

ETHNOGRAPHY OF A COASTAL PEOPLE IN BANGLADESH

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সেখাপাড়া

Department of Sociology
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1996

DECLARATION

The material embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of any University of home and abroad.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my academic supervisor Dr. Anwarullah Chowdhury, Professor and founder Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka for his continuous and valuable suggestions, guidance and all kinds of assistance during my study period.

I am grateful to Dr. Syed Ali Naqi, Professor of Sociology, who gave me all kinds of co-operations as a co-supervisor of my thesis.

My deepest gratitude is paid to Dr. Motlubor Rahman, Former Executive Vice-chairman, Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council. My deep appreciation and regards to Dr. Andre Beteille, Professor of Sociology, University of Delhi for his valuable suggestions for this thesis. I am also grateful to Dr. P. K. Bhowmic, Professor of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, who gave me suggestions during my study tour in India for literature collection.

I must not forget my elder brother Late Abdul Ghani Biswas who earlier initiated me to alphabets during my childhood.

382523

My thanks go to local administrators, local people, elites who provided related information regarding my ethnographic research. I am also grateful to Mr. Aungtha Qu, secretary, Buddha Bihar Samity, Patuakhali. I acknowledge Mr. Tan Tun for his assistance during my field work.

I acknowledge Indian social anthropologists and related experts who gave me and provided me with ideas during my visit in India. I express my thanks to Dr. Mohammed Hossain Mondol ex D.G. Bangladesh Agricultural Research Institute for allowing me for doing Ph. D. degree in my own country.

My deepest gratitude to Mr. Mosharraf Hossain, Principal, Patuakhali Agricultural College for his co-operation, suggestions, ideas during my research.



I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my reverend teacher Professor Mohammad Afsaruddin and Professor Kamrul Ahsan, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka for giving me encouragement in conducting the study.

I am grateful to Dr. Nazrul Islam, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Dhaka for his co-operation. Also I am grateful to professor Dr. Shahed Hassan and M. Saifur Rashid, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka for his valuable suggestions.

I express my thanks to Dr. S.U. Chowdhury, Executive Chairman, Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council for selecting me in country Ph.D. Programme. I am grateful to Dr. Selina Ahsan, Principal Scientific officer, BARC for her cooperation.

My deepest appreciation to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for providing my scholarship and research grant.

I should remember Mr. Monirul Alom, chief executive of the system computers and Mr. Abdus Samad, Director, Nisha Computers Ltd. for giving me necessary computer support and typing the manuscript in time.

I remember my wife Mrs. Nurunnaher, my son Tanvir, Ryan and my daughter Promi for sacrificing their valuable time for my work.

Abdul Awwal Biswas

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

PROPOSITION

This is a study of an ethnic community known as Rakkhain living in a coastal village in southern Bangladesh. I have named this village as Belkata in which the Rakkhain under study is living and the village is located at the coast of Bay of Bengal. The focus of the study is to describe the different aspects of culture of the Rakkhain people living in Belkata. In other words, I have tried to reveal the ethnography of the Rakkhain in the present study.

The original home of Rakkhain was in Myanmar¹. They first came to Bangladesh about two hundred years ago and settled in Cox's Bazar and the adjoining areas. However one group of Rakkhain later migrated to

¹ The earlier name of Myanmar is Burma, which is situated at the south-eastern part of Bangladesh.



Patuakhali and settled in Taltali, Rangabali and Kalapara(Khepupara). The village under study belongs to Khepupara thana under Patuakhali district.

Bangladesh is situated at the head of the largest gulf, the Bay of Bengal and at the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. It is the largest deltaic plain in the world. The total area of the country is about 55,598 sq. miles. About 6% of it is occupied by major rivers and estuaries. The country is divided into 20 main physiographic units which can be broadly grouped into three areas, as hilly (12%), terraces (8%) and flood plain (80%).

The coastal region of Bangladesh is endowed with enormous natural resources of land, water, forestry and fisheries. It contains the largest delta, the largest tidal flat with mangrove forest; the deepest sediment basin and the largest deep sea fan in the world. A quarter of Bangladesh falls in this coastal region with 710 k.m. long coast line. This coastal region has tremendous development potential but at the same time this unique ecology is fragile and complex (CARDMA, 1988:3).

The coastal area of Bangladesh is on the one hand full of resources and potentials and on the other hand it is neglected and under -developed. In the most of the coastal area people grew only a single crop which was a surplus one, because the population was much lower than what is at present. This situation has been changing rapidly. At present, a part of it is surplus but the total area is deficit in food grains (CARDMA, 1988:3)

Bangladesh has several ethnic minority groups with distinct way of life. These ethnic minorities are scattered all over the country. Some of the ethnic communities live in the hilly areas of Peripheral zone of Bangladesh. Now there are about thirty such groups living in the country. But the census report (1984) showed only 24 such tribal groups (Table-1).

They have traditionally been concentrated in the hilly, coastal and northern part of the country. Also there are many ethnic groups in the Barind region, north eastern boarder, Chittagong, Bandorban and Patuakhali districts.

The following table shows the main tribes and their distribution in Bangladesh².

Table-1. Main Tribes and their Distribution.

| District (old) | Main Tribes | Population |
|---|---|----------------|
| Rajshahi, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Pabna and Kushtia | Santal, Oraon, Munda, Paharia, Rajbansi and Koch | 201,726 |
| Sylhet | Khasias, Meithei (Manipuri), Pathor and Tipra | 106,823 |
| Mymensing, Jamalpur and Tangail | Garo, Koch, Hojong | 82,771 |
| Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) | Marma, Chakma, Tanchingy, Sak, Shendu, Tipra, Mro, Khyang, Bawn (Banjogo and Pankho), Khomi and Lushai (Kuki) | 464,057 |
| Other District (Dhaka, Faridpur, Comilla, Barisal and Patuakhali) | - | 42,381 |
| | Total No. 24 | 897,828 |

Source: BBS, 1984.

²This is the official figure as mentioned in the BBS Census Report of 1984.

Scattered tribal settlements are also to be found in Cox's Bazar, Barguna and Patuakhali districts. A very traditional ethnic minority group of people are found in Barguna and Patuakhali district: known as Rakkhain. They are also widely known as coastal Rakkhain aboriginal. In this coastal area, plain natives are also found. Both ethnic minorities and plain natives are found living side by side in the same geographical territory of the coastal area of Bangladesh.

The present anthropological study has been undertaken to understand the ethnography of the ethnic community living in Belkata. The study will focus on their immigration and different aspects of their culture. It is, therefore, an ethnographic accounts of a coastal ethnic community. The present research may contribute in designing coastal development programmes.

OBJECTIVES

The present study aims at providing comprehensive understanding of socio-cultural and economic life of an ethnic community living in a village of Patuakhali district of Bangladesh. Thus the main objectives of the study is to prepare an ethnographic profile of a coastal ethnic community of Bangladesh; the Rakkhain. The present study, therefore, seeks to know ;

- the socio-demographic profile of Rakkhain ethnic community living in the coastal village;
- social and economic organization and their functions;
- the beliefs and rituals associated with their life and living.
- the life and living pattern of the coastal people under study;
- dynamics of the coastal family life, marital transaction, kinship pattern, household and family formation etc.
- the settlement history and their way of life as a whole.
- the power structure, patron-client relationships and local level government and Non-government organizations and peoples'

participation in local level decision making process and administrative activities.

SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Preparation of ethnography is a new approach to understand the living picture of a community. A very few ethnographic researches have been conducted in Bangladesh. Needless to mention here that Bangladesh is inhabited by many ethnic communities, traditional and religious groups. These groups are containing their own culture and values with some sorts of conflicts and cohesions. Both cultural integrity and diversity are found among themselves. Each and every ethnic community, have their own identities with different cultural elements, social and economic activities, religious beliefs and practices etc. Coastal village people (Rakkhain ethnic group under this study) has a distinct cultural and ethnic identity. From such an ethnographic study, future researchers, policy makers and development workers may get information useful to them. Considering the dearth of information about different cultural groups and sub-groups,,ethnic

minorities and religious communities; the present ethnographic study will of some use to the scholars and planners working in the same field. This may encourage others to undertake further studies on other ethnic communities as well as traditional people.

METHODOLOGY

Preparation of an ethnography of a cultural group certainly requires both qualitative and quantitative information. In preparing the ethnography of the targeted Rakkhain community, both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered following the different types of data collection techniques by using various tools and materials. For the purpose of present study, a multi method strategy was followed. Method of participant observation was blended with ethnographic facts. Ethnographic research method was followed in conducting the field work in the village. The author followed mainly participant-observation method by staying in the study area. Field work was conducted in the village Belkata for two years in a cyclic way. During the tenure of the fieldwork, I was a participant observer. During this period I

observed daily life of the Rakkhains, their family and social activities. Changing ecology, religious activities, year round agricultural practices and the way of their socio-cultural lives were under close observation during the period of my fieldwork. I attended and observed all the social, cultural and farming activities of the studied village. For better understanding, I also visited the neighboring villages.

In other words, I conducted intensive fieldwork in the village by being a participant observer. For deep understanding of the ethnic group living in the village, I established successful rapport by living with the Rakkhains under study. This helped me to have an insight about the total way of the life and living practices of the targeted community with many others ethnographic and contemporary socio-cultural events.

For this research purpose, I recorded the daily life of the coastal people and their various social activities using slide camera, audio-visual recorder and note books. For better projection many slide films were prepared containing socio-economic aspects of coastal people. During the field work, I

established very friendly relations with all classes of people. For this purpose, I had to move around the agricultural field, homestead land, residents and the sea shore to gather the necessary information.

