

The Impact of Capitals on Fishing-Dependent Traditional Society: A Qualitative Study

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Citation: Rashid, M, M. (2026). The Impact of Capitals on Fishing-Dependent Traditional Society: A Qualitative Study. *Econ Dev Glob Mark*, 2(1), 01-16.

Abstract

Bangladeshi Jaladas (slave of water) are traditional fishers and live within multiple poverties. This study was conducted in two Jaladas villages to find out impact of diversified capital penetration on their lifestyles. A technique of qualitative method, hereby Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with 12 males and 12 females, was adapted. This study revealed that lifestyles of Jaladas folk have improved in the realms of awareness, education, health, leadership, bargaining power, sub-standard livings in one village (North Salimpur Fishing Village) due to donor-led capitals approximated. At the same time, effectiveness of traditional social institutions, ethnic values, observance of religious rituals pattern, kinship, community belongings have been negatively impacted in aforesaid village. Lifestyles of people of both study villages have changed because of capital expansionists in fisheries sector; and more inquiry needs to measure silent changes in lifestyles of Jaladas communities.

Keywords: Bangladesh, Capitals, Jaladas, Lifestyles, Penetration, Wellbeing

Introduction

Fishing is an ancient occupation in the olden times of human beings. In history, Small-Scale Fisheries (SSF) in marine and inland waters production has significantly contributed to employment generations, export earnings, food security, and socio-economic development. Asia, particularly South Asian countries, has a lion share i.e. almost 90% in global fish production. SSF communities living in South Asian countries have been threatened by several natural and man-made difficulties like cyclones, tidal surges, adverse effects of climate change, sea piracy, absence of governance; illegal, unregulated, underreported fishing [1]. Fishers in small-scale fishing villages of south Asian countries live within a peculiar culture; it is really difficult to understand and justify them by using single lens of origin, religion, caste, class, gender, patriarchy, peasantry, and proletarianism [2].

Total fish production of Bangladesh was 4,503,000 Metric Ton in 2019-20. Only 14.90% of total fish produced from marine capture fisheries; and 85.10% from inland fisheries [3]. "The hunting age dawned 40 / 50 thousand years ago in Europe. In the same process of evolution of the ages and different social changes in Bangladesh, one can find natural resemblance between the ancient men of hunting age and the fishing community. A clear conception of very ancient times of Bengal or of prehistoric age of Bengal is not instituted yet. However, the people of Bengal used to live in a body in forests and jungles. They used to hunt birds, animals and catch fishes in the rivers and the sea" [4]. Fish catches, hunting animal and farming were only sources of livelihoods for the Australoid in Bangladesh. They gradually extended commercial economy among different places in littoral and riverine Bangladesh; and built small and medium-size boats for communication, commerce and trade. The ancient history of the boats of Bangladesh substantiates it (ibid, pp. 28-30). In census of 1901, 550,000 fishers lived in the Bengal [5]. Over 95% of them consisted from Hindu fishing castes. Traditional Hindu fishing group and caste in the colonial Bengal were Kaibartta / Kaivarta, Kewat, Mala / Jhala / Malo / Jhalo, Tiyar / Tiwar (Rajbangshi), Karita, Pod, Das Shikari (Rajbangshi origin), Berua (Namasudra sub-caste), Jiani (Namasudra sub-caste), Bindu / Bindu, Bagdi, Nadial, Mali / Bhuimali, Gonrhi / Gunhri / Mallah, Banpar (sub-caste of Gonrhi), Lohait / Lohait-Kuri, Muriari / Mariyari, Mala (possible Kewat connection), Surahiya / Kalwat-Mallah, and Patni [5-8].

Few relevant studies proved that Jaladas (slave of water) communities are engaged with fishing in the Bay of Bengal from many generations [9-12]. Water Resources and Planning Organization (WARPO) supported scheme, in 2005, Integrated Coastal Zone Management Plan (ICZMP) revealed that majority traditional fishermen belong to Hinduism in coastal districts. In many extents, fishing families live in segregated para (kinship) which is placed within a community [13]. Jaladas are socially powerless, neglected, and extremely deprived from economic benefits. Moneylending from Muslims is their social shelter. It is predicted that Jaladas will be de facto waged laborers of financial investors in fisheries sector [12].

