

Resource Use by Indigenous Community in the Coastal Zone,

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Table of Contents

• Executive Summary.....	1 –3
• Introduction.....	4 – 6
• Literature Review	7-11
• Community: Rakhaing.....	12-18
• Community: Mahato.....	19-23
• Community: Munda.....	24-28
• Community: Pundra Khatrio.....	29-32
• Community: Marma.....	33-37
• Community: Khiyang.....	38-41
• Community: Murang.....	42-44
• Community: Chakma.....	45-50
• Community: Tripura.....	51-53
• Community: Tanchangya.....	54-56
• Concluding Remarks.....	57-59
• Appendices.....	60-76
<i>Appendix A: Name of the Participants in the Community Discussion.....</i>	<i>60-63</i>
<i>Appendix B: List of the Literature on Ethnic Community.....</i>	<i>64- 66</i>
<i>Appendix-C: Checklist for the Group Discussion.....</i>	<i>67-76</i>

Executive Summary

The coastal zone of Bangladesh is inhabited by several indigenous communities. The socio-economic texture of these communities are characterized by diverse profession and specific resource use pattern. Program Development Office (PDO) of ICZM engaged a team of researchers, with expertise on ethnic and socio economic studies to develop a ethno-cultural profile of these communities, particularly their resource use pattern by generating information on them, which would contain valuable resource materials for undertaking initiatives in the coastal zone.

In this backdrop, a survey was launched on ten indigenous communities living in the coastal districts of the country. The survey was carried out in May-July 2001. The survey operation included the following thanas: Kolapara (Patuakhali), Koyra and Dumoria (Khulna), Rangunia, Shatkania, Sitakunda and Chandanaish (Chittagong), Ramu, Cox's Bazaar (Sadar), Ukhia and Teknaf (Cox's Bazaar).

The ten indigenous peoples that were brought under survey included Munda, Mahato, Marma, Murang, Khyang, Pundra-Khatrion, Chakma, Tripura, Tanchangya and Rakhaing. Educationally they lag behind and the situation in sanitation, drinking water and medical facilities are very disappointing. Religiously Pundra- Khatrion, Munda and Mahato communities are *Sanatoni* Hindus (Animists converged into Hinduism) and the rest of the other indigenous communities are Buddhists. According to 1991 census 0.2 million indigenous peoples live in the coastal zone. The survey covered 1,180 households with a population of 6,802.

The overall insight from the survey confirms the fact that although several indigenous communities are living in the coastal districts, but only a few can be considered as coastal communities from the perspective of the environment in which they live in. They include Rakhaing, Pundra-Khatrion, Munda and Mahato.

In the survey area, Rakhaing is the largest indigenous community. They were surveyed in Kolapara thana of Patuakhali district and Cox's Bazaar (Sadar), Ukhia and Teknaf thana of Cox's Bazaar district. Most of the Rakhaing households do not have cultivable land and very few of them have access to natural resources like forest, river and sea. Consequently majority Rakhaing households engage in non-resource based profession such as goldsmith, day labor, technician, weaving, service and small trading. However, some of them particularly living in Keranipara and Kalachanpara of Patuakhali district and Chowdhurypara, Chowfaldandi area of Cox's bazaar district are involved in locally available resource based occupations. They are plough cultivator, *Nappy* (dried small shrimp) producer, tiger shrimp and crab cultivator, and carpenters. They also catch crab, fish and Khoisha, and gather oyster. Some of

them also are poultry and pig farmer. They do not produce salt but some of them lease out their land to Bangalis for salt production. Leaving apart from professional purposes most of Rakhaing households use natural resources like timber, bamboo, *chhan* (hay), *golpata* to construct their houses. However, they do not collect these materials from the forest but purchase them from Myanmar and local markets. They also buy fire and furniture wood from these markets.

Mahato community was surveyed in the area (Koyra thana) adjacent to Shundarbans forest. The primary profession of the Mahatos is determined by their land owning pattern and environment. Majority households have cultivable land and paddy cultivation is their main profession. However, due to increased salinity of the soil, paddy production is suffering. As a result most of the Mahato paddy-cultivators are thinking to switch their profession to tiger shrimp cultivation and already a few of them have adopted it as their principal profession. Mahato landless households are involved in activities like earthwork, boat-making, logging etc. As a secondary profession most of the Mahatos catch shrimp fry from nearby rivers and canals. Besides the professional needs, Mahatos also use natural resources for their household uses. Since the Sundarbans is close by, they have easy access to it and most of the Mahato households depend on forest trees for fire and furniture wood and construction materials.

The Munda community was also surveyed in the Koyra thana of Khulna district, but in respect of profession and resource use pattern they present a contrasting picture. Majority of the Munda households have very little land inadequate for living through cultivation. Consequently most of the Munda households depend on wage labor under Bangali Mahajans who involve them primarily in various types of earthwork, and some times in cutting trees in the Sundarbans. Due to their peaceful nature Mundas do not dare to collect resources from Sundarbans for their household needs. Most of the Munda households do not have any furniture and use *madur* (mat) made of palm and date leaves. They themselves make this *madur* but have to depend on local market for the leaves. The walls and floor of a typical Mahoto house are made of mud. They use *Nara* (straw) for their house-roof and purchase it from the local market. They also buy their firewood from the locality.

The Pundra-Khatrio community was surveyed in Dumoria thana of Khulna. Like the Munda and Mahato locality, this area is also in the grip of saline environment. Most of the Pundra-Khatrio households have cultivable land and traditionally they have been paddy cultivators. But they have been forced by the salinity to get involved with tiger shrimp culture. However in the rainy season they suspend shrimp culture and cultivate paddy along with sweet water fishes like Ruhi, Katla, Sharputi etc. Those who do not have cultivable land they have to depend on day labor in doing which they primarily work in other's fish farms and crop fields. Apart from professional needs, Pundra-Khatrios use various natural resources to fulfill their household needs. They use *Golpata*, *Nara* (straw) to build their house roof. The floor and the walls are made of mud. Most of them do not use any furniture, those who do only use

wooden chair and table. They use *Nara*, *Golpata*, firewood and *Ghutay* (dung-cake) for cooking. However, all these natural resources they collect from their own garden, land and from the neighborhoods, not from the forest, which is quite far from their place anyway.

Apart from above four ethnic minority communities, the other six communities surveyed (Chakma, Marma, Murang, Khiyang, Tripura, and Tanchangya) reside technically in the coastal zone, but their localities lacked the environment and natural resources that can be called coastal. Chakmas have been surveyed in the Teknaf and Ukhia thana of Cox's bazaar district and the other communities in Rangunia, Chandanaish, Shatkania and Sitakunda of Chittagong district. The environment of these localities is somewhat hilly and close by hill-reserve forests. Most of the households of these communities do not have sufficient cultivable land. The primary occupation of the largest number of households is day labor followed by *Jhum* cultivation, plough cultivation, gathering and selling of bamboo and firewood, carpentry, small business and service. In *Jhum* they produce various kinds of potatoes, Chilli, pumpkin, tobacco and ginger. All types of paddy are produced through plough cultivation. Besides these primary economic engagement these communities are also undertake several additional economic activities. They make wine, keep pigs and fish in the hill streams. Most of the females of these communities weave their own dress and blankets. However, they do not use big handloom like the Rakhaings, they rather prefer small loom commonly known as *Komor Tat* (waist loom). These six communities depend on nearby hill forests not only for their professional activities but also for their overall socio-economic life. They use various forest resources such as wood, bamboo, *Chhan* (hay), Garjan leaf, and cane leaf etc. for construction of houses. For the cooking most of the households depend on firewood collected from the hill forests. Most of the households do not possess any furniture. Those who have a few, use wooden furniture like chair and table. Mainly they themselves make this furniture but depend on forest for the wood.

As the study has shown, among the ten communities surveyed only the Rakhaing, Pundra-Khatrio, Munda and Mahato live in an environment that can be called 'coastal', they may be given priority over others in policy formulations, although all of them are in need of urgent support. But there may be other indigenous communities living in 'Coastal environment' in the zone who have not been covered in this study. It signifies the need for a more comprehensive research in the future. Land being the principal resource and as it is being grabbed at an alarming rate, a Land Commission may be formed for rapid action on the issue. The tradition of weaving should also be patronized, while steps should be taken to foster education among them, particularly higher education. Moreover the primary education should be in the mother tongue of the children attending the school. Most important of all, access to natural resources must be ensured for the indigenous communities - the deterioration of law and order situation, among others, is denying them this access. Protection from the state, both constitutionally and administratively, is required urgently.

Introduction

Bangladesh is the land of twenty-seven ethnic communities¹ who are generally known as *Adivasis* (indigenous). According to the 1991 census, their total number is 1205978 and formed 1.13% of the total population of the country. Majority of the indigenous peoples reside only within the three geographical regions of the country; the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), Northwestern Bangladesh and Central Bangladesh. Nevertheless, some indigenous communities also live in various districts in the coastal zone.

The coastal zone of Bangladesh is marked by a vast network of river systems, an ever-dynamic estuary, a drainage basin and a saline waterfront penetrating inland from the sea. In addition to the coastal plains, a good number of small islands that are subject to strong wind and tidal interactions throughout the year are also part of coastal zone. The land area of coastal zone is 42,154 sq. Km. covering all 16 sea and estuaries facing administrative districts. These districts are Barisal, Barguna, Bhola, Chandpur, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Feni, Khunla, Laksmipur, Noakhali, Patuakhali, Pirojpur, and Satkhira.

The Coastal Bangladesh is rich with natural resources. Some of these resources include flat plain land, water resources, beaches, mangrove forest, in-shore and offshore gas, coral reefs and minerals such as monazite, ilmenite, rutile, zircon and cesium.²

According to the 1991 census, more than 28 million people inhabit in the coastal zone. Among them, 0.2 million are indigenous comprising of ten ethnic communities. As per 1991 census, ethnic communities living in the coastal zone are Chakma, Garo, Khyang, Marma, Munda, Murang, Rakhaing, Saotal, Tanchangya and Tripura and the total population of ethnic communities is around 0.2 million.³ However, during field survey, Garo and Saotal communities could not be traced in the coastal zone. Instead, two more communities namely Mahato and Pundra-Khatrio were found.

These ethnic communities often have specific resource use and diverse professions. Information regarding these aspects of these communities will be valuable resource materials for undertaking any development initiative in the Coastal Zone. Hence, this survey was undertaken to gather information on these aspects.

¹ Here ethnic communities mean those communities who are ethnically minority communities.

² PDO-ICZM Inception Report, January 2001.

³ BBS 1991

Objective(s):

- Recognizing the ethnic communities living in the coastal zone.
- Documentation of the diverse occupations that are pursued by the ethnic communities living in the coastal zone.

• Documentation of present socio-ethno-cultural features of ethnic communities living in the coastal zone.

Methodology:

Community level discussion was adopted as methodology for the survey to gather maximum information in minimum time. Moreover, this method also helps to cross-check the information provided by the individual participant immediately as other participants of the community level discussion provide their view on the same issue. In addition, to keep the community level discussion limited to key issues, field researchers were provided two sets of questionnaires to initiate the discussion and record the data available from the discussions.

However, one of the major limitations of this method is that it does not provide accurate but approximate statistical data. Nevertheless, this methodology was accepted as the appropriate one, as the central objective of the survey was to trace the socio-economic patterns of ethnic communities. And approximate data available from community level discussion is enough to capture socio-economic patterns of the ethnic communities living in the coastal zone.

Constraints and Shortcomings:

During field survey we encountered some constrains which resulted in some shortcomings in the output of the survey. These constrains and shortcomings are:

- 10 communities were surveyed only within a short period. Moreover, most of the ethnic communities live in remote places and for this reason, lot of time was spent to reach the communities. As a result, maximum time could not be allocated for community level discussion in order to obtain indepth information.
- Some communities appeared to be afraid of and reluctant to interact with the investigators freely, which is very much necessary for achieving the best outcomes from the community level discussion.
- In community level discussion, all of the members were not active in participation.

- Due to unfriendly weather (rain and strong wind), investigation could not be done in several remote areas which may have effect on the quality of the survey.

Description of the Survey Areas and Locations:

During survey, it was kept in mind that the communities, rather than locality, are important. Hence, the survey areas were selected in such a way so that at least one locality of each ethnic community living in the coastal zone could be surveyed. The list of the communities and community-wise locations of the study areas are given in the following table & map.

Table: Community-wise survey area Locations

Name of the Community	Location
Marma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakua Para, vill-West Kurushia, union- 10 No Padua, Thana-Rangunia, Chittagong. • Chemi Para, vill-West Kurushia, union- 10 No Padua, Thana-Rangunia, Chittagong. • Shibchhari, vill-West Kurushia, Union- 10 No Padua, Thana-Rangunia, Chittagong.
Mahato	• Vill-Hariharpur, Union-North Bedkashi, Tahana-Koyra, Dist-Khunla
Munda	• Vill-Nalpara, Union-Koyra, Tahana-Koyra, Dist-Khunla
Khiyang	• Vill-Ghongru, Union- Dopachari, Thana-Chandranish, Dist-Chittagong
Murang	• Vill-Prantik Lake, Sualock Union, Thana- Shatkania, Dist-Chittagong
Chakma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vill-Horikhola, Union- Howaikyong, Thana-Teknaf, Dist-Cox's Bazar • Vill-Mocharkhola, Union-Palangkhali, Thana-Ukhia, Dist-Cox's Bazar.
Pundra Khatrio	• Vill-Permothertala, Union-Sovna, Thana- Dumuria, Dist- Khunla
Tripura	• Vill-Jungle Mahadevpur, Union- No 3, Thana- Sitakundu, Dist-Chittagong
Tanchangya	• Vill-Shukbilash, Union-Padua, Thana-Rangunia, Dist-Chittagong.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vill-Chowdhurypara, Union- Hnilah (Nila), Thana-Taknaf, Dist-Cox's Bazar • Chowfaldandi village & union, Thana-Cox's Bazar, Dist-Cox's Bazar • Kalachanpara, Koakata, Alipur, Thana-Kolapara, Dist Patuakhali

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karani para, Koakata, Latachapli union, Thana-Kolapara, Dist-Patuakhali. • Vill-Hightopi, Union-Fathikhar kul, Thana-Ramu, Dist-Cox's Bazar. • Cox's Bazar Sadar, Thana-Cox's Bazar, Dist-Cox's Bazar
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Rationale of the Topic:

As mentioned earlier that there are ten different indigenous communities residing in the coastal zone. But proper information on their resource use and professional pattern are not readily available. Hence, PDO-ICZM wants to gather information on the socio-economic aspects of indigenous communities of coastal zone who often have specific resource use and diverse professions, as it will be valuable resource materials for undertaking initiatives in the coastal area.

However, after going through an extensive literature survey, it becomes evident that getting information on these aspects would not be easy, as there is a severe dearth of literature on the indigenous peoples living in the coastal zone. Hence, it demands an extensive field survey to gather necessary information about them.

Literature Review

There exists only one book, one sample-survey report, and few articles and newspaper clippings that deal directly with the ethnic peoples residing in the coastal zone.

Nevertheless, there are some literatures on the indigenous communities living in the CHT, northwestern and central regions of Bangladesh. These literatures can provide some insights into the socio-cultural and economic activities of the communities of the coastal area, as many of them are ethnically identical to those living in the coastal zone.

The available literature on the indigenous people of Bangladesh can be classified into the following categories:

- 1) Administrative Reports
- 2) Books
- 3) Survey Reports
- 4) Articles and
- 5) Newspaper clippings.

1. Administrative Reports:

During British rule, the then government had directed its officials to collect information on the various indigenous communities in order to identify the best possible ways to interact with the peoples of India. Under this direction, a number of officials had written several books where they documented information

on various aspects of the socio-economic and cultural life of indigenous peoples of India. These books can be called administrative reports and the authors were namely, Dalton (1872), Hunter (1879), Lewin (1869), and Playfair (1909).

All of the authors used the same format in their writings. At first, they have discussed the settlement history of the communities and then they shed light on social aspects like child-birth, marriage, death, household, economic activities, religion, food habits, community power structure, custom etc of the concerned communities. From their discussion, it became evident that the main occupations of these communities were cultivation and hunting. Resources, which had great impact on their living, included cotton, rice, bamboo, cane, timber, leaving apart the land and forest. Although these books would not be very valuable source for knowing the specific resource use and diverse professions of the indigenous peoples of the coastal area, but they had provided good ethnographic descriptions of that time and still remain as the fundamental sources of information on the indigenous communities of Bangladesh.

2. Books

During Bangladesh period, several books have been written on the ethnic minority communities of Bangladesh. These books can be classified into two categories

- i) books primarily focused on political issues; and
- ii) books discussing primarily the socio-cultural aspects.

2.1 Political category:

Books that may come under political category are the works of Shelley (1992), Khisha (1996) Amena Mohsin (1997) and Pervaz (1999). All of these books discuss primarily the various aspect of the present on going political problems in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area.

2.2 Socio-Cultural category:

Books written from socio-cultural perspectives are Sattar (1971, 1980), Chakma (1985), Khalkho (1985), Biessaigent (1958), Jalil (1991) Chakrabarty (1998), Majid (1992), Wolfgang (1980), and Tripura (1994).

Among all these, there is only one book written by Majid deals with the indigenous communities of coastal zone. The book elaborately discusses about the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the Rakhaing community living in Patuakhali. The findings of this book are based on field survey. The survey area included Amtoli Upazila under Patuakhali district. Observation and interview based on structured questionnaire were used as methods to gather information. Moreover, a questionnaire was prepared based on Judgement Sampling Methods. The main objective of the research was to trace out the problems of Rakhaing community and the role of government administration. Rakhaings are

generally known by the Bengalis as 'Mug'. The original habitat of Rakhaing was Myanmar (Burma) and they migrated to Patuakhali in the first half of the 18th century. The main occupations of this community are cultivation, hunting, farming, salt-making and weaving. They never like fishing as their occupation. But sometimes they do fishing only to fulfil their private needs. They build up their houses on the bank of the river and plain land adjacent to sea. They cultivate several kinds of rice, garlic, onion, potatoes, chilly, turmeric, ginger and also various kinds of *Dal (pulses)*. Amongst the Rakhaings, as per Majid (1992) 94% think that as they are religiously and ethnically different, they could not be integrated well with the majority Bangali community and 64% think that politically they are treated as second class citizen. Moreover 77% Rakhaing claim that influential Bangali neighbors illegally confiscate their land. Furthermore, 85% think that government administrative machinery is not neutral and it favors and protects the interest of influential persons. Even if Rakhaing people fall victim of robbery, sexual harassment etc. police do not record their cases. On the contrary, police favors the culprits. However, the major limitation of the book is that it provides insufficient discussion on the economic aspects of the Rakhaing community.