I also consulted some research reports for the purpose of present study. I also gathered relevant information from CAB net work's literature, District Gazetteer, CIDA's socio-economic reports, SPARRSO's map, RRA reports and anthropological books and journals. Different discussion meetings with cross-section of Government officers, local elites, Rakkhain Matbors, Union Parishad Chairman were held during this long study period.

TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

Both primary and secondary nature of data were gathered for the purpose of present ethnographic study to provide both ethnographic and ethnological information regarding the Rakkhain ethnic community. Primary data of this study were mostly collected following the techniques of data collection.

- Participant Observation
- Informal interviewing and discussions.
- Memory Method.
- Life History Method.
- Audio-visual Recorder
- Slide Camera
- Diary/Note Books

Quantitative data of this study were collected using following techniques of data collection.

- Single Page interview schedule for conducting household census.
- Multi Pages semi-structured Interview Schedule.

STUDY AREA AND POPULATION

In the coastal area there are two types of people: Plain natives and tribal ethnic group (Rakkhain). For centuries they are living in same area of

coastal belt. Tribal people and non-tribal people live in different districts of coastal zone in Bangladesh. Specially for the research purpose one village of Patuakhali district has been selected as a typical. For generating ethnographic and socio-anthropological data, intensive field work was conducted in selected village. The selected village is Belkata which is situated on the bank of Bay of Bengal, under Kalapara Thana of Patuakhali district.

All the households of the Belkata village were selected for this study. The village contained 76 households at the time of my fieldwork.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data were primarily processed and analysed manually and sometimes by using computer. Quantitative data were interpreted and analysed by supplementing through other information gathered by participant observation, informal interviewing, group discussions etc.. Both the quantitative and qualitative data and information were gathered and

analysed using some important socio-cultural variables and parameters. In this regard, ethnomethodology was considered as one of the important method of data collection.

EXPERIENCE OF FIELD WORK

At the initial stage of my field work in the coastal village, I was rather a stranger to local people. They asked me many questions about my presence in this rural community. Some body suspected me as a Government agent or a donor agency man. Therefore, I had to face many problems in the field in the beginning and I had to maintain different types of relations with different types of people. Having both positive and negative reactions, I had to proceed with my work. The beginning was painful but ultimately I was able to establish rapport with the people under study and finally I got their all cooperations and support.

As a student of social anthropology, I had to stay in the coastal village under study in Patuakhali district. Before this research work, I was involved in a

socio-economic research work as a co-ordinator of CIDA's project in this coastal belt for three months. During that period, I stayed with the people occasionally for data collection. But this time I was instructed by my Ph.D. supervisors to live in the coastal village for a long time for the purpose of present study. I found it rather difficult to live there as it was a very backward area of Bangladesh in terms of communication and staying in such a remote village.

After the initial difficulties were over, I began to live there comfortably by making little adjustments here and there. People of this village are mostly illiterate. Still they appreciated my staying in their village. Accommodation was a big problem at the initial stage. For some days, I had to stay in a tribal Matbor's (leader) house. Later I lived in one of villager's house.

At the initial stage I could not take food and drinking water properly. I got saline test in water and food. During the fieldwork, I suffered physical troubles for salinity in the area. After few days, I was however, fully

habituated with coastal food and social customs. I used local dress like *lungi, gangi* and simple shirt during my stay in the village.

I had to faced many problems in communicating with local illiterate Rakkhains. At the initial stage, I could not understand their language and for this reason I had to take assistance from a Rakkhain literate person namely Tan Tung as interpreter. As a new comer in this area I had to suffer from insecurity while residing in a village near the Bay of Bengal. I knew about water upsurge, cyclone etc. Initially, I was little bit afraid but within a very short time I was able to regain the strength for this study facing all physical, social and cultural odds and obstacles.

The people of this area accepted me properly when sufficient rapport was established. I was able to adjust with them freely overcoming the problems. I had to take my food in Rakkhain houses where I was living. In this way, I gathered many new experiences about the people of this coastal region.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is hardly many ethnographic study on the coastal people of Bangladesh, whether tribal or non-tribal. Not even many ethnographic studies on rural people and ethnic communities have been conducted so far. However, a few systematic village studies have been conducted in the course of last three decades or so. These studies deal with different aspects of rural communities and some of these studies are partly or fully the ethnographies of Bangladesh. Some such ethnographic and village studies have been reviewed in the following section because these studies have some relevance to my present study.

The two major ethnographic studies on rural communities of Bangladesh are the studies of Bertocci (1979) and Chowdhury (1978). Both of them described the culture of people under study. Both the studies depicted at length the way of life of the rural communities of Bangladesh. However, the focus and emphasis of their studies were not the same.

Bertocci conducted his study in two villages of Comilla district and concluded that "absolute smallness in farm size should not obscure the importance of small differences in land ownership and associated economic activities associated with them as there reflects clear variations in class, status, life style and power". The relationship between land holding, status and class is a complex phenomenon. Bertocci's data confirmed and overall association of landownership with relatives social rank. He nevertheless considered that it was important to maintain a conceptual and empirical distinction between status and class. The villagers themselves discriminate between high status lineage, middle status lineage and low status lineage, however not all these families with high status titles are wealthy peasant household since within the same *bari* there can be considerable variations in land holding between the households. It is likely that there will be a continually changing balance of strength between *paribars in a bari* and perhaps between *baris* and families divide holdings amongst sons and the demographic balance of the nuclear family shifts. Bertocci has distinguish between the people having traditional high status and the people acquiring economic strength through education and marriage and thereby have

become politically important. From this he attributes a great deal of fluidity to the system in which different lineages rises to power and there they are not high status lineages but then acquired status by marrying into high status lineage (ibid: 27-37).

It will be very important to take up this analysis especially to contrast a situation which has been heavily involved in the new technology with an area which has been relatively untouched. The hypothesis here would be that the tendency for status (especially *sardary*) and landownership to coincide would increase and the extent of circular mobility decrease under conditions of new opportunities for increasing agricultural productivity which also provides greater scope for investment in non-agricultural processing plants. In other words, the hypothesis suggests that a stable rich peasant class will emerge under conditions which reduces the vulnerability of families in that class to the weakening process of fragmentation through inheritance as other non-agricultural source of income become available as a result of initial higher productivity of holdings. This hypothesis is in contrast to Bertocci's speculations, who does not seem to take account of

either the possibility for richer peasants to prey on the misfortunes of other by acquiring their land, or the role of the new technology in stimulating other forms of rural (but non-agricultural) economic activity like money lending itself which hitherto plays a prominent part in his analysis.

Chowdhury (1978:67) conducted intensive field work in the village Meherpur. He observed : “Meherpur is inhabited by two major religious groups, namely Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims of the village are stratified as high, low and scheduled castes. The social hierarchy among the Muslims of Meherpur does not follow the Hindu caste pattern. The hindu caste system in Meherpur is primarily based on the concept of rural purity and pollution sanctioned by Hindu religion. But the Muslims of the village are not stratified on the basis of the ritual purity and pollution. They are stratified mainly on the basis of traditional ownership and control of land, wealth, education and on the differences in the style of life.”

The basis of ranking among the Muslims in the rural areas is high and low status. The high status Muslims are known as *khandans* and low status

Muslims as *grihastas*. The *khandans* include all those who have the patronymics of *Kazi, Gazi, Bhuiya, Chowdhury* etc. These patronymics are hereditary and are used either before or after the names. The *grihastas* are directly engaged in agricultural work. A *grihasta* may be a land owner, who cultivates his own land. He may take lease of other's land and work on land for production. They do not have much formal education. Besides these, there are low status muslims such as *Jolas* (traditionally weavers) and *Baddis* (village eyesurgeons). It may be mentioned that some *Khandan* families do not own any land as they sold out their land in course of time but still they hold high status. Chowdhury (1978:70) further observed: "The *Khandan* are land owners of the village. They trace their *khandani* to the ownership and control of land from an early stage. In fact, they were the intermediary groups who used to collect land revenues even during the British rule. They were entitled to enjoy a portion of land revenue collected by them. The old status acquired through education and a particular style of life followed by them decide their position in the status hierarchy of Meherpur. A *khandan* is he who is long associated with ownership and

control of land and has at least some education and who can be distinguished from the *grihastas* and *kamlas* by a particular style of life.”

The *grihastas* are neither old landowners nor educated. They do not have any tradition of land ownership and land control. They have also not entered into school and colleges. The *grihastas* landowners are recent landowners. They purchased land when the *khandans* began to sell out their land in the recent past. They could not purchase *khandani* by purchasing land. By and large they are sharecroppers. Therefore, economic class and social status groups are almost identical and it is possible to establish certain correlation between the two.

Chowdhury (1978:71) also observed that there cannot be any marital relation between the *khandan* and *grihastas*. There is not a single case of intermarriage between a *khandan* and *grihastas* in the non history of Meherpur. Besides the lack of marital relations between the *khandans* and *grihastas*, there are a number of informal endogamous both among the *khandans* and *grihastas*.

In 1947 there had been a large scale of migration Hindus. Before there migration, they used to maintain the structural distance between the different castes. Srinivas (1966:15) has rightly observed that the elders of the dominant caste in a village were the watchdogs of a pluralistic culture and value system. Traditionally, they prevented the members of a caste from over the hereditary occupation of another caste, then maintained the structural distance between the different caste living with their jurisdiction.