Literacy rate gradually increases in Jaladas communities. Government of Bangladesh (GoB) and international development agencies have prime contribution for their education. It removes many social superstitions, increases access to job diversity, develops competent future leader, and brings change in socio-cultural ground of the society [14]. Regrettably, no study was conducted about behaviors of those educated youths in their own communities. It is a remarkable research gap. From social and cultural anthropology perspective, in-depth analysis of capital (e.g. human, physical, natural, financial, social, cultural and political) penetration and its effect on lives and livelihoods of traditional Jaladas communities has been overlooked by researchers. Therefore, this study aims to identify entrance of multiple capitals in fishing community & fisheries sector and its impact on lifestyles of people of Jaladas communities. It will also assess whether building solidarity among them or erosion of sense of belongings to community.

Literature Review

Traditional Hindu fishermen i.e. Jaladas face chronic poverty in Bangladesh. Fishing village is in a highest level of poverty among fishermen. It was calculated that 88% of fishing households were below poverty line [15]. It was revealed by scholars [16,17,1] that Jaladas are income poor; and they have limited assets for livelihood options and coping with adversities. Reduction of fish catches, nuisances of pirates, poor conditioned boats, extreme exploitation by moneylenders, limited access to stress-free credits, deprived from marketing structure, marginalization, and social exclusion are key causes of their livelihood limitations. Jaladas is also a class-exploited group. Weak institutions and poor management are other forms of their vulnerabilities; Jaladas live within very limited bargaining power. Therefore, they become deserted against any exploitation; for instance, mistreatment by middlemen. Technological innovation by capital expansionists has weakened Jaladas communities. Emergence of new socio-economic class, change in mode of production relations; and physical & psychological conflicts between Jaladas and capitalist groups have increased. Influx of newcomers in fishing generally Muslims establish control on traditional faars (spaces for fixing-up nets) of Jaladas communities [8].

Livelihoods of Jaladas are principally depend on natural resources and engagement with other income generating activities. Their vulnerabilities are cross-sectionally linked with institutional governance, endowments, interventions on natural resources, geographical location, religious and cultural ethnicity, and political environment those influence them to cope with changing situations [18]. Regard social status, one social researcher mentioned that dwellers of Delipara (i.e. one Hindu fishing village of Sitakunda coastal belt, Chittagong, Bangladesh) have limited or no primary social relations and/or kinship with people outside of the paras. Traditional beliefs have prevented higher caste Hindus and Muslims aristocracy and gentry from social mingling with the Jaladas [19].

Lifestyle is a way that a person leads his or her life. Lifestyle of people is closely linked with many factors particularly to culture. Adler quoted, "Lifestyle is the interests, opinions, behaviors, and behavioral orientations of an individual or group [20]." Rashid defined and identified that lifestyle is a person's pattern of living in the world as expressed in activities, interests and opinions [21]. Lifestyle of Jaladas is fully distinguished and unique than other communities of Bangladesh. People of Jaladas community feel comfort to move and interact in their own kingdom through sharing knowledge and grievance. Furthermore, Rashid revealed that selected Jaladas villages have improved in terms of awareness building, health, education, leadership, social mobility, and claiming rights from service delivery institutions due to involvement of multiple actors [22]. But its impact on traditional lifestyles in Jaladas communities have not properly measured. This study has unique contribution to fulfill these gaps and proceed to exhibit the visible and invisible lifestyles of Jaladas community.

Methods

One of scholars urged to consider purpose of research for selecting method. Another scholar suggested that qualitative methods are often appropriate when researcher wants to understand how individuals or community perceive a particular issue [23,24]. By aligning between suggestion of scholar and objectives; this study is phenomenological and explorative,

henceforth, mainly applied the qualitative method. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was adopted to conform issues of study objectives.

Study informants

Author and two social workers (one male and one female) organized four FGDs consisting 24 (Male-12 and Female-12) participants. This study was conducted in two fishing villages of Bangladesh. North Salimpur Fishing Village is in 10 No. Salimpur Union Parishad (UP), Sitakunda, Chittagong. On the other hand, South Dhurung Fishing Village is located in 2 No. South Dhurung Union Parishad (UP), Kutubdia, Cox's Bazar. Small group is more effective and informative [25]. Total 6 to 12 participants are perfect in one FGD to avoid data burden. Total 6 participants attended in one FGD which was relatively adequate and manageable to get information.