3 Survey Reports:

Four survey reports on indigenous communities were found. These are namely, BHUMIJA (1996), SEHD survey (1997), Oraon Survey Committee Report (1997), and Asian Development Bank Report (2001).

BHUMIJA report is the only report that deals with the communities living in the coastal zone. The report based on sample survey was prepared on the 20 religio-ethnic minority (REM) groups of southwest Bangladesh. These communities include Mundas, Kaiputras, Namasudras, Pundra Khatris, Rajbangshis, Reeshis, Bajandars, Beharas, Bhagobenes, Dais, Dhopas, Hazams, Nikaris, Rasuas, Shikaris, Sahajis, Jeles, Parois, Patnis and Telis communities. The survey area included Tala, Debhata and Dumoria thana under Satkira and Khunla districts respectively. In the survey area, Namasudras stand out to be the largest REM community. Among all the REM households under study, 12% are absolutely landless, 39% are functionally landless and the remaining 49% have land up to 0.49 acre. The households with marginal landholding between 0.50-0.99 acre are 19%. The remaining 30% own 1.00 acre and above. Among the REM groups, Mundas are mostly landless. REM communities are engaged in various occupations like agriculture, farming, wage labor, fishing, weaving, petty-trading, shrimp farming, pig rearing etc. Amongst REM, 34% households are wage laborer, 28% are agriculture farmers and fishers 18% are petty traders, 6% pursue handcraftsmanship, 2% are shrimp farmer, and the rest 8% are involved in other occupations. The overall literacy rate among the minority groups is lower at 19% compared to the national figure being 32%. The REM communities have very little access to public resources.

4. Articles:

There are several articles contained in the edited books as well as in various research journals, which deal with indigenous communities. The works of Montu (1980), Zaman (1982), Bertocci (1984), Begum (1993), Chowdhuri (1993), Rab (1995), and Kabir (1998) can be referred in this regard. However, most of these articles only deal with political problem in CHT while they hardly provide any information on the resource use and profession of indigenous communities. The book edited by Qureshi (1984) includes several articles on indigenous communities. However, these articles dealt with the language, religion and culture of the various communities, but fail to provide any information on the economic aspects. Nevertheless, Huq's article (2001) is important in the sense that it provides detailed anthropological discussion on the Chuk community.

Recently SEHD (1998) has published an edited book that includes several articles. However, articles by Kibriaul Khaleque, Philip Gain, Raja Devasish Roy, are significant. Khaleque's article describes how *adivasis* of Bangladesh are trying to retain their cultural and agricultural practices. Roy provides baseline information on the land-related issues in the CHT. Philip Gain's article explains how the aid-financed development activities especially reforestation and commercial plantations, have further worsened the land problems of the indigenous people of the forestland. This book is valuable both for the government as well as for the donors in the sense that the articles of the book provide a direction that the development projects may pursue for sustainable benefits of the indigenous communities and for overall protection of environment.

Furthermore, book edited by Niaz Ahmed Khan and Sukanta Sen (2000) contains several articles on the indigenous knowledge and its relationship with natural resources. However, two articles written by Mosabber Ahmed and Zehadul karim dealt with indigenous community. Z. Karim's article is very important in the sense that it is the only article which deals with Munda and Mahato communities residing in the Sundarban mangrove area. This article is an outcome of the field-based data collected from 12 scattered villages of Koyra Thana under Khunla district. The study included a sample of 260 households from Munda and Mahato communities. Apart from observational data, information was collected through questionnaire. According to the survey findings, Karim argues that 52% Mundas and 78% Mahatos in Koyra depend on agriculture. They do not practice slash and burn cultivation. Apart from paddy cultivation, they grow *rabi* (winter) crops. Among the *rabi* crops, khesari, mustard, potatoes, onion etc are grown. The salty water coming from the sea does not allow multiple cropping in the agricultural land. Furthermore, as many as 19% people earn their living as wage laborer, 13%

indigenous households' primary occupation is fishing and the rest households are involved in various occupations like Cart Pulling, small business and service. One of the major limitations of this article is that it does not inform us about the other additional economic activities carried out by the Mahato and Munda communities.

Nevertheless, indigenous people themselves have made some attempts to document various aspects of their life through publication of Journals. *Rakhaing Review* and *Shangu* are the pioneering effort towards this. *Rakhaing Review* has been published in three volumes with different articles mainly dealing with the Rakhaing settlement history and various aspects of ethno-cultural life. *Shangu* has published several issues and most of articles only deal with soci-ethno cultural aspects of indigenous peoples living in CHT.

5. Newspaper clippings:

The Daily Sangbad, The Daily Janakantha, The Independent, The Daily Prothom Alo, The Daily Ittefaq and Dhaka Courier have published a few columns and news items on the Rakhaing and Munda communities located in coastal zone. These clippings highlighted present economic situation and various socio-religious festivals of these communities. According to these news items, Rakhaing and Munda communities are engaged in agriculture and weaving, and some of them also make country-liquor for sale.

It is not astonishing that there is almost no literature which can really give us a genuine picture on the resource use pattern and professional diversity of the indigenous communities in the coastal zone. Although the above mentioned literature can greatly help us to understand the socio-cultural lives of the concerned communities, it severely lacks economic aspects.⁴ The situation thus demands an extensive field survey, which could provide us information on the concerned subject.

⁴ For bibliography see appendix

1. Community: Rakhaing

Numerically, Rakhaing is the largest indigenous community inhabiting in the coastal zone of Bangladesh. The Rakhaings are called *Magh* by their Bangali neighbors. But, they do not like this term as it bears negative connotation i.e., pirates. Although many writers and historians classify Rakhaing as a part of Marma community, they consider themselves as a separate indigenous community. Rakhaings had go through two phases in the process of their settlement in Bangladesh. The first phase of settlement started in 9th century AD when Arakan King established his control over Chittagong, Cox's Bazaar and Ramu region and encouraged Rakhaings to migrate in these areas.⁵ The second phase of settlement started in 1784 when Burmese king *Bodaw Paya* attacked Arakan Kingdom and resorted to mass killing. As a result, a large number of Rakhaing fled into erstwhile *Bakergonj* district and Chittagong in order to save their own lives for that period and subsequently settled there. ⁶

However, at present, they are living in Bangladesh in a widely scattered way in the districts of Cox's Bazaar, Chittagong, Khagrachhari, Rangamati, Bandarban, Patuakhali & Barguna.⁷ Although the total population of Rakhaing is considered to be 16932⁸, the Rakhaings claim that it is nearly 1,50,000.⁹ However, the survey findings obtained from six Rakhaing localities under Cox'sbazaar and Patuakhali district reveal that 599 Rakhaing households live in these localities and the total population is 3089. In, survey was conducted in Hightopi,¹⁰ Chowdhurypara,¹¹ Chowfaldandi¹² Cox's Bazaar Sadar¹³ of Cox's Bazaar district, and

Socio-Ethno Cultural Feature(s)

From time immemorial, Rakhaing community has been maintaining a distinct culture and religion. They have their own language called Rakhaing. It has both oral and written form. Burmese language has lot of influences on it. However, Although the Rakhaing males of the survey areas can speak in Bangla, most of their female counterparts cannot speak and even understand Bangla.

Religiously, Rakhaings are Teraveda Buddhist. The main rituals that they celebrate include Buddha Purnima, probarona and Maghi purnima etc. However their main social festival is Sanggrea Pohea (new year celebration). They celebrate this program for long eight-day. During this festival, they also perform 'Relong pohea (water festival). All the Rakhaing youths participate in the water festival. They believe that with the water

⁵ San Tun Aung, "The Rakhaing Community in Bangladesh and Its History," The Rakhaing Review, vol-iii, 2000, p-54.

⁶ Ushit Maung, "Status Report on Rakhaing Community of Bangladesh, ibid, p -58.

⁷ Maung Than Aye, "Identities of the Rakhaing Community," The Rakhaing Review, RBWA, vol-1, 1994.

⁸ Reza Shamsur Rahman, p -29, opcit.

⁹ Rakhaing Development foundation, 1997.

¹⁰ Hightopi village is part 2 no union of Ramu thana of Cox's Bazaar district.

¹¹ Chowdhuripara Village is part of Hnila union of Taknaf thana of Cox's Bazaar district.

¹² Chowfaldandi union is part Cox's Bazaar thana.

¹³ Means Cox's Bazaar town.

Kalachanpara¹⁴ and Keranipara¹⁵ of Patuakhali district.

1.1 Economic Feature(s): Profession and Income level

The land owning pattern and the diverse natural and socio-economic environment of Rakhaing localities have determined the economic activities of the Rakhaing households.

Majority of Rakhaings in the surveyed areas has very little land, which is insufficient to adopt land-based professions. Data reveal that 17 % Rakhaing households are absolutely landless and 72% possess only homestead land. And the remaining 11% households have cultivable land of which 10% households have more than 20 *kani* of land and 1% have 3-4 *kani* of land. Therefore, this proportion of households has accepted land-based profession as their primary economic activity.

Among these 11% households, 5% reside in Chowdhurypara under Teknaf thana while the rest 6% households live in Kalachanpara and keranipara under Kolapara thana. Given the agro-ecological condition, the former category of households practice crab and tiger-shrimp farming as the source of their main economic activity by taking the advantage of the salinity of the area. Although they do not accept salt production as their profession, few of them lease out a certain proportion of their land to Bangalis for the same.

On the contrary, despite having similar kind of agro-ecological texture, the latter category of households

Most of the households living around the study area are nuclear (90%) and continue to follow endogamy. Polygamy and divorce is rare. However, if divorce becomes necessary, it takes place according to their custom which calls for a community discussion presided by the Sayindengo, the community leader. According to the community discussion, if the husband is found responsible for the incidence, he has to pay maintenance allowance of their children. In reverse, if the wife is found responsible, she has to return all the money that she had received from the husband during marriage.

The present educational condition of Rakhaings of the survey areas is frustrating. According to survey findings, 68% Rakhaings are illiterate. Amongst the literate, only 4% percent have passed S.S.C, 1 % have obtained HSC degree, and 1.5% have achieved graduation degree. Although availability of school is ensured in their localities, the Rakhaings have lost inspiration to go to schools as Bangali students and teacher do not treat them well. Moreover, they encounter difficulties in formal education system, as Bangla is the only medium of education. As a result, lot of Rakhaings leaves the school. Given this circumstance, they feel it as an urgent need to set up a school where they can learn their own language.

Compared to educational condition, the sanitation system of the study areas is much better. About 95 % of study households use sanitary latrine. They no longer have to depend on traditional source even for drinking water purpose. As reported, 100% households have easy access to deep tube-well set up by different NGOs, govt. and to some extent by the respective households. However, at present the Rakhaings of Kalachanpar do not use tube-well water due to arsenic problem and given this problem, they have established three reserve ponds for safe drinking water.

¹⁴ Part of Alipur union, Kolapara Thana

¹⁵ Karani para is part of Latachapli union, Koakata, Kolapara thana.

do not practice shrimp farming because, the saline water cannot penetrate into this areas due to the existence of WAPDA dam in their locality. Therefore, the residents of this area cultivate Paddy, Watermelon, sweet potato, *falu dal*, groundnut, tomatoo, corn etc. They cultivate their land round the year.

Amongst those households who do not have cultivable land, the occupational activities are characterized by diversity. Of those who do not have cultivable land, 19% have accepted the occupation of goldsmith as their primary source of earning. This proportion of households primarily lives in three different locations of Rakhaing community under Cox's bazaar district. These locations are namely, Chowdhury para, Hightopi, and Cox's bazaar Head Quarter.

The young generations of these three areas have developed enthusiasm about the occupation of goldsmith, because Muslim Bangalis do not compete in this occupation. Besides, they also show their preference for technical works like repairing of Radio, television and other electronic goods. At present 10% Rakhaing households inhabiting primarily in the survey areas under Cox's Bazaar district maintain their livelihoods by engaging themselves as technicians.

Initially, weaving was the principal occupation of majority of Rakhaing households. But most of them have left this occupation, as their product cannot compete with the Burmese ones in terms of price.

Indeed, the Burmese products are available in the local market and these products are comparatively cheaper than others.

In the survey areas, 80% Rakhaing houses are constructed in traditional form based on platform. As observed, 45% Rakhaing house-wall is made of wood. Of the remaining, 20% house-wall is made of bamboo, 10% is made of tin and 25% is made of bricks. Regarding floor, 80% is made of wood. With regard to roof, 80% households use various types of leaf like Golpata, Coconut, chhan (hay) etc. The house-roofs of the remaining 20 % households are made of tin and cement. However, the Rakhaings of the survey areas do not have congenial relationship with other communities particularly with the Bangali Muslim. They are in various conflicts with the Bangali and Rohingya refugees. More often, women of the Rakhaing community become the ultimate victims of this conflict. As reported, Rakhaing women residing in Chowdhury para are very much prone to the harassment caused by their Rohingya neighbors. As a result, Rakhaing women are scared of going outside. However the situation has slightly improved since after the advent of democratic government in 1991.

In Chowfaldandi, Rakhaing households have serious problems with the Bangali community. Indeed, the land, on which the Rakhaings have been living, belongs to BWDB department. Alongside residing on this land, the Rakhaings have been using the surface of the embankment for the purpose of some economic activities like Nappy making. However, the Bangali coming from outside has been trying to drive out Rakhaings from this area and capture the land occupied by the Rakhaings. What is notable is that the Bangalis have already captured land, which the Rakhaings had been using as graveyard. This is not the end of the story. While making Nappy, the Rakhaing girls are oftenly harassed and disturbed by the Bangalis

At present, only 4% households living in Chowfaldandi, Hightopi and Cox's Bazaar Head Quarter are still continuing weaving as their main economic activity. Furthermore, 10% Rakhaing households is practicing a unique profession called *Nappy* making (dry shrimp) and 13% resort to labor as primary economic activity. The *Nappy* making households basically inhabit in Chowfaldandi while the labor-selling households live in Kolapara localities. The latter category of households mainly works in the cropland and fish-processing zone and by doing these, they earn varying amount of income depending on the seasonality. However, the average income of these households ranges from Tk. 50 to 100 per day.

Moreover, 5 % households maintain their family through fishing in the sea and catching crab and *Koischa* from river. Most of the households, involved in this occupation, live in Chowfaldandi(Cox'sBazaar), Chowdhurypara and Kalachan para (Patuakhali).

Apart from the above activities, Rakhaing households are also involved in service (12%), Carpentry¹⁶ (1%), small business (10%), poultry farm (1%) and pig rearing (1%)¹⁷ and these occupations are the primary source of earning of the respective households.

Table: 1.1
Primary Occupation / Source of Income

Occupation	No. of House hold	Percentage
Gold Smith	112	19
Agriculture (Plough)	36	6
Day Laborer	80	13
Technician	60	10.
Weaving	22	4
Cigar Making	-	--
Shrimp and crab farming	30	5
Fishing and catching crab and <i>Koischa</i>	28	5
Pig Rearing	7	1
Dry Fish (<i>Nappy</i>)	80	13
Small Business Trading (Shop)	60	10.
Service	74	12.
Carpenter	5	1
Poultry	5	1
Other	-	-
Total :	599	100

Source: Field Survey

¹⁶ 1% household who accepted carpentry as their main profession reside in Kalachan para and Chwofaldandi. They mostly repair fishing boat, construct houses and make furniture.

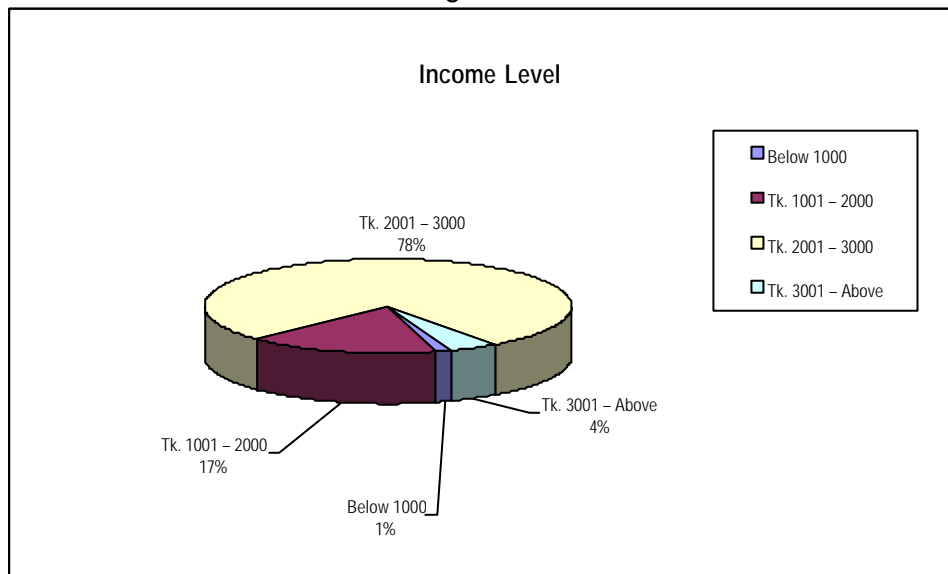
¹⁷ Pig rearing and poultry farming households live in Hightopi.

Besides these primary economic activities, Rakhaing households do something additional to supplement their earning. Most of the households keep hen and duck, one or two pigs, and are involved in weaving activities in a small scale in order to meet private needs. Moreover, most of the households in Chowdhurypara, Chowfaldandi (Cox'sBazaar), Kalachanpara (Patuakhali) and catch fish from the river to meet their livelihood requirements.

Furthermore, Rakhaing women of Chowfaldandi gather oyster from the Maheskhali River. They eat the flesh of oyster and sell the shell of the oyster to the Bangali who makes lime out of it. Besides this, Rakhaing women also prepare wine mostly for private use. However, few of them particularly living in Hightopi prepare wine for commercial purpose. In addition, few households located around Cox's Bazaar Head Quarter earn additional income through cigar making and sewing.

