or incapacity of a father. Table 46 shows the marital status and age of sons at the time of death of their father. Fifty years of age is the minimum average life expectancy of those who can survive the crisis during their babyhood. And we can see that even in the case of men who died at the relatively ripe age of 50, almost half of their sons were unmarried and wholly or partly dependent on them. Arranging the data in another way as in Table 47, we can see nearly 1/3 of the total numbers of paribars were left after the death of the father without males over 20 years of age. It is usually the case that a paribar rapidly declines after the death of the main earner because the women cannot take employment except for the limited kind of works due to purdah. All that remains for the widow without earning sons is to sell any land and gold ornaments they possess unless they have fairly large amount of land enough to maintain her through its management. In ordinary paribar, however, the amount of property will inevitably have decreased before the sons can utilize it. This is a factor of chance but the chances are unequally distributed to the disadvantage of the villagers because of demographic conditions. Put it in exaggerated way, most people individually have to trace "then to rags again in two generations" type of life cycle.

In addition to the economic discontinuity, there is also cultural discontinuity within a paribar, especially among males. I have already stated in Chapter 3 that the older men usually cannot help their sons in getting employment. The absence of adult
Table 46

Marital Status and Age of Sons at the Time of Death of their Fathers
(M: Married; NM: Unmarried)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son's Age and marital status</th>
<th>30up</th>
<th>29-20</th>
<th>29-20'19-15'15'below</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total No. of father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fa's age at death</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>NM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 47

What Percentages of Sons in a Male Sibling Sets are 20 Years of Age at the Time of the Death of Their Fathers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa's age at death</th>
<th>100%</th>
<th>'99-50</th>
<th>'49-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-29</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 up</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
males from **paribar** also makes the latter functionally incomplete even in daily life.

I have so far examined the three major influences of demographic conditions on the nature of **paribar**, namely;

i) Decrease of **paribar** size

ii) Atomization of **paribar** into basic unit of maintenance and

iii) Functional inadequacy of **paribar**

Thus, we can draw the statistical results in Table 48 from the **paribar** census from three sample settlements:

Out of the total of 108 **paribars**, 66 are each composed of one basic unit of maintenance, whose median size is 5.0 persons. Of these 66, ten **paribars** lack a senior male. Out of 42 bigger **paribars**, 19 are composed of one basic unit of maintenance plus the widowed mother each. Only **9** **paribars** contain two full complexes of succeeding generations. Among the **5** **paribars** remaining, 2 are composed of one basic unit of maintenance plus a widowed father. The other **3** are **paribars** with one basic unit of maintenance with **unmarried siblings** of the senior male. The median size for these **paribars** is only 6 persons. The more complex form of **paribar**, that with more than three complexes, either complete or incomplete, is found in only **9** cases, with a median size of 12.0 persons.

Another result of this particular demographic condition is a differential developmental process of **paribar** for the elder male sibling and younger male. The elder sibling often begins his marital life with his parents but the younger with or without the mother only. The wife of the former has to face a more
Table 48: Types and Sizes of Paribar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Nf</th>
<th>Nm</th>
<th>Sf</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Sf</th>
<th>Sn</th>
<th>Jf</th>
<th>Jn</th>
<th>Jn</th>
<th>Jn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (No. of members)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8+</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1+</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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Nf = Hu, Wi, unmarried Chr.
Nm = Wi, unmarried Chr. (Hu died)
Sf = Hu, Wi, married So, SoWi, SoChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
SnFa = Wi, married So, SoWi, SoChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
SnMo = Hu, married So, SoWi, SoChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
SnFaMo = Hu, Wi, Chr, unmarried Siblings
Jf = Hu, Wi, married Sox, SoxWi, SoxChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
JnFa = Wi, married Sox, SoxWi, SoxChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
JnMo = Hu, married Sox, SoxWi, SoxChr, unmarried Chr (sometimes)
JnFaMo = Hu, Wi, married Br, BrWi, married or unmarried Chr, BrChr, etc.
+ = polygamous marriage included.
complex domestic human relationship than the latter.

Table 49 shows the situation.

Under such conditions, it seems inappropriate to use the term "developmental cycle" of paribar as the words suggest that the preceding process is similar or identical with the succeeding one. In many cases the developmental process of the father's paribar differs from those of some sons and that is why I have kept to use the word "process" instead of "cycle".
Table 49
Paribar Type of the Eldest Sons and Youngest Sons
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Tot.: Total number; Work: Individual working by himself;
NESo: Non-earning sons; UMda: Unmarried daughter;
NEBr: Non-earning brother; UMSi: Unmarried Sister;
EBr: Earning brother; ESo: Earning son; Mda: Married daughter.
C) Man's Life in Paribar

Boys enjoy a freer life in childhood than do girls. When they become five years old, they are usually free to leave the house at will and play with their peers and elders. Boys are not so strongly requested to perform house-
hold chores. They can play the whole day long except during the school hours and the time spent in religious training in the Masjid. Boys are usually not well disciplined as most fathers usually stay outside the settlement and the mother cannot properly control them because of purdah. The adults in the settlement can scold a boy if he commits any public misbehaviour, but they cannot discipline him, as physical punishment is the legal prerogative of the father, and an attempt at physical intervention may (and sometimes does) become the cause of quarrel between two paribars as the parents take it as insult towards them. The boy learns how to adjust himself to the society by trial and error in company with his peers. The boy is often instructed by his mother not to quarrel with others. However, she cannot readily find out what has happened outside the home if the boy keeps his mouth shut. Quarrels among children often come to the parents' ears only when the parents of the other children accuse their son. In such cases, the parents of the boy often support him uncritically as they regard the accusation as insults to them. However, elders usually do not intervene in boys' quarrels though they may stop it if it develops into physical combat. Even in such cases, the elders rarely enquire into the details of the quarrel or express opinions about it. The boys are expected to solve
the case among themselves by group discussion without asking adults' opinion.

Boys are encouraged to live an independent life. The attitude of non-interference by the parents is one of the expressions of that value. The boy is encouraged to live independently from his childhood, even when he is ten years old. However, young he may be, his income is regarded as his personal property and parents rarely interfere in its use. I have stated before that the youth often lives in a remote city with little contact with the paribar as he is well accustomed to live alone on their ability. They never hesitate to live outside without relying upon anyone else.

The stress on individual independence weakens paribar as an effective functional unit. I have already remarked in the Chapter on Territorial Groups that a paribar cannot act as a political unit; and a man can make and act on his own decisions irrespective of those of the other members. We find a similar situation even in the sphere of religion or economics. A man can choose any masjid for his Friday prayer and often paribar members go separately to different ones. If a youth works to adopt a new method of cultivation, he can do it on his fields regardless of the opinions of the elders of his paribar.

As we have seen, there is no fixed potestality among the male members of one paribar. A man can give orders only when he has sufficiently coercive economic powers. The children are taught to obey their fathers when they are young. However, the father's authority rapidly
decreases when his level of earnings declines below that of his son. The word patriarchy is rather misleading as authority is not unconditionally inherent in a particular kinship position such as that of the father, but derives from ability.

The relationship among male members of a paribar is always coloured by ranking. Sisters behave as equals and can joke freely with each other. However, the relationship among men is quite formal. The villagers said, "Brothers will not urinate together when they have grown up. After maturity they never show their private parts to each other when they are changing their cloth. However, women are shameless. Sisters may sit together to urinate, showing each other their private parts. They may strip naked together to change their cloths." Not only the father but also the elder brother usually regards his junior sternly, give orders in a sharp tone, and frequently scolds him for minor faults. The younger brother is taught by the elder brother to be obedient to them when he is young, often by force. However, this does not necessarily mean that there is difference in their legal status. The siblings can claim an equal share in their father's property irrespective of their birth order. The parents rarely discriminate in favour of elder sons in daily life. The younger brother knows the importance of equality and protests loudly to his parents against anything he regards as unfair treatment. If one watches the behaviour of brothers when they are young, he may get the impression that the authority enjoyed by the elder brothers is fairly strong. However, this is only a
temporary phenomenon. The elder brother's authority during his boyhood is mainly based on greater physical power and his relatively greater experience. The difference in physical power between two brothers during their childhood is naturally fairly big but it levels off when both have reached maturity. The elder can assert superiority during the early days of his earning because the difference between him and his brother is qualitative. However, once the younger brother begins to earn, the balance of power changes remarkably as the former usually begins to bear the burden of his wife and children. The younger brother without dependents can enjoy his income more freely and thus becomes relatively richer than the elder.

The brothers after this period are usually in conflict each other. I am not saying that every male inevitably quarrels with his male siblings. However, there are many situations in which their interests are clearly opposed. I have already stated the likelihood of conflict over the amount of contribution to the central budget of the paribar and over the division of inherited property. The unity of larger paribar is always undermined through conflicts among brothers.

I shall now discuss the effect of a large age-gap between the eldest brother and the youngest. Although the parents rarely discriminate deliberately between sons, the elder sons often get more economic support at their start in life. The elder son's marriage expenses can be paid by the father as he is still earning. He is more likely to get a good education if he chooses. The youngest, who often
reaches maturity only after his father's death, is less likely to enjoy such advantages. Often unsatisfied younger sons cause trouble at the division of his father's property. For these reasons, the relationship between grown-up brothers is often cool or hostile. They tend to seek their emotional support somewhere else. When they are young, it is normally from their mother and sisters, and their peers. The latter's role in this respect become more and more important as they reach adolescence, since the social compartmentation between male and female becomes sharper. Men before marriage rarely stay at home even when they come back to the village after one or two months' absence. They prefer to chat with their friends in the open fields or at restaurants in the market. This tendency continues after marriage. For men, the home is the place only for sex, sleeping and eating. They show less interest in the details of paribar life in the village. They hand over the housekeeping money to their wives and often show a permissive attitude to the management. (I have already discussed the existence of bad communication between a husband and his wife.)

