on the Trained Investigator (if any) 85-011 slication No. Supporting Agency (if Non-ICDDR, B) 11e of Study "Dyramics of Fecundi-Project status: (W New Study bility " Continuation with change No change (do not fill out rest of form) cle the appropriate answer to each of the following (If Not Applicable write NA). Searce of Population: Will signed consent form be required: ~^ S. (a) Ill subjects Yes No (a) From subjects (b) Non-ill subjects Yes No (b) From parent or guardian Minors or persons (c) (if subjects are minors) Yes No under guardianship Yes No Will precautions be taken to protect Does the study involve: anonymity of subjects Yeb No (a) Physical risks to the Check documents being submitted herewith to subjects Yes Committee: Social Risks (b) Yes No Umbrella proposal - Initially submit a Psychological risks (c) overview (all other requirements will to subjects Yes N6 be submitted with individual studies). (d) Discomfort to subjects Yes, No Protocol (Required) (e) Invasion of privacy /Xes Abstract Summary (Required) (f) Disclosure of informa-Statement given or read to subjects on tion damaging to subnature of study, risks, types of quest ject or others Yes ions to be asked, and right to refuse Does the study involve: to participate or withdraw (Required) (a) Use of records, (hosp-Informed consent form for subjects ital, medical, death, Informed consent form for parent or birth or other) guardian (b) Use of fetal tissue or Procedure for maintaining confidentialabortus (c) Use of organs or body Questionnaire or interview schedule * Yes If the final instrument is not completed Are subjects clearly informed about: prior to review, the following information (a) Nature and purposes of should be included in the abstract summary study A description of the areas to be (b) Procedures to be covered in the questionnaire or followed including interview which could be considered alternatives used Yes No either sensitive or which would (c) Physical risks Yes No constitute an invasion of privacy. Sensitive questions (d) Yes/ No Examples of the type of specific Benefits to be derived (e) Yes No questions to be asked in the sensitive (f) Right to refuse to areas. participate or to with-An indication as to when the questiondraw from study Yes No naire will be presented to the Cttee. Confidential handling (g) for review. of data Compensation &/or treat-(h) ment where there are risks or privacy is involved in any particular procedure Yes No

Principal Investigator

agree to obtain approval of the Ethical Review Committee for any changes

. T.	3 A	S. PROTOCI
------	-----	------------

1.	Title

: Dynamics of Fecundibility*

. Principal Investigator

: A.K.M. Alauddin Chowdhury

Co-investigator

: Tania Zaman

Starting Date

: As soon as protocol is approved

4. Completion Date

: May 31st, 1986

5. Total Direct Cost

: US \$25,204

Asso. Director In-charge:

This protocol has been approved by the Community Services Research Working Group.

Signature of the Asso. Director for CSRWG:

Date:

7. Abstract Summary:

This study aims at exploring and identifying the factors responsible for seasonal changes in fecundibility in rural Bangladesh.

It is hypothesized that the mechanisms via which the conception rate (fecundibility) during lean periods is reduced include excessive malnutrition, spouse absence and/or migration, and a economically stressful environment. This study is intended to provide some empirical data which will allow the testing of the above hypotheses independently.

8.	Review	:

	.
(a)	Ethical Review Committee:
(b)	Research Review Committee:
(c)	Director:

Fecundibility here is defined as the probability for a married woman to conceive during a month in the absence of any contraceptive practice intended to limit procreation.

Sea. For the for a demorraphic variable such as births have been line in the second is in which temperature and rainfall are the primary rminents of the struence of the agricultural year, which in turn, since to seasonal patterns of work, migration, marriages and weaning than see any, and all, of which can influence the level of conceptions (4). The laurenties the hypothesized relationship between seasonality and allity. It is apparent from the schema that fecundability (and fertility) affected by both cultural patterns and biological processes. The mechanism interaction between culture and biology is best understood by explicating concept of seasonality.

implies the existence of a 'good'and a 'bad' (lean) season; both of which are characterized by distinct time periods and activities and determined by their effects on income, nutrition and health (please see appendix 1).

It is clear from previous studies that all demographic events in Matlab exhibit seasonal patterns -- conceptions, births, deaths, marriages and diseases (5,6,7). The causes of the patterns are difficult to pinpoint as the patterns seem to be inter-related. Especially so, with regard to the marked seasonal pattern of births, extensively documented but inadequately explained (8). It has been suggested that seasonal absences of husband may explain part of the pattern (9). It has also been suggested that because the postpartum resumption of menses in November (post-harvest time) puts the number of women at risk of conception higher in the early months of the year, this would also lead to seasonality of births (10). But findings from another Matlab study, controlling for husband's absence, indicates that seasonal changes in frequency of coitus through a year was not enough to explain the sharp declines in fecundability that occurred at certain times of that year (11). Figures 2 and 3 graphically depict the findings and suggest that during that period some other variables might have suppressed conceptions. We hypothesize that conceptions were suppressed at those times due to excessive malnutrition and an overall economically stressful environment.

Figure 5.1 A simplified diagram of some of the main interrelationships likely to bring about a seasonal fluctuation in births.