Having been involved with multiple income earning activities, Rakhaing households earn money, which varies, from households to households. According to the findings, 78% Rakhaing households earn on an average Tk. 2001 – Tk. 3000, 17% earn Tk. 1001 – Tk. 2000 per month. Of the remaining 5%, 1% earn less than Tk. 1000 while 4 % earn more than Tk. 3000.

Figure: 1.1



Source: Field Survey

The development scenario of the Rakhaing localities is better than other study areas inhabited by the indigenous groups. The Rakhaing localities have good communication network and adequate supply of electricity. Moreover, government has constructed a Beri Badh in Chowfaldandi and Kolapara localities. In Chowfaldandi, the economic activities of Rakhaing households mostly depend on the BWDB

embankment. They use the surface of the dam for drying nappy. Apart from infrastructure development support, the Rakhaing localities have received benefits from the local development agencies. Many households living in the Cox's bazaar area have so far received lot of financial assistance from the Prime Minister's fund via RBWA. With this money, they have improved their sanitary system, drinking water system and established Rakhaing cultural center in Keranipara and Cox's Bazaar Head Quarter. Leaving aside government assistance, NGOs namely, BRAC, PROSHIKA, CODEC are also providing support to the Rakhaing localities.

1.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and the Environment:

The natural environments of all the Rakhaing localities are not alike. Therefore, the use of natural resource by the Rakhaings of various localities differs. Amongst the study areas, Chowdhurypara under Teknaf thana is situated on the bank of Naf river and therefore saline water can easily penetrate into this area. As a result, landowning households do tiger shrimp and crab farming taking the advantage of salinity of the area. Moreover, nearly 100% Chowdhurypara households use Naf river for the purpose of fishing and catching crab. In addition, they lease out their land to Bangalis for producing salt. They also use wood, golpata, and bamboo for the construction of their houses. However, most of these construction materials are either brought from Burma or from the local market. They also buy firewood from the market. Although most of the households have furniture, these are made of plastic. Only few of them use wooden furniture, which they make with wood purchased from Burma.

The Rakhaings of Hightopi and Cox's Bazaar Head Quarter use natural resource like timber and brought these from Burma. They do not collect firewood and timber from the forest because of its non-existence in their localities. Moreover, they do not use natural resource like river, land and forest to pursue their economic activities.

Nearly 100% Rakhaing households of Chowfaldandi depend on the natural resources available in Maheskhali river and the sea for maintaining their livelihoods. Thus, most of the households make *nappy* from small shrimp available in the Maheskhali river and sea. They also gather oyster from this river and use the oyster flesh as food and make some additional earnings by selling its shell to the lime producer. Moreover, a good number of households go to sea for fishing. The Rakhaings of Chowfaldandi also use natural resource like wood, *golpata*, bamboos in order to construct their houses as well as to produce furniture. They purchase all these materials from Burma and the local markets as well. They also use firewood, which is bought, from the local market.

Kolapara Thana of Patuakhali is situated on the bank of the Bay of Bengal. However, the saline water can not enter to this area due to the existence of BWDB Embankment in this locality. As a result, residents of this area do not engage themselves in tiger-shrimp cultivation. Instead, they are involved in natural agriculture. However, one Rakhaing household from Keranipara and several households from

Kalachanpara reported that they do sea -fishing. Moreover, most of the households of Kalachanpara are involved in fishing in the nearby river. They also catch *Koisha* for commercial purpose. Although the Rakhaings of Kolapara thana use natural resource like, timber, bamboo, normal wood, *chhan*, *golpata*, coconut leaf in order to construct their houses, they do not collect these resources by themselves directly from the Sundarbans. Rather, they purchase these and also fire and furniture wood from the local black markets.

The Rakhaings of the survey areas think that they will be able to build a satisfactory socio-economic life if the weaving occupation of the community is revived. However, this revival calls for support from the government in various respects. With regard to this, they waive their demand to the government for the replacement of their traditional handlooms with the electric ones. They are also of the view that the government should provide them with technical as well as financial help. Besides, the Rakhaings suggest that government should arrange training on modern design and operation of power looms. Furthermore, they are of the opinion that the government should undertake measures to stop black marketing of Burmese products on the one hand and provide raw material with subsidized price on the other to promote local products and thus ensure the sustainability of livelihoods of the Rakhaing community.

Apart from weaving, different demands were articulated by Rakhaings of different locations. Thus, the Rakhaings of Chowdhury para, Hightopi and Cox's Bazaar Head Quarter demand that the government should provide them with vocational and computer training in order to improve their socio-economic lives. On the contrary, the Rakhaings of Chowfaldandi and Kalachanpara want the government to provide them with interest-free credit for renting in sea boat and fishing net so that they can increase their income.

However, they further argued that only economic assistance would not provide them with socio-economic security unless these programs are not anchored with related social development services geared to protect Rakhaing community from harassment and oppression caused by anti-social elements of their localities. If these issues are not dealt rigorously, the Rakhaing will not be able to live in Bangladesh in future.

2. Community: Mahato

Mahato, a little known indigenous community, is also known as *Mahat* and *Mahatu*. The total population of mahato in Bangladesh is 3534.¹⁸ At present, 45 Mahato households live in the survey area, the village Hariharpur under North Bedkashi Union.¹⁹ The total population of the village is 300. In the first decade of 20th century, local landlord brought them here from the present Jharkhand State of India to cleanse a part of the *Sundarbans* forest. They cleaned the forest and made the land cultivable and livable.

2.1 Economic Feature(s): Occupation and Income level

The land ownership pattern and environment characterizes the occupational type of the Mahatos under survey. In Hariharpur, 27% Mahatos possess 3 to 4 *kani*²⁰, 33 % own 5 to 10 *kani*, 4% own 15 to 20 *kani* and 2 % have more than 20 *kani* of cultivable lands.

Table: 2.1
Land Ownership

Land holding size (Kani)	No of House hold	Percentage
Absolutely land less	-	-
Homestead land	15	33.33
1 – 2	-	-
3 – 4	12	26.67
5 – 10	15	33.33
11 – 15	-	-
15 – 20	2	4.44
20 and Above	1	2.22
Total:	45	100

Source: Field Survey

Socio-Ethno-Cultural Feature(s)

Mahatos claim that they are part of courageous Maratha community and also identify themselves as Kurmi Khatrio. Mahatos have their own language, Kurmali. Urdu and Pharshi language have strong influence on Kurmali. However, they are no longer in use. Presently, Mahatos use only Bangla. They are sanatani hindus by religion. However, alongside traditional hindu rituals, they have their own rituals which make them somewhat different from the hindu community. Girigobardhan Puja, Karam Puja, Murgi Puja and usu Puja are the examples of distinctive rituals. But they do not practice these rituals so much because, their neighboring scheduled caste Hindu communities make fun of it.

Like many other ethnic communities, Mahatos community is characterized by patriarchal system where sons inherit fathers' property. Therefore, male dominance prevails in their society. However, in case of marriage, male has to offer Tk.10000 to Tk.12000, land, ornaments and clothes to the bride. Mahatos establish marital relationship only within their own community. If anyone gets married outside the community, the person gets outcast by the community. Besides, (s)he has to pay compensation for this. They do not accept the concept of divorce, but do not discourage the practice of polygamy. Only 11 percent Mahato belongs to joint family.

The educational condition of Mahato

¹⁸ Reza Shamsur Rahman, "Religion-Ethnic Minority Groups Of Southwest Bangladesh," BHUMIJA, 1996, p-29.

¹⁹ North Bedkashi union situated in Koyra thana of Khunla district.

²⁰ 4 Kani= 1 Acre

In total, 67% Mahato households have cultivable land while the rest 33% households of Mahato community have only homestead land. The primary occupation of the former category of households is cultivation and the prime source of earning for the latter ones is day labor.²¹ The latter category of households are involved in earthwork, boat -making, logging etc. They also work as laborer in the sea-going fishing boat.

Amongst 66% households having cultivable land, 62% household's primary occupation is cultivation. However, due to salinity, they can not cultivate their land more than once a year. The only crop, they cultivate, is *Aman*. The remaining 4% households have cultivable land and this proportion of households are engaged in tiger-shrimp cultivation. (figure-2.1)

As an additional economic activity, most of the *Mahatos*, particularly the females are engaged in gathering and selling the tiger-shrimp fry, crabs and small snail. They sell per 100 tiger-shrimp-fry for Tk. 60. They also do small-scale fish farming in their ponds wherein they mostly cultivate *Ruhi* and *Katla*. Mahato households also grow some vegetables in their yard, domesticate cows and plant trees such as *Mahaygoni*, *Shishu* etc.

Furthermore, a female and a male respondent reported that they are small service holders and they are supplementing the income of

The condition of women's education is more frustrating. Only 2 of them have studied up to class 10. The mahato community has easy access to two non-government high schools and one government primary school situated in the village.

The condition of sanitation is more disappointing than that of education. There is no single sanitary latrine all around the village. Only 16% households use Katcha latrine while the remaining households use open place for defecation.

They do not have also standard medical facilities. Only two quack doctors are available in the village. The nearest government hospital is situated in Koyra town. Compared to other indigenous communities except Rakhaing, Mahatos have better access to safe drinking water.

Although there is only one shallow tube-well around the para, they have access to another two or three shallow tube-wells and one deep tube-well situated in their close neighborhood, which provide them with sufficient drinking water. Moreover, there are several medium size ponds, one canal and a river, which they use for other purposes.

The housing structure of Mahato community contrasts to the traditional platform based (machan) house of other indigenous peoples. It is same as that of the Bangalis. Hundred per cent walls of Mahato houses are made of mud. Ninety Five per cent roofing materials include nara (hay) while the remaining 5% include Golpata. Most of the households use wooden furniture such as table, chair, chauki etc. However, electricity has not yet reached here.

The neighboring communities of Mahato are schedule caste Hindus except three Muslim families. Although Mahatos are part of extended Hindu community by religion, still they do not have much friendly relationship with their Hindu neighbors. Rather, the relationship with other Hindu neighbors is characterized by conflict over religious and political interests.

²¹ Male gets 40 to 60 taka and female 30 to 50 taka per day. In the whole year get work mostly for six months. Other time they catch shrimp fry.

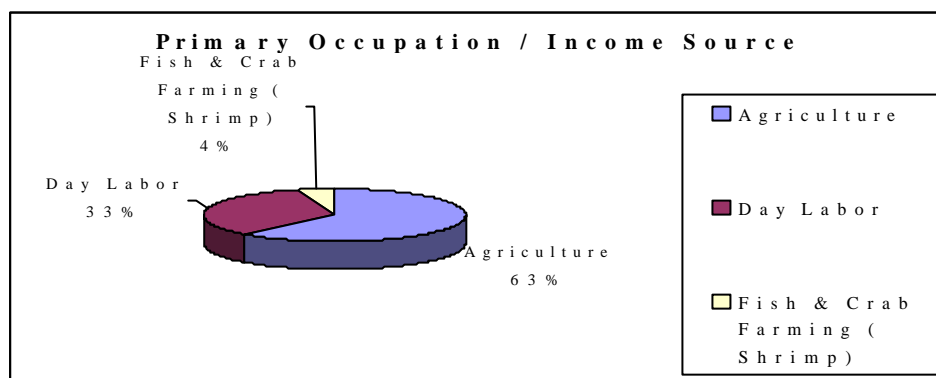
their respective households through this service.²²

However, despite of having divergent economic activities, the income level of the majority households of *Mahato* community is very low. About 96% households have monthly income between TK. 1000 and Tk. 2000 and 4.44% has income within the range of Tk.2001 to Tk. 3000. (see-table-2.2)

By now, they have adopted modern elected organizational structure comprising of designated persons like Shabhpathi, Shaha-Shabhpathi etc.

The Mahato locality lacks proper communication networks. Although they have few yards of herringbone road, there is no proper connecting road with the nearest Bazaar and urban locality. Hence, they have to walk through three k.m. of kancha (not paved) road to reach the nearest bazaar. During the rainy season, the road becomes muddy and slippery and it restricts people's normal movements.

Figure: 2.1



Source: Field Survey

This insufficient income level compels them to take credit from *Mahajan* with high interest rate both in kind and cash.²³ Presently, they also receive credit from Krishi Bank and a local NGO named Prodiplan.

Table: 2.2
Income Level

Income Level (Per Month)	No of House hold	Percentage
Below 1000	-	-
Tk. 1001 – 2000	43	95.56
Tk. 2001 – 3000	2	4.44
Tk. 3001 – 4000	-	-
Tk. 4000 – Above	-	-
Total:	45	100

Source: Field Survey

²² The woman work in a NGO called Pradiplan and the males are associated with an insurance company.

²³ They have to pay 50% interest per six months or three bags of paddy for 1000 taka.

2.1. Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and the Issue of Environment:

Nearly 100% households of Mahato community are involved in natural resource based occupations. Apart from growing agricultural products in their land, they also prefer to do tiger-shrimp cultivation by taking the advantage of salinity of water. Moreover, since the Sundarban is adjacent to their area they have easy access to it. For this reason most of the Mahato households depend on forest trees for firewood as well as the timber used for the construction of houses and household furniture. In addition, the salinity of the river and the existence of canal have made tiger-shrimp fry available in plenty and therefore, the capturing and selling of tiger-fish fry have become a usual occupational feature of the Mahatos. This has provided Mahato households not only with the source of supplementary income but also with economic security during bad harvest and the absence of labor work.

Nevertheless, the salinity of water has some negative effects on the socio-economic life of Mahato community. The *bherry badh* is no longer able to protect their land from saline water for two reasons; first, there has been a big crack in the embankment; second the existence of tiger-shrimp farming in the adjacent lands. Most of the agricultural lands owned by Mahato community are just opposite to the shrimps farming land and the agricultural lands are demarcated by a border. Consequently, the increased salinity in the shrimp farming land affects agricultural land, which results in decline in rice production. For the last five years, they have been experiencing bad harvest. As a matter of fact, the annual agricultural output of the households living around the saline area is very low compared to those living in non-saline area because the former category of households cannot cultivate their land more than once a year.

Moreover, the increased salinity and growth of shrimp farming have restricted their homestead economic activities. During earlier period, when shrimp farming was not in practice in this area, most of the households used to raise chicken and ducks. By now, they cannot raise them any more because the chicken and duck have the habit of eating up shrimp fry from neighboring farms, which sometimes leads to quarrel between the Mahatos and the shrimp farm owner. Furthermore, the practice of cattle rearing is also declining due to the lack of grazing lands resulting in subsequent reduction in the availability of *Ghutay* (dung cake), the primary substitute of firewood. Consequently the dependence of mahato on Sundarbans is increasing for the collection of firewood. Apart from others, the salinity of the soil has also bearings on the growth of fauna of the locality. As reported, the fruit trees planted in the yard has lost their natural growth as well as productivity due to the salinity. However, what is interesting is that the swans are very much visible in this area. Shrimp farmers raise swans because, instead of eating up shrimp fry, they eat the mosses of the farm, which helps the growth of shrimps.

Despite of the negative impacts, Mahatos want to shift their primary occupation from rice cultivation to tiger-shrimp farming primarily because; they have been experiencing the shock of bad harvest for the

last few years. On top of that, shrimp cultivation has huge profit potentials.²⁴ Hence, they want necessary government initiatives that can help improve shrimp farming. Dredging of canals in the area, construction of sluice gates and bherry badh in order to regulate water-flow are some of the suggestive measures that can help shrimp farming and thereby enhance their income.

²⁴ However, regarding the shrimp farming *Mahatos* are facing strong opposition from farmers who have land adjacent to their lands and better harvest. The adjacent landowners think that the shrimp farming in their neighboring land will increase salinity in their land and thus will reduce the productivity of their land.

3. Community: Munda

Munda community has mostly remained unnoticed by other communities of the country. They reside mainly in the southern and northern part of Bangladesh. In the Southern part, Mundas are found especially in certain parts of Khulna district adjacent to Sundarbans as well as in some parts of Tala thana under Satkhira district.²⁵ In Bangladesh, the total population of Munda is 2132.²⁶ However, only 150 population comprising 20 Munda households was found to live in village *Nalpara* of *Koyra* Union²⁷ while doing the survey. In this locality, these Mundas are also known as *Mundari*, *Kuli* and *Bunos* to their Bangali neighbors.²⁸ In the earlier period, the Mundas use to live in *Nalpara* at large. However, a huge population of the community had migrated to India while few have recently shifted to the *Asrayan* project (government's settlement project) in *Tala Thana* under *Satkhira* district in order to get rid of economic vulnerabilities.

Munda, originally used to belong to *Rachi* district of India. However, they are the first settlers in their present habitat. Two hundred years ago, they were brought here by the then landlord *Godadhar Mollik* to clean up a certain part of Sundarbans in order to make this area cultivable.²⁹ However, there are some controversies about this history of migration. Some says that they were not brought by the *Zamindars* but by the East India Company for the purpose of cultivation in the Sundarbans areas.³⁰

3.1: Socio-Ethno-Cultural Feature(s)

Munda, as an ethnic community, has distinct ethno-cultural characteristics. Their physical features tend to reveal their Dravidian origin. They have their own language known as Nagri¹ as well as Mundari¹. It has both dialectic and written forms. Although the Mundas of Koyra, at present are not familiar with the written form they communicate among themselves primarily in this language. They can also speak in Bangla very well. The influence of Bangla, Hindi and Persian language is reflected in the present form of Nagri language.

Mundas are of Sanatani Hindu origin in respect of religion. They have both similarity and dissimilarity with the conventional Hinduism. Along with rituals subscribed by conventional Hinduism they perform pujas which exclusively belong to them. These are Murgi(hen) puja, Gowal (Shippen puja, Karam puja, Shayal puja, Valuea puja etc. Hen is considered as sacred, which is manifested in their religious behavior during the Murgi puja. They sacrifice hen with the belief that it will bring prosperity. Values puja is performed prior to the sowing of paddy to ensure good harvest. Shaya puja is performed to welcome the New Year. However, Shyama puja is the most important puja for them. It is very interesting that they do not have any Purohit system.