Although it is regarded as a virtue for a man to leave property to his wife and children, he is not obliged to do so. He often loses his property during his life-time by his adventures in business. However, he must accumulate some not for his children but for his own sake as the position of the old is economically weak in Moslem paribar. The father is never obliged to leave his property. Everyone is believed to have his own destiny, and the children are
expected to make their way in life by themselves. The father even does not leave his name to his sons. The Moslem name is composed of two parts like "Abdul Hai" or "Farid Ahmed". Each part is selected from Arabic names which are not more than 30 in total. Taking statistics from the sample settlement, I found that there are no similarity between that of father and those of the sons. There is no name for paribar members and thus women need not change their name after marriage. In other words, paribar lacks symbols to unite its members together.
D) The Life of a Girl in Paribar

Whatever their sex may be, children legally belong to their father. However, in daily life, the emotional attachment of a girl to her mother is far closer than that to her father because of the division of activities between the male and the female. When the girl wants to go outside the house, it is often the mother, rather than the father that has the effective power to give permission. The father separates himself deliberately from the life of his daughters and leave them to the control of their mother.

Girls are expected to be obedient to everyone and quiet. The differentiation of their life from that of men becomes fairly marked once they reach the age of 7-8 years. After that age, girls share the burden of the house-work with their mothers. They have to look after their younger siblings; collect dead leaves for fuel; and when they become older, to carry water from tube-well, which is among the heaviest tasks of village life. Permission to leave the settlement for any purpose is rarely granted them. Instead, they are released from outdoor tasks like shopping or cultivation. They are dependants and have no obligation to earn their keep.

The girls' relationships to their relatives are normally amicable. Among unmarried sisters, there is neither competition nor formal order of authority such as can be seen among brothers. They cannot be competitors with their brothers. Rather, the sisters are potential creditors after the future death of their parents and thus the latter need to treat the former well.
Marriage usually comes directly after the short period of training in domestic work. Although the relationship between husband and wife is a woman's primary concern, she is still regarded by his relative as an outsider to gusti. She herself retains strong emotional ties with her own kindred. I have explained that due to their special economic relationship with her, a married woman's brothers often interfere in her domestic life to protect her welfare. This interference is further strengthened by this emotional identity. The following case illustrate the point.

Case 30 Wadud lost his mother when he was a baby. His father then got married to a woman from a distant village. When he grew up, Wadud married a girl from the same settlement who was related to him. Although the girl behaved well, her mother-in-law used to maltreat her. Once she ordered her to cook rice, giving her a very few firewoods, and locking up the storehouse so that she might not take any more. She was crying as she could not manage to do so. Hearing her weeping, an old man who lived next door and was related to her and to Wadud loudly criticized the step-mother saying: "We gave Wadud a girl of the same blood and the same settlement. How do you, an outsider, dare to maltreat our girl?" He then opened the locked storehouse by force and gave the girl some firewood.

This episode illustrates two things: One is that marriage does not change a woman's status as "outsider" or "insider". The phenomenon can be further seen in usage of kinship terminology. If the wife comes from a related family, she may retain existing kinship terminology, even to the husband's closest relatives. Thus, Hai's wife used to call her husband's mother not "ma (mother)" but "fufu (FaSi)" i.e., she was not incorporated into the paribar as a fictitious daughter but was keeping her former status. We can also see here the weakness of identity between the husband's relatives and his wife although the relationship is
taken as one of the strongest. The exterior status of the married woman can be seen in the distribution of authority over her. A wife is expected to behave obediently to her husband's elderly relatives, but it is only her husband who has power over her. It is a virtue but not a duty to behave well to a husband's parents or siblings; and if there is some conflict between the welfare of such relatives and that of the husband, she is expected to give preference to the latter.

What the wife does as such is regulated only by the husband's wishes and no one else can criticize or punish if she misbehaves. Thus if a wife is allowed to go to a city by her husband, no one else can say anything although the conduct is against purdah. On one occasion, the wife of a man of Sikdar bari quarrelled with an elderly woman of that settlement, her HuFaSi. She abused the latter so bitterly that the old woman asked the parashalda to summon a settlement meeting (sharish) to condemn the wife for thus abusing her elders. Hearing this, her husband became angry and claimed that only he himself had a right to punish his wife and it is beyond their right to do so. The claim was accepted by public and the sharish was not held.

We should notice that this authority over the wife enjoyed by the husband is not given unconditionally. In exchange, the husband is also bound to fulfil his marital duties, sexual and economic. If he fails to do so, the wife never hesitates to criticize him publicly.
Abdul Wadud was nearly 60 years old and was becoming physically frailer. He was working in the city as a clerk in his relative's shop and was approaching retirement. He had been getting a salary of Rs100 a month. His four sons had grown up and were earning but only two of them could provide enough money to support the old parents. Moreover, one of the two was married, had separated from his paribar, and often neglected to contribute money to his parent's paribar. In those days, Wadud used to stay in the village on some days feeling weak to work. At that time, his wife used to accuse him in front of their guests of being lazy and not earning enough.

Her behaviour was not criticized by the other villagers. However, old a man may be, the duty of maintenance is on his shoulders and the wife's criticism is legitimate to that extent. Nor does the husband's duty ends with daily maintenance. He must provide the facilities to allow his wife to keep purdah properly. I have already quoted a case in which a husband had to construct a special bathing-place for his wife, although he was in economic difficulty and was rather unwilling to do so. The husband is also expected to provide her living conditions similar to those she had enjoyed in her natal paribar. Due to the man's hypergamous tendency, the wife often comes from that of higher economic status, and this makes adjustment to the husband's paribar more difficult. If there is a conflict between the interest of the mother-in-law and that of wife, the husband often takes the wife's part. He is rather expected to shield his wife from criticism by his relatives.
Thus being the case, the wife's position is fairly strong, due to three factors, namely: her economic power (through jewels, deferred portion of Johr-Mahr, and any material help from her natal house due to her latent right of inheritance), the possibility of her brother's interference, and her being under her husband's authority exclusively. Thus the bringing in of a wife causes great disturbance in the solidarity of the paribar and drives the husband into sharp role conflict.

There is a proverb in the village, "A thousand beards can live together, but not four breasts." The four breasts are those of female affines (mother-in-law versus bride, or sisters-in-law) but not those of consanguines. Some villagers used the proverb to comment that women were so stupid that they always quarrel among themselves over trifling matters, while men can keep up amicable relationships and maintain solidarities. In many cases, the phrase is used to explain the splitting up of a paribar after son(s) marriages. The proverb can be interpreted to point out the change of orientation of men's interest. Male relatives before marriage (the 1,000 bears) have no such sharp conflict of interests, while after marriage, the interests, comparatively speaking, diversified in many ways.

The unity of the larger type of paribar is further weakened by its system of authority. As a married man can have legal authority only over the people of his unit of maintenance, there is no unified system of control in larger paribar where more than two couples exist. The following case will illustrate the situation.
Case 3] Abdul Wadud's paribar in 1963 was composed of the following people.

Abdul Wadud (60) Semi retired from business
Wi (50)
1st So (32) Abdul Hai - Working in the city as a clerk

1st SoWi (25)
1st Da (15)
5th So (14)
1 SoSo (4)
1 SoDa (2)

(There are three more sons who are single and usually staying in the city and live by themselves.)

Wadud and his wife were a fairly conservative couple, especially his wife, who kept purdah strictly and encouraged the other women to follow her example. Moslem women traditionally wear two pieces of short clothing, one to cover upper part of the body and another to cover lower part; and though one-piece sari is now fashionable nowadays, whenever her son purchased one for her in the city she used to cut it into two pieces. One day she invited a priest to her residence and served him with a meal in metal dishes. The priest scolded her saying that pious people should use earthen ware instead of metal, as only earthen ware was mentioned in religious books like Hadith. She took him at his word and insisted for some time thereafter on using only earthen ware. She was also opposed to dancing and music. On the other hand, Hai was quite modern in his view. He often neglected religious customs like fasting during Ramadan. He used to buy European type of clothing for his children. He used to say that he was going to make his daughter learn dancing and would give her higher education up to university. He answered the question whether his mother might object to his plan in the following words: "She is my daughter and I can do what I like. My mother has no right to interfere, whatever I care to do." The same man also said that he could not intervene in his sister's education as she was under his parents' authority. The sister had to leave school to keep purdah when she was in the 5th grade of the primary school.

Thus a woman can change the style of life of her husband's paribar without taking notice of objections from old parents-in-law if she happens to have come from the paribar of different style of life.

Although many girls have little knowledge of domestic duties at the time of marriage, adjustment is usually not difficult. The kind of tasks they must perform
are rather simple, and there is little difference between those in her husband's house and those she learnt to carry out in her natal house, except where there is marked status difference between the two paribars. Although they have to learn more special techniques, say, cooking elaborate dishes, married life to a great extent is the continuation of that in her natal house.

Women are expected to get up at the earliest call for prayer, 5 - 5:30 a.m. They unlock the door and begin to clean up the house. After which, they wash their hands and faces, and pray. After that feed the fowls and prepare tea and light meal. By 7 a.m., most of the people of the paribar are awake and take tea, after which the men go out to work. The women then gather to gossip while performing light household tasks such as preparing vegetables for cooking. About 10 a.m., the women bathe in the domestic pond, after which they prepare lunch. Finishing lunch by 12 noon, they take a nap until about 3 p.m. At about 3 p.m., they pray again, and later prepare tea. At 4 p.m., they take tea. They have to feed the fowls again and then prepare for dinner. Before dinner, at 8 p.m., they have another period of prayer. They then gossip for an hour and go to sleep at about 9 - 9:30 p.m. after another prayer. Washing and fetching water is done whenever convenient. As they are excluded from most outdoor work, their life is not physically exhausting.

What is most difficult for married women is their adjustment to new social conditions rather than to a new style
of life. In her natal settlement, everyone is her relative and she need not worry much about her purdah. In her husband's settlement, nearly half of the males (those older than her husband) must be avoided carefully in daily life due to purdah, unless the latter has been related to her through former ties. On the other hand, the bride is in joking relationship with the husband's siblings and cousins younger than the husband. When the age of the latter is equal, she is expected to behave as a good elder sister, and as a kind mother when there is a gap. She is expected to be an intermediary between the younger member and the elder members of the paribar. Most young girls come to learn about sex (including knowledge about menstruation) from their eBrWi. Young boys also explain their difficulties and ask help of their eBrWi even before they do so to their own brothers or fathers. By sympathetic and tactful handling of these young couples, a wife can make friends whose support eases the burden of her daily life.