Hindus of Meherpur can be broadly classified into three categories; namely, upper caste Hindus; the lower caste Hindus and the schedule caste Hindus. The divisions is hierchial, based on the concept on purity and pollution as sanctioned by Hindus religion. In this case, birth determines the caste position of an individuals in the Hindu society.

The lower caste Hindus of Meherpur are again divided into many caste sub-division on the basis of superiority and inferiority. Intermarriage between the castes is almost impossible in Meherpur.

Wood studied a village in Comilla district which he called Bondokgram (1976). Land holding by sizes and percentages in Bondokgram has been shown in Table-1. In his sample of 76 households, 14 (18.4 per cent) were landless, 18 (23.7 per cent) owned less than an acre (each), 25 (32.8 per cent) owned between 1 and 2.49 acres (each) and 19 households (25.1 per cent) owned above 2.5 acres each. This shows that land is concentrated in the "below 2.5 acres" category (ibid.:68). At the same time he finds a reduction of holdings in the '7.5+ acre' category.

Table-2: Landholding by sizes and percentages in Bondokgram.

| Acres | Land owned | | Effective landholding | |
|-----------|------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0 | 14 | 18.4 | 12 | 15.8 |
| 0.01-0.99 | 18 | 23.7 | 18 | 23.7 |
| 1.00-2.49 | 25 | 32.8 | 31 | 40.9 |
| 2.5+ | 19 | 25.1 | 15 | 19.6 |
| Total | 76 | 100.0 | 76 | 100.0 |

Source: Wood, 1976:68.

Two of the most important aspects of the economic life of the villagers as he mentioned were petty leasing and usury. Of the land-owning households, 43.5 per cent (ibid.:139) households mortgaged out their land. Wood found that class differentiation did take place in Comilla village but it was dominated by usurious capital. Money-lending and mortgage transactions played a major role in the village. He says that “The significance of these mortgages cannot be overstated in this minifundist context, since they are likely to be a much more important part of the class structure and power distribution story in this area than elsewhere. The cumulative impact of these mortgage transactions function to increase and stabilize the gap between the richer and poor peasants” (ibid.:139).

Besides accumulating land through mortgage transactions, the richer peasants families ('2.5 acre' category) diversify their economic activities into the sphere of exchange and professional employment (ibid.:143). Wood also shows that Government programmes are particularly strong in that areas but the benefits of the programmes are monopolized by the rich peasants. Poor peasants as a weaker economic class have little access to

these benefits. Wood suggest that there is no shifts towards capitalist relation of production in Bondokgram in spite of state policies in favour of the peasants as they prefer to diversify economic activities rather than reinvest in agriculture. However, he admits that class differentiation is fast taking place in Bondokgram.

Arens and Beurden studied a village in Kushtia district and named in Jhagrapur (19 80). They classified the agricultural population of the village into (a) poor peasants, (b) middle peasants, (c) rich peasants and (d) landlords (ibid.:82). The landlords and the rich peasants are the exploring class and the middle and poor peasants are the exploited class. The number and percentages of families according to their class position in Jhagrapur have been shown in Table-3 "Most poor peasants in Jhagrapur are forced to sell their labour. Some of them work twelve months a year as labourers, while others do it regularly or occasionally. Most labourers find employment within or close to their own village. Some of them are permanently employed by one and the sample patron. The number of migrant labourers in Jhagrapur is relatively small, yet their influx can upset

traditional employment patterns. The wage rate is calculated to be less than one seer of husked rice on an average. This is not sufficient to keep a labourer alive, let alone the family members who are dependent on him. The worsening of the condition of labourers has received an extra downward push after the 1971 War. Real wages in 1975 were about 40 per cent of what they were in 1969. It is improbable that the wage rate will recover quickly" (ibid.: 103-104).

About the sharecropping pattern, their findings are that "almost 40 per cent of all families in Jhagrapur are sharecropping some land. Relatively many of them can be found among the middle peasant families. For several reasons it is difficult for poor peasants, and especially for the poorest among them, to become sharecroppers (or *bargadars*). Several small peasants who sublet land to sharecroppers are forced to do so by circumstances. Most crop sharing agreements are made on the basis of the *Bhag* system. According to this, the land owners receive 50 per cent of the crop while there is only slightly more than 37½ per cent left for the actual tiller, as he has to pay for most of the raw materials. The fear of the sharecroppers of being evicted is

increasing” (ibid.: 110). The above accounts of Arens and Beurden reveal the nature of class exploitation in Jhagrapur are also prove that it is through tenancy and wage labour that the production is being organized there. The authors are of the opinion that the Gangni thana in which Jhagrapur is located is more traditional with more feudal traits. “Most rich landowners in the area are traditional and use the surplus of their sharecroppers and labourers for their personal wealth and status, and not for investing in agricultural innovations” (ibid.: 123). The landlord and large surplus peasants of Jhagrapur are no exception. Class differentiation is taking place in Jhagrapur but it is not so fast as in Bondokgram because the degree of modernization of agriculture is faster in Comilla than in Kushtia. The only landlord in Jhagrapur has no sunk tubewells and is thinking of purchasing tractors and thus he likely to introduce mechanization in agriculture. Arens and Beurden think that it is not possible to conclude what exactly is the main contradiction in that area and it has not been possible for them to characterize the mode of production by means of only one element. They think that one can talk of growth of rural capitalism in the context of the Comilla area but such a development is considerably slower in Gangni

thana. However, the germ of capitalistic development is present in Gangni thana. The conclusion of Arens and Beurden is therefore, that the remnants of feudal relations is still dominant in Kushtia (Gangni thana in particular) area but the germ of capitalistic growth is very much there as the landlords are slowly introducing mechanization in agriculture. In determining the enemies of the poor peasants in Jhagrapur and the surrounding, they think that it is still the feudal landlords and to fight them is part of the class struggle there.

Table-3: Number and percentage of families according to class position in Jhagrapur.

| Class | Number of families | % of all families |
|----------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Poor | 94 | 54.5 |
| Middle | 41 | 24.0 |
| Rich | 37 | 21.0 |
| Landlord | 1 | 0.5 |
| Total | 173 | 100.0 |

Source : Arens and Bewden, 1977:82

Rahman (1990) in his Ph.D thesis on “The Shandar-Beday community of Bangladesh” mentioned that the Shandar Beday is an ethnic group of rural Bangladesh and they maintain a very nomadic mode of life. They do not have any agricultural land. The Shandar Beday is a boat-dweller nomads. By profession, they are snake-charmers or Shapurias. They catch snake from forest. They exhibit snake in the market and also they are practicing *Baji* or *Majic* for their survival. They live in traditional boat and move with bohor (collectively) from one place to another place through river or canal in search of their livelihood. The Shandar Bedeys are endogamous and their families are patriarchal in nature. The Shandar women earn greater part of their family income. For that reason male part prefer more female member as second and third wife. Also the people are accepting Pon-protha (dowry) system in their own community.

Timm (1991) has written about the Adibasis of Bangladesh. Some Adibasis are living in different plain land areas. He showed that these Adibasis have their own traditions of their social and cultural life practices. Also Adibasis are different by ethnic identities, cultural traits, religious

practices and linguistic traditions. Traditionally Adibasi people live in the hilly and coastal belt of Bangladesh. They love to live in the natural and forest zones. Many of the Adibasis of Bangladesh are now settled in the plain land areas and surviving with agriculture.

Khaleque (1984) worked among the Garo tribes of Mymensingh district. Garos have migrated from hilly areas to the plain land. Garos believe in supernatural beings whom they call *Mite*. They think all *mites* are living in the jungle. *Tatara* is the supreme and most powerful *mite*. They also believe that there is a soul in every living creature, human being animal and tree. They believe that human body have two souls. The Garos have their own religion and culture. They observe post funeral ceremony by offering big feast. The perform dance and songs at the time of the feast.

Sattar (1971) described different tribes namely, Mughs, Kukis, Chakmas, Lushis, Murangs, Tangchangyas, Shendus, Bonjogis, Pankhos and Tipra. Mugh is also found in Patuakhali coast of Bangladesh. The name Mugh was given by the Bengalees. This tribal people have originally come

from the Arakan state. They speak Burmese language. The educated Mughls think that Mugh is an insulting term unfairly conferred by the Bengalees on them. Sattar highlighted in the “Sylvan Shadows” the cultural aspects of the tribes of Bangladesh. He was a civil servant and not a trained anthropologist. Nevertheless, we get useful information from his work.

Selina (1993) worked on Marma tribe of Bandarban district. She lived with this hilly tribal people for a long time. She gathered socio-cultural, religious and many other ethnographic information about this tribe. In the earlier period the Marma tribal people were nomadic in nature and they dependent only *jhum* (shifting cultivation) in the hilly zone. Marma people live in the *machang* type houses, where they provide accommodation for their family members. In the ceremony they perform traditional music with songs and dance. The Marma women are industrious and play important role in the economic activities with the men. The widow inherits all the property of her deceased husband. Parental properties are inherited by sons and daughter after the death of parents. The pregnant Marma women ritually believed in *rokka* (female ghost). During the time of

puberty attainment the young brother and sister do not sleep in the same house. At this time boys live in the dormitory. The Marma people worship *saitabi* (house goddess). The Marmas are Buddhist by religion. This ethnic group are most backward people of the eastern region of Bangladesh.

Mostafa (1992) wrote a book on the impact of Local Administration on the Rakkhains of Patuakhali district. He has mentioned that the Rakkhain people are deprived by the plain natives. He deals with the socio-economic and administrative aspects of the Rakkhain community of Barguna and Patuakhali districts. However, this was not an ethnographic study of the Rakkhain.