Munda society and family is patriarchal and

²⁵ Sk. Mashudur Rahman, " Mundas in misery," Daily Star, 28/01/2000

²⁶ Reza Shamsur Rahman, op cit p-29

²⁷ Koyra Union is the part of Koyra thana in Khulna district.

²⁸ In the 1991 census Bunos and Mundas have been identified as two separate community. However, several researchers, such as Reza Shamsur Rahman, Dipak Benerji argued they are same community. See- Reza Shamsur Rahman, op cit p-20 and also see-Dipak Benerji, "Khunla Koyra: Address of Five hundreds Indigenous people," (in bangla) Daily Ittefaq, 30/12/99.

²⁹ Dipak Benerji, ibid.

³⁰ Zamiur Rahman Lemon, "Munda: The Aboriginal People of Sundarbans," Star Magazine, August 11, 2000.

3.1 Economic Features: Profession and Income Level

Majority of Mundas has very little land, which is insufficient for making out living through cultivation. Of the total Munda Population, 25% are absolute landless, whereas 45% possess only homestead land. Nevertheless, 30% Munda households have cultivable land and their primary earning come from cultivation. Twenty per cent family has 12 *kani* and 10% have 7 *kani* of land. They cultivate paddy of different modern varieties such as BR 11, 22 and 23 and use all kinds of fertilizers in paddy cultivation.

However, majority of Mundas (70%) primarily depend on day labor. They always work as a team under the Bangali contractor. Contractor takes them to various places like Rangamati, Cox's bazaar for different kinds of daily labor. They also cut off trees in sundarbans as labor under Bangali *Mahajon* and earn Tk. 100 to Tk. 120 per day. Female household members also sell their labor. But they do not go outside the village for this purpose. They mostly work in the crop field and this work is available only for three months. They get Tk. 25 to Tk. 30 per day for work in the crop field.

If anyone gets married outside the community, he/she is ostracized by the community. Like Mahatoes, they also do not accept the concept of divorce.

Besides the local self-government bodies, Munda community has their own three-tier power structure. For each para of the village, there is a community leader called Matubbar who mostly deals with all day-to-day problems encountered by the community. All the para Matubbars work under the village Matubbar and all village-Matubbars are controlled by the top single leader who is also called Matubbar. All the Matubbars are selected hereditarily. It was observed that the socio-economic background of Munda community leaders is not exactly like other ethnic communities where the leaders are mostly the richest people of the community. If any problem arises among the members of the community, attempt is made to solve the problem within the community. The only punishment sanctioned to the convicted person is to entertain the community members with Haria, the homemade liquor.

Mundas are very much backward in education. Sixty three per cent mundas are illiterate and 35% is school going. Like other communities, the scenario of higher education is more frustrating. Only 1% has passed SSC and 0.66% has obtained BA degree. Munda children begin their study through enrolment in the school set up by the local co-operative. They study up to standard two in the local school and then move towards the school located at the Upazila town, which is 20 km away from the village. However, the teaching system of this school is not satisfactory to them. They are forced to wear school uniform regularly which Mundas cannot afford and this results in large-scale school dropout among Munda children.

Like education, Mundas are severely deprived of minimum standard of sanitation, drinking water and health facilities. Only 15% Mundas use clean

Besides these primary activities, they also get involved in some additional economic activities in order to increase their income. 15 households have 22 tiny ponds where they cultivate *Ruhi, Katla, Shoil* etc but they hardly can have this fish farming for commercial purpose. Moreover, *Mundas* used to rear cow, goat, pig, etc traditionally. But due to economic vulnerability and lack of grazing land, they are no longer able to rear them up. However, few families keep one or two pigs in the face of lot of objections from Bangali neighbors.

Their housing structure is similar to their bangali neighbors. They do not have platform-based house. they live in house made of mud. the roof of the house is made of nara(hay), which they buy from the local market. Poverty is explicitly visible from the non-existence of furniture in most of the munda houses. Only two families have chair and table. They mostly use madur(mat) made of palm leaves and date leaves. They themselves make this madur. However they have to depend on local bazaar for the leaves. traditionally they had the habit of eating mostly everthingsuch as pork, rat-meat, earthworm, snail, oyster etc. Now they no longer prefer these food items except the pork. However Haria, the homemade liquor is their favorite drink.

Table: 3.1
Land Ownership

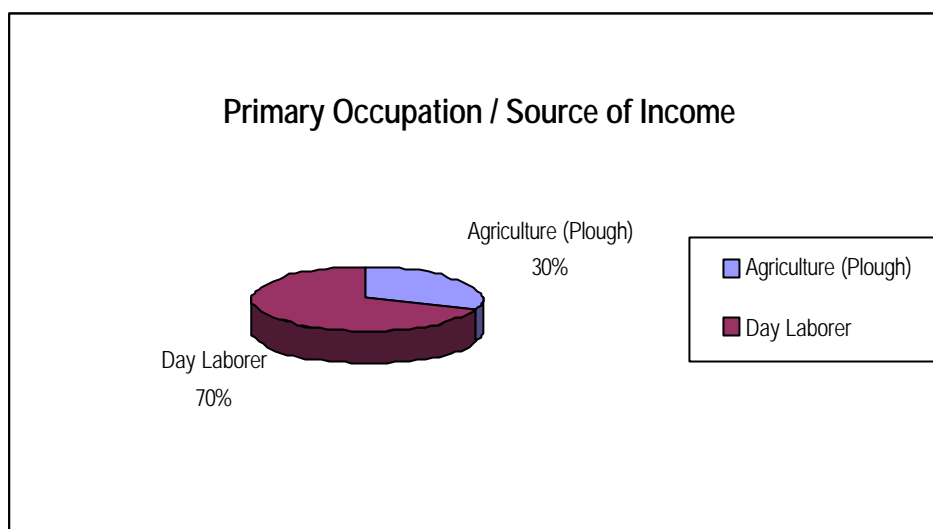
Land holding size (Kani*)	No. of House hold	Percentage
Absolutely land less	5	25
Homestead land	9	45
1 – 2	-	-
3 – 4	-	-
5 – 10	2	10
11 – 15	4	20
15 – 20	-	-
20 and Above	-	-
Total :	20	100

*4kani= 1 Acre

Source: Field Survey

Furthermore, most of the Munda families catch and sell tiger-shimp fry from the canal and river and also do fishing for household needs. However, on the whole, the average income of 80% Munda households is below Tk. 2000 per month, whereas 20% households' earning ranges from Tk. 2000 to 3000. A vast majority of Mundas takes credit from *Mahajons* and *Prodipon*, a local NGO.

Figure: 3.1



Source: Field Survey

The socio-economic situation of Munda community is deteriorating day by day due to lack of development initiative in this community. Government has so far constructed only one herringbone road in their locality. There is no electricity supply and the Munda *Matubbar*, out of frustration, says that they never dream for it. In fact, they are absolutely deprived of govt. and non-government assistance. Although 20 families have got VGF card, they do not get any relief or aid from the authority. Two years before, the study village was affected by severe cyclone and nearly hundred percent of Munda houses were destroyed. But none of the Munda households received any support from any agency, either government or voluntary organizations.

Table 3.2
Income Level

Income Level	No. of House hold	Percentage
Below 1000	-	-
Tk. 1001 – 2000	16	80
Tk. 2001 – 3000	4	20
Tk. 3001 – 4000	-	-
Tk. 4000 – Above	-	-
Total :	20	100

Source: Field Survey

3.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development, and Environment:

Mundas are not endowed with enough natural resources, which they can use for satisfying their socio-economic needs. Although the Munda community is very close to Sundarbans and surrounded by canals and rivers, they fail to make ample use of these natural resources for meeting their needs due to various reasons. They can no longer use the nearest *Khas* canal, which they have been using for fish farming and fishing, because, Bangalis have taken control of it. Despite having the locality in a close proximity to Sundarban forest, the Mundas never collect materials from it. The officials of the NGO-*Prodipon*, working with the *Mundas*, explain this phenomenon by articulating the fact that Munda is basically a timid community and this community is scared of entering to the forest. However, they are indirect users of forest resources in the sense that they buy firewood and leaves of various trees collected from the forest area. Besides, they work as the laborers in the forest. For the same reason, i.e., the timid nature, Munda does not go for fishing in the sea and deep river and the catching of tiger-fish fry is not an ordinary activity for them as like as the courageous Mahatos. Like the Rakhaing and Mahato, although Mundas are not able to make positive use of the salinity of the area through Shrimp farming and catching of tiger-shrimp fry, they cannot avoid the negative impact of the salinity. They can not cultivate their land more than once a year and it is also impossible to do horticulture in their locality. Moreover, they can not rear hen and duck because of strong resistance from the surrounding shrimp farmers who perceive hen and duck to be the cause of harm to shrimp culture as they have the habit of eating up shrimp fry. Cattle rearing is not also profitable due to lack of grazing land in their locality.

Under this circumstance, Mundas think that they can improve their earning if the following measures are undertaken by the government (i) provision for leasing out the above mentioned *khas* canal to the Munda (ii) provision for distribution of *Khas* land among Mundas and (iii) establishment of *Asrahyan* project exclusively for them. But, all these measures will hardly bring about any change in the lives of Mundas unless their timid nature and suspicious attitude³¹ towards other communities is changed to a certain extent. Given this pre-text, there is a strong need for behavioral orientation training for the Munda in this regard prior to the implementation of the above mentioned measures.

³¹ For instance, *Prodipon* once wanted to set up a tube-well in their area but *Mundas* did not permit as they are suspicious about any activities done by Bangalis, due to the long history of deception and cheating by the Bangalis.

4. Community: Pundra-Khatrio

Pundra-Khatrios mostly inhabit in the wetland areas of the south-western region of Bangladesh. Locally, they are known as *Pods*. In the study village called Permothertala,³² there are 100 Pundra-Khatrio households and the total population of this village is 665. In the year 1909, local *Zamindars* brought the Pundra-Khatrios here from the Bardhaman district of West Bengal state of India in order to clean up the dense forest area that they are presently

Living in.

7.1 Economic feature(s):

Profession and Income Level

In Permothertala, most of the Pundra Khatrios own cultivable land. Of the total households, 60% have 11-15 *Kani* of land and 24% own 20 *Kani* of land. The remaining 16% are absolutely landless.

Most of the Pundra-Khatrio households are engaged in fish farming and these households primarily cultivate tiger shrimp in their land. However, they suspend shrimp cultivation and use their land for paddy production along with the cultivation of sweat-water fish like, *Ruhi*, *Katla*, *Sharputi* etc. during monsoon period. The rest 4% households having cultivable land resort to service, which is considered as their prime economic activity. Nonetheless, the remaining 16% Pundra-Khatrio households belonging to landless category earn their livelihoods by engaging themselves as day labor. As day laborer, they work in others' fish farm and crop field.³³

Besides these primary activities, most of the Pundra-Khatrio households earn some

Socio-Ethno-Cultural Feature(s)

As an indigenous community, Pundra-Khatrio does not have any characteristic feature, which is distinguishable from the dominant Bangla community. They speak in Bangla. Pundra Khatrios are Sanatani Hindu by religious origin. Generally, they adore traditional Hindu god and goddess with some exceptions. Alongside Kali and Durga puja, they also celebrate several pujas such as Monosha puja, fish puja, Shitala puja etc., which are no longer performed by the mainstream Hindus.

Pundra- Khatrio society and family is patriarchal. According to the inheritance system of their society, son inherits father's property. Pundra-Khatrios believe in endogamy and do not encourage polygamy and divorce. They practice dowry in marriage. Furthermore, 90% Pundra-Khatrio Households are of nuclear type. They follow traditional rural pattern in building their houses. The walls and the floor of their houses are made of mud and the roof of the houses is made of a composition of different materials. According to the findings, 60% nara (hay) is used as roofing material while the proportions of Golpata and tin used in roofing are 30% and 10% respectively. Most of the Pundra- Khatrios do not use furniture in their house and only 5% households have wooden table and chair. However, 100% houses have access to electricity. They use Nara, Golpata, firewood, and Ghutay (dung-cake) as fuel for

³² Permothertala is part of Sovna Union or Dumaria thana in Khunla

³³ They receive Tk. 36 for six working hours

additional income by selling shrimp fry, which they collect, from the canal and river.

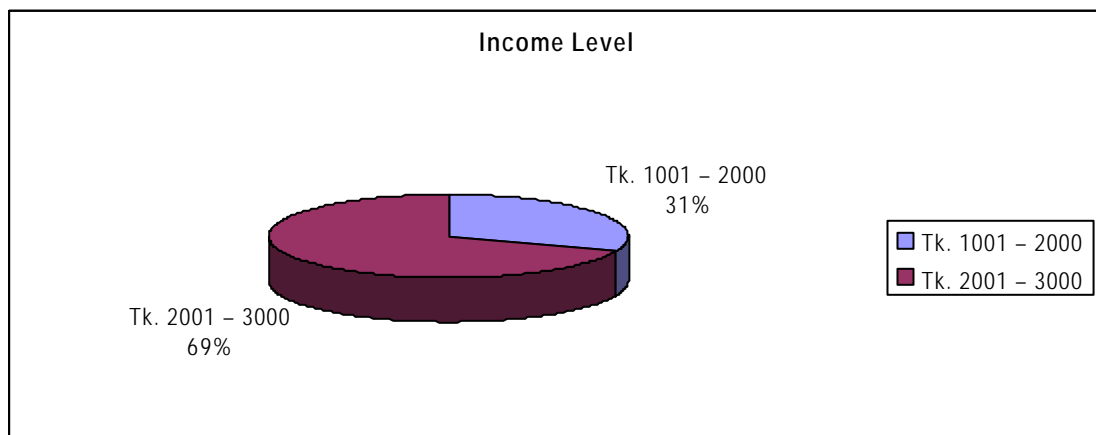
Moreover, they keep one or two pigs to meet their household needs. However, on an average, there is no household earning more than Tk. 3000 per month.

According to the findings, 69% Pundra Khatrio households earn within a range from Tk. 2001 – Tk. 3000 and the rest 31% earn less than Tk. 2000.

Pundra-Khatrios have great admiration for education. They think that education is the only way through which their future generation can build up prosperous life. But they fail to materialize their aspiration due to lack of educational infrastructure and economic well being. Although there is one government primary school in their locality, it lacks academic environment. More often than not, teachers do not take class. Moreover, they can not send their children to the city schools as they lack financial security. Given this situation, they have recently set up a primary school in their locality. However, they do not have any institution in their area for further study. At present, 0.51% Pundra-Khatrios have post graduation degree, 1% have graduation, 4% have passed SSC, 26% are school going and the remaining 68% are illiterate.

The Pundra-Khatrios of Permothertala village have strong solidarity with their neighboring communities. They live with their neighboring Namashudra and Bangali Muslim community as brother. They have also good term with their own community members. If any dispute arises among them, the issue is mostly resolved through community level discussion under the leadership

Figure: 4.1



Source: Field Survey

However, this income does not suffice to generate capital for shrimp farming. Hence, Pundra-Khatrio households, along with *Namashudras* of the area have formed a *Shamiti* in order to generate capital from their fellow members. This *Shamiti* is now in a position to provide credit to its members. The member receiving credit has to rebate Tk. 50 taka per month against Tk. 1000.

Table: 4.1
Primary Occupation / Income Source

Occupation		No of House hold	Percentage
Agriculture	Jhum	-	-
	Plough	-	-
Day labor		16	16
Fishing		-	-
Gold Smith		-	-
Fish & Crab Farming	Sweet Water	-	-
	Saline Water (Shrimp)	80	80
Pig Rearing		-	-
Dry Fish (Nappy)		-	-
Small Business Trading		-	-
Gathering & Selling (Fire wood & Bamboo)		-	-
Local Alcohol		-	-
Poultry		-	-
Other (Service)		4	4
Total		100	100

Source: Field Survey

4.2 Resource use, Socio-Economic Development and Environment

The only natural resource that the Pundra-Khatrios directly use for their socio-economic well being is the cultivable land. However, a major change has occurred in their land use pattern during the last 10 years. Traditionally, Pundra-Khatrios used to utilize their land for paddy cultivation. The volume of this paddy production has declined tremendously ³⁴ over time due to the increased salinity of the land. Moreover, they no longer can cultivate their land more than once a year. The use of chemical fertilizer does not help much in increasing the production. Faced with this unfavorable condition, the Pundra-Khatrios have changed their land use pattern. Hence, they have been using the land for tiger-shrimp cultivation for the last 7 years following the salinity of the area. At the same time, they do both paddy and sweat water fish cultivation during monsoon period. However, the shrimp farmers have been experiencing huge loss for last two years due to virus attack on shrimp cultivation. They do not receive any help from the government officials in terms of protecting shrimps from virus. Given this, the Pundra-Khatrios demand that the government should provide technical assistance to the shrimp farmers in order to combat this virus problem. Otherwise, they will face serious financial crises.

The shrimp farming in the area have already made some negative impacts on the socio-economic lives of Pundra-Khatrios. People no longer can keep cattle in their house as the area now lacks grazing land.

³⁴ Two and a half kani land produce only 240 kg. paddy.

As a result, their dependence on firewood is increasing as *Ghutay* (dung-cake) and Nara are (hay) not available as before. Moreover, most of the households of the area have to abandon the practice of keeping hen and duck in their houses as they have the habit of eating shrimp fry. The abandonment of this activity has caused women's exclusion from their household-based economic activities, which they have been involved in traditionally.

Furthermore, the shrimp farming has caused water-logging in the area, which has eventually enhanced the possibilities of destruction of household assets during flood. Hence, Pundra-Khatris of this area want government to take some development steps, which will enable them to regulate the water flow in their area. In addition, to improve their socio-economic life they want that NGOs or social welfare departments of the government should establish *Shamiti* in their area and involve their females in economic activities like, tailoring, sewing, embroidering etc.

5. Community: Marma

Marmas are generally known as *Magh*. They think that *Magh* is an insulting sobriquet unfairly conferred by the Bangalis on them. The term *Magh*³⁵ means Arakanese sea-pirates and so they do not like this term. Hence, they always prefer to be identified as Marma by the government instead of *Magh* and finally the East Pakistan Government officially recognized them as Marma instead of *Magh*³⁶ in 1961.