Informant selection procedure

Qualitative research is process-oriented rather than post evaluation [26]. Inquiry (constructive) during fieldwork is very fruitful than post-verification. Step by step procedure was followed by the author. For instance, building relationship with community members, criteria setting for inclusion and exclusion of participants (i.e. minimum 18 years old, Hindu fishing family, mentally sound, living in same fishing village, voluntary willingness, written consent paper), discussion between cross-persons, and involvement of knowledgeable person. Maximum variation had been ensured to select FGD participants in terms of age, education, marital status; occupation i.e. fishers, fishing laborers, homemakers, and representation of different professions by female.

Data collection

Fieldwork was conducted from August 2020 to January 2021. Skills and experience of moderator are required for quality findings from one FGD. Moderator initiates the discussion on specific topic but cannot express any personal judgment. It needs to have capacities of time management, asking, listening and thinking. Discussion of participants must be balanced and inclusive [27]. On top of that, author conducted FGD where engagement of participants was one hour. Jaladas are culturally sensitive. Therefore, author was very cautious to pick word(s) in align with their cultural aspects. Separated FGDs for male and female were facilitated by considering socio-cultural perspectives of Bangladesh. Participants were asked broader and then narrow-down questions to obtain frank and truthful answer. Issues and concerns of awareness building, education, health services, occupation patterns, collective voice and actions, financial aspects, caste identity, language & dress-up, religious rituals, traditional social institutions, production organization, and power relations were consulted. Tape-recorder was main tool for data collection. In addition, one note-keeper writes in details. Social worker (female) helped for co-facilitating in FGD with females.

Data analysis

Regarding qualitative data analysis, Kerrigan believed that it is an initiative to interpret data content and text by defining themes and systematical classification. ATLAS.ti (8 Windows Version) software was used for analyzing FGD findings [28]. Coding process was helpful for interpretation of different types of text. It also helped to identify themes. Verbatim quotes of

FGD participants were aligned with respective codes. Analyzing relevant data generated themes. Ensuring the flexibility and accessibility of data was key aim of thematic analysis.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee (JEPeM), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM/JEPeM/20020135) before commencing research. Ethical considerations were followed at each stage i.e. from data collection to publication by the author. FGD participants attended voluntarily. Author clearly explained the participants about purpose of this academic publication; and confirmed them to maintain the privacy of all data and comments. It was assured to respondents that nobody can identify who participated. Sensitive and leading questions were avoided during facilitation. Existing study interpreted fieldwork findings into different perspectives. Therefore, author agreed to be bias-free during data collection, analysis and interpretation. Participants were encouraged to speak spontaneously without any shyness and hesitation. Author did not disclose name of any participant which may cause of possible harm(s) for them. Results and directions of other relevant literatures were properly acknowledged in this paper. Author had no personal interest and nor worked in study village.

Findings

Informant details

A total of 12 males and 12 females were purposively selected as participants of FGDs. Age of majority participants (66.67%) is between 24 to 40 years. Out of 12 female participants; 33.33% are homemakers. Rest of 66.67% are engaged with fish selling, sewing; shop-keeper, and work in garments factories. Among male participants; 83.33% are fishermen and 16.67% work as fishing laborers in big boats. 50% of total participants are illiterate. 29.16% studied in class four and five. Rest (20.84%) of them are above class five.

Awareness on education

Education increases competencies of human beings to attach meaningfully with paradigms of the world. Interviews were examined to determine how community people were benefited from education, their aspirations, and major hindrances to access in quality education. Regarding education; one old fisherman of North Salimpur told:

Our fathers were not aware about education. Surrounded people neglected us due to illiteracy. CODEC (DANIDA-supported Bangladeshi NGO) started work in our village from 1985. Almost, 1,153 children finished education (Pre-primary to Class Five) as on today. This organization provides scholarship, books and learning materials, co-curriculum activities, and vocational training.