Justin (1990) worked on Nicobarese tribe of Andaman. The Nicobarese tribe is a declining tribe of Andaman of India. They live near sea-shore permanently. They are mongoloid stock. Most of them have been converted to christianity since 1945. They live in *pati* house, and also they use fishing trap *payuh* (paddle), coconut scraper, *canoe* (boat) etc. This tribal people use coconut leaves as clothes. The traditional food of the

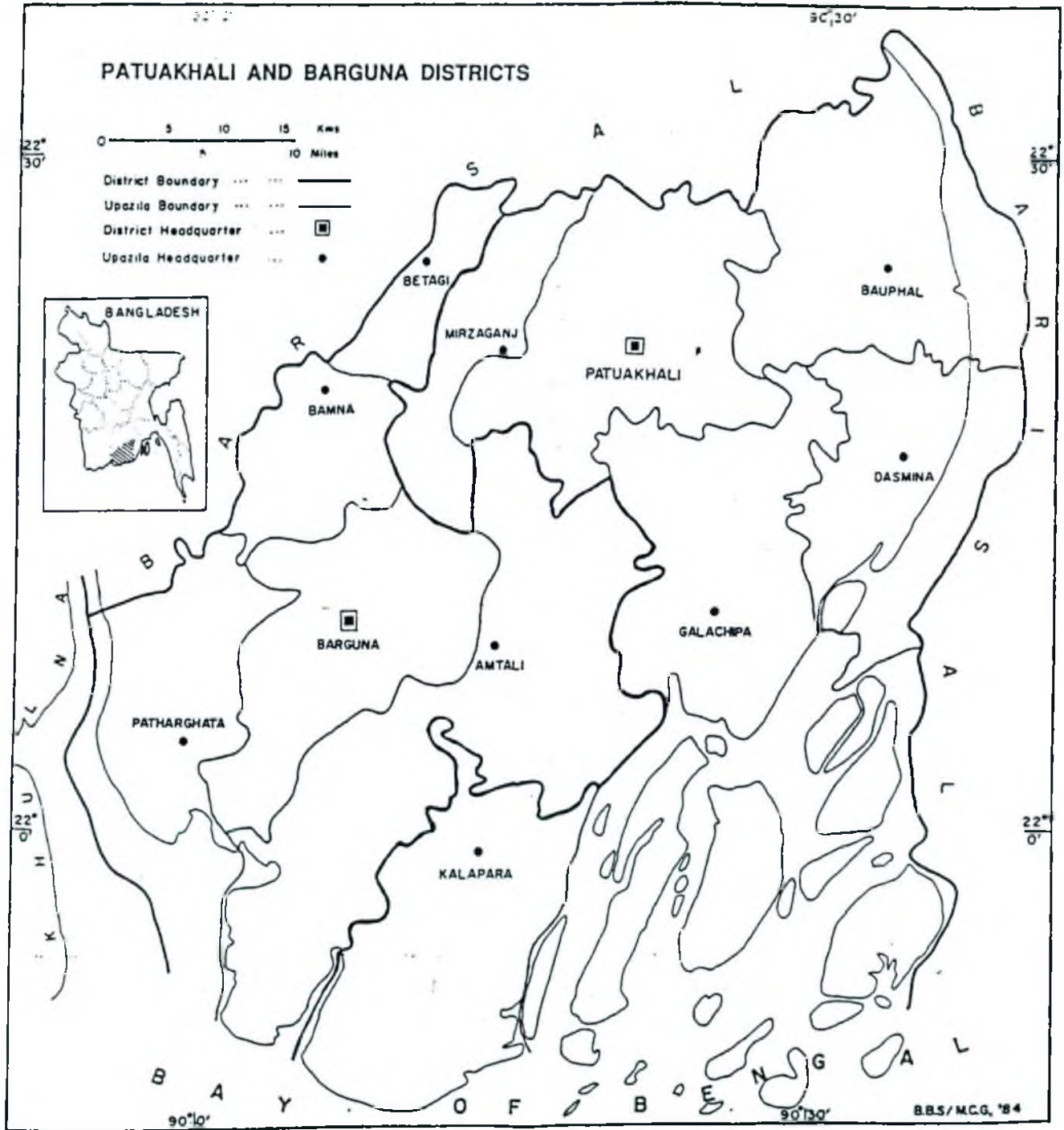
Nicobarese are banana, coconut and other wild fruits and tubers. They drink coconut water and local made liquor *handia* prepared from rice. They smoke loose tobacco rolled or wrapped in *paundums* leaf. Most of them have a habit of chewing betel leaf and betelnut and other ingredients like lime processed tobacco. The Nicobarese families are patrilineal. Their residence pattern is either patrilocal or matrilocal having no specific rule of residence practices. Among the Nicobarese there is a universal belief in evil spirits.

CHAPTER-II

THE REGIONAL BACKGROUND

PHYSICAL SETTING OF COASTAL AREA

Patuakhali region is situated in the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal. It is one of the most important riverine areas of Bangladesh. It has physical area of 1058 square kilometers. The area represents the southern extremity of the alluvial delta formed by the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers where these systems reach the Bay of Bengal and a continuous process land being formed and reformed by siltation and the wash of the tidal bore. This process results in the formation of new land, locally known as '*char lands*'. *Char lands* are frequently inundated with water during high tide. The whole area is extremely prone to cyclone and tidal surge resulting in frequent losses of human and animal lives, as well as crops. Fifty per cent of the land in the coastal area is vulnerable to floods of one kind or another. The soil



can be classified as silt loam and silty clay loam. Land elevation is low with variations probably not much more than two meters. Most of the land is inundated during the monsoon season.

The district of Patuakhali is an agricultural district. The area of the district was recorded as 977.81 square miles, excluding the reserve forests and water areas. There has been addition of accretion and new clear formations. On the basis of the Census Report of 1961, the area of Patuakhali district, including the water areas and new formations of char etc. stood at 1,572 square miles. The following table shows the figures of the area actually cultivated, area cultivable but not cultivated, as well the area which could not be brought under plough. These figures are taken from the Final Report on the Revisional survey and settlement operation.

Table-4: Agricultural Land Use Pattern of Patuakhali District.

| Patuakhali District | Total land area in Sq. miles | Area cultivated | | Area cultivable but not cultivated | | Area unculturable | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| | | Sq. miles | % | Sq. miles | % | Sq. miles | % |
| | 977.81 | 813.56 | 83 | 77.38 | 8 | 87.26 | 9 |

Source: District Gazetteers: 1982.

According to the report of 1971-72, the percentage of the population depending directly on agriculture for their livelihood was 80 per cent. The ten main agricultural crops of the district, in order of importance are aman, aus, boro, khesari, mug, musuri, gram, till, mustared and sugarcane. The fruit crops, of importance, are banana and cocoanut.

Moderate and intermittent rains are needed from February to April for the ploughing of rice and jute but excessive rains in February and March damage mustared and other winter (*rabi*) crops which are then in seed. Winter paddy is broadcast in April and May, and at that time heavy precipitation is necessary. In a successful year the monsoons should begin in June and till

September, which frequent intervals of fine weather at the beginning to allow weeding operations and to enable rice seedlings to keep their heads about water. Ideal weather in July and August is an alteration of dry and rainy days, deficient fall in these months is fatal to the aus crop. Showers in October are very beneficial to the aman paddy crop as it help to swell out the grain. September and October rains are useful to the cultivator for preparing high lands for rabi crops, which also need rains when they flower in December.

The soil of the district is every where suitable for the growth of winter rice, although it varies in the degree of suitability. In the Meghna estuary the soil is sandy loam, and clay is only found in depressions. The soil gives good crops although not so heavy as in the north and centre of the district. So the best crops are obtained in the interior of the mainland and particularly in Patuakhali and Bauphal thanas where the level is lower and the soil is stiff clay.

GEOPHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COASTAL AREA

The District of Patuakhali is located 21 degree 75 inches and 22 degree 62 inches north latitudes and between 89 degree 90 inches and 90 degree 66 inches east longitudes. Geological, topological and climatological conditions have made the soil of the area fertile. The soil of the area mainly comprises salt and sand. No stone or gravel is to be found in any part of the area. The percentage of sand near the sea shore is much higher than in the interior.

The District stands near the Bay of Bengal and 11 feet above the mean sea level. For protecting coastal villages, in remote peninsulas there are many polders in the southern part of the District. Inside the polder, farmers cultivate their lands by controlling flood environments. The polder also protects villages from tidal bore.

CLIMATE

The climate of the area is moderate. The wind blows from the Bay of Bengal most of the time during the year. The maximum temperature is observed in the month of May when it records as high as 34.50 centigrade and the minimum temperature in the month of January is 14.80 centigrade, But due to coastal wind of the Bay of Bengal the winter season appears only a few days. The summer begins from the end of February and continues till mid October. Almost all the time during the year weather remains pleasant. The maximum rainfall as recorded in the month of June is 606 mm and no rainfall recorded in November-December. The humidity recorded in August is 97 percent which is the average maximum and the average minimum is 64 percent in the month of March.

CYCLONE AND FLOODS

Tropical cyclones are the frequent visitors to this coastal area. As many as 35 damaging cyclones had destroyed physical infrastructure, heavy human and animal casualties. The people learned how to live with natural disaster.