Fig. 2: Fecundability and proportion having intercourse in last three days by calendar month

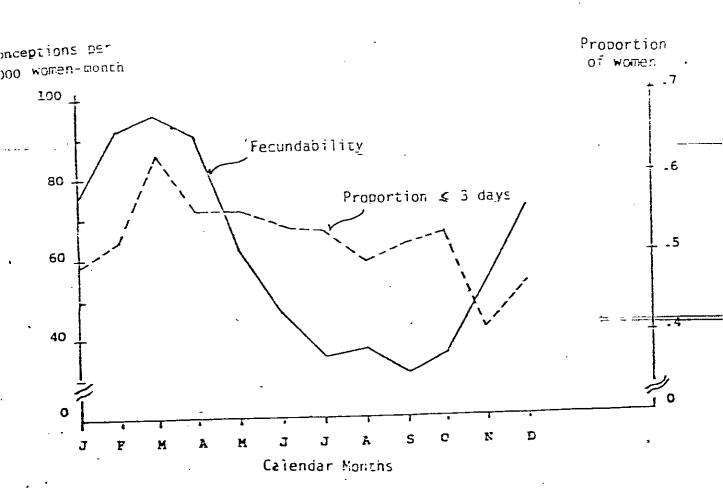
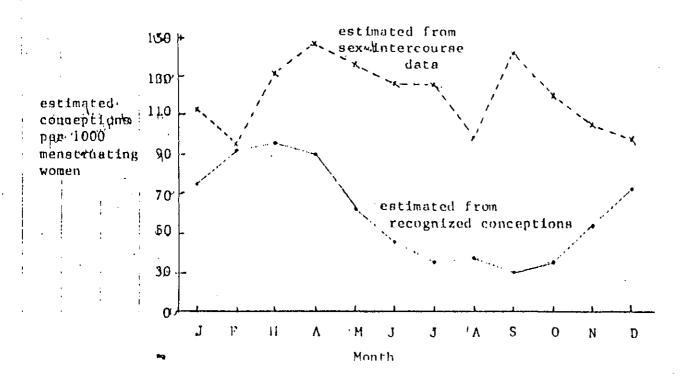


Figure 3: Fecundability estimated from recognized conceptions to menstruating women with husband present and from data on sexual inforcourse, by month of the year



57:5

to lower coital frequency, we do not know if excessive malnutrition and economic stress will have a similar effect. Neither do we know the effect of nutrition and economic stress on reproductive ability and the underlying feedback mechanisms. For a conceptual framework see figure 4.

A study testing for the above-mentioned factors will help to determine the relative contribution of nutrition towards seasonal changes in fecundability -- a highly desirable goal for two inter-related reasons:-

- in light of the controversy that exists in the literature ober the effect of nutrition on fertility.
- (2) the policy implications that follow from point (1).

Basically, the controversy is between those who say that malnutrition works to lower fecundity, and therefore, increased food intake by the malnutrished will raise their fertility (12, 13, 14, 15); and those who say that reproductive capacity is impervious to nutrition and increased food intake will have no effect on fertility (16,17,18). The evidence for the former view comes from analyses of famines and from conclusive studies on nutrition affecting menarche (19,20,21). The evidence for the latter comes from studies on chronically-malnourished populations and on the components of the birth interval, demonstrating that nutritional status does not have a significant effect on the duration of postpartum amenorrhoea, frequency of fetal loss, stillbirth and on the menstrual interval (22,23, 24,25). In other words, they state, the net effect on fertility would be negligible. Even if fecundability is affected by nutritional status.

The controversy continues because of a lack of conclusive evidence for or against either side of the argument. While therecan be no doubt that fecundity is indeed lowered during famines (defined as situations of prolonged and severe starvation), Menken et al would argue that the lowered fecundity results from behavioural changes suuch as decreased frequency of intercourse, due to stress (26). Although Menken et al are reluctant to attribuute malnutrition to lowered fecundity, it seems plausible to postulate that a nutritional threshold exists below which many body systems, including the reproductive, shut down. The mechanism can be either decreased sperm or ovum production, fewer successful implatiations, increased fetal loss or some combination of the above.

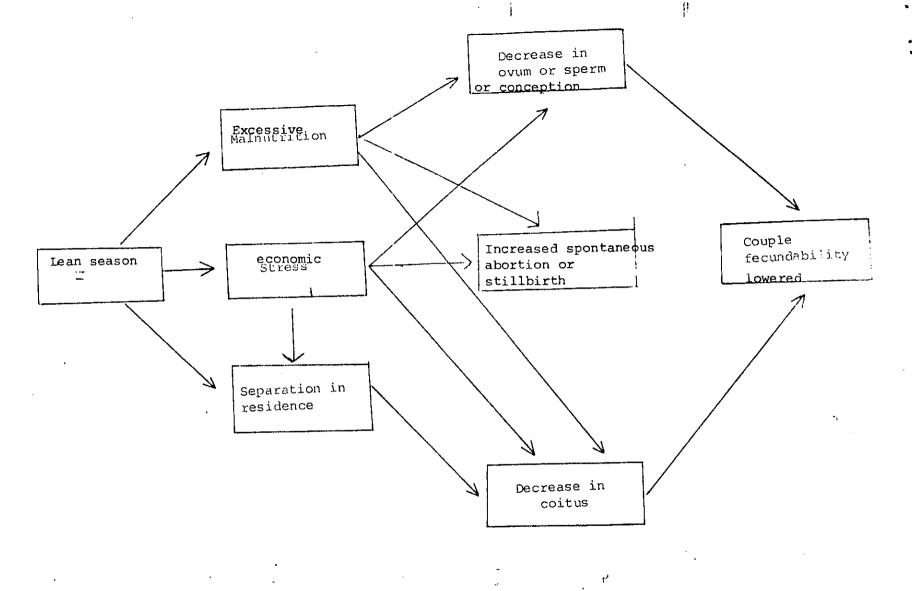


Figure 4: Analytic framework -epicting the relationship between lean season and fecundability.