A married woman's influence in a paribar depends upon several factors, namely, amount of her property, such as jewelry, etc., amount of the deferred portion of the bride price, amount of casual help by her relatives, frequency and intensity of intervention by her relatives, the relative strength of her husband in paribar, amount of support by women in the husband's settlement, her physical strength, and the existence of children. Some of these remain relatively constant throughout her marital life but others are variables. At the initial stage of married life,
the first son's bride's power depends on her mother-in-law's power to dominate over her. If the latter has a strong economic power of her father-in-law at her back, the former often has to give her way. Her own father's or brothers' intervention may help her in such situations. Usually the death or weakening of her father-in-law comes earlier than that of her own father and at that point she is likely to attain the peak of her power. This is usually the time when her husband's economic ability also reaches its peak and thus she can enjoy life as the leading woman in her paribar. The death of her own father first threatens her position. After the division of the inherited property, the brothers, sometimes married by this time, often tend to neglect her care. The weakening of her husband also begins. The wife without her husband is helpless. She cannot rely upon anyone else of the settlement about her maintenance. Being an outsider to the settlement, the loss of her husband often means the loss of protection. The only way she can support herself in her husband's settlement may be to work but the possibility of which is limited by purdah, and by her age. She may therefore have to rely upon her children. Being a woman who has no strong support by the legal codes to be maintained, her position in her son's paribar is weak and she must bear insult or maltreatment.

The youngest son's wife can live with great security. The husband's father usually dies before his marriage and the mother-in-law joins her paribar as a dependent. The bride can do whatever she likes.
E) **Paribar as a group**

As we have seen in the previous sections, the *paribar* as a social group is weakly organized. It has few functions. From the economic, political and religious point of view, the individual claims, and is accorded, a high degree of independence. The basic pattern of *paribar* structure is that of a man with his wife and young children. But the passage of time sets in motion the developmental process that restructures the group into one of two or more of the basic units above-mentioned, round which are clustered those male members of the *paribar* who have become earners but not yet married. This process of development sets in motion centrifugal forces which in turn bring about fission along the lines of the basic unit and thus making *paribar* again into simpler and smaller units.

This loose organization rests on an ideological base, which being given institutional support by the laws of inheritance and maintenance, has three main aspects:

(i) It stresses individual "freedom" as against group-interest, including even the claims of *paribar* solidarity;

(ii) developed sense of equality makes the location of authority within *paribar* more unstable and thus inhibits the development of strong framework for larger and tighter unit; and

(iii) the idea of "individual destiny" weakens the emotional solidarity of *paribar* members. Another set of ideas which is related to the nature and strength of sexual desire indirectly and independently affects the factors just mentioned in their bearing on *paribar* development. Firstly,
it stresses the husband-wife relationship rather than that between parents (or either parent) and the children, and thus helps to limit the continuity between generations. The set of ideas works to separate the lives of men and women sharply and tends to inhibit the unity of interest of the paribar as a group. We must notice that it yields special demographic conditions and being combined with other economic factors, it works to weaken that unity, too.

Beside these ideological factors, other conditions such as the fact that women have rights of inheritance in the paternal property as well as their brothers, the pattern of territorial distribution of affinal relatives due to endogamy, or the residential pattern due to economic conditions, etc., all work to prevent paribar becoming tightly organized and more functional. Every member of a paribar, as he or she reaches maturity, tends to contract equally strong affective, economic and social ties with other groups or individuals. The external ties of one member never coinciding with those of another. Thus a paribar never approaches the theoretically high degree of autonomy of a Hindu joint or extended family; it cannot operate as a group in relation to the outside world, but only through individual members: i.e., it is non-corporate. I have also explained that many factors work to differentiate the interests of the paribar members and sometimes involve them in mutual competition with each other. This also accelerates the process of paribar fission.
Although the paribar has a loose and simple structure, this does not necessarily mean that the visible form is homogeneous. The paribar can take a variety of forms depending on the local conditions. Where the father is wealthy and able, he may be able to hold together a large and relatively complex paribar, even in his old age, whereas a less able parent of small earning power may fall under the effective control of his son, and even behave towards him in a submissive manner. The demographic condition may also vary according to the contingent conditions like economic conditions. If they are rich, the young males can marry earlier and thus can reduce the gap of age between the husband and the wife or that between the father and the son. The main characteristic of paribar is this elasticity and the possibility for wide variation in visible forms.

The core of a Moslem paribar is the group of a couple and its children while still too young to earn or marry. Around this core grows a periphery of young male children who have begun to earn. I call them peripheral because they enjoy relative freedom from restraint, and their eagerness to claim independence of the home is reinforced by the economic independence they derive from their earning ability. The word pritaku-paribar is used to describe both the core of the paribar, and its peripheral membership. The ekanno-paribar is caused by the fusion of these units, but the villagers never eliminate the distinction between them. The unity of the paribar is not protected by the legal code and the ekanno-paribars are always ready to be broken down.
CHAPTER VII

Kinship

A) Kinship terminology

One of the characteristics of Moslem kinship terminology in the village is its wide range of variation. The simple division of the system of terms into those of reference and address is not adequate for analysis of the system. There are lots of alternatives from which people choose according to the required specification in a particular context. Conventionally I follow the traditional method and the analysis will be made on two systems; one, the relational terms by which villagers describe the nature of relationships between persons, and the other, terms of address. Variations will be described in the process of analysis.

The list in Appendix A shows the principal terms used by the villagers.

One of the characteristics of the system of kin terminology is that it has only a few sexually neutral terms. For example, there is no special word equivalent to "parent(s)", "cousin(s)", "sibling(s)", "child(ren)" or "grand child(ren)". Sex is always rigorously differentiated. When reference to "parents" or "siblings" is made, they usually combine the words for the referent of each sex, as in the compound terms like "baba-ma" (Fa + Mo = Pas), "bhai-boin" (Br + Si = Sibls), or "che-le-me" (So + Da = Chn). This phenomenon corresponds with the clear division of life between man and woman. From ego's point of view, different sexes are not identifiable.
They have very few terms to designate categories or groups of kinsmen. A relative is called "attio", "agana" or "kudun", but they may refer either to consanguines or affines, paternal or maternal kin. There are no special terms to designate these categories separately. Whenever it is necessary to differentiate one from another, they use a composite form of terms, attaching adjectives like "father's", "mother's", or "wife's" to attio. An exception is the word gusti (often substituted by bari), which designates a category of kinsmen who are related patrilaterally.

Simple listing of kin terms, however, does not illustrate the complex situation in the village. Due to the preference for endogamy among kinsmen and affines, it is not rare that two persons are related in several ways. The villagers must adjust themselves to such complex situations. The method used by the villagers are as follows:

1) Close relationship → distant relationship

From A's point of view, B is MoBr rather than FaFaBrSo (or classificatory FaBr). However, this does not mean that B's status as FaBr is completely eliminated. B is still secondarily FaBr.

2) Paternal relationship → maternal relationship

Where the distance to the persons concerned is the same through both father and mother, the relationship through father's side is emphasized.

Thus from A's point of view, B would either be MoFaBrSo (classificatory MoBr) or FaFaBrSo (classificatory FaBr) but he
is usually called FaBr.

3) Consanguineal relationship > Affinal relationship

If anyone marries a relative, he or she usually but not always retains the kinship terms used before marriage for the relatives of the spouse.

From A's point of view, B is MoBrSo rather than WiBr despite the marriage. Even C sometimes keep term FaSi for D (her mother-in-law, often living in the same house) instead of Mo-in-law.

Point 2) indicates that paternal relationships normally take precedence over maternal ones. This appears in a wide range of contexts; for example, own FaBrrs often tend to be equated with Fa and in the same way real FaBrCh to Sibls. more often than the other cousins. However, the stress on the father's side is not absolute. As point 1) shows, only one generation difference is enough to give the maternal relationship dominance over the paternal.

One of the most complicated aspects of the system is the usage of terms for collateral kin.

In any society, the system of kinship terminology has to adjust itself to the lapse of time. In the village, the older relationship beyond the second ascending generation tends to be forgotten. For example, in the Chart A, let us suppose A₁ and B₁ are real brothers and A₁ is the elder. From A₂'s point of view, B₂ is FayBrSo and from B₂, A₂ is FayBrDa. However, when A₃ uses
kinship terms to B2 or B3 (or A3 to A2 or A3), the relationship between A1 and B1 is intentionally neglected. They start counting from the fact that A2 is B2's FayBrDa, thus classificatory Si, and B2 is A2's classificatory Br. (the collateral kinsmen of ego's generation are equated with the sibling). Thus from their point of view, the Chart A changes into the following way. Thus,

$$
\begin{align*}
A_2 & \rightarrow B_3 \\
A_3 & \rightarrow B_3
\end{align*}
$$

This kind of arrangement is not extended indefinitely. Here, the settlement is introduced as a factor. Relationships with relatives outside the settlement are forgotten quickly. (Often after 4 generations.) On the other hand, those relatives living in the same settlement keep their identity as paternal relative indefinitely.

The system also must adjust itself to the discrepancy between physical age and genealogical seniority. Due to the wide gap of age in many paribar between the eldest sibling and the youngest, and comparatively early marriage by women, such discrepancy is very common. Taking Sikdar bari gusti, of six generations' depth, I studied the two lower generations and the distribution of males and females in age groups. For each one of the junior generations, the members of the senior generation are his/her kinsmen. Table 50 shows the result.
Table 50

Distribution of Age of the People of the Two Successive Generations in Sikdar Gusti

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of People</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>0-</th>
<th>10-</th>
<th>15-</th>
<th>20-</th>
<th>25-</th>
<th>30-</th>
<th>35-</th>
<th>40-</th>
<th>45-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men of senior Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife of the Men of senior Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men of junior Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 51

Distribution of Age of the Men of the Junior Generation and their Sisters' Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of People</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men of junior Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters' Children of the men of Junior generation</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, one-third of the members of the senior generation are equal in age to, or younger than, the eldest members of the junior generation. I took the patrilateral kin group of six generations' depth as my sample. The discrepancy is more marked between the wives of the male members of the senior generations and the member of the junior one due to the big gap of age between a husband and his wife.

The discrepancy appears more prominent if we compare the age of one generation and that of senior maternal generations. In this case, I have firstly selected the members of younger generations in Table 50 and secondarily their sister's children for comparison. Table 51 shows the result. In short, we find that nearly 60% of the members of the junior generation, as shown in Table 50, but who appear in Table 51 as members of the senior-age group are in fact younger than or of the same age as their nephew/niece.

In short, there are many uncles and aunts younger than their nephews or nieces.