Coastal areas are affected by tropical cyclones. As many as 35 damaging cyclones were reported to occur in the coastal areas of Bangladesh in the period between 1868 and 1985 (Hoque, 1991). The loss distribution of 10 cyclones have been shown in (Table-5).

Month of May and October are the most cyclone prone month in a year, although cyclones have occurred from March through June and from September through December. It has been found that the Districts of Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Patuakhali are the most cyclone prone areas in the coastal belt. In 1876 Bakerganj was severely hit by cyclone and flood. The parts of Patuakhali and Bakerganj went under up to 3 to 5 meter inundation above the normal tide level. Storm surge in the sixties have been noted to be same 3 to 6 meter in height. The cyclonic storm could inundate lands, or overtop embankment up to elevations of 9 to 17.5 meter if surge occurs at the time of high tides.

Table-5: Death Toll in Cyclones in whole Coastal Belt.

| Year | Death |
|------|----------|
| 1828 | 40,000 |
| 1876 | 100,000 |
| 1897 | 1,75,000 |
| 1960 | 5,149 |
| 1961 | 11,468 |
| 1963 | 11,520 |
| 1965 | 19,279 |
| 1970 | 500,00 |
| 1985 | 11,069 |
| 1991 | 1,38,000 |

Source : UNCFRD, Ahamad, 1991.

The people here live with unexpected flood. During the month of June October occasionally high tide submerges the agricultural and homestead lands. Also flood damage crops, village roads and normal social life is thus greatly disturbed. This flood is not however a permanent feature; because after ten to twelve hours flood water flash out in the near Bay of Bengal by local rivers. It is the normal characteristics of local rivers in the area to contain high tide and low tide twice a day all the months in the year. High

tide and low tide stay six hours in a day. In the rainy season water flow rises up to ten to twelve feet during *Amabasia* (full dark night) and *Purnima* (full moon night). Big rivers which connect from upper to the Bay of Bengal are Pyra, Lohalia, Andermanik.

FLORA AND FAUNA

The coastal belt has a tradition for flora. Once this area was covered by *Sundarban*. The people cutt the trees and destroyed the natural forest and converted forest land into agricultural land. So *Sundari*(mangrove) trees are not widely available now-a-days while other trees are grown by the people. Mangrove trees grow naturally in the marshy land and bank of the *char* lands. Some trees are grown by the people in their homestead land and beside the rural roads. The different trees at present found in the area are Gab (*Diospyros embryopetris*). Keora (*Suneatia Spetaca*), Bairi (*Zizyphus jujiba*), Haritaki (*Terminalia Chebula*) etc.

Normally different patches of high ground are densely covered with reserve forest. Important fruits are Jackfruit (*artocarpus heterophyllus*), Banana (*Musa coveedishi*), Mango (*Mangitira indica*), Lemon (*citrus limon*), Tamarind (*Tamarindu indica*), Litchi (*Nephellim litchi*), Kadam (*Anthocephalus Chinensis*) etc.

The marshes are covered by floating grasses and weeds. Sandy river banks are covered by reeds known as (Hogla pata). Farmers are using hogla pata for roofs and for making packages. Golpata (a kind of long leaf) is also very important for house roofing.

The main agricultural products of the area are paddy (*Orizasativa*), tobacco (*nicotine tabacum*), mustard (*brassica sp*), pulses (*Legumuniacca*), ginger (*Zinzibir Officianale*), turmeric (*Curcuma aromaica*), taro (*Colocasla antiquorum*), beans (*Polichos lablab*), potato (*Solarum tubersosum*), brinjal (*Solamum melongena*), bottle gourd (*Lageneria siceraria*), nozella (*Hibiscus sabdarefa*) etc.

Wild animals are found in the reserve forests. Leopards are available in the jungles and islands. Leopards are found in large number all over the district. The wild monkey, fox, wild cat are visible in the area. Domestic animals found in the area are buffalo, ram, goat. (District Gazetteers, 1982.)etc.

Among the birds, snipes, ducks and geese are found in the rivers. jungle fowls, cuckoo, king fisher, lark swallow are some of the common birds of the district. Once in the crocodiles and sharks were found in the river, but presently these species are extinct. *Guisap* (Iguana) python, cobra and variety of poisonous snakes are found all over the district.

Marine fish or salt fish (*bhetki, hilsa, bhoal, rup chanda, lotkaa, poma, gagra, bagni*) are found in the region. Fresh water fish (*katla, pangas, chital, rita, tapashi, mrigal*) are also available. Inland fish of swamp fishes are (*kai, magur, singi, gagal and shawl*) etc.

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF COASTAL AREA

The origin of plain natives are Austro-Asiatic or Austric race. According to Herbert Risley “Bangladeshi people are from Dravidian and Mongolian mixing race. The original inhabitants of this area like most of the people of the other parts of Bangladesh were the Austric” (Risley: District Gazetteers, 1982).

In the subsequent periods other groups of people migrated to Bangladesh. Among these there were people who spoke the Dravidian and Mongolian Language. But it is believed that they were not Dravidians or mongolians by origin. Another group of people who settled in Bengal are called Homo-Alpines (or the people Alpine and Pamirs). These settlers were the forefathers of the Brahmins and kayasthas of the Bengali Hindu society. They spoke the aryan language but they were not Vedic Aryans by race. Anthropologists believe that the head-structure of the Bengali Brahmins is fundamentally different from the head-structure of the Brahmins of northern India. (District Gazetteers, 1982).

COMMUNICATION

In Patuakhali water way is the main mode of communication. People communicate from one place to another place by country boat, motor launch, trawler and mechanized boat. Mini local boats are the main mode of transport. To communicate remote peninsulas are used big motor launch. For communication purpose from thana headquarters to villages people use small local boats like *taburia* boats, mini engine boats, *tintakta* boat etc.

People also use ghashi boat, which is a slow moving craft generally 50 to 60 feet long and 12 feet wide. This boat is generally used for ceremonial purpose. Another craft which is locally known bachari boat 60 to 70 feet long and 4 to 5 feet broad is found. This is a *bais* (racing) boat and is manned by 80 to 100 oars.

Golernao is 20 to 25 feet long and 10 to 12 feet broad, this boat is used for carrying *Golpata* from *Sundarban*. *Taburia* is a passenger carrying boat.

This is the most popular mode of transport. This boat is found every part of the area. This boat is driven by *Malla* (oar).

For carrying paddy, betel-nuts, coconuts *kathami* boats are used all over the area. Businessmen use this boat for carrying goods to different *hats* and *bazars*. Rich people and Government Officers use pinish boat. Locally this boat is know as house boat (District Gazetters, 1982).

Farmers use *donga* boat, this boat is 9 to 12 feet long, 4 to 5 feet broad. Farmers use Donga for carrying paddy, grass, fire wood from different areas. Once upon a time people used only *goina* (long boat) for coming from remote islands to district headquarters. Now this passenger carrying boats are not available in this area.

Highways, rural agricultural roads and feeder roads are the next means of communication in Patuakhali district. Of the total road system 121.26 km are paved, 111.9 km are HB and 1864.38 Km are *kutchra* roads. There is neither rail road nor air transport in the district. But Government has newly constructed an agricultural air port. Sometimes high officials move this area by small air craft.