identifying such aer but it is a least bould, but also the conditions of a which such threads a such thread as conditions. The conditions of a such threads are created as a least section of an economically-stressful environment combined with chronic-malnourishment may work to lower fecundity during any food scarce period.

To test the above hypotheses we propose a study of the fecundability of a chronically-malnourished population through a seasonal cycle, controlling for nutrition, frequency of coitus, husband's absence and/or migration and economic stress. A seasonal cycle will provide us with situations of both normal food availability and food scarcity. We know from the evidence available so far that periods of food scarcity (lean periods) emulate famine conditions for a certain proportion of the population. Our purpose would be to test whether fecundability is affected by nutrition or economic stress (Menken et al's 'behavioural change'), or a combination of the two. If it is a combination of both the factors, our aim would be to try and assess the relative contribution of each factor towards explaining the changes in fecundability. Finally, the possibility of other factors is not ruled out.

A related, and equally important, aim of our study concerns methodology-testing because of the kinds of data needed to test our hypotheses. We need to obtain data on the following four variables:— nutritional status, spouse separation, coitual frequency and economic stress. While reliable data on nutritional status and spouse separation can be obtained with relative ease, obtaining data on a similar level for coital frequency and economic stress will pose a serious challenge. Both are culturally—sensistive topics and prone to response bias. While the latter can be observed and verfiedate a certain degree, the former cannot. Consequently, data on coital frequency necessitates a reliance on recall. Therefore, our aim is to obtain data on coital frequency using both structured questionnaires and anthropological techniques, concurrently. We will then check for consistency between the data-sets obtained via the two methods. This, we are confident, will enable us to obtain more precise information on coital frequency, an area singularly lacking in reliable data.

We are also going to utilize the same methods for data on economic stress. But in this case we will have the additional backings of the anthropometric test for nutritional status and the Health Opinion Survey (HOS) for stress. In this case also we will check for consistency

monen

'mong information obtained who is differing methods. In short, de a at each level (for each of the methods) should back-up data at the other levels.

Consistency of data-sets will be checked on a regular basis as soon as the monthly information from the field becomes available for analysis.

An useful by-product, rather than a specific aim, of the study will be the generation of a data-base on the following topics:-

- 1. Women's work, income and fecundity.
- 2. Causes, timings and effects of male out-migration.
- 3. The mechanisms and causes of rural poverty.
 - 4. Informal rural-credit systems.

The population of Bangladesh is characterized by chronic-malnourishment and faces a continuous marginal deficit of food with intermittent natural calamities, such as floods and droughts, which destroy standing food crops. In addition to which the population also faces a seasonal scarcity of food (the lean period) just before the main (aman) harvest, which leads to a situation of acute or prolonged semi-starvation (see crop claendar in appendix 2). Such food scarce situations tend to affect certain socio-economic groups, such as the landless and near-landless, differentially, leading to famine-like conditions. Given these circumstances a study carried out in Bangladesh can provide data to relate the role of season-ability to changes in fecundability.

Chandpur, a two-year old extension project of ICDDR-B, modelled on and neighbouring Matlab, has been set up for the purpose of testing the rice-based ORS. Avital registration system for births and deaths already a exists. Given Chandpur's facilities and Matlab's overstretched resources, we are inclined towards Chandpur as a more suitable fields site. We recognize the bias introduced by choosing Chandpur (which may be atypical) but the choice is a trade-off given the rapport that already exists between the fieldsworkers and local population; a rapport, much-needed, given the nature of the data we are seeking.

B, SPECIFIC AIMS

1. To test the hypothesis that the main factor leading to a lowering of fecundability during the lean season is a prolongation of the menstrual interval rather than changes in any other component of the birth interval.

- 2. To determine what'er the observed prol stron of the menstrust interval is principally brought about by:
 - a. excessive malnutrition
 - b. economic stress
 - c. frequency of coitus
 - d. separation of spouses
 - e. a combination of the above.

C. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Schedule

Since it is our intention to study the factors responsible for changes in fecundability during lean seasons, we have to control for the effects of good seasons. Therefore, we propose a 14 month long study which will enable us to cover one lean seasoncand almost two good seasons. If we begin in the April of 1985, we can cover a good season till the end of May, and a lean season from June to November of the year. From November to May 1986 we can cover another good season

Data-collection

Data is to be collected on 1250 currently-married and menstruating women from 6 villages in the Chandpur project. After an initial interview of all the currently-married women of the project area, women falling into the above-mentioned category will be chosen and interviewed monthly till they concieive or till the end of the study period is reached (see interview forms in appendix 3 and 3a). Life-table analysis will be done to estimate fecundability.