According to Kaleque, the total population of Marma community in Bangladesh is 157301 majority of which live in Chittagong Hill Tracts.³⁷ However, only 690 Marmas were reported to live in one of the study villages called *Kurushia* under *Padua* Union³⁸. In this village, they live in cluster in three different paras: *Pakua-Para*, *Chemi-Para* and *ShibChhari*.

Marmas claim that they are the first settlers in this region. They came here 200 years ago when this area was the part of densely forest and they made it habitable. Although *Bangalis* started to settle here after a long period of Marma settlement, they are in majority at present. The total number of Marma households in this village is 115 of which 47 belongs to *Pakua Para* and the remaining 40 and 28 households belong to *Chemi-Para* and *Shibchhari* respectively.

Socio-ethno-cultural feature(s)

The Marmas have distinct ethno-cultural features. Primarily they speak in their mother tongue, Marma¹. However, they can speak as well as write in Bangla. Buddhism is their religion but animism has some influences on them¹. Their main religious rituals are namely Prabarona Purnima, Modhu Purnima, Buddha Purnima, Ashari Purnima etc¹. Nevertheless, they can hardly afford to celebrate these rituals regularly due to their economic constraints.

Although Marma community is basically characterized by patriarchal system, it does not preclude women's place in decision-making. As reported by the female members, women enjoy some liberty in decision-making including the financial matters of the household. As per property inheritance system, son gets father's property. In the survey area, 90 per cent Marma belong to nuclear family. They prefer to establish marital relationship within their own community.

Nonetheless, they accept marriage with other indigenous communities, except Bangalis.

³⁵ There is some controversy about the term *Magh* for instance, Lt-Col. Phayre says *Magh* word is originated from *Magadh*, the birthplace of Lord Buddha. As the *Maghs* were Buddhist the appellation was given to them. For details on the controversy see-, Abdus Sattar, "In the Sylvan Shadows," Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1983, p-234.

³⁶ See- Mong ka Shua Nu, "Marma Society and Culture: Past, Present and Future," (in Bangla), Sanghu-Upajatio Gobashona Pathrika, April 1998, vol-6, No-1, p-69.

³⁷ Reza Shamsur Rahman, "Religion-Ethnic Minority Groups Of Southwest Bangladesh," BHUMIJA, 1996, p-29

³⁸ Padua union locates in Rangunia Thana of Chittagong district.

5.1 Economic Feature(s): Profession and Income Level

Marma households do not have sufficient land, which is considered, as the main source of rural economy of Bangladesh. Of the total Marma households, 63% is absolutely landless and only 2% has more than 15 *Kani*³⁹ of land. This poor landholding pattern determines the occupation of the Marma people. Most of the households are engaged in multiple economic activities. However, all of them have distinct primary economic activity.

Majority of the households (47%) primarily depend upon agriculture. Among them, 22% households depend on *Jhum* cultivation in the reserved hill forest and 25% on plough cultivation in their own and leased land.

In *Jhum* cultivation, they produce potato, Chilli, Pumpkin, Tobacco and Ginger. Ginger is the main cash crop. *Boro* and *Aus* are the main crops of plough cultivation. Plough cultivation is done only twice a year. Use of both chemical and manual fertilizer is a general phenomenon. Fertilizer use has increased the production. At present, 70 to 80 *Ari* paddy (1 *Ari*=10 kg paddy) is produced in one *Kani* of land.

Apart from the cultivation, the highest number of the Marma household (40%) depends primarily on the day labor. Day laborers mainly work in the crop field.⁴⁰

Marma community lags behind in terms of education. Marmas begin their academic life informally with the study of religious scripture in Marma language up to 5th standard. Therefore, they are not familiar with Bangla, which is the only medium of formal education. As a result, they face difficulties to study in Bangla. This restricts their academic advancement. At present, only 0.29% people have graduation degree, 0.72% people have passed HSC and 50% are illiterate.

Educational backwardness, lack of awareness, economic incapability, insufficient Government and NGO activities are attributable to the hindrance to pure drinking water supply & sanitation and medical facilities in this community. There is only one tube-well for 47 households in Pakua Para and two tube-wells for 40 households of Chhemi para. Therefore, they have to depend mostly on their indigenous water source, 'Ushu' for drinking purposes. For other purposes, they use pond water. The condition of services related to sanitation and medication is more frustrating than that of water supply. They do not have any form of sanitary latrine. They use open land and forest for defecation. For medical treatment, there is only one quack doctor available in the union and there is neither private nor government hospital within the radius of 15 km. from the locality.

Marmas in this village are living more or less peacefully with the dominant Bangali community. Nevertheless, they have some disputes with Bangali neighbors particularly over land property and to some extent over religious rituals. However, the influence of Bangali culture on the Marma community is clearly visible. Some form of conservatism, which is characteristic feature of Bangali

³⁹ 4 *Kani*= One acre.

⁴⁰ Male get 60-100 Tk. and female 40-60 Tk per day based on season. Some of their employer also provides them one time meal.

The primary sources of earning of other households are carpentry (9%) and small service (4%) respectively.

Apart from above occupational activities, most of the Marmas are engaged in other economic activities that supplement their principal earning. Every household keeps one or two pigs, chickens, goat etc to meet their daily needs and sometimes they sell them out. They also collect firewood and bamboo, which they sell after fulfilling their household needs.

Majority of the Marma households does not have any kind of furniture. Only 43 per cent have wooden table and chair. The food habit of Marma people is nearly same as Bangalis.

However, in contrast with Bangali-Muslim, they have special preference to pork and homemade wine. Although they are economically backward, still they maintain hospitality by entertaining their guest with products like coke and biscuits.

In respect of style of dressing, a great change was observed among the Marmas of West Kurushia. Men have totally abandoned their traditional homemade dress. They wear shirt and lungi, available

Table: 5.1

Land Ownership

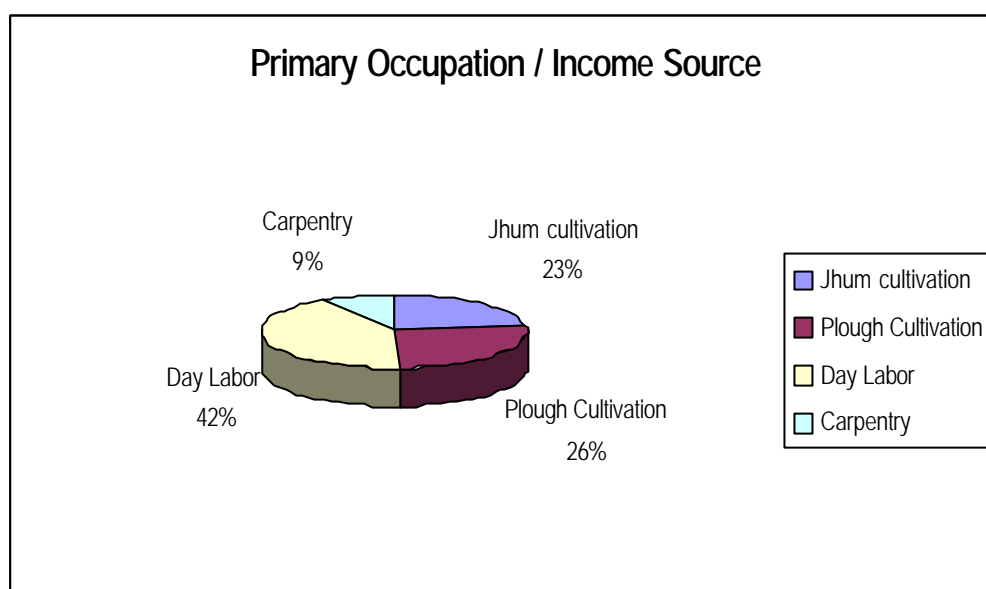
Land holding size (Kani*)	No of House hold	Percentage
Absolutely land less	73	63.47
Homestead land	-	-
1 – 2	-	-
3 – 4	-	-
5 – 10	33	28.69
11 – 15	7	6.08
15 – 20	2	1.74
20 and Above	-	-
Total:	115	100

Source: Field survey

Table provides information only about those Marmas living in West Kurushia village.

Furthermore, Marma women can weave⁴¹ and make traditional wine.⁴² In the earlier period, weaving activities used to be done primarily on commercial basis while wine used to be made only for private use. But, now a days they do weaving only to fulfill their household needs⁴³ while the homemade wine is used for both private and commercial purposes. Moreover, there are 10 households owning 10 ponds altogether. These households are involved in small-scale fish cultivation⁴⁴.

Figure: 5.1



Source: Field Survey

Despite all these economic activities, the economic condition of the Marma household is very distressing. The monthly income coverage of a larger proportion of Marma households (63%) ranges from Tk. 1000 to Tk. 2000 and the income range of the remaining percentage of households is between Tk. 2001 and Tk 3000 per month. Sometimes, they receive credit from *NGOs*⁴⁵ and *Mahajans*⁴⁶ in order to improve their economic condition.

⁴¹ They weave with small handloom not with big one.

⁴² They prepare wine from fermented rice mixed with pulp made of varieties of roots. This mixture is boiled and the vapor is collected as wine

⁴³ At present they weave only blankets. To weave blankets they collect old woolen cloth from market and takeout the woolen-yarn from it.

⁴⁴ One household has 3 small ponds and rest of the households has one pond each. They cultivate fish belong to carp species.

⁴⁵ Two NGO, IDF and ALO provide them micro credit for buying cattle, establishing small-scale poultry and house construction and repair.

⁴⁶ The rate of interest for the credit collected from *Mahajan* varies from 10 to 40 tk per month for 100 tk.

Table: 5.2

Income Level

Income Level (Per Month)	No of House hold	Percentage
Below 1000	-	-
Tk. 1001 – 2000	73	63.48
Tk. 2001 – 3000	42	36.52
Tk. 3001 – 4000	-	-
Tk. 4000 – Above	-	-
	Total: 115	100

Source: Field Survey

5.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and Environment

Marma community of the *Kurushia* village heavily depends on the natural resource like, forest, hill and plain land for their overall socio-economic development. Majority of the Marmas is either cultivator or agricultural day laborer. Since after their settlement, they have been using both plain and adjacent hill forest for cultivation. Until British colonial master recognized the hill forest as reserved one, Marmas used the forest as their community property. Since then the use of forest and forestland has become unlawful under the state's law. Hence, at present, 22% Marma household, whose livelihood depends on *Jhum* cultivation, cultivates in the reserved hill in an 'unlawful' way in connivance with the local forest officials.⁴⁷

Along with the *jhum* cultivation, Marmas of *Kurushia* are also dependent on the forest for the materials required for house construction and household furniture. Besides, they need forest for the collection of drinking water and fuel which is required for cooking. Nearly 90% roof of Marma houses is made of hay and 68% house wall is made of bamboo collected from the forest. The household furniture is also made

⁴⁷ *Marmas* like other indigenous people For 40 Kg product (particularly Ginger) they have to bribe to the local forest officials 100 tk.

of wood collected from the forest. Moreover, 100% Marma family uses wood-log collected from forest for cooking. Above all, they still largely depend on *Ushu* (sallow well) situated in the reserved forest area even for the purpose of drinking water.

As a result of frequent mobility in the forest, Marmas have experienced changes in forest environment.

These changes are primarily result of exogenous factors. Marmas' use of forest resource is very marginal, as they do not use it for commercial purposes but for private use. Moreover, they are very small in number. However, in contrast, Marmas claim that Bangali community having unauthorized nexus with the local forest officials is rampantly cutting off various valuable plants for commercial reasons. As a result, *Garjan*, *Chapalis*, Mango and Black Berry trees have become rare compared to before. The situation is further aggravated by hardship but fails to provide enough output. Hence, creation of alternative occupation will provide the Marma community with better opportunity on the one hand and ensure sustainable development of the forestry sector by reducing their dependence on the reserved forest on the other.

6. Community: Khiyang

Khiyang community mainly resides in Bandarban and Rangamati district⁴⁸ with an exception of few living in the adjacent plain-district, Chittagong. In Bangladesh, the total population of Khiyang is 2343.⁴⁹ However, only 58 Khiyang households with a total population of 400 were reported to live in the Ghongru village under Dopachhari union⁵⁰ during survey period. They do not have any information about the origin of their habitat. However, they claim that their ancestors had arrived in this land more than three hundred years ago and they were the first settlers in this place

6.1 Economic Features: Profession and Income Level

Khiyangs living in the Ghongru village are basically landless. 19% is absolute land less and 72% have only homestead land.

Socio-Ethno-Cultural Feature(s):

Khiyangs have definite ethno-cultural features and they would like to use the term Hewaoo (nearest) as their community name. Based on the nature of the habitat, they have divided themselves into two clans, Kongtu Hewaoo and Laitu Hewaoo. Those who live in the hilly areas are called Kongtu Hewahoo, while the plainland khiyangs are known as Laitu Hewahoo.

Khiyang community has their own language called Khiyang. However, this is an oral language and presently attempts are being made to develop a written form for it. Nevertheless, Khiyang males can speak in Bangla very well while females are not much familiar with it.

Generally, Khiyangs are the followers of Buddhism, but few of them have recently converted to Christianity. In the survey area, 98.75% of them are Buddhist and 1.25% are Christians. However, due to the extreme poverty, they can no longer celebrate their religious rituals. In the earlier period when their economic situation was well enough, they used to celebrate Prabarana Purnima, Buddha Purnima, Modhu Purnima etc.

⁴⁸ Chay Thoi Pru Khiyang, & Mong Chan Shoy Ma, Shangu, Vol-six, No-1, 1998, Bandarban, p-1.

⁴⁹ Reza Shamsur Rahman, opcit, p-29.

⁵⁰ Dhopachhari Union is the part of Chandanaish thana of Chittagong district.

“ Parbatta Chhattagramer Khiyang Upajati,” Most of the Khiyangs in the survey area belong to nuclear family. Like others, the khiyang society is characteristic of patriarchal system. Women do not enjoy the right to take part in any kind of decision-making process. Interestingly enough, women have to cast their votes according to the wish of father or husband. Moreover, they have no right over father's property. In respect of marriage, Khiyangs prefer to get into marriage

Nevertheless, 9% households have cultivable land and their primary earning come from plough cultivation. 7 % households have 4 *kani* land and 2% possess 6 *kani*. They cultivate their land twice a year and *Aus*, *Aman* and *Boro* are cultivated in this land.

Notwithstanding, highest number of Khiyang households (52%) primarily earn through selling of wood, bamboo and firewood gathered from the forest. They gather all these forest resources through unauthorized nexus with the forest officials. However, they never sell these resources in open market as law and enforcement authority and even forest officials harass them. So they are forced to sell these items to the Bangali traders who come to their house and pay 10 *taka* per mound but interestingly, the same cost 70 to 80 per mound in the open market.

The rest 40% Khiyang households of the survey area are day laborer. Males get 60 to 70 *taka* per day and females 40 to 45 *taka* for working in the field owned by Bangalis. However, in the rainy season they are mostly jobless and many families have to live without food for several days.

Besides these primary economic activities, Khiyangs also do *Jhum* cultivation as additional activity. Earlier period *Jhum* cultivation was their main profession but now they can not depend on this as primary source of earning because they lost easy accessibility to the hill forest.

However, in a small scale and irregular manner they are continuing *jhum* cultivation

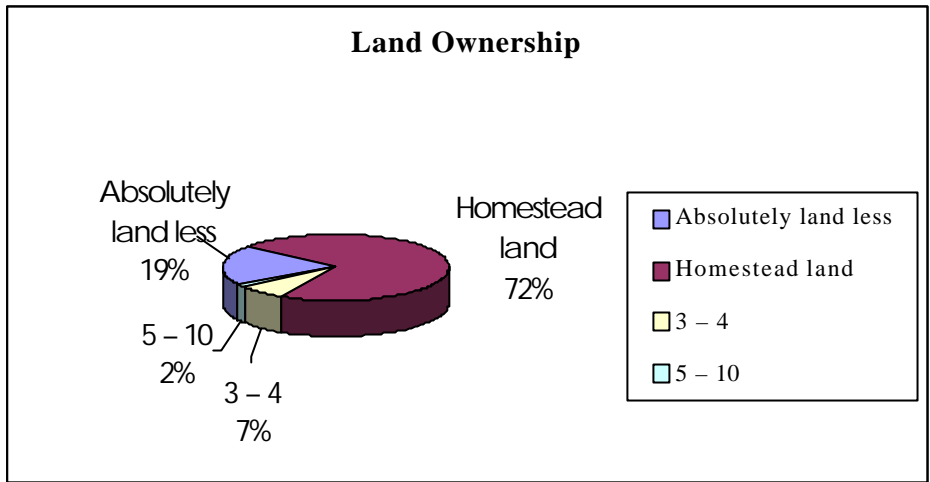
Karbari deals with all kinds of problems arising among the community members. In order to solve the martial dispute, Karbari calls a community meeting where a jury board comprising five members deals with the problem under the leadership of Karbari. If the decision regarding divorce is agreed by all five members, the person who is found guilty has to pay Tk. 2000 to Tk. 3000 to his or her spouse as compensation. Mother gets the custody of the children if they are not adult and father has to pay for their maintenance.

Khiyang community seriously lags behind in terms of education. In the Ghongru village, 86% Khiyangs reported that they are illiterate. Of the remaining population, 0.5% reported to have passed SSC and 0.75% reported to have obtained HSC degree. The condition of female education in this village is more frustrating. Khiyang parents have the notion that girl's education would not provide economic fortune for their family, because, girls leave parents' home after marriage. Hence, majority of the Khiyang girls does not even enjoy the opportunity to study in school. In the Ghongru village, only one girl has so far passed SSC. Moreover, the non-availability of school in the village as well as economic hardship restricts their development in education.

Like education, Khiyangs are deprived of minimal service facilities in terms of health and health infrastructure. Regarding drinking water and sanitation, they are totally dependent on nature. For the purpose of defecation, 100% Khiyangs use open place. Recently the government has set up

in the hills of reserved forest areas through an 'illegal' understanding with the local forest officials. In *Jhum* they mainly cultivate ginger, potato and Chilli.