Jaladas are scared because of rude behavior from capital expansionists and seriously worried about profession of their future cohorts. One fisherman of North Salimpur dreamed:

Fishing occupation of Jaladas will be, somehow, extinct due to investment of lured businessmen. They are musclemen and never consider our plights. We realize that education will be one of best ways for emancipation of our upcoming generations.

One female respondent of South Dhurung lamentedly described about deprivation from government services due to geographical remoteness; and involvement of majority dropped out children with hazardous occupations. According to her:

Children are interested for going to school. School has clean environment, friends and playground than home. Limited services from government institutions, economic hardships of family and unawareness of parents disrupt hopes of children.

In short, it is identified that dropout of children from Primary and High School is alarming in South Dhurung Fishing Village. Malnutrition of children, economic hardship, unawareness of parents, opportunity costs, long-time (nearly nine months of each year) absenteeism of father from family, and lack of social security are significant reasons of dropout from schools.

Realization about health

Under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Production Service Network (PSN) Bangladesh Limited constructed one three-storied building in 2011 at North Salimpur Fishing Village. Main objectives were to use it as a health center, cyclone shelter and school. One female respondent of North Salimpur remarked:

We advocated with authority to construct it. Government-led Health Workers monthly visit in our village. All children are vaccinated. Females are more conscious about family planning. Most of girls and females have praiseworthy knowledge about water-borne diseases, reproductive health, HIV / AIDS, menstruation management.

Stromme Foundation- Norway, UNESCO, UNICEF and other donors supported for health and nutrition of people of North Salimpur Fishing Village. On contrast, Upazila Health Complex is eight kilometers far from South Dhurung Fishing Village. Generally, all transports are offered after 10:30 P.M. Female-friendly vehicles are not available; and inconvenient for a pregnant female. Insufficient doctors, nuisance of local brokers & cheated person(s), bribes, and purchase medicines from private pharmacy make many difficulties for poor people. Three females of fishing village died because of child delivery related complications within last three years. Unfortunately, early marriage predominantly of girls is a serious issue. One fisherman of South Dhurung talked about early marriage and costs of health services. According to him: Unawareness among parents and social insecurity are major reasons of early marriage of adolescent girls. It leads to health risks among girls. Government arranged vaccination for all children at free of cost. Fee of one MBBS doctor is Taka 300/- to 400/-. Poverty is one of major hindering factors for our health services.

Occupation patterns

North Salimpur Fishing Village has 528 households. Fishing is an occupation (full-time or part-time) for head of 408 households; and head of 120 households is engaged with private & government services, foreign employment, business, day laborer, working in ship-breaking yard. Many internal and external factors like torturing by sea pirates, low profit in fishing, lack of working capital; higher education, migration at abroad, business, and engagement in different services inspire them to leave fishing occupation. Expansion of capitalists in fishing sector changes occupation pattern among people of South Dhurung Fishing Village. One fishing laborer of big boat raised concern about it. According to him:

We and our fathers were used to catch fishes by country boat with sails and oars at nearby places of sea. We are birth-ascribed fishermen. Most of us especially youths pushed out from traditional occupation and working as a fishing laborer in big boat. We have to usually stay nine-month continuously at sea. It is like a bonded slavery.

Another fishing laborer of same village echoed his sentiment:

Catching fishes in mid-sea is very risky due to rough weather and weak safety measures. We cannot communicate with family and relatives because of no network in cell phone. Lured investment of businessmen invisibly hampers our lives and sustainable livelihoods.

Collective voice and actions

Interviews provide a mixed findings about collective voice and actions in North Salimpur Fishing Village. An old fisherman reported:

CODEC provided many trainings like leadership development, management of peoples' organization, legal awareness, community driven advocacy, sanitation, disaster management, etc. It helps to work collectively for development of our village. Like, now all families use sanitary latrines.

A female respondent of North Salimpur also elucidated:

We have a self-help group by comprising 30 females; and daily subscription is Taka 10/-. We sensitize people on many social issues like disadvantages of early marriage, dowry, gender-based and domestic violence; family planning, education of children, juveniles' delinquencies, health & sanitation beyond financial schemes.