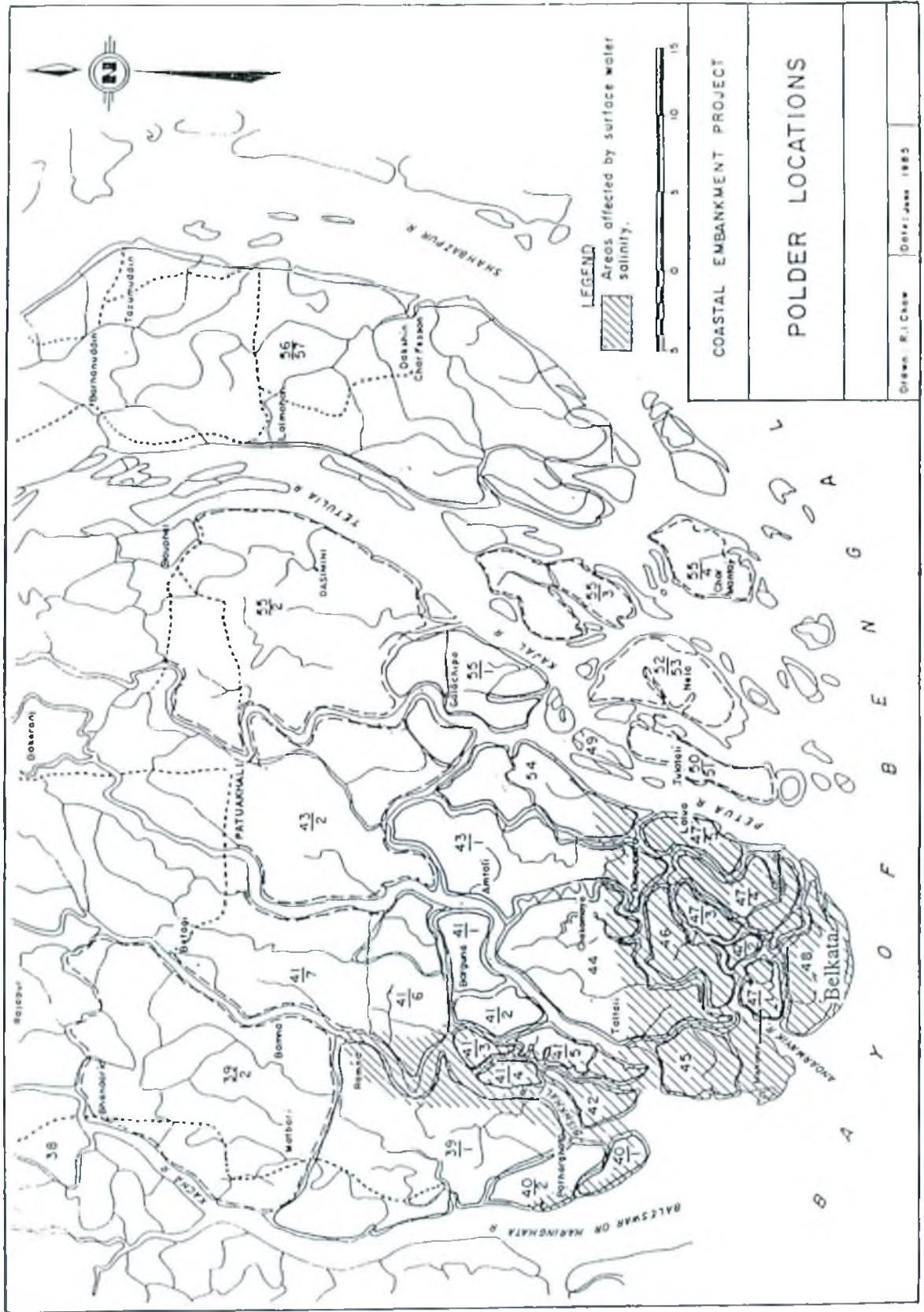
CHAPTER-III

ABOUT THE VILLAGE BELKATA

THE VILLAGE AND IT'S POPULATION

As mentioned earlier, I have named the village under study as Belkata. It is a tribal village. It belongs to No-7 Latachapli Union of Kalapara Thana in the district of Patuakhali. This village is situated near the Bay of Bengal. Belkata is a traditional coastal village. It is situated about 96 km from Patuakhali town. Waterways are the main means of communication to and from Patuakhali. It is connected with Patuakhali by newly constructed high way. A number of motor launch ply from Patuakhali to Belkata every day. It is the last stoppage on the Patuakhali- Mohipur launch route and it takes about 10 hours to reach Belkata from Patuakhali. The launch runs through the rivers Lohalia, Agunmukha and Andarmanik rivers and finally reach to the near polder-48¹ of Latachapli Union

¹ Polder-48 is a earthen made embankment, which controls sea waves, sluice gate water and unexpected flood. It protects people from sea wave and flood water.



| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| COASTAL EMBANKMENT PROJECT | |
| POLDER LOCATIONS | |
| Drawn: R. I. Cass | Date: June 1985 |

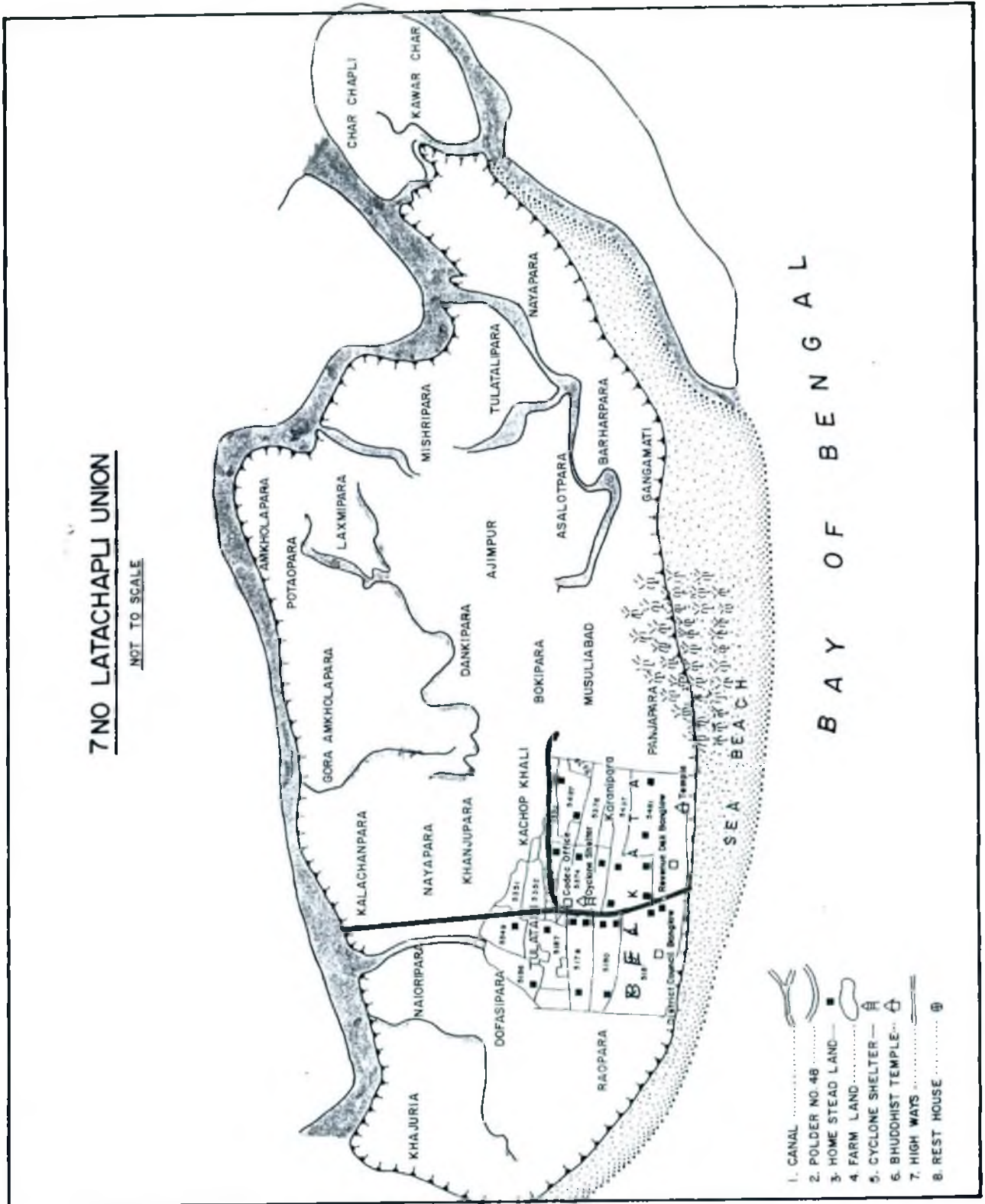
crossing the Mohipur canal. This village is near to Andarmanik estuary. There is a small village market near the Belkata and Mohipur high way. This village is bounded on the north by Kassap Khali canal, on the east Panjapara, on the west Raopara. To the south of Belkata, there is a big sandy sea beach.

Country boats of various sizes and shapes can be seen in the small canal. *Tintakta* (small wooden boat) are then the only means of water communication. During the rainy season, the canal and its surroundings are inundated by water. In this season, sea water overflows and sea waves engulf the sea beach.

This village is connected with Belkata-Mohipur highway. It takes only one hour to reach Belkata from Mohipur by foot. There are a number of narrow roads run through the village. But these become completely muddy during the rainy season. There is only one main road from Belkata to Mohipur Bazar which was constructed by Road and Highways Department before 10 years. After the partition of 1947, many Muslim families were

7 NO LATACHAPLI UNION

NOT TO SCALE



BAY OF BENGAL

immigrated to its surrounding villages for livelihood. It has already been mentioned earlier that the village Belkata belonging to the Latachapl Union is located at the southern part. It became prominent because once it was largely covered by mangrove trees. After the settlement of Rakkhain in this village, people of the surrounding areas used to come here for agricultural works. There are small market, post office, primary school, temple, cyclone shelter and govt. rest house in the village. On the top of the cyclone shelter, there is a signal light for sea going vessels. In the Rakkhain temple, there is a *Thakur* (Monk) who brings destitute children for the Kiang (temple) based elementary Rakkhain's education. Children also go to the nearest free primary school for general elementary education. The Rakkhain peoples are 99 per cent literate in their own Rakkhain language. But the literacy rate is about 27 per cent so far as their learning of Bengali language (alphabet) is concerned. Local farmers are now facing different problems in their community. As modern technology has not gone there. Agriculture is still very traditional and yet to be modernized.

Some Rakkhains have chosen diversified professions like fishing, small trade and fish processing. People use indigenous agricultural tools for their farming. They have their own rituals and culture which is different from other tribal community. For few years, Rakkhains since last have not been getting adequate yield from agricultural land. Sea water cannot intrusion frequently in the internal canals of the village. Sometimes heavy rainfall submerged the agricultural land. Farmers cannot properly irrigate their land due to improper polder management, mostly farmers depend on the rain water for growing crops. Rakkhain people who live in the village, they have immigrated from Arakans of Myanmar in the year 1784. They speak Arakanese language but they claim this language is their own language. In this village Rakkhain community people have their own kinship network. A man who is senior, intelligent, rich will be the *Matbor* (*leader*) of the *para*. Family pattern is mostly patriarchal. They have same cultural values, norms. Previously they used Rakkhain language in their own community but presently they learn Bengali to establish better communication with plain natives.

Table-6 : The Population and Households of Belkata Village.

| No. of Households | Population | | Percentage | Average family size |
|-------------------|------------|--------|------------|---------------------|
| | Sex | Number | | |
| 76 | Male | 183 | 53.5 | 4.5 % |
| | Female | 159 | 46.5 | |
| | Total | 342 | 100 | |

Source : Fieldwork in Belkata 1994-95.