- Data -collection will focus on the following 4 items:-
- 1. <u>Nutritional status</u>: arm circumference measurements will be taken monthly as an indicator of nutritional status. It is an established method and needs little elaboration here.
- 2. <u>Spouse absence and/or migration</u>: refers specifically to the absence of the husband on either a temporary (weekly or seasonally) or semi-permanent (migration with periodic home visits) basis for the purpose of earning an income.
- 3. Frequency of coitus: two questions on the frequency of coitus will be asked (see appendix 3a). As the forms will be administered monthly, we want to aim for maximum accuracy. Therefore, both questions will focus on coitus withing recent memory.

Previous Attack to the Common State (30, 18) and the Common State (30, 18) and the

that information on frequency of intus can be intrind; we will a tempt to test the reliability of such data using anthropolytical techniques.

4. Economic stress: as stress is a biological manifestation, the most definitive evidence of its presence is derived from blood tests for certain hormones. Such testing is beyond the scope of this study. However, stress has its social correlate as well which is manifested in behaviour, and can therefore, be observed or elicited and recorded (32).

In humans there is a great variety in the definition of what is, or is not, stressful. As a result it is only possible to measure the 'extent' of psychophysiological stress via devised tests (such as the HOS in appendix 4) but not possible to identify the reasons why an individual perceives herself to be under stress -- unless the reasons areaobvious (such as famine, death in the family, loss of livelihood, etc.). Given our knowledge of the effects of seasonality, and evidence from elsewhere on the sub-continent (33), it is reasonable to assume that economic factors will constitute bulk of the stress faced by the population. It should be understood that 'economic stress' does not indicate a distinct type of stress but refers to a distinct category of stressors (or stress-inducers). (See appendix 3b). All questions on coping strategies will be pretested and modified as necessary.

Our choice of stressors is justified on the grounds of extreme poverty that characterized the majority of the population of Bangladesh. While food procurement is a primary objective, a secondary objective is to maintain on transcend the subsistence-level lifestyle. Rather, efforts are concentrated towards not falling below the level one is at. (See appendix 5). Having identified the stressors we are interested in the behavioural responses of the population to the stressors. We are labelling the behavioural responses as "coping strategies" -- social strategies of survival resorted to in order to overcome the demands of maintaining a lifestyle, in general, and food scarcity, in particular. Strategies may be carried out by both individuals and households. Some common strategies documented in Bangladesh have been: a. seeking outside employment when income from one's own farm is inadequate.

- b. resorting to outmigration.
- c. females seeking off-bari employment (34).

The above are general strategies of survival. Particular strategies may range from taking up hithertofore forbidden occupations, to eating socially. unacceptable foods, to selling-off means of livelihood, to abandoning families, to activating dormant support systems, to strengthening kin ties, to begging for food. F Strategies will of course vary among individuals and households,

riven their differential socio-economic status. The nature of the strategy esorted to (e.g. begging versus borrowing) will be taken as indicative of the level of economic stress.

Our study will collect current information on these coping strategies.

•nalysis of the data will involve grouping population on the basis of:-

- .. coping strategies unnecessary
- coping strategies successful
- . coping strategies unsuccessful.

Apart from the collection of monthly data using a structure questionnaire and anthropomentric testing for nutritional status, the study will also include an anthropological investigation and the HOS stress test in any one of the 6 rillages. Approximately 208 households are expected to be represented from each village (actual numbers will depend on the initial screening) and attempts rill be made to cover all. In case of inability to do so, a sample will be chosen from the 208 or so households.

An anthropological study will have two primary uses:-

- Becuase of its reliance on participant-observation, unstructured questioning and greater intimacy with interviewees, it can provide information on coping strategies in greater detail and with more reliability. Therefore, it can also help to identify other variables affecting fecundity which remain anknown at present and are unlikely to be elicited by structured questioning.
- 1. It can serve as an useful check on the macro (questionnaire) data; serving as a back-up, validating tood and a feedback mechanism.

5. SIGNIFICANCE

the long-running debate in the literature on the Nutrition-Fertility Link has reached am impasse as much of the data needed to substantiate hypotheses have been difficult to obtain. Some believe that chronic malnourishment has only a superficial effect on fecundity and their challengers say that star/ation has a direct effect on current fecundity. The lowered fecundity, the fatter say, results from a reduced capacity of the couples to reproduce and is not simply the result of changed behaviour. Our study is intended to brovide data to substantiate or reject either side of the argument. In either case the policy implications will be of importance, especially for Bangladesh, which is heavily dependent on food aid. In recent years there has been a fendency until part of 1 to rove away from food aid and towards more

2. Paucity of reliable data on coital frequency has made it impossible to assess its possible role in explaining the variations in the fertility levels of groups and sub-groups not using modern contracepties. In this study we are not only attempting to obtain information on coital frequency but also testing for the reliability of such information using a combination of methods. Should such a methodology prove useful, it can be used elsewhere not only for data on coital frequency, but also for data on other equally culturally-sensitive areas (such as economic stress, also being tested by us).