In the system of kinship terminology of address, physical age is given more importance than kinship position if any discrepancy exists. In the system of reference, the kinship position is given importance; i.e.,

i) If FayBr is equal to BrSo in age, they usually call each other FayBr, chacha (or kaku).

ii) If BrSo is elder than FayBr more than five years in age but the gap of age is not so wide as 20 years,
the FayBr call the older BrSo adding the latter's personal name to *kaku*, which is less privileged form of terminology. (Calling one's personal name means that the caller is superior to the one called. Also, *kaku* is less privileged form of *chacha*.) The BrSo call the FayBr by his personal name.

iii) If BrSo is more than 20 years older than FayBr, the latter calls him *kaku* and the latter calls the former by personal name.

In the same way, the word *fufu* (FaSi) is used to older BrDa, *mamo* (MoBr) to older SiSo, and *kaka* (MoSi) to older SiDa in terms of address whenever these people are older than ego. I mentioned "five years" or "more than 20 years" in the above description. However, the villagers have only vague notion of calendar age. The above-mentioned figures must be understood as synonyms to "nearly same" or "much elder".

One result of this adjustment is that three persons may be using mutually contradictory terms to one another. Taking the example of the following chart,

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\Delta \quad C \\
30
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\Delta \quad A \\
50
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\Delta \quad B \\
35
\end{array} \]

A calls C as *yBr* and B as *So*. But C calls B FayBr although he calls A as *eBr*.

Such an adjustment is quite important as the number of contradictory cases is fairly large and virtually everyone in the settlement has to make such adjustments. We must also notice that such demographic conditions are linked with the system of marriage and indirectly with their notion of sex.
Another important feature of the system is its use of terms of relationship for affines. Many primary terms which are not secondary or tertiary derivatives are used for many affines. Moreover, if one compares the system with that of the Hindus of West Bengal as reported by Sarma, we can see the terms used by my Moslem villagers are far more ramified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sikdar bari Moslems</th>
<th>Rural West Bengal Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HueBr = Vair</td>
<td>Bhasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HuyBr = Deor</td>
<td>Deor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HueSi = Nannash</td>
<td>Nannad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HuySi = Nannon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WieBr = Shombondi</td>
<td>Shala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiyBr = Shala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WieSi = Zesso$</td>
<td>Shali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WiySi = Shali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to see that the siblings of the spouses are given such ramified categorization as are the real siblings, FaBrS or FaBrSos (often FaBrSos are equated to Brs). (Most of them live in the same settlement.) The ramification of teams suggests the intimacy between affinals and the importance and variety of the roles they may play in relation to ego. It can be taken as a sign of the importance of the affinal in real life.

Perhaps the most important single characteristics of the system of kinship terminology is the flexibility in the usage of kin terms, an example of which has already been given in the mode of adjustment which occurs whenever there is contradiction between seniority by age and by generation. Factors other than kinship always play an important role in the usage of kin terms. In the above-mentioned adjustment.

(1) Sarma, 1951
it is "age" that overrides "kinship position". Economic status also plays a great role. A much older distant classificatory FaBr never hesitates to call his younger classificatory BrSo as eBr whenever there is an urgent need to get the latter's favour. Due to the complex kinship situation as the result of endogamy among relatives and the special demographic conditions, a man often has a wide choice of alternative terms in addressing another person.

As an example, A and B were born in the same year; both were living in the same settlement, and both belonged to the same gusti. B was potentially FayBr to A, but A's relationship with B through his mother D was closer than that through his father C. Thus, A used to call B mamo (MoBr) but not chacha (FayBr). Recently B married D's brother's daughter's daughter, G. G's mother F was MoBrDa to A, classificatory sister. Thus, A was G's MoBr. Married to G, B thus became the husband of A's classificatory niece. As B had to use the terms used by G to G's relatives, A thus could be called mother's brother by B. Finding A economically more prosperous and influential in the village, B switched his usage of terms from that of nephew (using his personal name) to that of MoBr (mamo).

The flexibility of the system can also be seen in the frequent use of kinship terms in addressing non-relatives. Non-relatives living in the same settlement are usually called either FaBr or FaBrSos (or classificatory Brs)
according to their age in relation to that of the speaker. In any place and in any situation, between customer and shopkeeper or waiter, or between bus-conductor and passenger, the use of kinship terms is quite common. Friends usually call each other "bhai" (Br) or "boin" (Si). Young children also used to call elder servants by the term for elder brother or sister, while servants call their employer eBr, FayBr or Grand Fa according to their relative age.
B) Consanguines

One of the characteristics of the kinship system of the village in general is that the relationships among consanguines beyond the range of direct lineal descendants (So and Da) and ascendants (Fa and Mo) are usually little institutionalized in terms of kinship positions. Behaviour towards such remote consanguines is often regulated by factors other than kinship, like geographical proximity or relative difference of age. Moreover, without much institutionalization, there always exists a wide range of personal choice in actual kinship behaviour, which is often influenced by contingent conditions and personal likes or dislikes. Villagers often feel difficulty in generalizing about their kinship behaviour in certain situations. As we have seen in the case of paribat, they often use the answer, "It depends on circumstances." Often villagers advance varieties of comments on the same problem.

One of the few constants in kinship behaviour is the stress on the importance of the paternal side. Children irrespective of their sex belong to their father but not to their mother. The relationship with the former is always symbolically stressed. In all documents the father's name is always added to that of the child; for example, "Abdul Hai, the son of Abdul Wadud" or "Amatun Nur, the daughter of Ifrahim". One of the purpose of the custom is to escape from the confusion caused by the high probability of sharing the same name. Each Moslem in the Chittagong area has two Arabic names. Moreover, the number of the latter is so few that people frequently share the same name. For example,
### Table 52

Result of the Three-terms Test on Kinship Terminology for Adult Men and Women and for Adolescent Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Informants</th>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Married Men</th>
<th>Adolescent Men</th>
<th>Description of Choice Terms in the Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question Item</td>
<td>Choice terms</td>
<td>Choice terms</td>
<td>Choice terms</td>
<td>Terms in the Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>0* 1 2 3</td>
<td>0* 1 2 3</td>
<td>0* 1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>3 2 12 7</td>
<td>1 6 2 2</td>
<td>0 9 3 1</td>
<td>Da  Fa  So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
<td>2 1 2 19</td>
<td>1 0 6 0</td>
<td>4 0 4 7 2</td>
<td>Da  So  Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3</td>
<td>4 1 3 3 4</td>
<td>0 4 2 5</td>
<td>0 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>So  yBr  eBr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#4</td>
<td>5 5 11 3</td>
<td>1 4 2 4</td>
<td>2 2 9 0</td>
<td>eSi  Da  ySi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>1 4 14 5</td>
<td>0 7 4 0</td>
<td>0 4 5 4</td>
<td>FeBr  Fa  Fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>3 1 0 7 4</td>
<td>3 3 3 2</td>
<td>1 7 5 0</td>
<td>Mo  So  Fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#7</td>
<td>5 7 1 11</td>
<td>1 0 7 0</td>
<td>3 0 6 6 1</td>
<td>Da  Fa  Mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#8</td>
<td>0 2 3 19</td>
<td>0 1 6 4</td>
<td>0 2 7 4</td>
<td>FaBr  FaSi  Fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9</td>
<td>1 2 6 15</td>
<td>0 0 3 4</td>
<td>0 0 9 4</td>
<td>FaBr  MoBr  Fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#10</td>
<td>7 1 4 2 1</td>
<td>1 1 5 2</td>
<td>3 0 1 1 2</td>
<td>FaBr  So  MoBr  So  eSi  Fe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#11</td>
<td>8 3 1 12</td>
<td>1 3 3 4</td>
<td>0 0 6 7</td>
<td>MoBr  eSi  FeBr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#12</td>
<td>0 3 8 13</td>
<td>1 4 3 3</td>
<td>0 0 1 0 3</td>
<td>Qhar  Ad  So  DaHu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13</td>
<td>0 9 11 4</td>
<td>0 4 6 1</td>
<td>0 4 7 2</td>
<td>SoWi  Da  Ad  Mo**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#14</td>
<td>0 2 0 1 3</td>
<td>1 5 1 4</td>
<td>1 7 2 3</td>
<td>Mo  MoBr  MoBr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#15</td>
<td>1 0 2 2 1</td>
<td>0 5 3 3</td>
<td>0 1 1 1 1</td>
<td>Wi  eBr  eSiHu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#16</td>
<td>5 1 6 1 2</td>
<td>1 4 4 2</td>
<td>2 2 9 1</td>
<td>eSiHu  Wi  Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#17</td>
<td>0 2 4 0 0</td>
<td>0 5 2 4</td>
<td>0 0 1 6 6</td>
<td>So  Br  SoSi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#18</td>
<td>5 0 0 4 5</td>
<td>2 4 4 1</td>
<td>1 1 3 8 3</td>
<td>MoPa  Fa  FaMoMo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#19</td>
<td>1 5 1 3 5</td>
<td>1 3 4 3</td>
<td>1 1 1 9 2</td>
<td>Fa  So  JrSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#20</td>
<td>2 3 3 1 6</td>
<td>1 1 6 3</td>
<td>0 1 7 5</td>
<td>Fa  FaBr  DaSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#21</td>
<td>3 1 0 8 3</td>
<td>1 3 1 6</td>
<td>2 4 3 4</td>
<td>So  Fa  eBr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#22</td>
<td>4 3 1 7 0</td>
<td>2 3 6 0</td>
<td>0 0 8 5</td>
<td>SiDaBr  DaSiSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#23</td>
<td>0 2 3 0 1</td>
<td>1 6 2 2</td>
<td>3 8 2 0</td>
<td>Si  SiDaBrDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#24</td>
<td>1 0 2 3 0</td>
<td>1 4 4 2</td>
<td>0 5 6 2</td>
<td>Fa  eBr  Mo  eSi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#25</td>
<td>0 2 4 0 0</td>
<td>1 5 3 2</td>
<td>2 1 0 0 1</td>
<td>Wi  Fa  Biai  Tali  bia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#26</td>
<td>1 1 9 0 4</td>
<td>2 4 3 2</td>
<td>1 1 0 1 1</td>
<td>MoFa  Tu  Biai  WySi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#27</td>
<td>11 0 2 1 1</td>
<td>3 1 4 3</td>
<td>1 0 6 6 6</td>
<td>Tu  hozor  mui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#28</td>
<td>0 1 7 3 4</td>
<td>2 0 2 7</td>
<td>0 5 2 5 6</td>
<td>So  Da  Qmar  yajau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#29</td>
<td>1 2 1 4 7</td>
<td>2 3 3 3</td>
<td>2 5 2 4 1</td>
<td>bia  biai  jal  HaeBrDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#30</td>
<td>1 2 1 7 4</td>
<td>4 4 2 1</td>
<td>1 1 3 3 6</td>
<td>Jot  Jot  Jal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 0* means neutral answer, without a particular choice.