There are 342 Rakkhain population with 76 households in the village Belkata. The average size of household is 4.5 per cent. Of the total population; 183 are male and 159 are female. 99 per cent of the Rakkhain people can read, write and speak in Rakkhain language while only 27.3 per cent of them can read, write and speak in Bengali. There is no Rakkhain who has no college or university degree. In Belkata the household is a residential and domestic unit composed of 3 and 4 or more persons living under the same roof and eating food cooked in a single kitchen.

The people of all neighbouring villages come to Belkata village market for buying food and other commodities and to sell their surplus products. Many of them are daily visitors of this small market. During the Rakkhain religious festivals, a large number of people from surrounding areas come to Belkata to observe the festivals and to take sea bath. A good number of Muslims and Hindus from southern areas join the Rakkhains to observe *Maghi Purnima*, holy bath etc.

Once Belkata was the home of landlord Rakkhain *Zamindars*. The inhabitants of this village did not pay revenue to the Government in the earlier stage of their settlement. Rakkhain people are living in their own village with their own traditional culture and heritage. The Rakkhain people work in the agricultural field and some of them catch sea fishes.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the dominant element in the economy of the Belkata village. The village has large agricultural fields near the settlement. In this

agricultural land they produce aus and aman (varieties of paddy). Broadcast Aman is sown in the village in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) after the land is ploughed and harrowed. After the seeds have germinated a ladder is dragged over the field in order to level the ground. When the plants are four or five inches high the soil is loosened with *kachi* (rake). Then, only weeding is required to be done. This is an operation which is often omitted as the cultivators cannot always afford that much labor. This results in a poor yield.

The village also produces pulses, oil seeds, potatoes and some other vegetables during winter. These are called rabi crops and rabi vegetables. These pulses and vegetables are grown after the aman harvesting is over. The cultivators start cultivating rabi crops in the month of *Agrahayan* (November-December) and continue up to *Falgun* (February-March). By that time the monsoon starts and the cultivators must prepare the land for sowing rice. Thus period of cultivation of rabi crops and vegetables is between December and April.

Besides agriculture, fishing is another very important economic activity in the village. It is the only sources of livelihood for 17 fishermen households of the Belkata village.

Only six fishermen households have small agricultural holdings which they cultivate by hired labourers because they themselves are not well acquainted with agricultural works. All most all of them have nets, fishing tools, fishing boats to catch fish. There are seven households whose members own neither nets nor boats, but they work with other fishermen on daily basis.

The best time for fishing starts in October to February when the sea water begins to recede. Fish is caught good qualities till March. From April to September is the dull period for the fishermen because the water rises so high at that time that it becomes very difficult for them to catch fish. The fishermen's hard labor cannot yield good returns at this time. The fishermen families then take one meal a day, sometimes even one meal in

two days. Some members of fishermen families even work on agricultural land for livelihood during this time.

There are eleven households in Belkata who are engaged in small trade and business. All of them have shops in Belkata small bazar and Mohipur bazar. The shops are mostly grocery and medicine shops in the market.

It should be mentioned twenty eight households are landowners and some of their main income comes from land. Each of these households engage some of its members to look after its cultivable land. Some of them are wealthy land owners and four of them are the biggest landowners in Belkata villages. There are thirteen households whose heads are doing salaried jobs in Kalapara High schools, local Union Parishad, NGOs and other offices.

Table-7: Population of Belkata by Principal Occupation.

| Occupation | Number of Households | Percentage |
|-------------|----------------------|------------|
| Agriculture | 28 | 36.84 |
| Fishing | 17 | 22.36 |
| Small trade | 11 | 14.47 |
| Service | 13 | 17.10 |
| Others | 7 | 9.21 |
| Total | 76 | 100 |

Source: Field Work in Belkata 1994-95.

The Rakkhain land owners have gradually lost their lands. Their main income used to come from the land. After losing the *mulluk* (area) they faced an economic set-back. One powerful villager of the neighbouring village occupied some of the agricultural lands of the Rakkhain by force.

Table-8: Land Distribution in Belkata village.

| Land Distribution in Belkata village | | Number of Household | Percentage |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------|
| Landless Farmer | Landless | 24 | 31.58 |
| Marginal Farmer | 0 - 1 acre | 10 | 13.16 |
| Small Farmer | 1.1 - 2 acre | 22 | 28.95 |
| Middle Farmer | 2.1 - 7 acre | 14 | 18.42 |
| Large Farmer | 7.1 - above | 6 | 7.89 |
| Total | -- | 76 | 100 |

Source: Field Work in Belkata 1994-95.

From the above mentioned table it appears that in the village Belkata, landless, marginal and small farmers constitute about 74% of the total households. Among these three categories of households, landless are again the dominant. On the other hand, medium and large household constitute only 20% of the total households. The number of large household is only 6, while the medium is 14.

Specially the Rakkhain people use aung tua (deep ditch) water for drinking and bathing. The social life of the villagers are traditional. Social

life is influenced by the nearest sea. This village has a special character that every where sandy soil is available. In the village agricultural land is sandy by it's soil character. High land of the village is used for settlement. Medium and low lands are used for agriculture. Mini canal and marshy lands are used for fishing. Also there is a big coconut garden in the village. This coconut garden has increased the natural beauties of the Belkata sea beach. A small part of the southern portion of the coconut garden has eroded by the sea wave. I heard from local people that there was a big air port in the village. During second world war that air port used by the British soldiers. This air port has eroded by the sea wave.

CHANGING ECOLOGY

This Rakkhain village was famous for its tropical mangrove forest. But the members of this(Rakkhain) community consumed the forest resources for house making and fire wood. It brought environmental disaster when the plain natives began to destroy the mangrove forest for their own consumption. As a result this village is proceeding towards deforestation.

Table-9B: Human Intervention and Losses of Genetic Resources at Belkata Village.

| Name of the Genetic Resources and Present Position with Percentage (%) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| Birds | | | Trees | | | Herbs | | | Bush | | |
| Domi- nant | Enda- nger | Extin- ct | Domi- nant | Enda- nger | Extin- ct | Domi- nant | Enda- nger | Extin- ct | Domi- nant | Enda- nger | Extinct |
| 80% | 40% | 30% | 80% | 40% | 40% | 40% | 40% | 30% | 30% | 30% | 40% |

Source: Fieldwork in Belkata 1994-1995

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT

Earlier Rakkhain people used to travel on foot to short distance. This area was surrounded by river and small canals. Therefore, people had to move by boats in the canal and in river. They also used long boat for going to nearest islands. Sometimes they faced crocodile attack. For that reason they carried weapon in the boat. At present, Rakkhain people use trawler, small country boat, motor launch etc. Recently Belkata's Rakkhains are using local buses for going to Kalapara Thana and Patuakhali district town. But still now they are using long boat and trawler for moving to remote islands. Locally they are using small van for short distance.

INSTITUTIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Many of the non-governmental organization are Grameen Bank (GB), Association for Realization of Basic Needs (ARBAN), Association for Social Advancement (ASA), Community Development Centre (CODEC), moved in to the area and took up development programmes involving the community. All of the mentioned NGOs are providing small scale credit to the community. ARBAN has provided small tin sheet house for poor Rakkhains for their shelter. CODEC is also enhancing fishing programme in the village . ASA is organising small farmers for raising peoples fund. It is obvious that Rakkhain people are getting less opportunities in respect of credit and other government aid facilities.

PROSPECT OF TOURISM IN AND AROUND THE VILLAGE

There is a great scope of tourism in this village. It has been recognised by tourist of home and abroad that Belkata village has its own natural beauties. Near the sea shore there is a big coconut farm which has

developed as the additional charming sceneries of the village. Belkata village is attached to sea beach which is about 18 kilometer long and 3 kilometer wide.

In Bangladesh tourism is a new sector for earning foreign currency. This sector is developing gradually in different selected tourist places. Tourism helps to economic development of different coastal villages. The villagers at present provide fruits, vegetables, milk, handicrafts to the tourists. It is true that Belkata village has its own natural scenic beauty. The tourists make frequent visit to this place from November to February.

Belkata is surrounded by sandy sea beach. In the south east corner of the sea beach there is Gangamati mangrove reserve forest. In the north west corner of the sea beach there is Andarmanik river estuary. Belkata is a traditional Rakkhain village. In this village people live with almost non changing traditional culture. In the month of November Muslim, Hindu, Rakkhain community people is to visit sea beach for holy sea bath. Locally name of this sea bath festival is *rus purnima*. This is the common

belief of different religion groups that this sea bath wash out all the sin of the sinner. So people concentrate to the Belkata sea shore. There is no good residential facility for the tourist. There is only one district council bungalow and one revenue department guest house. The sea beach is connected with PDB electric line. For communication purpose government has installed a motorolla telephone set in the district council duck bungalow. The ministry of civil aviation and tourism has taken a step to establish a motel namely 'Holiday Homes' in the Belkata. It is a holy place for Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim. The People gather twice in a year for *ganga snan* (sea bath) and *maghi purnima* worship. During the period of two festivals many people from home and abroad visit this place. Even coastal fishermen come in the winter season for catching and drying sea fishes. In the winter season this village looks a like small town. The villagers provide all necessary facilities to fishermen, domestic tourists and international tourists. As a result small trade, glossary and medicine shops have developed in and around this village. The landless and destitute people work in fish processing. The small and medium farmer occasionally go for marine fish catching.