REFERENCES

- 1. Stoeckel, J. and A.K.M.A. Chowdhury. Seasonal variation in births in rural East Pakistan. Journal of Biosocial Science, 1972 (4):107-16.
- 2. Chang, K., S. Chan, W. Low and C.K. Ng. Climate and conception rates in Hong Kong. Human Biology, 1963; Vol. 35.
- 3. Dyson, T. and N. Crook. Data on seasonality of births and deaths.

 In: R. Chambers et al. (eds.) Seasonal dimensions to rural poverty.

 Frances Pinter Ltd., London, 1981, pp.141-48.
- 4. Chambers, R. et al. (eds.) Seasonal dimensions to rural poverty. Frances Pinter Ltd., London, 1981, Chapter 5.
- 5. Becker, S. and A.M. Sarder. Seasonal patterns of vital events in Matlab thana, Bangladesh. In: R. Chambers et al. (eds.) Seasonal dimensions to rural poverty. Frances Pinter Ltd., London, 1981, pp.149-54.
- 6. Shaikh, K. Nuptiality patterns in rural Bangladesh. <u>Demography India</u>, 1984 (13)1&2: 42-53.
- 7. Chen, L., A.K.M.A. Chowdhury and S. Huffman. Seasonal dimensions of energy protein malnutrition in rural Bangladesh: the role of agriculture, dietary practices, and infection. Ecology of Food and Nutrition, 1979, (8): 175-87.
- 8. Becker, S. Seasonality of fertility in Matlab, Bangladesh. <u>Journal of</u>
 Biosocial Science, 1981 (13): 97-105.
- 9. Chen, L., S. Ahmed, M. Gesche and H. Mosley. A prospective sutdy of birth interval dynamices in rural Bangladesh. Population Studies, 1974, 28(2): 277-97.
- 10. Huffman, S., A.K.M.A. Chowdhury, J. Chakraborty and N. Simpson. Breast-feeding patterns in rural Bangladesh. American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 1980 (33): 144-54.
- 11. Chowdhury, A.K.M.A. and S. Becker. Determinants of natural fertility

 study. Volume one methods and descriptive tables for the prospective

 study 1975-1978. Dhaka, International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease

 Research, Bangladesh (ICDDR,B), Scientific Report No. 48, 1981.
- 12. Frisch, R. Population, food intake and fertility. Science, 1980 (199): 22-30.
- Demographic implications of the biological determinants of female fecundity. Social Biology, 22(1): 17-22.
- Some further notes on population, food intake and natural fertility.

 In: Leridon and Menken (eds.) Natural fertility. Leig, 1979, pp.135-47.

- Malnutrition and fertility. Science, 1982 (215): 1272-73.
- 16. Bongaarts, J. Does malnutrition affect fecundity: a summary of evidence. Science, 1980 (208): 564-69.
- 17. Bongaarts, J. and H. Delgado. Effect of nutritional status on fertility.

 Paper presented at the International Population Conference, Mexico,
 1977.
- 18. Bongaarts, J. (Reply to Frisch). Science, 1982 (215): 1273-74.
- 19. Frisch, R. and R. Revelle. Height and weight at menarche and a hypothesis of menarche. Archives of Disease in Childhood, 1971 (46): 695-701.
- 20. Frisch, R. Weight at menarche: similarity for well-nourished and under-nourished girls at differing ages, and evidence for historical constancy. Pediatrics, 1972, 50(3): 445-50.
- Menarche and fatness: reexamination of the critical body composition hypothesis. Science, 1978 (200): 1506-14.
- 22. Delgado, H. et al. Nutrition and birth interval components: the Guatemalan experience. In: H. Mosley (ed.). Nutrition and human reproduction.

 Plenum Press, New York, 1978, pp. 385-400.
- 23. Delgado, H. et <u>al</u>. Nutrition, lactation and postpartum amenorrhoea.

 American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 1978, 31(2): 322-26.
- 24. Huffman, S., A.K.M.A. Chowdhury, J. Chakraborty and H. Mosley. Nutrition and post-partum amenorrhoea in rural Bangladesh. Population Studies, 1978 (32): 251-60.
- 25. Huffman, S., A.K.M.A. Chowdhury and H. Mosley. Post-partum amenorrhoea: how is it affected by maternal nutritional status. <u>Science</u>, 1978 (200): 1155-57.
- Menken, J., J. Trussell and S. Watkins. The nutrition-fertility link: an evaluation of the evidence. <u>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</u>, 1981, 11(3): 425-41.
- 27. Bhatia, S. and L. Ruzicka. Reproductive and sexual behaviour and practices in a rural area of Bangladesh: preliminary report. Dhaka, Cholera Research Laboratory and Canberra, The Australian National University, 1978.

- 28. Aziz, K.M.A. Sex socialization and philosophies of life in relation to fertility behaviour: an anthropological approach. Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi University.
- 29. Maloney, C. K.M.A. Aziz and P.C. Sarker. Beliefs and fertility in Bangladesh. Dhaka, ICDDR,B, Monograph series 2, 1981.
- 30. Aziz, K.M.A. and C. Maloney. <u>Life stages, gender and fertility in</u> Bangladesh. Dhaka, ICDDR, B, Monograph series 3.
- 31. Nag, M. Sex, culture and human fertility: India and the United States.