** ad. means adopted.**
there are four men named "Farid Ahmed" in three adjacent baris in my acquaintance. There is always a need to differentiate these people, and one solution is the addition of the father's name. Having four component parts, they can substantially reduce the chances of mistaking an identity.

From the structural point of view, what is important here is that the mother's name is not used. We can see similar precedence of the father over the mother in the system of kinship terminology where the relationship through the former is chosen if one is related to a person through both parents. Moreover, a grouping of people living in one settlement who are agnatically descended from a common male ancestor is called a gusti, while people who are related matrilineally are not categorized in such a way. However, even the gusti is fairly loosely organized and not markedly functional.

Gusti membership is held by a person who fulfils the following conditions. Firstly, he must be a child of a gusti male. The male also must be a resident in the settlement where the founder of his gusti lived. If he shifts his residence to another settlement, his descendants are usually not classed as members of the gusti, although he himself may be claimed to be one. The daughter of a gusti male ideally continues to be the member of his gusti even after her marriage. However, her descendants belong to her husband's gusti. Uxorilocal marriage does not change this principle.

A gusti has few functions. There are neither communal rituals nor other cooperative activities on which only the gusti members join. It has no common property for
which its members retain either usufruct or ownership by
birth. Ideally, the members are supposed to help one another in crises. However, they are often in sharp conflict and rarely function as a group. The closer the kinship positions within a gusti, the more frequently are the individuals in conflict especially on the problem of dividing properties. Even six or seven-year old boys often speak of their FaBr as trouble makers on the property to which their fathers and potentially they themselves are entitled. The gusti is normally only a category of people from which one can expect some helpers to come out as individuals but not as a group. Thus being the case, gusti has no need for fixed leadership or a definite authority system. It has only a ranking system based on relative seniority in age.

Unlike other kinds of relatives, gusti members continue to be "relatives" irrespective of the distance of their genealogical positions. The other relatives, on the other hand, cease to be related after 2-3 generations. Gusti members are originally FaBr, FaSi, FaBrChn, or BrChn to each other. As marriage sometimes occurs between gusti members, often some members are called as MoBr or MoBrChn temporarily. However, in the next generation, these maternal relatives within gusti in one generation change their statuses to those as the paternal relatives in the next due to the principle of "forgetting the past" in kinship terminology. One's natal gusti is always "babar gusti" (father's gusti) from one's own point of view.

The importance of direct lineal ascendants and descendants, the importance of the paternal side, and the
existence of the *gusti* as a category of patrilineally related people, are constants in Moslem kinship. However, because of the sharp separation of the lives of men from those of women, and also the special settlement pattern, it is difficult to describe the kinship behaviour of the villagers as a single system. It is found more convenient to describe the kinship system of men and that of women separately.

In investigating the kinship system, two tests were used besides ordinary interviewings and observations. In the first test, the informants were shown thirty sets of kin terms. Each set contains three kin terms and they were asked to select whichever they thought to be most different in nature. Then they were asked to state the reason why. Twenty-four married women over fifteen years of age, eleven married men over twenty, thirteen single men between thirty years and fifteen were selected from Sikdar bari as samples, according to their occupation or life experience. Besides these, five single girls and six boys below twelve years of age were asked about fourteen sets of some basic terms. (cf Appendix 2) Table 52 shows the result.

In the second test, sample informants (mostly informants in the first test) were asked to select the person from given sets of relatives to whom they felt most affectionate. Two sets were given, namely: (1) FaBr-FaSi-MoBr-MoSi; and (2) FaBrSo/Da-FaSiSo/Da-MoBrSo/Da-MoSiSo/Da. (Informants were asked to answer only about those of their own sex in the latter set.)

One of the characteristics of women's attitudes towards their relatives is the homogeneity in their attitude. The three-term test is designed to get some clue to the
people's cognition of kinsmen. I found that the answers
given by women showed a high degree of consensus in com-
parison to those given by men. Table 53 shows the contrast.
Considering other information, I can conclude in the follow-
ing way.

The females feel strong affiliation to their direct
lineal descendants and ascendants throughout their life time.
No other consanguines can be comparable with the former in
importance or strength of affective ties.

Whatever the sexes may be, the period of babyhood
is that of complete dependency. When the boys become
physically able to walk by themselves, they are expected to
play outdoors and mingle with their peers. On the other
hand, girls are requested to help their mothers or elder
sisters from the time when they are 5 or 6 years old. After
menstruation, they have to confine themselves in the limited
quarter of women, especially to that of their paribar.
Their emotional attachment with the members of paribar grows
stronger and stronger. They have to go into the period of
adulthood (the period of married life) without passing any
intermediate period of life between it and that of the single
adolescent girl. Before they extend their relationship with
wider circle of her own consanguines, they have to marry into
the settlement of their husbands unless they have a better
chance to marry a man of their own relatives or settlement
mates. After that period, their contact with consanguines
is limited to that with the members of their natal paribar
who used to keep fairly frequent contact with them during
the initial period, when their parents are still alive and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of informants</th>
<th>Married women</th>
<th>Unmarried girls</th>
<th>Married men</th>
<th>Unmarried men over about 15 years of age</th>
<th>Unmarried boys under about 14 years of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree of concensus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High*</td>
<td>14 items</td>
<td>6 items</td>
<td>1 items</td>
<td>11 items</td>
<td>1 item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium**</td>
<td>8 items</td>
<td>5 items</td>
<td>9 items</td>
<td>10 items</td>
<td>1 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low***</td>
<td>8 items</td>
<td>3 items</td>
<td>19 items</td>
<td>10 items</td>
<td>12 items</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total: No. of questions: (30) (14) (30) (30) (14)
asked to the informants)

* More than 66% of the informants gave the same answer to a question/item.
** Between 51 and 65% of the informants gave the same answer to a question/item.
*** Less than 50% of the informants gave the same answer to a question item.
the elder brothers' interests in their share of inherited properties are active. These contacts have value of scarcity to the women living among the outsiders. The emotional attachment to these people is much strengthened. The consanguineal peers who used to play with them usually cannot keep up their contacts unless they together marry into the same settlement by chance. Thus being the case, their image of the members of their paribar cannot be identifiable with that of other consanguines in wider circle.

The birth of children, especially that of sons, has a very important meaning to their lives. It means an assurance of their future lives for women who are helpless dependants in Moslem society. Their children can be sympathetic supporters among the jealous, and sometimes antagonistic, relatives of their husbands.

Men's attitudes towards their consanguines are a bit different from those of women. When they are young, they feel affiliated to the direct lineal ascendants as women do. When they grow up, the boys become more and more concerned with a wider category of people. The importance of the consanguines living in the same settlement, especially those of the close in age who used to play and interact with them throughout their early lives, is often quite remarkable. On the other hand, most female consanguines like Das, Sis, or FaSis are categorized as people who go out from the settlement and from whom they cannot expect any help.

The difference between men's attitudes and those of women can be seen in the following examples:
In the three-term test -

a) Set No. 2 Da-So-Mo

Nineteen women out of twenty-four selected "mother" as most different, saying that her affection is not comparable with the others*, while six men out of eleven selected "daughter" claiming that she goes out from their house after marriage and thus are most different. Four men selected "mother" for the reason similar to that given by women.

b) Set No. 8 FaeBr-FaSi-Fa

Nineteen women out of twenty-four selected "father" saying that he is their closest but not others, while six out of eleven men selected "FaSi" as an outsider from territorial point of view. Four men selected "father".

c) Set No. 14 Mo-FayBr-MoBr

Twenty women out of twenty-four selected "mother" but only five of men did the same. Four men selected "MoBr" as an outsider.

d) Set No. 17 So-BrSo-SiSo

Without exception, women selected "son" as their closest relative. Only five men did the same. Four men selected "SiSo" as an outsider identifying the rest two as residents in the settlement.

Although the consanguines living in the same settlement is important to men, often the relationship with the closest of the former is full of restraint. Brothers and/or FaBr are competitors to their property. Friends of the same
sex and age including own brothers and FaBrSos, or in more general terms, all men, may become severe competitors in one context. Men's attitude towards each other is often situational, and this is reflected in the low degree of consensus in the answers to the first test.
C) Affines

Affines play important roles in the kinship of the village. Unlike consanguines, the behaviour patterns towards affines are fairly well institutionalized. In case of consanguines, age is often more important than genealogical position, whereas, with affines, genealogical position is often more important than age. Among newly married couples, each spouse normally adopts the cognitive map of kindred used by his or her partner in respect of the new affinal ties. This is clearly seen in the terms of address used towards the partner's consanguines, in which differences of age are ignored. For example, if B regards A as his Father's younger Brother, A's wife will similarly be regarded as FayBrWi by B, even though she is B's junior in age. Conversely she will regard B, though her elder, as HueBrSo. From the point of view of Mr. A's wife, Mr. B is HueBrSo.

The spouses of the collateral consanguines of the ascending generations like FarBrWi or MoSiHu should be shown respect. On the other hand, those of ego's generation are given various positions according to the relative difference of age between ego and connecting consanguines. When the latter are older than ego and thus claim respect, their spouses are normally in a joking relationship with ego. The paradox that Ego, while showing respect to an individual, may nevertheless have a joking relationship with his wife, presents no real contradiction in Moslem society as the status and activities of men and women are sharply differentiated. It has even the positive function of providing a
channel of communication among men, among whom easy face-to-face relations tend to be inhibited by sharp differences of status, stemming from age-differences and the like. This intermediary role of women becomes restricted to consanguines of the husband only. Leaving their natal settlement at marriage as they do, women soon lose contact with their own collaterals and, a fortiori, with the latters' spouses. Men on the other hand tend to maintain contact with some of these over a fairly long period. Their eBrWi, FaBrWi, etc., are the affines with whom they have to live in the same settlement. Other affines of this type also can keep contact with males through property relationship. One's SiHu is often quite important in the life of men. As I have stated earlier, by the time a younger son is of age to begin making his way in the world, his father and uncles are sometimes retired, and are therefore able to offer little help or advice; while sibling rivalry lessens the assistance that his brother can offer. The sister's husband, however, is in an easy joking relationship with him, and is normally of about the same age, and is in joking relationship with ego.