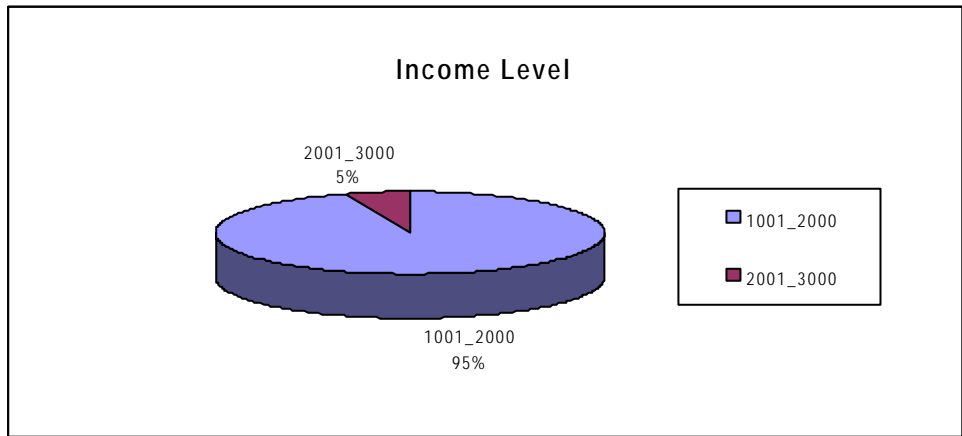
Figure: 6.1



Source: Field Survey

Whereas *jhum* cultivation was the prime economic activity done by the males, weaving used to be the main economic activity for the females of the Khyang community. However, due to the lack of capital, females are no longer able to continue this traditional economic activity, though most of the Khyang-females have the knowledge and skill of weaving. Financial constrains also forced them to abandon the practice of livestock rearing.

Figure: 6.2



Source: Field Survey

At present only 4% Khiyang households are keeping one or two pigs. Nevertheless, Khiyang-females still make various types of baskets made of bamboo and wine at home primarily for private use but now due to financial problems sometime sell wine to other community.⁵¹

The income level of the Khiyang community living in the Ghongru village is very disappointing. 95% people earn just more than 1000 *taka* per month and 5.2% earn 2000 plus. Hence, they have to take credit from *Mahazans* on high interest. For 1000 *taka* credit, they have to give 300 kg paddy in six months as interest.

TABLE: 6.2

Primary Occupation / Income Source

Occupation		No of House hold	Percentage
Agriculture	Jhum	-	-
	Plough	5	8.62
Fishing		-	-
Day Laborer		23	39.65
Gold Smith		-	-
Fish & Crab Farming	Sweet Water	-	-
	Saline Water (Shrimp)		
Pig Rearing		-	-
Dry Fish (Nappy)		-	-
Small Business Trading		-	-
Gathering & Selling (Fire wood & Bamboo)		30	51.72
Local Alcohol		-	-
Poultry		-	-
Other		-	-
Total:		58	100

Source: Field Survey

6.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development, and Environment

During British rule, Khiyangs of the surveyed area had received 300 acre of *khas* land, as 'Khiyang estate', from the government for the purpose of community use. This land they used for various economic purposes and had able to meet their economic needs. However, in 1990 govt of Bangladesh has brought these 300 *arcas* of land under their control and declared it as a part of reserve forest. As a result, this community is presently facing serious economic problem. Their socio-economic life now mostly depends on reserved forest. They construct their house with the materials collected from the

⁵¹ They sell per liter wine in 40 taka.

forest. Moreover, nearly 52 % Khiyangs run their family through selling various resources gathered by them from the reserved forest and make additional earning through *jhum* cultivation. Finally, 100% Khiyang households use firewood for cooking which they collect from the forest. But unfortunately, these economic activities in the reserve forest area are illegal according to the present state laws. Hence, if the unlawful understanding between the Khiyangs and local forest official is unlashd, the socio-economic life will collapse.

7. Community: Murang

Murang community prefers to live in high hills. In Bangladesh, majority of the Murang is found in the Bandarban district.⁵² But at present a large number of Murang live in plain land especially in chittagong. Murangs like to be called as *Mro*. They are also known as *Mria*. The total population of Murang is 22178.⁵³ However, only 7 Murang households were reported to live in the study village called *Prantik Lake*.⁵⁴ The total population of this village is 40. These households reside on the bank of manmade *Prantik Lake*. However, this place is not their original habitat.⁵⁵ They are internally displaced people. Although, in Bangladesh, Rangamati district was reported as the original habitat of Murang, the inhabitants could not remember the exact name of the location of the district during survey. The Murang left the area 20 years ago and settled in the hilly area of *Chimbuk* under Bandarban district. But they could not settle there permanently, because the land was acquired by the government and established a firing range there for the national army. Consequently, they were brought in this Prantik Lake ten years before. Originally, 45 households were brought here with a promise that they would be provided with free rations and land for cultivation including free access to the lake for fishing and fish farming. However, still they have not yet been

Socio-Ethno-Cultural Feature(s)

Like all other indigenous communities, Murang community also has distinct ethno-cultural features. They speak in their own language. Initially, there was no written form of their language. Recently, they have developed their alphabet¹. Murangs have strong community consciousness particularly in relation to their tradition and culture. In 1980 a Murang cultural complex was set up with the assistance of UNICEF. Alongside general education, this complex is providing training to the Murang Students on their traditional dance and song.

For the last two decades, Murangs have been facing a great dilemma in terms of their religious faith. Primarily, they are Buddhist by religious origin. However, there had been a tremendous influence of a new religion Karma on religion. Even though all the members of 45 households which used to live once in Prantik lake were converted into Krama, 90% of them were immediately converted into Christianity and most of the remaining others were reconverted into Buddhism.

⁵² Abdus Sattar, opcit, p-

⁵³ Reza Shamsur Rahman, opcit, p-29

⁵⁴ Village Prantik Lake is situated at the conjunction of Sankar chain of Chittagong and Sudo in Union of Bandarban. This para was selected for survey as Murang community could not be found in any other place of coastal districts.

⁵⁵ The Radzaweng, a history book on Arakan states, provides information that a Murang was once a king of Arakan but fails to give any idea about the Murang origin and settlement history. See -Abdus Sattar, opcit, p-261.

provided with these facilities by the local administration.

As a result, most of the 45 households except 7 had returned to their earlier place, *Chimbuk*.

7.1 Economic features: Profession and Income Level

Murangs of *PrantikLake* reside in the government-acquired land. Hence, all the 7 households are landless. However, they have easy access to the hill and forest of this acquired area. Thus, the use of forest resources complements to their overall socio-economic development. The prime occupation of these households is *Jhum* cultivation. In *Jhum*, they cultivate paddy and other crops and vegetables such as corn, ginger, chilli, ladies finger, pumpkin etc. They do not buy seeds but preserve them from the previous harvest.

In addition to *Jhum* cultivation, they engage themselves in some other activities that have substantial economic value. These activities include collection of firewood, bamboo and cane from the hill forest, plantation of fruit trees in the yard, production of various kinds of bamboo-made baskets, pig raising and unauthorized fishing in the nearby *Prantik Lake*. They carry out these activities to meet their private needs and the products that they produce from these multifarious activities do not have much commercial value and cash return. Nevertheless, they engage themselves as day laborer for army at short intervals and earn some cash money. Army involves them in various types of works ranging from cleaning the bush to earthwork. The daily

Murang, like all other Buddhist, celebrates Prabarana Purnima, Maghi Purnima and all other Buddhist festivals They also celebrate Chiashad poi (Cow-killing festival) during the time of Nabanna (new harvest) which has no relevance to Buddhism but Animism. During Chiashad poi, Murang males continue to hit the selected cow with javelin and play flute while females dance around the injured cow. Finally, they enjoy the roasted meat of the sacrificed cow. They celebrate the killing of cow with the belief that cow had eaten up their religious scripture and original alphabet of Murang language and hence they kill the cow as punishment. However, this festival has lost its earlier attraction due to the strong influence of Krama religion and thus it has become an irregular occasion in the Murang community. Interestingly, Murangs themselves conduct all the sacred rites ranging from marriage to worship because, there is no priest or doctor in their community.¹

Murang community is basically patriarchal and all the families living around the study area are nuclear in form. According to the law of inheritance, the eldest son gets the entire asset owned by his father. Although Murangs accept marriage with other indigenous communities, they have strong reservation about the Bangali in this regard. They follow the tradition of dowry in marriage. During marriage, the father of the bride has to offer cash, ornaments, crockeries, domestic pets etc. to the father of the groom.¹

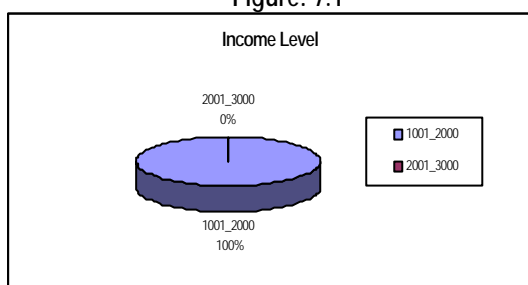
However, they do not encourage polygamy and divorce. For husbands, leaving wife without any reason is not acceptable to the community and in such case the husband is stranded by the society.¹ This decision is undertaken in the community meeting under the leadership of community headman who deals with all the problems affecting the community.

Murangs are very much conscious about their tradition and community; but they have failed to bring necessary development in terms of

wage for the male laborer is Tk. 80 while it is Tk. 50 for female laborer. However, these jobs are not available throughout the year. These jobs are available for duration of 4/5 months in a year.

The Murang households of Prantik Lake do not have any major economic activity that can provide them with enough cash return. All of these households earn just more than Tk. 1000 per month.

Figure: 7.1



Source: Field Survey

As a result, they are faced with serious economic hardship. There is no initiative from the development communities to provide them with socio-economic supports in order to relieve them from this hardship. As reported, the Murang community was given lot of promises while settling in this locality. The package of incentives that they were given at that time included financial support for income earning activities, provision of their legal right to fish farming in the lake and introduction of free ration system etc.

Unfortunately, no single promise has yet been kept by the concerned authority. Given this experience, the Murang people have developed a sense of insecurity which has eventually led them to think that they will also have to leave this area sometime in near future like the other fellow members of their community who left this place two years before.

They are now totally dependent on Ushu (shallow well)¹ for drinking water and many of them are using open place for defecation purposes. For medical purposes, they primarily go to Bazalia bazaar, where an MBBS doctor is available. In case of serious illness, they go to Bandarban government hospital. Sometimes, they also visit baidya, if they feel that the illness is the result of some mystical reason.

Murang of Prantik Lake construct their houses following the traditional design, based on platform. Roofs of 100% Murang house are made of hay and the walls are made of bamboo. The place below platform of the house is used for storing the materials like firewood, bamboo, cane etc collected from the forest. They do not feel the necessity to use furniture and they use the surface of the platform for the purpose of sitting and sleeping. In this locality, they can easily maintain their tradition and custom, as it is isolated from the broader society of the village. The Murang locality is part of government acquired land and the local unit of the national army has control over it. Hence, nobody from the Bangali society can enter to the area to disturb them. Moreover, army does not disturb them.

6.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and Environment

Murang of the Prantik lake area exclusively depend on the natural resources available in the government acquired areas. They use hill adjacent to their area for *jhum* cultivation and collect bamboo, cane, hay, and firewood from the surrounding forest for household use. Unlike other communities under study, they do not face any restriction from the authority in terms of use of these natural resources. But, this natural resource does not provide them with enough economic benefits. According to their view, they would be able to earn enough for their survival if they are given the right to use the *Prantik Lake* for

fish farming as per earlier commitment given by the concerned authority. However, it becomes evident from the observation regarding the nature and extent of existing development activities of the surrounding areas that Murang of this locality would not be able to live here for longer period. Murangs are currently residing in the extended land of the firing range established by the army. This scenario of the settlement indicates that the Murangs would have to leave the area eventually. Therefore, they opine that first thing to do for them is to provide them with permanent place for their settlement.

8. Community: Chakma

Chakma is the largest indigenous community in Bangladesh. Now -a-days, the word "Chakma" has become a synonym of the term "indigenous people" to the common people of Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, the total Chakma population is 252858.⁵⁶ Chakmas were originally inhabitants of erstwhile Arakan State of Burma.⁵⁷ Although, there is no historical evidence about the accurate period of Chakma settlement, ⁵⁸ some historians claim that Chakmas had arrived in Bangladesh before 15th century.⁵⁹

Chakmas primarily reside in the Chittagong hill tract districts and few of them live in the neighboring plain districts. Of the plain districts, the chakmas of two villages namely, *Horikhola*⁶⁰ and *Mocharkhola* were brought under survey⁶¹. The *Horikhola* village comprises 150 households and *Mocharkhola* village includes 45 households. On the whole, the total population of both the villages is 1200. More than hundred years ago, British officials brought the Chakmas here as villager to clean up the area that they are now living in and each of the households was given 5 *kani*⁶² of land as lease for settlement.

Socio-ethno-cultural feature(s)

As an indigenous community, Chakmas have distinct characteristics, although they are in dispute with the hilly land Chakma over their identity. They primarily speak in their own language Chakma by using both written and oral form. However, the Chakmas of Horikhola and Mocharkhola can no longer write in their own language. They have picked up Bangla very well, but with regional accent. Religiously, they belong to Buddhism and celebrate rituals like Ashari purnima, Probarana Purnima, Baishakhi Purnima etc.

Chakmas usually practice endogamy. However, in recent time, there has a change in the attitude of Chakma men belonging to the study villages. They now prefer to establish marital relationship with Bangali Buddhist girl because, they are more educated than Chakma girls. Chakmas do not have the prevalence of dowry in marriage

⁵⁶ Reza Shamsur Rahman, op cit, p-29.

⁵⁷ Abdus Sattar, opcit p-253

⁵⁸ ibid, see chakma chapter.

⁵⁹ Shri Birkumar Tanchangya, "Parbattah Chattagramar Sharba Prathom JanaBashoti Kakhana Ashashilo?," Shangu, vol-5, no-1, p-27.

⁶⁰ Harikhola Union is part of Howaikyong union of Teknaf thana, Cox's bazar district.

⁶¹ Mocharkhola is part of Palangkhal Union of Ukhia thana, Cox's bazar district.

⁶² 4 kani= 1 Acre

8.1 Economic Feature(s): Profession and Income Level

The land owning pattern and the natural environment of the Chakma localities mostly determine the economic activities of the Chakma households. According to findings, 19% Chakma households are absolutely landless and 76% has only homestead land. Only 4% households have cultivable land. Of them, 3% households have 3 *kani*, 0.51% have 6 *kani* and the rest 0.51 households have more than 11 *kani* of land (see Figure-6.1).

Plough cultivation is the primary source of earning for households owning cultivable land. They cultivate various types of paddy. However, they plough their land mostly twice a year. They use both organic (Cow-dung) and chemical fertiliser to increase the fertility of the land. Hill streams are the only source of irrigation.

Conversly if the husband is found guilty, wife takes all her ornaments and also recieves some cash as compensation for her husband.

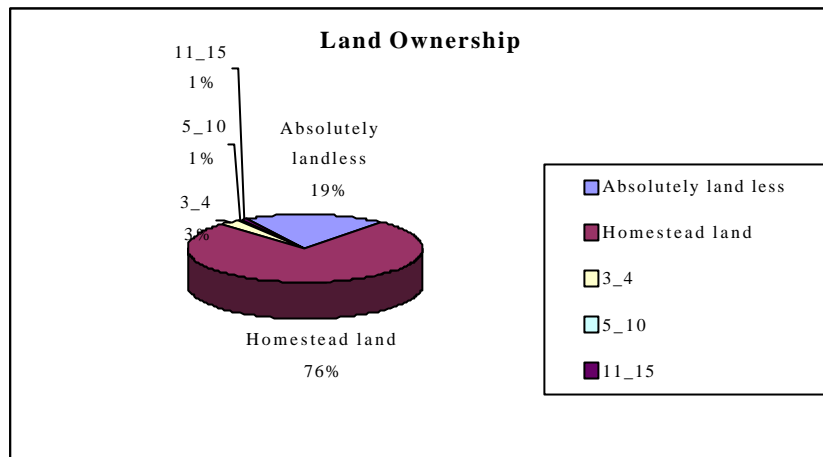
Chakma society is usually characteristic of patriarchal system. In the study villages, 70% households belong to join family. According to their law of inheritance, son gets father's property. They construct their houses on platform and majority of them uses timber to construct the floor and the wall while 20 % uses bamboo for the same. The roof of chakma house is made of hay, garjan leaves and tin. The survey findings show that 60% roo fof their houses is made of hay, 30% of garjan leaves and the rest are made of tin. Furniture is a rare item of Chakma households. Only 10% households have simply wooden chair and table.

The condition of sanitation, drinking water and medical facilities in the Chakma community is not satisfactory. Only 20% Chakmas use semi pacca latrine, 50% use katcha latrine and 30% use open place for defecation. In Harikhola village, two ring tubewells have so far been set up with the help of NGO while there is only one tubewell in Mochar khola village. However these tubewells are not enough to satisfy their needs. Hence they have to depend on the traditional water source called ushu for the purpose of drinking. For other purposes they use pond water and hillstream. For general treatment, Chakmas of Harikhola village go to village doctors. In contrast the people of Mocharkhola take medicine from their local priest who provide their herbal treatments. However for serious illness, they visit Al – Rabita Hospital.

Chakmas of both harikhola and mocharkhola lag behind education. In the study villages about 65% population is illiterate, 35% has studied within a range from class one to eight and .25% have passed SSC. The scenario of higher education is not fascinating at all. Only .08% is presently studying in medical college.

Capitalizing the educational backwardness of the local forest officials, police and elected representatives make chakma pepole the vulnarable to harrsement in various ways. Since after the influx of Rahingya refugees to the nearby areas, robbery has become a usual phenomenon in Chakma localities.

Figure: 8.1



Source: Field Survey

However, majority of Chakma households, who do not own any cultivable land, primarily depend on *jhum* cultivation and day labor. Amongst this category of households, 44% households primarily earn through *jhum* cultivation while day labor is the source of earning for 50 % households.

Day laborers mostly work in crop field and sea- going fishing boat. The daily wage of men ranges from Tk. 50 to Tk. 60 per day while women are paid Tk 30-Tk. 40 per day.