 Current Anthropology, 1972, 13(2): 231-38.
- 32. Selye, H. Stress in health and disease. Butterworth Publishers Inc., Boston, Massachusetts, 1976.
- 33. Caldwell, J., P.H. Reddy and C. Caldwell. Periodic high-risk as a cause of mortality decline: survival strategies in the south Indian drought. Paper presented in Seminar on the Social and Biological Correlates of Mortality, Tokyo, November 24-27, 1984 (IUSSP).
- 34. Westergaard, K. Pauperization and rural women in Bangladesh: a case study. Comilla, Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development, 1983.

rom Robert Chambers' SEASONALITY, POVERTY AND NUTRITION: A PROFESSIONAL FRONTIER.

75

In summary, the tropical wet-dry scenario, as it applies to poor rural people in an agricultural economy, can be described as follows.

A dry season is followed by a wet season. Towards the end of the dry season, food becomes scarcer, draught animals weaker, and more energy and time are required to obtain water. Little work is available and wages are low. Some poor poeple migrate in search of work. When the rains come, cultivation makes high energy demands on weak draught animals and on people. During the rains and before the first harvest, many adverse factors interact. Food is scarce, food prices high, and household cash reserves of poor families low or non-existent. Hard work is involved in agricultural activities, some of which, like weeding, can be critical for crop production. The incidence and prevalence of monsoon-related diseases is high, including variously malaria, Dengue fever, guinea worm disease, diarrhoeas, skin infections and snake bite. Impaired immune response heightens vulnerability to these illnesses. Much sickness goes untreated but poor families may also incur their heaviest health expenditures of the year (Rao 1974). Food is of less variety, is less well prepared, and after cooking is more often left standing in moist, warm conditions in which contamination through bacterial and fungal overgrowth is rapid (Schofield 1974; Barrel and Rowland 1979). Huts leak and collapse from the rains and conditions are crowded as families move in together (Gulati 1981:29). Wet and sometimes cold are experienced. Body weights decline. Poor people are concurrently liable to sickness and to debt. They borrow on adverse terms, mortgage and or sell assets in order to obtain food and to be able to work. At this time of year, before the harvest, many ruural people are most vulnerable to becoming poorer.

The hard work of harvest and of post-harvest processing comes as a climax. Especially for landless labourers, to be able to work at this time is critical because wages are high, but body reserves of energy are low. Mortality is high among older people (Becker 1981a:275). Food is abundant and food prices drop. Small farmers have to repay debts at this time, and also raise cash for the marriages and ceremonies which follow. This forces them to sell their crops when prices are at their knockest lowest. But in the post-harvest dry season, body weights rise, and this is the healthiest and happiest time of year, and the time when conceptions are most common (Dyson and Crook 1981a and b). Then the cycle is repeated.

Women and children are especially badly affected by the adverse combinations of the wet season (Schofield 1974; Palmer 1981). Women who work in agriculture tend to terminate lactation with the onset of the rains, anticipating the hard work in the fields which is to come. Children thus become entirely dependent on a non-milk diet at precisely the time when it is least varied., least nutritious, least in quantify, and most likely to be contaminated. Where lactation continues, breastmilk output falls. The pressure of other demands on women's time and energy reduces the time devoted to housework and child care. Infants' and growth falters and weights even decline. Women are especially liable to be in late pregnancy at this time, reflecting a peak in conceptions in the healthy and well-fed period after harvest, and pregnant women in the last trimester of pregnancy can actually lose weight (Whitehead et al 1978). Births peak around harvest time, but birthweights are low and neonatal mortality rates high. During the post-harvest dry season, adults and children's weights recover.

To this scenario, several qualifications must immediately be made. While evidence can, to the best of my knowledge, be adduced for every statement, it is not likely

that all of them will apply in every environment.

The worst time of year varies for different socio-economic groups: for small farmers who provide their own labour it may be just before and at harvest; for landless labourers it may be then or at other times when there is no work.

JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECTMEET	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	МАҮ
	honsoons/mo	nscons/mon	noons/monso	ns/monscon	oolwinter/co	ol winter	cool wint	er/ cool	hot dry/ h	ot dry/ hot	dry/ hot dr
				>				ng Aman plant Aman growi	ing		
۰ .					uman harvest uman post-ha	ng) vesting-	Aus plowin	d	hg>		
)							Aus planet	Aus weeding		Aus harvest Aus post har
	>				Boro plowing	horo plan	ting	19	Boro harve	sting	
			4						soro pose i	ì	ty Fall an-
				recundabil	ity rising-						* -
											•
					-						

Village	Bari /	
Husband's Name	Respondent's Name	
ID Numbe	r	
Age on Octob		
Husban	l's Education	
Husban	d's Occupation	
Respon		<u> </u>
Respon	dent's Occupation OUT	
Cultiv	floor space Single crop able land: Double crop	
Religi		
	Living Children (a) Male (b) Female children born alive now dead	
	children born dead (a) miscarriage	
	(b) stillbirth	
Total Pregnancies		
Date of last pregnancy	termination tillbirth/ /1. Abortion/ /S.Abortion	7
(For Never Pregnant Woma	n) Date of Marriage	
Present Fecundity Statu		
1 Menses in last mont	h 2. No menses in last month	
If no, is it because	.	
If no, is it because	oea (b) Pregnancy (c) irregularity	
or Lactational amendi:	nds of amenorrhoea (e) Menopause	
(f) Others (not classi	fied above)	
Name of Held Worker		