On the other hand, the primary consanguines of the spouse are important for both male and female. I have already described the relationship between the bride and the parent of her husband in the previous chapter. The relationship between the bridegroom and the parents and brothers of his wife is also fully of tension. The brothers of his wife stand in a joking relationship to ego. The parents of his wife should be shown respect. In the initial stages of married life, the relationship between the bridegroom and
his parents-in-law is polite and peaceful. The parents-in-law are expected to send food to the bridegroom's paribar before the latter does. However, this politeness on the parents-in-law's side is based on complicated calculations of advantage and is always vulnerable. They provide casual help for their son-in-law so that their daughter may be well treated or so that the bridegroom may not push his wife to ask for her portion. This attitude is often shared by the brothers-in-law. If the bride or bridegroom requested her portion after the death of her father or if the brothers felt they had cleared their debt to their sister after giving the latter a fairly large amount of material help at various crises, this relationship of support would not continue. If the bride or bridegroom requests help (say, money) for more than what she deserves, her parents or brothers will never hesitate to ask for a mortgage on it. There were cases in which the bridegroom had to make over his land to his father-in-law because of such a promise. Help is never given unconditionally. According to some informants, "Even own brothers would not lend money without a mortgage." The time of retirement or death of the father-in-law brings about a crisis in the relationship between a man and the primary consanguine of his spouse. It often worsens when the time passes. On the other hand, that between the bride and her parents-in-law tends to remain constant, allowing for a variation according to the birth order of her husband. The first son's wife is usually in bad relationship but not that of the youngest.
There are two other kinds of affines. One is the consanguine of the spouse of the consanguines. Those of a senior generation must be shown respect. Those of the same generation are in a joking relationship with ego irrespective of age. These relatives are usually important for males but not for females.

On the other hand, some of the spouses of the consanguines of the spouses are important for females. For example, HuBrWis are people who share the same fate with married females as they are both helpless affines in their husbands' settlement where the husbands' consanguines already organize some kin net-work of their own.
D) Case relating to Chapter 6 and Chapter 7

The following fairly lengthy case will illustrate many of the arguments appeared in the previous and the present chapters.

Case 32 The father of Fazlul Karim and Nur Ahmed was a rich local clerk. He was a member of Sikdar bari and married a girl of a neighbouring village who bore him Fazlul and two daughters; but she died when the latter was still fairly young. The widower then married the sister of his first wife, who bore him three sons Jofur Ahmed, Nur Ahmed, and Mofiz Ahmed; and four daughters.

You can see the example of the complex paribar situation here. The gap of age between the eldest child and the youngest in this case exceeds 40 years.

Fazlul Karim was a double graduate (B.A., B.T.) and beginning as a teacher at the local High School, he took a successive jobs around East Pakistan as teacher. It was only four years ago that he came back to the settlement with his wife and children. He was 60 years old in 1963 and already past the usual age of retirement, but he had to continue his work as his eldest son was not yet settled and another son and a daughter were still studying. Two of the daughters were married, but none of the sons.

Jofur was 50 years old. He was half mad and failed in many jobs. He was working daily labourer, mainly within the settlement. His children were still young. Nur 42 was a fairly successful wage worker in Pakistan Railways. He had passed the Matriculation examination and beginning as a watchman, he became assistant station-master of a small station near Chittagong city. Mofiz (32) was working as a photographer in Karachi. As there is no old woman to look after his young wife in his paribar, he sent his wife and children to her natal paribar.

The father died in 1943 at the age of about 80 and the second wife about 1948. After her death, there was a division of the property. Conflict then occurred between Fazlul and his brothers on two points.

1) Nur and other younger brothers insisted that they should get the larger portion as Fazlul had spent lots of money on his education and marriage but he did not contribute anything to his father's paribar when the latter was weak. They also asserted that they alone had paid tax on the immovable properties. Thus they demanded all the movable properties beside their customary share of the properties.

2) Another conflict occurred over the plot of land including the pond in front of their houses. The younger brothers claimed that it was given by their
father to his second wife as a part of the marriage payment. Thus they insisted that Fazlul, being the son of another mother (although the mother was a sister to the second one) had no genuine right to that. The trouble was that the pond was still registered by the name of the father and thus there was no proof. Fazlul denied the existence of such gift.

Such quarrels by brothers on property is quite common. Many problems together make the situation more complex, namely, step-brotherhood, the amount of contribution to the central budget of paribar, deferred portion of bride-price, and negligence of registration.

Both parties agreed to ask the sharish to settle the matter. Although the majority agreed to the younger brother's request on movable property, a minority raised objection saying that the division of property had to be done according to the condition at the time of partition and the former contribution was not to be taken into consideration. However, it was settled in favour of the younger brothers.

As to the second point, there was a sharp clash of interests. For Fazlul, ownership of the pond was the vital thing at issue. At first he agreed that the area was given to the second wife as a part of the marriage payment; however, he insisted that the area should be valued at Rs3,000 while the marriage payment required at that time was only Rs2,000. He asserted that the 1/3rd of the pond could be divided among four brothers equally. The main issue was the usufruct of the pond. However, minor the rights he might get (in this case 1/12th of the total), it was enough to ensure his rights in the pond for washing and bathing.

On this problem, the sharish gave the following decision. It emphasized the importance of the pond in daily life and suggested that Nur give its right to Fazlul as a charity. That means to sell the portion for Rs2,000 to Fazlul. Considering the bad economic condition of Fazlul, they decided that this sum had to be paid by instalment. Fazlul by this time had had to sell almost all of his paddy lands; and by the right of pre-emption, Nur had then acquired them. Nur at first agreed to the transaction but insisted on immediate payment in cash. Fazlul told him that he would make prompt payment in cash if Nur would give zinc sheet and timber of their deceased father to him. Nur answered that he could not decide the matter by himself as his youngest brother was in Karachi. He reserved his consent.
Every member of the sharish took Nur's refusal as an insult to them. Although Nur later approached the elders to reopen the case, no one would agree. A man of the settlement stated that they would not re-open the meeting unless Nur gave a proper apology and signed a document that he would obey their future decision whatever it might be. People were excited and decided to decree the social ostracism of Nur's full brothers and their paribar. The people of Sikdar gusti resigned from the baga on Nur's lands. However, Hussain Ahmed, who belonged to the minority cluster of patrilineal kinsmen took the chance to expand his baga. He also began to supply milk to Nur's house. He claimed that he had not attended the meeting and thus it was legitimate for him to do so. Jofur was also a member of Nur's party. However, he was accepted as a day-labourer to work for other members of Sikdar bari. People explained the reason for this special treatment as follows: "He is half mad. Although his brother Nur is cunning and bad, Jofur cannot make any proper decision. Thus it is not proper to include him in this ostracism. Moreover, he is poor. If he is deprived of his work, how can he live?" This arrangement was deemed a form of zakat of charity to the poor. Mofiz's position was also ambiguous at first. However, he was also expelled later for other reasons. After this ostracism, Nur and Mofiz were not invited to any function in Sikdar bari. However, Nur's son (14) usually came and shared the meal in any banquet, and no one complained about it.

The above accident gives an example of conflict between brothers. Unless there was a request from brothers to settle the problem, the settlement cannot do anything on the dispute as the principle of private ownership is one of the most important principles honoured by the people. However, once the brothers asked for settlement, it became a matter of prestige for the people of the settlement. Whether the dispute between the brothers was morally good or bad, or whether Nur's attitude towards his poor brother Fazlul was morally good or bad was not discussed. The description also showed the ineffectiveness of social ostracism. The first reason for this ineffectiveness was the conflict between the principle of individual responsibility and ostracism against paribar. Actually, the main figure who stood against Fazlul and who took initiative in summoning the opening of the
settlement meeting was Nur only. Although nominally the other brothers were also responsible in keeping the decision reached by the shavish, the people of the settlement hesitated to apply the ostracism to the other brothers. When poor Jofur begged to work under them to get money, it satisfied the people's spirit of self-respect. Nur was responsible for his aggressive action but Jofur had to be judged by his background. So was Nur's son.

Even in this respect it was shown that the brothers had often shown no solidarity with each other in economic matters. In the following description, we can see how hostile the relationship between two brothers can become. They never hesitate to bargain in public, like Nur and Fazlul in the shavish. This is a common situation in the village. The very base of the strong unity of patrilineal kinsmen is usually undermined by the tense relationship of rivalry between brothers.

The tension between Fazlul and Nur continued and became even worse. Nur declared that he would protect his rights, even by physical force. He actually beat and threatened Shajda, the younger son of Fazlul when he found the latter using the pond. After hearing this act, Fazlul wrote a letter to the police officer in Raozan stating that his brother Nur was threatening his paribar and they felt themselves in danger. He asked the police to take precautionary measures for the protection of his paribar from Nur. After receiving the letter, a police officer came to the settlement and tried to mediate, but he failed. The case finally went to the court and both parties were waiting for a judgment.

When the big cyclone struck Chittagong in 1963, Fazlul's house was completely blown down. When the gale was still blowing, Fazlul and his paribar tried to take shelter in the nearest house which had escaped serious damage. It happened to be the house of Nur, who refused it. The others had to run more than 100 ms in the rain to get accommodation in another relative's house. Fazlul and Shajad had to take shelter in my room for two days.
After some time, Shajad went to collect the leaves of a medical plant growing on the bank of the pond. He came in the early morning so as to avoid being seen by Nur. However, the latter caught him red-handed and grasped him by the neck. Shajad hit Nur (his FayBr, far older than him) with an electric torch and made his escape. This was a serious offence against the elder and could well have been raised at the settlement meeting if Nur had been of ordinary status. Although the news was known to everyone, no one tried to take action.

Nur's reputation in the settlement was bad. He was accused of being a mean man as well as one who had insulted the settlement by violating its decision. A man of the settlement spoke about the relationship between Nur and Jofur in the following terms. "You know Jofur is poor and is getting only Rs1 or 2 per day working as a daily labourer. Nur has nine kani of land (equal to 3.6 acres). He is not a cultivator and has given it to Hussain Ahmed as baga land. He can give it to Jofur as baga but he does not. Do you know why? Nur is trying to get Jofur's land. If the latter has to sell it due to his poverty, it is Nur who has the first chance to purchase it by the right of pre-emption. In the same way he got his sister's land nearby."