Alternatively, a female respondent of same village told that we had good social bondage among neighbors. Our community people were very united and desired to solve own problems even for tinny issues; whatsoever attitude of few people steadily turns into individualistic and isolated thinking. She instanced:

Now some rich families seriously exploit poor fishermen by lending loans at highest interest rate. Few ill-minded people of our community helped to construct K. R. Ship-Breaking Yard in 2010 without considering interest of fishermen.

Social ties among people of South Dhurung Fishing Village are very strong. One female respondent urged:

Our Sardars (traditional leaders) are economically frail; whatsoever they are socially dynamic. Generally, we carry out their decision and follow guidance during social ceremonies and life-cycle rituals.

Two female respondents of South Dhurung appreciated about social network and job placement; and voluntary activities of community people especially youths. First female said: Social network plays a key role for recruiting of community people as a fishing laborer in big boats and securing jobs especially girls and females at garments factories in Chittagong City. Even, they arrange accommodation in city for incumbents.

Second female recounted:

Contribution of volunteers of Cyclone Preparedness Programme (CPP) is very effective. Volunteers of CPP are dedicated for mass awareness, disseminating of warning-messages, home visits, miking, etc.

Traditional Jaladas have own kinship, mutual trust, and social bondage. External donor-supported project few times mismatches its instinct characteristics. One fisherman of South Dhurung regrettably explained:

Government-led 'Empowerment of Coastal Fishing Communities for Livelihood Security (ECFC)' project worked from 2000 to 2005 in our village. Project personnel selected leaders of Village Development Committee (VDC) wrongly and involved with financial corruptions. It created conflicts among us for sometimes.

Financial conditions and exploitations

Financial status is an important parameter to measure lives of people of fishing village. It helps to offer promoted livelihood options. Fishers are excluded from government loan facilities due to landless. Many private banks also do not provide loans without collateral. Amount of NGOs loan is insufficient for boats, nets, and other gears. One female respondent of North Salimpur stated:

Social fear or respect by others is usually correlated with financial capital. Now we have to heavily depend on rich people of Jaladas community. For instance, if I take loan Taka 100,000/- for one year then I must pay Taka 200,000/- at end of year. It is a serious exploitation by own people.

Fishing families of South Dhurung Fishing Village are extremely poor. One female respondent claimed:

Three NGOs, herein, BRAC, COAST Trust and Grameen Bank operate microcredit in our village. They provide loan to limited families who are comparatively solvent. However, amount of loan like Taka 10,000/- is not sufficient in present context.

Caste identity

Jaladas are lower-caste in Hinduism. Existing study finds that old people and young fishermen are prided to familiarize themselves as Jaladas caste. In few cases, educated youths of North Salimpur Fishing Village hesitate to tell occupation of their father and grandfather. Formal education uplifts their social status and generates identity crisis. One fishing laborer of South Dhurung described about fish-loving and ecological knowledge of Jaladas; and worship. According to him:

We are birth-attributed fishers with distinct caste identity. Fishing is not only our livelihood but also our lives. I worship to the deity Ganga before going to mid-sea fishing. It increases my psychic and emotional strengthens during fishing at sea.

Language and dress-up

People of two study villages use Chittagonian dialect; but vocal sound of individuals of South Dhurung Fishing Village is very hard to understand. Educated youths of North Salimpur Fishing Village try to speak plain dialect during conversation with outsiders / formal discussion. People

of both villages have own special dress which is not used even by other caste of Hindus. Like, special garland (i.e. made by dry basil stems) by male and female. One female respondent of North Salimpur commented:

Youths are modern to choose cloths. Adolescents and youths usually follow Indian Actors / Actresses for hair-cutting. TV channels especially Indian, movies, and internet influence for choosing their cloths.

In short, South Dhurung Fishing Village has no electricity and television. They are far behind from modern amenities. Behavior and dress-up of people especially adolescents & youths of North Salimpur Fishing Village are quite different because of formal education, extensive mingling with Muslim communities, media and internet.

Religious rituals

Author finds that dwellers of both study villages have beliefs to the Goddesses. It is a spiritual supremacy; principally surrender to nature. One fisherman of North Salimpur told:

We still emphasize more on Monosha Puja (worship) and Ganga Puja. The Goddess Monosha eternally makes her appearance as a poisonous snake. She is benevolent Goddess for protection from risk of snake bite. Our livelihood is with water. Thus, Monosha Puja enhances our mental strength; in such way that 'Ma Monosha (i.e. Mother Monosha)' will keep us in safe. Ganga Puja is also closely related to our livelihood.