VILLAGE	BARI	
NAME	CENSUS NO.	
PERIOD COVERED, FROM	то	
	•	
Event during the period	Covered Other details if Yes	Code
1. Menstruation? No DK	Yes (Date, Days)	·
2. Pregnant? No DK		
3. Preg. Termi? No DK	Yes (LB,SB,MIS, Sex, Date)	
4. Breast feeding? No [Yes	
5. Supplementation? No. Yes	(Days, Date, Type of food)	
6. Husband away? No Yes	(Days, Date)	
7. Practicing F.P.? Nd NR	Yes (Days, Date, Method)	
8. Illness? No Yes	(Days, Symptoms)/No/Yes/NR/	
9. Break-through Bleeding? Nd.	Yes (Days, Date)	
10. Husband illness? No Tyes	(/No/Yes/NR/	
II. Child Death? No Yes	(Sex, Date, Age)	
12. Absent herself? No Yes		:e)
13. Changed M. status? No Ye	Kind, Date)	
14. Arm Circumference	Date	
15. Did you have coitus withing 16. How many days ago did you la	the last 3 days? If no, st have coitus?	-
. Name of the worker	Date	1

QUESTIONAIRE ON COPING STRATEGIES

IN THE FAMINE ENVIRONMENT

1. Do you work more now than you used to do in last month?	NA No Yes Yes	Types of work/hours
2. a) Did any member of your family leave: the house during last one month?	NA No Yes	who/why
b) Did they leave parmanently?	NA No Yes M	
3.Did you stop buying necessities other than food during last month?	NA No Yes	
4. Did any of your family stop going to school?	NA No Yes	why .
5. Did you postpone your daughter's marriage?	NA No Yes	why
<pre>(ask this question if the family have 15 + yrs unmarried daughter)</pre>		
6. Did you sell any possessions last month ?	NA No Yes	Name of things/reason
7. Did you borrow food items from neighbourer/relatives during last month?	NA No Yes	type
. 8. Did you ask food from neighbours?	NA No Yes	reason/from whom
9. Del you take less food now than last month?	NA No Yes	kind
10. Did you change: food behaviour from rice or wheat to alu, kawn, arams, etc last month?	NA No Yes C	type of food
did 11. How many meals you take yesterday?	NA No Yes	number of meal
12. Was there any member of your who camily did not take food during	NA [] No [] Yes [number of days

- 2 -

3. Was any one sick due to starvation last month?	NA No Yes Yes	type of sickness
14. Did any one die! last month?	NA No Yes	relation/why/date
15. Was there any break-up or crisis in the family last month?	NA [No [Yes [type/relation
receive 16. Did you any remittance from outside last month?	NA No Yes M	kind/amount/relation
17. Did you borrow any money from fri or neighbours or relatives in the last month?		rom whom? amount?
18. Have you taken any sort of employment outside of your own bari anytimeain the last one month?	NA No Yes	Where? in another bari or off-bari?

THE HEALTH OPINION SURVEY

1.	Do you have any physical or health problems at the present? 3. Yes 1. No
2.	Do your hands tremble enough to bother you? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
3.	Are you troubled by your hands or feet sweating so that they feel damp and clammy? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
4.	Are you bothered by your heart beating hard? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
5.	Do you tend to feel tired in the morning? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
6.	Do you have any trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
7.	How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
8.	Are you bothered by nightmares (dreams that frighten or upset you? 3 Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
9	Are you troubled by "cold sweats"? 3 Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
10.	Do you feel that you are bothered by all sorts (different kinds) of ailments in different parts of your body? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
11.	Do you smoke? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
12.	Do you have loss of apetite? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
13	Does_ill-health affect the amount of work (or housework) that you do? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
14	Do you feel weak all over? 3. Often 2. Sometimes 1. Never
15	Do you have spells of dizziness? 3 Often 2 Sometimes 1 Never
16	Do you tend to lose weight when you worry? 3. Often 2. Sametimes 1. Never

	threath when you are wit
17	Are you bothered by south is in breath when you are not exerting yourself? 2. Sometimes 1 Never 3. Often 2. Sometimes the things that
18	Do you feel healthy enough to carry our you would like to do? 1. Often 2. Sometimes 3. Never
19.	way feel in good spirits?
20.	Do you sometimes worker 12 3. Never 3. Never
when	all the tests have been administered, the scores may be grouped
thus	Score No. of ases

Scores of 2° to 29 are considered within the normal limits; 30 to 34 show a borderline stress level; 354 is considered "too much stress". One should not, however, take these as absolute limits. A person with a score of 3° is not significantly more disturbed than someone with a 34, nor is a person with a high score necessarily "sick".