Other than paddy, *Jhum* cultivators cultivate different crops and vegetables such as ginger, chilli, bean, cucumber, watermelon, ladies fingers etc. They do *jhum* cultivation in the reserved hill forest. Forest officials permit them to do *jhum* with an understanding that the cultivators would provide free labor for plantation in the forest area after the harvest. Besides all these, 1.3 % households' primary occupation is carpentry and 0.51% are engaged in small business.

Table: 8.1

Primary Occupation / Income Source

Occupation		No of House hold	Percentage
Agriculture	<i>Jhum</i>	86	44.10
	Plough	8	4.10
Day Labors		97	49.74
Carpenter		3	1.54
Weaving		-	-
Gold Smith		-	-
Fish & Crab Farming	Sweet Water	-	-
	Saline Water (Shrimp)	-	-
Pig Rearing		-	-
Dry Fish (Nappy)		-	-
Small Business (Shop)		1	0.51
Gathering & Selling (Fire wood & Bamboo)		-	-
Local Alcohol		-	-
Poultry		-	-
Other		-	-
Total:		195	100

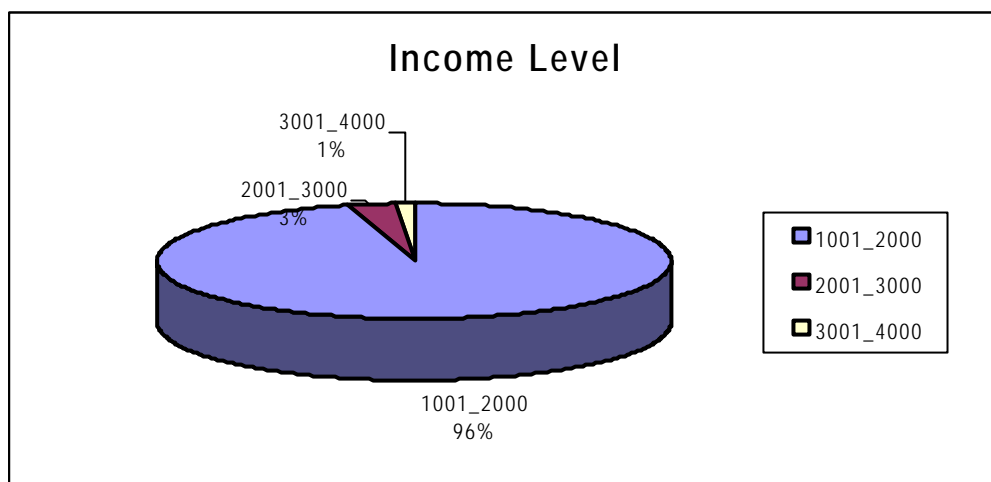
Source: Field Survey

Apart from these primary activities, most of the Chakma households do some additional activities to supplement household income. They implant fruit trees like jackfruit, mango, pineapple etc in their yard. Moreover, they gather bamboo and firewood from the forest and sell them out after fulfilling their household needs. They sell per 100 bamboo of ten feet long only for Tk. 50 to Tk. 80. In addition, 20% households also supplement their earning by selling home-made alcohol in a small scale of operation. Furthermore, all the chakma households raise hen, duck, and pigs and do fishing in the hill-stream to meet their household needs. According to the survey findings, two households of *Horikhola* village owning two small size ponds are also engaged in fish farming.

Chakma females generally perform important economic activities to support their families. However, their activities are recently restricted within house yard. They no longer can assist their male members in terms of cultivation and collection of various resources from the forest because, they are more likely to be harassed physically and even kidnapped by the Rohingya males. Furthermore, they have to stop their traditional weaving activities due to hike in yarn price.

All of these have great impacts not only on the economic lives but also on the social lives of Chakma community. At present, 96 % Chakma households earn only Tk 1001 - Tk. 2000 and 3.08 % earn Tk. 2001- Tk. 3000 per month. It is only 1% households who earn more than Tk. 3001 per month. There is no single household in the study villages earning more than Tk. 4000 per month.

Figure: 8.2



Source: Field Survey

8.2 Resource Use, Socio-economic Development and Environment

Chakmas of Harikhola and Mocharkhola can not maintain their socio-economic lives without the use of natural resources particularly the forest. The primary source of earning of 44% households is *jhum* cultivation activities located in the hills of reserved forest. Nearly 100% households depend on nearby forest resources for house construction. They collect Garjan wood and leaf, bamboo, hays and canes leaf from the forest for the construction of houses. Moreover, all the Chakma households use firewood as cooking fuel. In addition, they make additional earning by selling firewood and bamboo. Bamboo is also used by the chakma female for producing various kinds of baskets for household use.

Like other indigenous communities, Chakmas also depend on the forest environment for water. They dig *Ushu* at the root of the forest hill in order to collect drinking water. Moreover, 4% plough cultivators use hill-stream for irrigation. They also do fishing in hill-stream to meet their private needs.

Recently, there has been observable decline in the forest environment. Once the forest was full of *Garjan* trees, which were regarded as the main assets of this hill forest. But now the *Garjan* forest resource is not easily available. Interestingly enough even the bamboo and cane are not growing in the forest like before. The hill-stream have nearly dried up. As a result, they do not get enough water for

irrigation during dry season, which in effect causes decline in paddy production. The Chakmas think that by constructing small dams on the hill-streams, plenty of water can be preserved during monsoon, which could be used, in dry season for irrigation. Moreover, they will be able to do fish farming in the hill-stream round the year.

However, for the purpose of irrigation, the construction of small dam on the hill-stream will benefit only 4.10% Chakma people having cultivable land while the socio-economic benefit of the vast majority of the households, who are involved in non-farm sector activities remains a great concern. Hence, there is a need for the creation of avenues for alternative economic activities. Nevertheless, prior to the initiation of any economic developmental activities in the area, Chakams demand for the improvement of law and order and assurance of administrative neutrality to control robberies, kidnapping and harassment. They think that mere improvement in the standard of socio-economic life without ensuring law and order means to invite more trouble for them.

9. Community: Tripura

Tripura is one of the most distinct *adivasi* communities in Bangladesh. Tripura community is also known as Tipra and Tripuri. Rangamati Hill district has been the main habitat of Tripura in Bangladesh.⁶³ However, they also live in very scattered way in the Shitakunda and Mirarshorai area of Chittagong district. In Bangladesh, the total population of Tripura is 81014.⁶⁴ There is a lot of controversy about their origin⁶⁵. However, most of the social scientist identifies Tripura state of India as their original habitat.⁶⁶

In the study village Jungle Mahadevpur⁶⁷, 30 Tripura households with the total population of 180 were reported to live. Indeed, they are not the original inhabitants of this area. These households have been living in this village for last 30 years. Before settling here, they used to live in Fatikchhari and Rangamati area. In fact, they were forced to live in this area because, their homesteads were captured by the local Bangalis after the liberation war of 19 71.

Later on, the local landlord *Iskander Chowdhury* brought them here with a mutual understanding that Tripuras would work as labor in his fruit gardens and they would in turn enjoy not only the right to inhabit in his place but also get the share of the yield in 1:2 ratio.

9.1 Economic feature(s): Profession and Income

Socio-Ethno-Cultural features:

Tripura community is mainly divided into four clans: Puran, Nawttia, Osuie and Riang. The physical appearance of Tripura reveals their racial affinity with Mongoloid groups. They primarily speak in their own language 'Cockborok' which has both oral and written form. Religiously, Tripuras are Sanatani Hindu. Along with the traditional Hindu gods and goddesses, they adore stone and tree. Their main rituals are Durga, and kali puja.

However, Tripuras of Mahadevpur are hardly able to celebrate these rituals because of lack of financial capacity. Tripura households of Mahadevpur village are patriarchal and nuclear. However, interesting to note here is that both the daughters and sons enjoy equal right over father's property. They believe in endogamy and if any member of their community get

⁶³ Tripuras also live in Khaghrachari, Ramgar and kaptai area of CHT, Chakoria, Fatikchhari, Mirarsharai, Sitakuda of Chittagong, Chadhpur of Comilla and also in Moynamoti and Lalmai.

⁶⁴ Reza Shamsur Rahman, opcit, p-29

⁶⁵ For the details on the controversy see-Abdus Sattar, opcit-pp-281-284.

⁶⁶ Prof Pierre Bessaignet, opcit, p-107; also see Shova Tripura, "Tripura Jatir Itihas Among Shagaskriti," (in Bangla) Shangu, vol-6, no-1, p-31.

⁶⁷ Jungle Mahadevpur village is part of No 3 union of Sitakunda thana, Chittagong district.

All the Tripura households of Mahadevpur village are landless. Initially, wage labor was the only primary economic activity of Tripura. They used to work as labor in Chowdhury's fruit gardens. For this work, men used to earn Tk. 60 per day whereas women used to get only Tk. 40. However, this economic activity merely does not provide enough earning to meet the minimum basic household needs of the Tripura community because, this job is available only 5-6 months in a year. Moreover, the promise given by the landlord during their arrival in this area is no longer in place. The Tripuras do not get their share of yield from the fruit gardens. Unfortunately, they are not in a position to force the landlord to keep the

In academics, Tripuras of the surveyed area are frustratingly lagged behind and all of them are illiterate. Lack of educational infrastructure is primarily responsible for this academic backwardness. The nearest school is two km ago from the locality. Moreover, to reach the school one has to cross two hills that have straight slope. As a result, the Tripura parents do not want to send their children to school, as they fear that children might fall from the hill slope. Like academic condition, Tripuras are deprived of proper sanitation, drinking water and medical facilities. The locally owns only three community latrines that were set up by a NGO, YPSA. However, these latrines are insufficient to meet the need of 30 households and use jungle as latrine. For drinking water, they depend on hill stream.

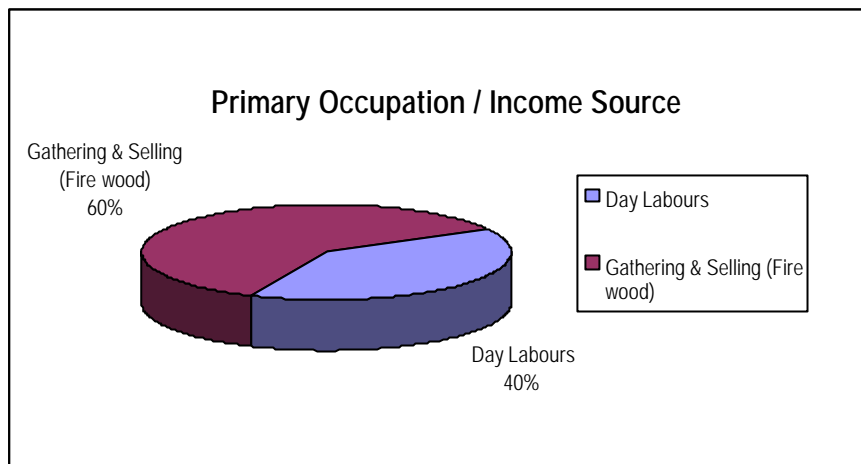
promise, as they are scared of losing their present residence owned by the landlord. Therefore, they collect firewood from the hill forests and sell out them in the village market as well as in the tea stalls in order to meet their minimum socio-economic needs.

By now, gathering and selling of firewood has become the primary economic activity of 60% Tripura households of the study village. The rest 40% households have taken up this activity as an additional source of earning while they consider wage labor as primary economic activity and therefore continue to work as labor in Chowdhury's fruit gardens. Besides these activities, Tripuras work as day labor in the crop field owned by Bangali neighbors and rear the livestock such as hen, duck, goat and pigs primarily to meet their own needs.

Moreover, they sometimes do fishing in the hill stream to meet their private needs. Despite the divergent occupation, the average monthly income of 100% Tripura households ranges from Tk. 1000 – Tk. 2000 only. As a result, they have to go through economic hardships. Nobody cares about his or her problem. For the whole year, each of the Tripura households receives only 2 and a half Kg. rice as an aid from the local union council. Although there is an offer for credit from YPSA, a local NGO, however, the interest rate is very high.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ 15 family have taken loan from YPSA and for 4000 taka they have to pay 1750 as interest money in 50 weeks.

Figure-9.1



9.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and Environment:

Although the sea is only three and a half Km away from the Tripura locality, the Tripuras have no access to coastal resources due to the absence of communication network. Moreover, the saline water can not penetrate into the area, as it is part of hill valley. Hence, coastal environment is totally absent in the Tripura locality.

However, they have access to hill forest resources. All the Tripura households earn additional and principal income by selling firewood collected from the hill forest. Moreover, they use bamboo and hay for the construction of the platform of their houses that they collect from the hill forest. According to the findings, 100 percent house-walls and roofs of the Tripura community are made of bamboo and hay respectively. Tripuras also depend on hill forest for firewood and water. Hill stream is then only source of water for them. The Tripuras of the area think that they can achieve socio-economic security only if the government provides them with *khas* land for settlement as well as agricultural activities. They would be very happy if the government undertakes *Ashrayan* project for them including the provision of vocational training on various trades both for Tripura men and women.

10. Community: Tanchangya

Many writers consider Tanchangya community as a branch of Chakma ethnic community. However, Tanchangyas consider themselves as a separate ethnic community. 'Tan' means summit of a hill and Tanchangya means those people inhabit on the summit of the hill.⁶⁹ Tanchangyas are also known as Doyangnak.⁷⁰

In Bangladesh, they primarily live in Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachhari hill district. However, few of them also reside in the adjacent plain district Chittagong. They arrived in Bangladesh around 1819 from erstwhile Arakan State (now in Myanmar).⁷¹ In Bangladesh, their total population is 21639.⁷² In Shamdatta para of Shukhbilash village⁷³ where survey was done 11 Tanchangya households live and their total population is 88.

10.1 Economic Feature(s): Profession and Income Level:

Majority Tanchangya households of Sukhbilash village are landless but all of them have adopted plough cultivation as their prime occupation.

In Sukhbilash only 45% Tanchangya households own land. Among them 36% have 5 to 10 *kani* and 9 % have more than 20 *kani* land. The rest 55% are landless (see figure-9.1).

Socio- Ethno cultural Features:

Ethnically Tanchangya has lot of similarities with the Chakmas. The root of Tanchanga language and Chakma language is same. Tanchangya language has both oral and written form. Burmese and Pali language has lot of influence on it.

Tanchangyas primarily speak in Tanchangya language. They also can speak in Bangla. Religiously they are Buddhist but the influence of Sanatani Hinduism is very much pronounced. Along with Buddhist rituals like Prabarana Puja, Modhu purnima, Ashari Purnima they perform, Ganga Puja, Ghost Puja, and Pradeep Puja. Bishu is their main social festival.

Tanchangya family and society is patriarchal. Son inherits father's property. 90% Tanchangya households in Shukhbilash are nuclear-family. Like all other indigenous community they advocate endogamy and discourage polygamy and divorce.

Academically Tanchangyas of Shukhbilash do not present a pleasant picture. At present, 1% Tanchangyas have post graduation degree, 1% graduation, 5% passed HSC and 2% SSC. 28% has been studied between I-VIII standard and the rest 64% of them are illiterate.

⁶⁹ Prof. Pierre Bessaingnet, opcit, p-107.

⁷⁰ In Myanmar Tanchangyas are known Doyangnak, see – Shri Birkumar Tanchangya, “Society and Culture: Past and present situation and proposals for future,” (in Bangla), Shangu, vol-5, no-1, 1997.

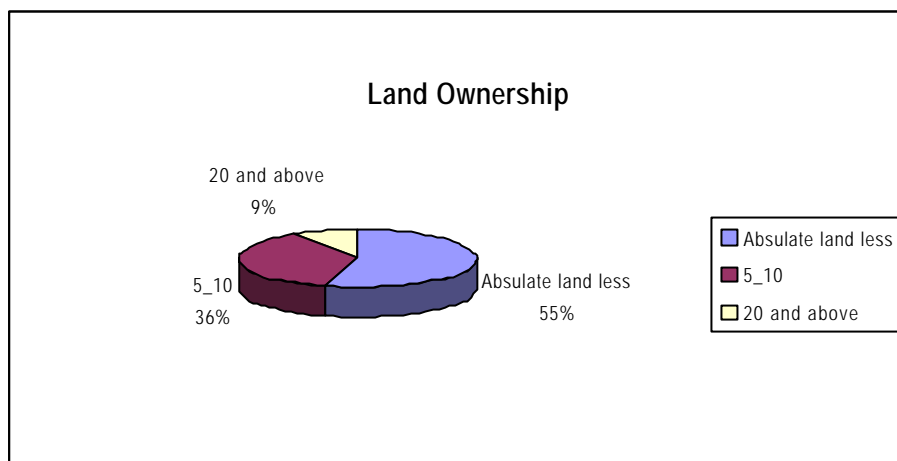
⁷¹ Amena Mohsin, opcit, p-16.

⁷² Reza Shamsur Rahman, opcit, p-29.

⁷³ Shukhbilash village is part of Padua union of Rangunia Thana of Chittagong district.

Whereas Tanchangya landholders primarily cultivate their own land, the landless do share cultivation (*Borga Chash*) in Bangali's land. The main crops of their plough cultivation are *Boro*, *Aman* and *Aush*. They cultivate paddy mostly twice in a year and sometimes grow sweet pumpkin and pepper. Share cultivators have to hand over 300 kg of yield (paddy) per *kani* land to the landowner.

Figure: 10.1



Source: Field Survey

Apart from plough cultivation most of the Tanchangya households do some additional activities to supplement their primary earning. Most of the households do small-scale *jhum* cultivation in the nearby hills. In *jhum* they cultivate ginger, banana, potatoes, *Gora Kochu*,⁷⁴ *Dhonay Pata* etc. Furthermore, Tanchangya households who have homestead land implant mango, coconut and lemon plant in their yard and landless some time work as day laborer. They also gather bamboo, hay, firewood, and wood to meet their household needs. In addition, Tanchangya females keep hen, duck and one and two pigs to meet their family needs and weave their own dresses. Females also make various types of baskets from bamboo for household use.

However, even after all of these economic activities not a single Tanchangya household on average earns more than 2000 *taka* per month. 100% Tanchangya households of Sukhbilash earn *taka* 1001-2000. As a result, Tanchangya households sometime take loan to run their family and economic activities. Those households who have land take loan primarily from Krishi bank and other take from local *Mahajans* and IDF.⁷⁵ If any person take 1000 *taka* loan from *Mahajans* in six months he has to pay 30 *Aari* (1 *Aari*=10 kg) paddy as interest rate.