Here, we can see how bitter the relationship between brothers could be. He never hesitated to call in outside help to crush the brother who opposed him. Often there are cases of violence. They would not help each other even in the most critical situation. Brothers are the severest of each other over the amount of their contribution to the central budget of paribar when they are young, and later on the division of their parents' property. Moreover, as an informant clearly stated, a brother can extend his land mainly by sacrificing his brothers due to his right of pre-emption. Not only is it the easiest way to purchase land, but also it is quite difficult to acquire land from the person to whom he has no priority as near relative.
E) Concluding Remarks

Five factors play important roles in shaping the kinship system of the village, namely: the value system relating to the importance of individual, property relationship, special settlement pattern, rule of purdah, and demographic conditions.

I have already described the value system of the villagers. The kinship system is individual centered. This appears clearly when there is a contradiction between genealogical position and physical age. The solution in the system of kinship terminology of ego calling an older uncle younger than himself "nephew" and an older nephew "uncle" yields an inconsistency in some kinship triads like Fa, FaBr, and ego. What is important to people here is not so much a genealogically consistent usage of kinship terminology within a group of consanguines as an accurate reflection of real relationships between individuals, i.e., age and personality are decisive in manipulating the kinship terminology and system though they cannot break it; thus BrSo, if senior to Ego, will be addressed as uncle rather than as nephew.

The indifference to grouping in general is also reflected in the law of inheritance. There is no communal property for which a group of people have to unite themselves. The law of inheritance categorizes the narrow range of primary consanguines as a special set of people who share some rights on a property. The consanguines beyond this category are cognitively little differentiated. The details
of the relationship are not traced back and they are simply categorized as paternal and maternal relatives. After that, even the order based on genealogical generation is often rearranged by the order based on physical age. One of the reasons for this rearrangement is that the chance of confusions between genealogical position and physical position is high.

The local custom whereby women reserve their rights on (inherited) landed property makes affinal relationships additionally important, at least until the woman has finally parted with those rights.

The settlement pattern works in two ways. Firstly it serves to categorize the relatives into two groups, those who are in daily contact and those who are not. The difference in the frequency of social contact of these two categories of people is so great that the former is often regarded as a kind of permanent relative.

The combination of the settlement pattern with the strict rule of purdah makes kinship from the male point of view different from that of females. The importance of primary consanguines, especially of the direct lineal ascendants and descendants is constant in both cases. Beyond this, the women's lives centre around two types of affines, the patrilineal consanguines of their husbands localized in one settlement and the wives of the above-mentioned people also living in one settlement but not related to each other directly. Their own consanguines are less important and not much differentiated in their minds. On the other hand, men's lives are concerned with their own patrilineal consanguines
and the lineal descendants and ascendants of their wives. Through property relationships, he has close contact with SiHu. He also has the opportunity to keep up a relationship with MoBr and his descendants or FaSi and her descendants through his parents' property relationship as the latter are always residents in his own settlement.
Chapter VIII
Conclusion

The central argument in the thesis has been concerned with the process of kinship and paribar life in a single rural village in East Pakistan, from which emerge the following general theoretical problems. Firstly, I recognized that the existence of sharp division between men’s life and that of women plays a crucial role in any social relationship in the village, and thus I investigated its relevance to the kinship and paribar. Secondly, I investigated the influence of micro-demographic conditions on them, too. I also tried, throughout my thesis, to seek the possible connection between the particular state of affairs of the kinship and paribar in the village and its ideologies, especially those related to Moslem religion.

As to the paribar, I have already shown that it is fairly loosely organized. Its core is the relationship between the husband and wife; and other members are always peripheral except unmarried children who continue for a time to be dependants on the former. It is not a segment of a larger kin group but rather stands as a kind of obstacle to the formation of such groups, as men tend to give preference to the interests they share with their wives rather than those shared...
with consanguines, should these conflict.

The kinship system is more loosely organized. Although the paternal side is emphasized, there is no tightly united group of agnatic kin. Genealogical position is important among primary kin, but beyond that limit factors other than kinship are usually more important.

Besides Moslem Law, two cultural complexes are mainly responsible for these phenomena. One is that related to the villagers' idea of sex and another that related to their concept of individual. The first complex begins with recognition of the uncontrollable strength of the sexual drive. From this derive two groups of customs, one related to the institution of marriage and the other that related to purdah. The former impels people to marry as early as possible. External factors such as the law of maintenance and difficulty in getting a high salary while young, give a check to the realization of the custom and thus tend to produce wide age-gaps between marriage partners. The special demographic conditions deriving from it in conjunction with the relatively short life-
span help to ensure the break-up of larger paribar into smaller units. They also become the cause of economic discontinuity in paribars. They produce wide discrepancy between genealogical position and actual age and require conventional solution of adjusting kinship terminologies to the situation. They also give paribar a wide range of variation from the point of view of individuals. The developmental process of paribar from the point of view of the first-born is totally different from that from the point of view of the last child.

Burdah makes the men's life and that of women different in many ways. It works to weaken the unity of paribar. In combination with the specific pattern of settlement, it makes the kinship system from the men's viewpoint different from that of the women. An important point here is that the social networks of a man and those of a woman partially overlap and the combination of those networks of the members of any social group often makes the pattern of the social behaviour of the villagers fairly complex and irregular. Firstly wives reside in their husbands' settlements and organize their own circles of friends on a basis of common interest like coming out from one settlement or sharing relatives in common before marriage. The way such circles are formed differs from individual to individual. These circles of friends often spread independently of the closeness in genealogical position of the husbands of its members, who are on their part patrilaterally related to each other. Both men and
their wives have to make compromises between their own interests and those of their spouses. The strength of the tie between spouses is both legally and morally stressed, namely, a constant. The deferred portion of the bride-price or the common interest on property by brothers and sisters play a crucial role in deciding in what way the composed networks of husband and wife are formed. The existence and amount of the deferred portion of bride-price or the property in which married sisters retain interests varies according to individual cases. Their relative importance in individual’s economic life is also variable. The strength of mutual influence between a man and his wife or that between a man and his sister is the function of these variables. In view of such contingent conditions, the kinship behaviour of the villagers is irregular and often unpredictable. This irregularity is further developed by respect for the free will of individuals.

The cultural complex related to the villagers’ notion of the meaning of individual also plays an important role. This complex is relatively speaking independent from the complex surrounding the problem of sex, although both work together to form the paribar and the kinship system as they are now in the village. There is little logical connection between these two complexes, and change in one may not produce any effect on the other.

The cultural complex begins from three premises; namely, the notion of the uniqueness of the individual, the quality of individuals, and the discontinuity of this world and the next.
The first and the last premise jointly work to give a wide latitude for individual innovation in any aspects of social life. Social groups are viewed not as ends in themselves but as means to achieve personal ends; and an individual never commits himself wholly to any one group, including the paribar and groups based on kinship. The combination of the first and the second results in the denial of any fixed authority system among the villagers. This also makes it difficult for villagers to organize any permanent grouping of strong unity. The settlement pattern, which has great influence on the kinship behaviour of the villagers, is the result of the function of the law of inheritance, purdah, and ecological conditions.

Until quite recently, there had been very few anthropological or sociological monographs on Moslem family and kinship based on field work using modern techniques. The comparative analysis of these institutions could hardly be attempted in view of the lack of adequate materials. Moreover, whenever scholars discussed problems like "The Moslem Family", there usually existed certain a priori premises in their mind. Two of these premises are as follows:

i) There is a universal "Moslem Family" and it appears all over the Moslem world irrespective of regional differences in other aspects of cultures.

ii) The nature of this universal "Moslem Family" can be inferred by analyzing the "Arab Family" because the
former had been derived from the latter. (1)

However, here we must clarify which level of information we are aiming at when we say "Moslem Family". Do we mean "ideal type of family" after which all Moslems are expected to model their own? In such case, Moslems have surely had some model. Jeffery pointed out three forces which made Moslem people homogeneous in their customs relating to "family". They are:

i) The Moslem tendency to imitate Arabic customs;

ii) The tendency of "Imitatio Muhammedis";

iii) The existence of Moslem law which touches some aspects of "family". (2)

As to ii) and iii), I have no objections with some reservation. Hadith and Moslem law ideally give some legal and moral regulation all over the Moslem area. We can construct a model of family making content-analysis of them. However, these traditions or laws clarify only

(1) Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1950, p.127
Jeffery, 1959, p.p.201-204
(2) Jeffery, 1959, pp202-204
limited aspects of "family" and "kinship". Details of many aspects are left open. How can we fill the gap? Use of material from the analysis of the Arabic family, that is the first assumption by Jeffery, seems to me quite dangerous. There is no assurance that the modern Arabic Moslem family has remained unchanged since the time of Mohammed or Moslem lawyer's first designed the model for "Moslem family". The safest and most legitimate ways are, it seems to me, firstly to make logical deduction from the total cultural complex of Moslem religion and secondly, to find out common denominators from the analysis of actual family or kinship system of the modern Moslems of different areas and finally try to find out connection between the results and the logical deductions above-mentioned.

After analysing my material from Gohira, I found that many factors related to the paribar and the kinship system of the village can be related to "What is Moslem."

The importance of marriage as a duty and that of the husband-wife relationship are stressed in most of the books which deal with Moslem religion and law. What seems significant is that explanatory comment on parent-child relationships are, comparatively speaking, more rarely given than on the former. The family is rarely discussed as a domestic group; instead it is usually relationships within it which are described and commented upon.
Whenever scholars write anything about the "Moslem Family", it tends to become a description of conditions related to marriage or the marriage ceremony. (3)

Perhaps the viewpoints of the authors of these books may be responsible for their lack of emphasis on the family as an institution; however, they offer at least

(1) Very few articles are written under the title "Moslem Family". For example, in the chapter on family in Gaudefroy-Demombynes' book (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1950, pp.127-138) 9 pages out of 12 are spent in describing marriage and husband-wife relationship. In the article by Jeffery, (Jeffery, 1959, pp.201-238) 20 pages out of 38 are filled with such description. Perhaps the exception is the chapter on Arab family by Goode (Goode, 1963, pp.87-163) where the description other than marriage and women occupies more than half of the chapter.