One female respondent of North Salimpur talked about some aspects of community-based religious rituals. She mentioned:

We do not observe Durga Puja from 2017 in our village. It is not for financial insolvency; but for intra-conflicts and rivalry attitude. Kirtan, Puthi Pat (script of poetic tales and fairy religious stories of ancient Bengal) were performed in religious rituals. Nowadays, youths prefer latest Hindi and English songs.

One female respondent of South Dhurung Fishing Village stated that all religious festivals are observed in their village. According to her:

We arrange all community level rituals in small-scale due to lack of money. People of our village are financially poor but heart of ours is big. We observe respective Pujas under the guidance of Sardars; and rituals really makes coherence among ourselves.

Traditional social institutions (Samaj, Sardar and Salish)

These three Bengali words are recognized as very traditional social institutions in Bangladeshi rural communities. There was one Samaj (a samaj is comprised of the members of patrilineal who have continuous residence. It is in a sense of confederation of one or more kin groups whose leadership has been entrusted by common consent upon one or more individuals) before 2003 in North Salimpur Fishing Village. Number of Samaj is three in 2020. Conventionally, oldest and capable son of existing Sardar (traditional leader) becomes the new Sardar in Jaladas community. One fisherman of North Salimpur raised concern:

Selection process of new Sardar has been changed in last 10 to 12 years. Money, relationship with local political party members & tyrants, and social power influence to select Sardar. One

influential person formed new Samaj in 2018 by consisting 35 households. He breaks our tradition and becomes Sardar.

One female respondent seriously blamed about activities of few Sardars. She identified: K. R. Ship-Breaking Yard was forcefully constructed in 2010 beside our fishing village. We seriously protested against ship-breaking yard. Regrettably, few Sardars of ours were convinced by taking money from proprietor of ship-breaking yard.

By tradition, Sardar was a very powerful person to preside Salish (non-formal court where problems are mitigated). Then, Union Parishad (UP), lowest tier of local government in Bangladesh; police station, court were gradually engaged to solve such problems. Now conflicts are resolved by via of local touts and at places of political party.

Roles of traditional social institutions are vibrant in South Dhurung Fishing Village. All Sardars are from poor families. They are active for mitigating conflicts among people of Samaj, help in matrimonial discussions, funeral of dead body, arranging religious rituals, internal meeting to save each other from vested Muslims, and financial support. One fisherman of this village told:

We respect each other. We especially youths obey all decisions of Sardars and their judgements. Basically, we are socio-culturally & politically unsecured and vulnerable; that's why we always try to be united. Caste-based unity is our worthy asset; and a strong sense of community ownership.

One female respondent of aforesaid village described how an incident, i.e. quarrel and injury which occurred on 25 January 2021, was solved by Sardars rather than external party. She said:

Unfortunately, our two neighbors involved in quarrel and it ended by little injury. One culprit Muslim member of Union Parishad (UP) insisted both families to go in police station for filing case; and demanded bribe from them. Nobody trusted him. Sardars mitigated it and charged an amount of compensation from perpetrator.

Production organization

Roles of Jaladas were significant as a production organization and market linkage. Thinking, activities, behavior, attitude, and existence of Jaladas have changed due to entrance of capital expansionists in fisheries sector. One fisherman of North Salimpur Fishing Village shared his experience about fish production due to government embargo, plight of fishermen and behavior of commercial entrepreneurs. He narrated:

Fish production has increased due to 65-day fishing ban. But we get limited compensation from the government. Commercial investors are desperate for profit-making than ecological conservation. Unfortunately, some Jaladas now forget about sustainability of fishery resources.

In analysis, commercial investors never consider about ecological conservation. They only want profits; and do not think about tomorrow. Jaladas were very sensitive on sustainable fishing. But now mesh size of their Behundi Jal (set-bag net) is gradually decreased to end of bag because of survival. The government imposes embargo on fishing from 20 May to 23 July

(65-day) of each year in the Bay of Bengal to ensure proper breeding of sea fishes and conservation. Jaladas have to suffer very much during fishing ban though government provides 86 kilograms rice grains for them.