However, what emerges from this distribution of scores is a preliminary picture of what is associated with stress in the community under study. We can now identify those people showing different levels of study. We can now identify those people showing different levels of stress and study their characteristics. It is at this point that we stress and study their characteristics. It is at this point that we stress and study their characteristics in the cistribution can begin to analyze the results and try to explain the distribution. The researcher can thus select any social factors that she suspects might be implicated in the creation of stress in this group, on the might be implicated in the creation of stress in this group, on the might be implicated in the creation of stress in this group, on the might be implicated in the creation of stress in this group, and so neous with regard to religion. occupation, educational level, and so neous with regard to religion. occupation, educational level, and so neous with regard to religion. occupation, educational level, and so neous with regard to religion. occupation and their stress level — women stress. For example, we may expect to find that there would be an association between women's occupation and their stress level — women association between women's occupation and their stress level — women who work outside the 'bari' hay be expected to have a higher stress who work outside the 'bari' hay be expected to have a higher stress level than women who work within the 'bari'. A simple X (chi-square) test may be useful in determining the significance of these correlations.

st may be o ons.		STRESS	222 261
	High(35#)	Medium (37-34)	Low 920-29)
	bare		
Women's occupation	Culsid: Basi		
Occupa vizori	(ambient)		

It is likely that in any one community on y a rew factors will show a statistically significant correlation with the level of stress On the basis of one's field experience in this community, one should be able to suggest reasons why this (these) factor(s) seem to be so important in this perticular setting.

The Health Opinion Survey (HOS) can be used in other ways to refine nypotheses (such as relation between spouse separation and stess). For example, questions ?,3, 4, 8, 9, and 17 can be scored separately to get a measure of feelings of ANXIETY, while numbers 5,13, 16, 18, 19, and 20 measure feelings of DEPRESSION. Anxiety and depression are, of course, tow common components of the overall stress syndrome. These subscores can be tallied separately and correlated independently with the social variables one has chosen in order to determine whether a particular type of symptom is more highly correlated with certain social factors than with others. One should explain the sociocultural reasons for whatever correlations seem to make good sense, whether or not they are statistically significant.

Reference-

Crane, J.G. and M.V. Angrosine. Field projects in anthropology. General Learning Press, New Jersey. 1974.

APPENDIX-5.

From Amartya Sen's Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation.

Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1981. Page 150-51.

Bangladesh remains a traditional rural economy in many significant respects. Nearly three-quarters of its population live on agriculture and about 90% per cent live in rural areas. Yet the economic organization is not one of market-independent peasant agriculture. About a quarter of the rural population survive by exchanging labour at market wages and commanding food with what they earn. For them a variation of the exchange relationships can spell ruin. There is, in fact, some evidence that in recent years in Bangladesh the wage system itself has moved more towards money wages, away from payments in kind -- chiefly food. More modern, perhsps; more trulnerable, certainly.

The process of sale of land by small peasants cuts down not only the peasant's normal income, but also the stability of his earnings -- making him more vulnerable to exchange rate shifts. [I]t also increase[s] the ease with which members of the class c[an] sink into starvation even in a year of relative plenty as a result of shifts of rice-entitlement of labour power.

Other occupation groups also depend on being able to command food by exchanging things that they rproduce and sell.

DETAILED BUDGET			
1. Personnel Services	% effort	Annual salary & frings benefits	Froject requirement in US \$
A.K.M. Alauddin Chowdhury	20	us \$50,000	· ·
Tania Zaman	80	-	260
Medical Officer	5	5,165	366
Statistical Officer	10	3,659	
6 Female Field Workers	25	13,670	3,418
	100	2,278	4,556
2 Coding Assistants	20	5,165	1,035
Computer Programmer	50	2,739	1,369
1 Data Entry Technician	30		\$21,004
2. Supplies and Materials			1,200*
3. Equipment - None			
4. Patient Hospitalization	- None		
5. Out-patient Care - None			
6. ICDDR, B Transport - None		•	
7. Travel & Transportation of Persons Travel to Chandpur via Matlab, 26 trips			1,000*
8. Transportation of Thing			
9. Rent, Communication & U	tilities - N	lone	
10. Information Services - None			1,040*
11. Printing and Reproducti	on		2,5
12. Other Contractual Serv	960		
Computer time	_	None	
13. Construction, Renovati	on, Alterati	ons - None	

^{*}Incremental cost

B. SUMMARY BUDGET

		:	Project Requirement in US dollar
1.	Personnel Services		21,004
2.	Supplies and Materials		1,200
3.	Equipment		,
4.	Patient Hospitalization		-
5.	Outpatient Care		-
6.	ICDDR,B Transport		-
7.	Travel and Transportation of Persons		1,000
8.	Transportation of Things		
9.	Rent, Communications & Utilities		-
10.	Information Services	•	-
11.			1,040 960
12.			-
13.	Construction, Renovation, Alterations	TOTAL	US \$25,204

Procedure to Maintain Confidentiality

All the respondents will be identified by numeric codes which will be used at all except during home visits when personal names will be used for convenience of conversation and interview. The supervisor and investigators of the protocol will carefully handle the completed questionnaires. All the workers who will be involved with the data will be trained, made responsible and made aware of the confidentiality of information.

55, 10 m

स्मास जामिल माहिनाम ट्रा, अमहरालिक है। या निर्मा करका एक अस्ता प्रदेश कार्य है। यह कि कार्य है। यह कि कार्य के कार्य के कि कार्य के कि कार्य के कार्य के कि कार्य के कार के कार के कार के कार्य के कार्य के कार के

मस्या०/ यस माव्य नेत्रावन्न क्षित्राह