⁷⁴ An esculant edible root

⁷⁵ IDF a NGO which has started its function in the area in the year 2000. Its only activity is to provide micro credit.

They accused that to improve their socio-economic condition government and NGOs have not done any thing. Their locality lacks proper development. Nearest road is 1 km far from their locality and electricity facility not yet available. Even NGOs have not done any development activities in the area however, one missionary (locally known as *Shanibary*) has established a church though not a single resident of the area is Christian.⁷⁶

10.2 Resource Use, Socio-Economic Development and Environment:

Sukbilash village though comes under the Coastal zone it lacks coastal environment. Hence, Tanchangyas of this area do not have access to any resource that can be identified as coastal resource. They use plain land and hill for plough and *jhum* cultivation respectively. They also use natural resources particularly forest resources to meet their household needs like house construction, furniture, fuel for cooking etc. 80% households have constructed their house-walls with mud and the rest 20 % have constructed their house-walls with bamboos collected from the forest. However for roof construction they mostly depend on *Chhan*(hay) collected from hill forest. Only 10% have constructed house-roof with tins and the rest are of *Chhan*.

Tanchangyas also use natural resources to make furniture. 10% households have wooden furniture like chair and table. They themselves make this furniture with the wood collected from hill forest. Their dependence on hill forest does not end here. 100% Tanchangya households use firewood collected from forest and use bamboo to make various types of Basket. Moreover, for irrigation and drinking water they mostly dependent on forest. For plough cultivation, they use hill-stream flows to irrigate the land and dig *Ushu* (shallow well) at the root of the hill to get clean water for drinking.

Thanchangyas of this area think that if government construct small dams on the hill steam they will have enough water available for irrigation. Eventually, it will increase their agricultural production and their socio-economic standard. For last two years, the water flow of the hill stream has been declining and effecting the agricultural production.

⁷⁶ Resident of the area donated a land to the missionary as they had promised to establish a school in area. However, after getting the land they established a Church in the area but not a school.

Concluding Remarks

Coastal Bangladesh is rich with both renewable and non-renewable natural resources. These resources include geological wealth, mangrove forest, land, beaches, coral reefs and water resources inclusive of both fresh and brackish water.

At present a large number of people in Bangladesh, particularly those residing in the coastal zone are dependent upon these coastal resources for their socio-economic development. They are involved in divergent occupations such as agriculture; livestock rearing; salt production, fishing; fish and crab farming; catching crab and *Koisha*; gathering and selling oyster, snail, coral; collecting wood, bamboo, cane, hay, *Golapata*, honey, wax etc from forests; producing dry fish; etc. However, this is not true for a section of indigenous peoples of the coastal zone. Indeed, only very few indigenous members are able to access or use coastal resources due to various reasons. Some of these reasons include the lack of access to land and water resources and law and order problem, environmental degradation etc.

Initially, indigenous communities living in the coastal zone possessed sufficient land to meet their socio-economic needs. But at present very few of them have enough land. Most of their land has been occupied illegally by the locally powerful who belong to majority community. As indigenous peoples lack proper education, they easily get exploited. Moreover, being the minority, they lack the courage to enforce their right on their land as the local administration favors the Bangali culprits over them.

The few households who still possess some landed property accused that their land is becoming a source of threat to their lives. As one resident of Kalachanpara in Patuakhali said, *"The declaration of Kuakata as the tourist spot has increased the price of the land of this area. Subsequently, it has increased the greed of the local anti-social elements for the land owned by ethnic minorities. As some of us of the majority community are providing moral support to them, now the Rakhaings of this area are not easily giving up their right over their land like before. But now, I am facing threat to my life from local anti-social elements. The situation is worsening so fast day-by-day that the indigenous peoples of this area are thinking of leaving Bangladesh. If you visit here after two or three years, possibly you will not find any indigenous household here."*

The indigenous peoples are not only losing their land but are also facing serious law and order problems which restrict their normal economic activities. For instance, in Chowfaldandi, majority of households traditionally depended upon fishing in the sea and still they have 60 fishing engine boats. But now most of them do not go for fishing as sea pirates rob their boats, take away the engine, net, fish etc. and captivate them for ransom. Now, most of the households of this area buy small shrimps from the Bangali fishermen, make '*nappy*' to sale in the local market as means of livelihood. Even they have to pay tolls to the Bangali miscreants to run their '*nappy*' making processes.

Besides law and order, the indigenous peoples are also facing environmental problems affecting their traditional economy. For instance, the Mahato community has been traditionally dependent upon paddy cultivation. But increased salinity owing to shrimp culture adjacent to their agricultural land has led to decline in paddy production. Moreover, the increased salinity and the growth of shrimp farming in the area have caused destruction to grazing lands and has consequently restricted their homestead economic activities like livestock rearing and poultry.

Apart from environmental and law and order problems, the indigenous peoples are also going through financial crisis as they have been forced by the circumstances to abandon their traditional weaving occupation. Once upon a time, weaving had been a major economic activity of the indigenous communities. However, by now, 90% of the households have nearly given up this profession as their products cannot compete with those available in the market which are comparatively cheaper.

Thus, the indigenous peoples, at present, are experiencing serious economic hardships as they fail to continue their traditional economy. Moreover, they are not in a position to compete with the majority community in terms of accessing services because, they lack required educational qualifications. They also can not run business as they lack capital and adequate protection from the law and order authorities.

Hence, in order to improve the socio-economic conditions of the indigenous communities of the coastal zone there is an urgent need for adopting a development policy targeted particularly to them. Besides following steps may be taken on priority basis,

- Establishing a land commission and other administrative bodies to deal with the problems faced by indigenous communities.
- Revival of indigenous peoples traditional weaving activity. This demands for government support in terms of :
 - I) technical and financial help to replace traditional hand loom with modern power loom;
 - II) training on modern designing and operation of modern power looms; and
 - III) Ensure adequate supply of raw materials to the indigenous peoples with subsidized price.
 - IV) Provide support to market their products in metropolitan cities and abroad.
- Providing vocational training and education to enhance the opportunities for alternative occupations like poultry, husbandry, tailoring, embroidery, textile technology etc.

- Initiative should be taken to foster education among the indigenous communities, particularly the higher education. The primary education should be in the mother tongue of the children attending the school.
- Access to natural resources must be ensured for the ethnic communities – through improvement of law and order situation, among others.
- Adequate constitutional provision should be made to safeguard their indigenous identities, so that they can continue to live with their ethno- cultural distinctions.

Appendixes

- *Appendix-A: List of the Adivasis who actively participated in the community discussion*
- *Appendix-B: List of the Literatures on ethnic communities*
- *Appendix-c: Questionnaires*

Appendix-A

(Name of the Persons Who Actively Participated in Community Discussion)

1. Community: Rakhaing

Vill: Hightopi, Chowdhury para, Chowfaldandi

Union: Ramu, Hnila, Chowfaldandi

Thana: Ramu, Teknaf, Cox's Bazar

Dist.: Cox's Bazar

Vill: Keranipara, Kalachanpara

Thana: Both in Kolapara

Union: Latachaplī, ALipur

Dist.: Patuakhali

Name(s)

- Aye Maung Talukder
- Mong Que Rakhaing
- Aung thoi Chha Rakhaing
- Hla Mong U Rakhaing
- Mong Kwa Rakhaing
- Mong Mong Rakhaing
- Mong Pru Ree Rakhaing
- Thoyai Mra Rakhaing
- Dr. Mani Rakhaing
- Jwa Hla U Rakhaing
- Khin Khin A Rakhaing
- Methen A Rakhaing
- Umay Rakhaing
- Cheng Cheng Wan Rakhaing
- Ukhing Wan Rakhaing
- Yeeya Chhen Rakhaing
- Useng May Rakhaing
- Usha Rakhaing
- Thoi Jwa Rakhaing

- Mong Wane Rakhaing
- Mong Hen Ching Rakhaing
- A Pru Hen Ching Rakhaing
- A Chha Chin Rakhaing
- Ucchen Mong Rakhaing
- Mong Jwa Chhan Rakhaing
- Ma Chian Ayan Rakhaing
- Hla Ma Rakhaing
- Aung Mau Rakhaing
- Mao Yen Rakhaing
- Mong Jwa Sing Rakhaing
- Mong Chen Hla Rakhaing
- U Ba Chong Rakhaing
- Emong Talukder Rakhaing

2. Community: Mahato

Vill: Hariharpur

Union: Bedkashi

Thana: Koyra

Dist: Khulna

Name (s):

- Aushwini Mahato
- Jagadish Mahato
- Motilal Mahato
- Shibli Mahato
- Bimala Mahato
- Jaleshwari Mahato
- Kanai Lal Mahato
- Horray Krishna Mahato
- Bidhanchandra Mahato

- Amarchandra Mahato
- Radhakanto Mahato
- Karuna Mahato
- RothiRani Mahato
- Jitandra Nath Mahato

3. Community: Munda:

Vill: Nalpara

Union:Koyra

Thana: Koyra

Dist: Khulna

Name(s):

- Durgapada Adibashi Mandal Munda
- Haripada Adibashi Mandal Munda
- Rama Prashad Mandal Munda
- Sherishkala Munda
- Mongli Dashi
- Parul Bala

4. Community: Pundra Khatrio

Vill: Reamothertala

Union:Sovna

Thana: Dumoria

Dist: Khulna

Name(s)

- Shri Krisnapada Mundal
- Parimal Mundal
- Paritosh Mundal
- Khagain Mundal
- Shushama Mundal
- Anamika Sardar

5. Community: Marma

Vill:Kurushia

Union: Padua

Dist: Chittagong

Name(s):

- Yuang Nu Pru Marma
- Nayang May Thui Marma
- Mong Thoyai Ching Talukdar
- Hla Yong Ching Marma
- Shui Pru Ma Marma
- Ala Thui Pru Marma
- Aung Krai Marma
- Pai Bownya Rhe Marma

6. Community: Khiyang

Vill:Ghongru

Union: Dhopachari

Thana:Chandanaish

Dist:Chittagong

Name(s):

- Ching Thoyai Pru Khiyang
- Chai Thaiyoo Khiyang
- Kawa Chhamong Khiyang
- Mong Hla Pru Khiyang
- Ching Thoying Khiyang
- Thoi Khui Khiyang
- Ching Chhao Khiyang
- Chai Thoyai Khiyang

- Khui Jo Pru Khiyang
- Khai Ma Khiyang
- Hla Bai Pru Khiyang

7. Community: Murang:

Vill: Prantik Lake

Union: Satkania

Thana: Satkania

Dist: Chittagong

Name(s):

- Pren Vi Murang
- Men Than Murang
- Menyang Murang
- Tanglai Murang
- Aung Lai Murang
- Aung Lai Murang
- Row Leng Murang
- Premwai Murang
- Lai Bow Murang
- Men Drong Murang

Meng Thawn Mro

8. Community: Chakma

Vill: Harikhola, Mocharkhola

Union: Howaikhong, Palongkhali

Thana: Teknaf, Ukhia

Dist: Cox's Bazar

Name(s):

- Pru Mau Tanchangya (Chakma)
- Kanchon Tanchangya (Chakma)
 - Mohanlal Chakma
 - Kamol Chakma
 - Shantimoy Chakma
 - Pathain aung Chakma

- Pru Mra Aung Chakma
 - Hla Po Chakma
- Jwa Khoyai Ching Chakma (Tanchangya)
- Padma Kumar Ching Chakma (Tanchangya)
 - Hla Pow Ching Chakma
 - Kindhan Chakma
 - Aung Sey Mong Chakma
 - Andon Chakma
 - Ma Jwa U Chakma
 - Narayan Chakma
 - Ma Nu Aung Chakma
 - Sun Du Aung Chakma
 - Mong Mra Ma Chakma
 - Khu Dee Aung Chakma
 - Mong Soi Aung Chakma

9. Community: Tripura:

Vill: Jungle Mahadevpur

Union: 3 no. Union

Thana: Sitakundu

Dist: Chittagong

Name(s):

- Bimol Tripura
- Badal Tripura
- Laxmipati Tripura
- Mongkuri Tripura
- Chandra Kumar Tripura
- Pushpamala Tripura
- Chintamoni Tripura
- Laxmiboti Tripura
- Premboti Tripura

10. Community: Tanchangya

Vill: Shukhbilas

Union: Padua

Thana: Rangunia

Dist: Chittagong

Name(s):

- SudhirBala Tanchangya
- Shukrapadi Tanchangya
- Chhotto Rani Tanchangya
- Paronmela Tanchangya
- Sonali Tanchangya
- Dayamoyee Tanchangya
- Laksmibati Tanchangya
- Dhanpati Tanchangya
- Somen Tanchangya
- Bikhram Tanchangya

Appendix: B

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Appendix-C

I. CHECKLIST FOR GROUP DISCUSSION

ON

Ethnic Communities in the Coastal Zone and Their Resource Use

1. Name of the Community
 :.....
2. Name of the Area
 :.....
3. Origin of the community : Migration from where why and when.
4. Mother Tongue : Name of the mother tongue.

Affinity with other languages

Ability to speak and write Bengali

5. Religion: Beliefs and religious rituals.
6. Art and culture : Social ceremonies.
7. Family : Structure of the family
Role of the household head
Role of women.
8. Pattern of leadership : Role of the community leader

Role of the clergy man

Role of the elected person.

9. Extents of integration with the dominant communities.
10. Extent of migration to urban life.
11. Situation of health status : Drinking water.

Sanitation Medical Facilities

12. Relationship with other communities: (conflicts and cooperation over land, marriage, social activities etc.)
Other indigenous communities
Bengali community
13. Participation in the political activities:
Local politics
National politics (Party base)
Issue related politics
14. Discrimination:
Social

Political

Administrative

Judicial

15. Conflicts and cooperation over celebrating:

Social rituals

Religious rituals

16. Position of women

Family

Community

Society

17. Women's income activities:

18. Legal position in respect of property inheritance:

19. Legal position in respect of separation, divorce and custodian of children:

20. Community homogeneity:

II. Community Questionnaire

On

Ethnic Communities in the Coastal Zone & Their Resource Use

1. Name of the community:
2. Total numbers of the Households in the village.....
3. Total number of indigenous households in the village.....
4. House-walls built of: (Specify number) —

Timber	.....
Bamboo	.....
Tin	.....
Bricks	.....
Clay	.....
Other (specify) .....	.....
5. Where from the community people collect material for constructing house-wall ? (Specify percentage)

Market	.....
Forest	.....
Own Garden	.....
Other sources (specify) .....	.....
6. House-roof made of : (Specify number)

Tin	.....
Tiles	.....
Hay	.....
Leafs (specify) .....	.....

7. Furniture use by community people made of : (Specify percentage)

Timber	.....
Bamboo	.....
Cane	.....
Jute Rope	.....
Other (specify) .....	.....

8. If furniture is not readymade, then materials for making furniture people get from :

Forest	.....
Market	.....
Own Garden	.....
Other (specify) .....	.....

9. Energy (fuel) use for cooking : (specify percentage)

Wood log	.....
Wood waste	.....
Natural Gas	.....
Kerosene	.....
leaf	.....
Other (specify) .....	.....

10. Total number of house that enjoy electricity facility

11. Land owning pattern:

Landless	.....
Small peasant	.....
Medium peasant	.....
Rich peasant	.....

12. Things you cultivate on Land : (Specify percentage)

Paddy	.....
Wheat	.....
Fruits	.....
Vegetables (Specify) .....	.....
Fish-farming (Specify).....	.....
Other (Specify) .....	.....

13. Types of trees you plant :

Flower	.....
Fruit	.....
Other (specify) .....	.....

14. Prime occupation : (specify percentage)

Cultivation → Shifting	Plough
Fishing	.....
Plantation	.....
Nursery	.....
Salt Making	.....
Hunting	.....
Timber business	.....
Trading	.....

Labor
 Weaving
 Fish Cultivation
 Household
 Other (specify)

15. Fish available in the pond, river and sea :

More than before (ten years)
 Less than before (ten years)
 Same

16. Varieties of fish available :

More than before(ten years)
 Less than before (ten years)
 Same

17.Types of plants available in the garden, forest and other area.

18. Plants available in the garden, Forest and other area :

More than before (ten years)
 Less than before (ten years)
 Same

19. Name those plants which are not growing as before :

20. Crops grown in your land :

More than before (ten years)
 Less than before (ten Years)
 Same

21. Types of fertilizer used in the land.

Natural fertilizer
 Chemical fertilizer

Others (specify)

21. Fertilizer needed for cultivation:

More than before (specify amount)

Less than before (specify amount)

Same

22. Earning in a month:

(specify percentage)

Below 1000Taka

1001 to 2000 Taka

2001 to 3000Taka

3001 to 4000 Taka

4001 and the above

Other (specify)

23. Usual working hours in a day :

.....hours

24 People work under Mahazan (Stockiest / Creditor/ Great Merchant)? (if yes specify percentage)

Yes

No

25. Relationship with your Mahazan (Stockist / Creditor/ Great Merchant)

Good

bad

very bad

26. What kind of development work can helpful to increase income?

.....

27. What kind of development is done by Govt. in your area?

a) No development activities

- aforestation
- road and bridge construction
- credit program
- school/ hospital
- Others (specify)

27. Development work done by government:

- Unsatisfactory
- Satisfactory
- Very Satisfactory

28. Types of development work needed from the government:

- Road construction
- Reforestation
- Plantation
- Dam construction

29. NGO activity in your place

- Yes No

30. Types of work done by NGOs :

.....

31. NGO activities are :

- Helpful (specify the area)
- Harmful (specify the area)
- Other (specify)

32. Food habit

33. Food you gather from: (specify percentage)

- Own Farm
- Own Land
- Fishing
- Through gathering
- Other (specify)

34. Medicine you use: (specify percentage)

- Herbal
- Other (specify)

35. Medicine you get from: (specify percentage)

- Market
- Govt. Hospital
- NGOs
- Forest

36. Literacy Status Studied up to: (specify percentage)

- Illerate**
- I to VIII/Go to school**
- SSC**
- HSC
- Graduation**
- Post-graduation
- Other (specify)-----