One female respondent of South Dhurung Fishing Village explicated about roles of many federations, associations, committees, forums, alliances, and networks of small-scale fishermen at sub-district, district, and national level. She remarked:

As a production organization, it emerges as a mushroom within last 11 years; even under political signboard. But representation of genuine fishermen at leadership level is limited. Positive impact of those organizations is in a big question mark.

Power relations

Power relation denotes the relationship by which a person has social-built power over another. It has a linkage with power structure. One fisherman of North Salimpur Fishing Village acknowledged:

NGO and community-based organization developed our leadership capacities. It helps to enhance, in some extent, bargaining power. Moreover, accessibility of our people in political party, linkage with sub-district and district level leaders, and formal education assist to develop relationship with local power structure.

One fisherman of above village similarly added:

Once Muslim people did not allow us in tea stall; and owner of teacart used different cups for us due to our low caste. Now it is a tale only. Our sons and daughters are being educated. Social dignity of ours has gradually increased.

Bargaining power of people of South Dhurung Fishing Village is low. Oppressions by some Muslims, religious minority, extreme poverty are major causes for it. Their psychosocial condition is scrawny due to these adversative factors.

Discussion

On the basis of study objective; findings are critically explained to find out homogeneousness & discordant with past studies. Manusher Jonno Foundation identified that limited education in fishing villages makes them marginalized in Bangladesh [29]. Existing study proves that investment of foreign donors, through NGO, predominantly in Education Program (i.e. for adult and children) plays important role to enhance awareness and insight among people of North Salimpur Fishing Village. National Education Policy [30] of Bangladesh was comprehensively appreciated by all stakeholders. But children of South Dhurung Fishing Village are underprivileged from education. From policy outlook, it demonstrates that implementation of policy directions is below due to lack of concentration by Government of Bangladesh (GoB) and donor agencies in remote-island.

Some cultural superstitions and social taboos prevailed among Jaladas in Chittagong, Bangladesh. They commonly believed if parents arrange marriage of their daughters before adolescence; then parents will go to heaven after death [12]. This study finds that such superstitions have removed from North Salimpur Fishing Village because of education, awareness raising, access to electronic media, life skills, and positive influence of other

factors. Health education, services, and responsiveness are also comparatively better. Children of both study villages are vaccinated by government initiative; but institutional provisions and death of mother for child delivery related complications are awful in South Dhurung Fishing Village.

Jaladas have culture-led psychological bottleneck to switch from fishing occupation [19, 12]. Present study marks that mind-set and inertia of youths of North Salimpur Fishing Village have moderately changed and they are interested to do new profession. Full-time fishermen of that village shift to part-time fishing due to low profit margins. A large portion of people of South Dhurung Fishing Village has pushed out from birth-ascribed fishing to laborers in big boats. Rashid [31] described plights of fishing laborers in big-size boats including low wages, insufficient safety measures, nine-month disconnection from family, health hazards, poor working environment, and etc. Findings of this study agree with above research.

Collective actions are event-based and contextual in North Salimpur Fishing Village. Unfortunately, few vested people encouraged to build ship-breaking yard and did not contemplate on interest of own people. It is early for this study to conclude about level of social alliance and collective actions in aforementioned village. Community identity and cohesion are very strong in South Dhurung Fishing Village. People live in cluster with robust ties of integration derived from lower-caste perception and protection from oppressions of Muslims. Social network helps for securing jobs of own people in different informal and formal sectors.

Once Jaladas were seriously exploited by Muslim Dadandars (one who makes advance payments as loan). This study discovers that now poor Jaladas are extremely subjugated by Hindu moneylenders of own community. Formation of new economic class in North Salimpur Fishing Village is one of major reasons for it. Furthermore, loan amount from NGOs is insufficient for fishermen. One scholar [32] claimed that some top Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) avoid lending money to poorest of the poor. Claim of same scholar is fully correct in case of South Dhurung Fishing Village where they are excluded from microcredit facilities.