In Ali's book (Ali, 1950) a big chapter of 100 pages is spared for marriage and women's status but very little is mentioned on parents-children relationships. In books on Moslem law, the problem of marriage is given the most important position.
a negative confirmation of the result of my analysis of Gohira materials. It seemed to me that the loosely structured family and kinship, or more precisely, the predominance of the nuclear family and precedence of the husband-wife relationship over the parents-children relationship, which are overt characteristics of Gohira paribar and kinship, are patterns closely related to universal geno-type of family and kinship in Moslem societies. I am not saying that every Moslem society will have a family and kinship similar to that described here in the organization, but rather that the family and kinship pattern in any Moslem society tend to take such forms resembling those described. This hypothesis is not induced from the comparative analysis of Moslem societies. What I am saying is that many of factors in Gohira regulating the overt pattern of family and kinship are related to the core of Moslem belief and law; that we can expect that any Moslem society will tend to take such a pattern of family and kinship organization whenever the other conditions become favourable to the operation of the factors above-mentioned. Economic or other conditions can, of course, modify the operation of the factors. Thus there may be a difference between the overt family pattern of Arabia and that of Gohira. However, if the Moslem family and Hindu family are both subjected to
similar conditions, say under the impact of urbanization, it seems to me that the former will move more easily to the form of husband-wife centered nuclear family than the latter will. The shapelessness of kinship system, the very characteristics of Gohira kinship, also could be a typical feature of Moslem society.
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# Appendix A

## Kinship Terminology (standard)

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Terms of Relation (reference)</th>
<th>Terms of Address (reference)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>baba</td>
<td>(o)baba(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>(o)ma(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaBr</td>
<td>jeta</td>
<td>(o)jeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaBr</td>
<td>chacha</td>
<td>(o)chacha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaSi</td>
<td>fufu</td>
<td>(o)fufu(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoBr</td>
<td>mamo</td>
<td>(o)mamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoSi</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>(o)kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eBr</td>
<td>dada</td>
<td>(o)dada(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yBr</td>
<td>choto bhai</td>
<td>p.n.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eSi</td>
<td>bubbu</td>
<td>(o)bubbu(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ySi</td>
<td>choto boin</td>
<td>p.n.</td>
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<td>FaBrSo</td>
<td>older than ego</td>
<td>jattoto bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger than ego</td>
<td>” ” ” **</td>
<td>p.n.</td>
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<tr>
<td>FaBrDa</td>
<td>older than ego</td>
<td>jattoto boin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger than ego</td>
<td>” ” ”</td>
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<td>p.n.</td>
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<td>FaSiSo</td>
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<td>fufuto bhai</td>
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<td>” ” ”</td>
<td>p.n.</td>
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<td>” ” ”</td>
<td>p.n.</td>
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<td>MoBrSo</td>
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<tr>
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<td>” ” ”</td>
<td>p.n.</td>
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</table>

* p.n.: personal name

** " " : same as above
| MoSiSo:       | older than ego | khalto bhai | (o)dada(re) |
|              | younger than ego |           | p.n.       |
| MoSiDa:      | older than ego | khalto boin | (o)bubbu(re) |
|              | younger than ego |           | p.n.       |
| So           | chele          |            | p.n.       |
| Da           | mé             |            | p.n.       |
| BrSo         | bhaifut        |            | p.n.       |
| BrDa         | bhaiji         |            | p.n.       |
| SiSo         | boinfut        |            | p.n.       |
| SiDa         | boinji         |            | p.n.       |
| Br from different | Fa;   | lauwa bhai | (o)dada(re) |
|              | older than ego |           | p.n.       |
| Si from different | Fa:   | lauwa boin | (o)bubbu(re) |
|              | older than ego |           | p.n.       |
| Br from different | Mo;  | hattoto bhai | (o)dada(re) |
|              | older than ego |           | p.n.       |
| Si from different | Mo:  | hattoto boin | (o)bubbu(re) |
|              | older than ego |           | p.n.       |
| FaFa         | dada           | (o)dada(re) |
| FaMo         | dadi           | (o)dadi(re) |
| MoFa         | nana           | (o)nana(re) |
| MoMo         | nani           | (o)nani(re) |
| SoSo, DaSo   | nati           | p.n.       |
| SoDa, DaDa   | natin          | p.n.       |
| FaeBrWi      | jetai          | (o)jetai   |
| FayBrWi      | chachi         | (o)chachi  |
| FaSiHu       | fufa           | (o)fufa    |
| MoBrWi       | mami           | (o)mami    |
| MoSiHu       | kalo           | (o)kalo    |
| Hu           | jamai          | his own first child's name + baba |
| Wi           | bou            | her own first child's name + ma |
| eBrWi        | bhabi          | (o)bhabhi(re) |
| yBrWi        | bou            | (o)bou(re)  |
eSiHu boro boiner jamai (o)bhai shab
ySiHu choto boiner jamai p.n.

FaeBrSoWi, FayBr SoWi, FaSiSoWi, MoSiSoWi, MoSi-
SoWi:
- referent's Hu older than ego /referent's Hu/er + bou* (o)bhabi(re)
- referent's Hu younger than ego " " (o)bou(re)

FaeBrDaHu, FayBr DaHu, FaSiDaHu, MoBrDaHu, MoSiDa-
Hu:
- referent's Wi older than ego /referent's Wi/er + jamai (o)bhai shab
- referent's Wi younger than ego " " p.n.

SoWi cheler bou (o)bou
DaHu mer jamai (owa)jamai
BrSoWi haifuter bou (owa)bou
BrDaHu bhaijir jamai (owa)jamai
SiSoWi boinfuter bou (o)bou
SiDaHu boinjir jamai (owa)jamai
SoWiFa, DaHuFa biai bhai
SoWiMo, DaHuFa biain boin
HueBr vair (o)dada(re)
HuyBr deor bhai shab
HueSi nonnosh (o)bubbu(re)
HuySi nonnon bubbu
HuFa shashor (o)baba(re)
HuMo shashori (o)ma(re)

Ego's spouse's male
relative of the /relative from as ego's spouse
ascending generation the viewpoint of uses
/ +
shashor

Ego's spouse's female
relative of the /relative from as ego's spouse
ascending generation the viewpoint of uses
/ +
shashori

* / /: term for the relative written between the marks / and / . Ex. /referent's Hu/ means that the term .
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eBrWiMoBr</th>
<th>taloi</th>
<th>(o)taloí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eBrWiFaBr</td>
<td>moui</td>
<td>(o)moui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eBrWiMoSi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eBrWiFaSi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrWiBr, SiHuBr</td>
<td>talto bhai</td>
<td>(o)talto bhai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrWiSi, SiHuSi</td>
<td>talto boin</td>
<td>(o)talto boin</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix B Three Terms Test on Kinship Terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Fa's Name বাবার নাম</th>
<th>Age বয়স</th>
<th>Marital Status বিবাহিত অবস্থা</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Looking over the following sets of terms (each three words), please cross out one which you feel most different in nature. Please also state in what way that one is different from others and in what way other two are close each other.

Example —
Cow, Fox, Cat,
Mr. A. may cross out "cow" because it eats only grass but other two take meat.
Mr. B. may cross out "fox" because other two are living in human residence but "fox" is a wild animal.

In such way please think over in your own way and cross out in most appropriate way.

1. যেখান | বাবা | ছেলে (Da / Fa / So)

2. যেখানে | ছেলে | যা (Da / So / Mo)

3. ছেলে | হেউভাই | বড়ভাই (So / yBr / eBr)

4. বড়ভাই | ছেলে | হেউভাই (eSi / Da / ySi)

5. ছেলে | বাবা | পালা (FaeBr / Fa / FaFa)
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>মা</td>
<td>ছেলে</td>
<td>বাবা</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>মেয়ে</td>
<td>বাবা</td>
<td>মা</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>বেঠা</td>
<td>ফুল</td>
<td>বাবা</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>চাচা</td>
<td>মামা</td>
<td>বাবা</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>চাচার ভাই</td>
<td>ভাই ভাই</td>
<td>ফুল ভাই</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>মায়ের ভাই</td>
<td>ফুল ভাই</td>
<td>চাচা ভাই</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>খোল জামাই</td>
<td>পালক পুরু</td>
<td>নিজের মেয়ের জামাই</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ফেলের জামাই</td>
<td>নিজের মেয়ে</td>
<td>পালক মেয়ে</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>মা</td>
<td>চাচা</td>
<td>মামা</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>সুন্দরী বড় ভাই</td>
<td>বড় ভরপুর</td>
<td>(WieBr / eBr / eSiHu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>বড় ভরপুর</td>
<td>সুন্দরী</td>
<td>বাবা</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>নিজের ছেলে</td>
<td>জাতিকা</td>
<td>জাতিনা</td>
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<td>13. নাম</td>
<td>হার</td>
<td>মানী</td>
<td>(MoFa</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>19. হার</td>
<td>ছেলে</td>
<td>নামী</td>
<td>(FaFa</td>
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<td>20. হার</td>
<td>নামী</td>
<td>ছেলে</td>
<td>(FaFa</td>
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<td>21. ছেলে</td>
<td>নাম</td>
<td>বড়হাই</td>
<td>(So</td>
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<td>22. ভাইনী</td>
<td>ভাইকী</td>
<td>ভাইনী</td>
<td>(SiDa</td>
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<td>23. ভাই</td>
<td>ভাইনী</td>
<td>ভাইকী</td>
<td>(Si</td>
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<td>24. কেটি</td>
<td>মা</td>
<td>ছড়কার</td>
<td>(FaeBrWi</td>
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<td>25. শুন্ত</td>
<td>বেহালি</td>
<td>তালতাহী</td>
<td>(WiFa</td>
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<td>26. নাম</td>
<td>তালতাহীন</td>
<td>মানী</td>
<td>(MoFa</td>
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<td>27. তালত ভাই</td>
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<td>মাদি</td>
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<td>28. ছেলে</td>
<td>মো</td>
<td>দু' তা অন্যকি</td>
<td>(So</td>
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<td>29. বেহাইন</td>
<td>অাঁ</td>
<td>অন্য মো</td>
<td>(Bhain</td>
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<td>30. সাতীন</td>
<td>বাল</td>
<td>তালহী</td>
<td>(Shotin</td>
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