Caste of Hinduism in India outlines what status they will enjoy [33]. Educated youths of North Salimpur treat fishing as a very low status occupation. They want to do white-color jobs. In some cases, they hesitate and hide the occupation of their father and grandfather during discussion with others. It is their identity crisis. Interestingly, higher-caste Hindus do not like their such behavior. In South Dhurung Fishing Village; social belongings, dignity, identity, and kinship are good. Habib revealed that family members of Jaladas wear lungi (like sarong), sari, dhuti and shirt. However, in times of work they only wear genzi and five-cubit napkin (gamsa) [19]. In North Salimpur Fishing Village, most of youth wear jeans pant and fishermen wear short pant during fishing due to availability of garment products at cheap price.

Dwellers of both study villages have full faiths on the Goddesses. Jaladas observe particular worships related with their livelihood. In changing pattern of religious rituals observance; people of North Salimpur Fishing Village incline to alienation and gradually by-pass roots of origin. They are more accustomed with Hindi and English songs rather than Kirtan, Puthi Pat

in religious ceremonies. In contrast, people of South Dhurung Fishing Village are cordially nursing own culture and keeping their nativity in cultural practices; and do not change its root.

There was distinguished between extra-village (outside) and intra-village (inside the village) relations. Samaj had been viewed as an instance of extra-village relation [34]. Present study finds this olden social institution becomes factually, in many extents, dysfunctional in North Salimpur Fishing Village. New Samaj has been formed because of intra-conflicts, domination of powerful group, and connectivity with political party. Findings of existing study are quite parallel with Jaladas [35]; where author described about weak of native organization of low-caste Hindus comprising Jaladas and sweepers due to power reign and capitalist thought. Field findings show that roles of Sardar in North Salimpur Fishing Village have sharply decreased. New economic position of non-fisher group, their domination on traditional power structure, keep poor fishermen in favor by providing loans; strong influence of local political leaders and linkage with political hooligan are major causes to weak and unacceptance their activities. Some community problems are solved by presence (visible or invisible) of local political leaders. Existing study confirms that roles of Salishkars (arbiters) have weakened, naturally, due to weakening of Samaj and Sardar. Local political party, Union Parishad (UP), police station, and court take place more and more for arbitration and legal verdict.

In South Dhurung Fishing Village, economic condition of the families of Sardars is deteriorating day by day. The financial condition of Sardars is same as other families in village. They are representing from poor fishing families. Their caste-based social harmonization is solid. Deb and Haque divulged that poor Jaladas of Cox's Bazar are birth-ascribed fishermen and has good social interconnection [36]. Their urged is parallel with findings of present study. This study also finds that roles of Salish and Salishkars are more effective and accepted within South Dhurung Fishing Village.

Poor fishers are defenseless and have no bargaining power [37]. Findings of existing study assure that bargaining power of people and fishermen in North Salimpur Fishing Village has moderately increased. Foreign employment, access to education, social mobility, affiliation with political party, and growing of relative-standards are key contributing factors to enhance bargaining power. Unfortunately, bargaining power and social dignity of fishermen in South Dhurung Fishing Village are limited due to extreme poverty, religious minority and oppressions by some vested Muslims since long. These adversative factors influence to put them in psychosocially weak position. Claiming of researchers is same and also different for two study villages [37].

Conclusion

Entrance of different capitals (e.g. human, physical, natural, financial, social, cultural and political) has positive and negative immediate effect and impact on lifestyles of Jaladas communities. Donor-driven supports numerous improve human development especially in the areas of education, health and sanitation, awareness building, leadership development, and self-employment in one study village (e.g. North Salimpur Fishing Village). In the same time, community belongings, harmonization, cultural roots, caste identity and functionality of

traditional institutions have been decayed because of formation of new economic and control group, political affiliation, power exercise, individualistic thinking, and pedagogy of domination. Indigenous caste-based society has been threatened and endangered. In South Dhurung Fishing Village, Jaladas are completely powerless due to social exclusion, lack of dignity, extreme poverty and oppression by Muslims. They are in trapped of structural poverty. Present study does not only focus on penetrated capitals; but also addresses lacking areas where entrance of different elements of capital is significantly needed for improvement of lifestyles of Jaladas communities.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval was obtained from Human Research Ethics Committee (JEPeM), Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM/JEPeM/20020135) before commencing research.

Conflict of Interest

The corresponding author states that there is no conflict of interest.

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