Belkata can be developed as attracting tourist spot of the southern coast. For develop a modern tourist spot Government should provide help to help to private and Parjatan Corporation sector to build up tourist complexes in this area. There is want of alternative jobs for the villagers. If Government can develop a modern tourist resorts in this area home and abroad tourist may be attracted by thee scenic beauty of Belkata. In this regard it is appreciable that Government is going to establishing tourist resort in this village. Foreign currency may be earn by this tourism industry. Following (Table-10.a,b,c) represents profit and loss of the Parjatan Corporation at a glance:

10-A: Proposed Holiday Home Complex at a Glance.

| Probable income | Taka (Lac) | | | | |
|---|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | 1st Year | 2nd Year | 3rd Year | 4th Year | 5th Year |
| Occupancy | | | | | |
| (a) A.C.room 4 daily 500x250 | 1.50 | 2.00 | 2.50 | 3.00 | 3.50 |
| (b) Non A.C. room 16 Tk. daily 250. | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 |
| Canteen 2000=2000x250 & every year increase 10%. | 5.00 | 5.50 | 6.05 | 6.65 | 7.32 |
| Sea beach entry fee per year. | 7.50 | 8.00 | 8.50 | 9.00 | 9.50 |
| Sea beach car driving yearly income. | 1.20 | 1.38 | 1.58 | 1.82 | 2.08 |
| Boat driving per year. | 1.20 | 1.38 | 1.58 | 1.82 | 2.09 |
| Miscellaneous income, telephone news paper, fish. | .30 | 0.40 | 0.50 | 0.80 | 1.00 |
| Total income : | 19.70 | 26.66 | 25.71 | 21.09 | 32.49 |

Source: Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation/BPATC,1993.

10-B: Probable Expenditure.

| Probable expenditure | Taka (Lac) | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | 1st Year | 2nd Year | 3rd Year | 4th Year | 5th Year |
| Residential room & room services | 0.45 | 0.60 | 0.75 | 0.90 | 1.05 |
| Canteen sell | 2.00 | 2.20 | 2.42 | 2.66 | 2.92 |
| Fuel, gas, electricity | 1.00 | 1.50 | 1.75 | 2.00 | 2.25 |
| Man power (Yearly increase 10%) | 4.00 | 4.40 | 4.84 | 5.32 | 5.85 |
| Maintenance & repair | 4.50 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 4.50 |
| Local tax, telephone bill | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 |
| Miscellaneous expenditure | 7.00 | 7.00 | 7.00 | 7.00 | 7.00 |
| Total expenditure : | 19.45 | 20.70 | 21.76 | 22.88 | 24.07 |

Source: *Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation/BPATC, 1993.*

10-C: Profit and Loss

| Events | Taka (Lac) | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | 1st Year | 2nd Year | 3rd Year | 4th Year | 5th Year |
| Total income from the project | 19.70 | 22.66 | 25.71 | 29.09 | 32.49 |
| Project maintenance cost | 19.45 | 20.70 | 21.73 | 44.88 | 24.07 |
| Profit | +25 | +1.96 | +3.95 | +6.20 | +8.42 |

Source: *Bangladesh Parjatan Corporation/BPATC, 1993.*

WAY OF CULTIVATION

In Belkata village the major cropping pattern is transplanting *Amon*. In 5% of the cultivated area, *aus* paddy is grown as a chance crop, in another 1% of the area, *robi* crops grown, primarily chili, sweet potato, potato, cabbage, onions and some leafy vegetables, Peasants are use draft power. Also high lands are cultivated by seedling method which is locally known as *chitya chash*. In general cattle are in poor health and socially farmers maintaining *gata* (exchange ploughing) with their kin groups or relatives. Those who can not afford labour cost they hire *badla* (collective labour) from the community people. In the winter season farmers produce potato without cultivation, which is locally known *Bina chasya alu chash* (O tillage).

There are many farmers who have no sufficient draft power. They invite neighbours for share cultivation. In the winter season land owner gets less products from sharecroppers. For *T. Amon* sharecropper gets one third of the total products, but they provide seed, pesticide and fertilizer. Land

cultivation is done in a traditional way. Farmers use cows and buffaloes alongwith plough, yoke and ladder, they do not use fertilizer properly. Ash and cow dung are used as indigenous fertilizer. The lands are sandy and for this reason broadcasting and dribbling methods are followed by the peasants.

ANIMAL REARING

In general cattle are in a very poor health condition. They suffer from malnutrition, parasite attack. (both external and internal), and large open wounds/sores in the yoke are of the animal neck. No green fodder is available for livestock which no specific grazing lands are meant for the cattle. The cattle population which is suffering from foot and mouth diseases, throat and leg inflammation, loose motion. Farmers provide tank and mini canal water for cattle drink. The people take less care of their cattle and buffaloes. 95% animals suffer from malnutrition as there is poor availability of grass and fodder. On the other hand, they go for hand labour for ploughing in *Amon* season. For inadequate supply of feed, the

animal become sick and die within a few days and as a result good number of animal die. During February to June cattle heads suffer from mouth disease as shown in (Chart-1).

People are habituated with grazing their cattle they also keep supply of straw and product of paddy. 99% of farmers give any additional feed (like rice polish, mustard oil cake, rice gruel) to their animals. During the crisis period, farmers send their animals to nearby jungle where free grazing is available. Cattle houses are formed in poor condition. There is no shed for buffaloes. People are ignorant of animal vaccination. Farmers believe that fertilizer and pesticides used for *T. Amon* cultivation increase mortality of livestock.

Chart-1: The Peak Periods of Animal Death.

| Diseases | Peak period of death |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Rathlage (weakness) | Mid October to Mid December |
| Diarrhoea | November to Mid December |
| Foot and mouth disease | March to April and June to July |

Source: Fieldwork in Belkata 1994-1995

LAND FRAGMENTATION

Land fragmentation is a big problem in study village. Owing to breakdown of joint family, inheritors get small fragmented land which goes on fragment to generation after generation. So the farmers fail to introduce co-operative farming. Homestead lands are also fragmented in the same way. This land is used for houses and rest part for kitchen gardening and horticulture. Co-operative farming is not practiced in the village. The Rakkhain people cultivate their own land intensively, while some of the land owners give *pauton* (sharecropping) to local Muslim farmers and after harvesting they take their due share.

YEAR ROUND AGRICULTURE

Efficient planning for agricultural crop production largely depends on the relationship between rainfall and potential evaporation, temperature and soil moisture availability. The land in thus is triple cropped land. The principal cropping pattern is transplanted *Aus* followed by transplanted

Amon and *Rabi* crops. Rakkhain secondary land use are transplanted *Amon* followed by transplanted *Boro*, *Aus* followed by *T. Amon*, followed by *Rabi* crops. *Rabi* crops include are chilies, among lentil, sweet potato, `o'tillage potato and groundnut. In the homestead land, farmers cultivate vegetables, coconut and betel nut. Farmers follow traditional method of cultivation. They also cultivate papaya, guava, vegetables in their homestead. This is a common practice of Rakkhain farmers.

AGRICULTURAL TOOLS

Farmers use indigenous agricultural tools for farming land. They traditionally use local made *aaa* (plough), *thampo* (Yoke) and *thempo* (ladder). In the rainy season farmers use local made plough for *T. Amon* cultivation. Socially *Rabi* cultivation is given secondary emphasize for survival. In the winter season farmers use less draft power, while they keep draft power in reserve. for *T. Amon* cultivation. Few people produce *Rabi* crop by indigenous method.

For irrigation purpose, Rakkhains use local made *tanga* (big container). Power pump is less used because river water is saline. Farmers use canal, pond and *autoa* (deep ditch) water for cultivation. They use following agricultural tools:

| <u>NAME OF FARMING TOOLS</u> | <u>DESCRIPTION</u> |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>(Rakhain Language)</i> | |
| <i>Auai</i> | - Plough, made of wood used for cultivation. |
| <i>Thanpho</i> | - Yoke, used for balancing and pulling plough drawn by cattle. |
| <i>Lain-Hnai-Thee</i> | - Sticks for controlling cattle on the yoke. |
| <i>Floa</i> | - Carve iron plate triangularly attached to the front of plough. |
| <i>Kyang</i> | - Ladder for ploughing. |
| <i>Poutu</i> | - Spade |
| <i>Checkrey</i> | - Harvester of paddy made of steel and wooden handle. |
| <i>Moukla</i> | - Shade for saving farmers from sunshine and rain. |
| <i>Khondan</i> | - Long shaft earth dweller. |
| <i>Chab-Dong</i> | - Rice preserving basket made of bamboo and cane. |
| <i>Chba Dooh</i> | - Rice preserving big clay container. |
| <i>Kraa</i> | - Water container. |
| <i>Pow</i> | - Paddy and rice preserver made of bamboo and cane. |
| <i>Krey-Khow</i> | - Chicken rearing house. |
| <i>Be-Khow</i> | - Duck rearing house. |
| <i>Wai-Khow</i> | - Pig rearing house. |
| <i>Noa-Khran</i> | - Cattle house. |
| <i>Tan-Hana-Che</i> | - Dust cleaner. |
| <i>Pouchin</i> | - Axe |

FARMING TECHNOLOGY

Technology is an important factor for farming to increase yield. New technology is absent in this community. They preserve their hereditary belief for farming practices. The Rakkhain people are not well acquainted with new farming technology. There is less agriculture extension and demonstration activities in this area (demonstration is always considered to be an effective tool for technology dissemination).

Rakkhain farmers have no agriculture training. Block supervisors do not play any role in this regard. Agricultural agencies and NGOs take no steps for Rakkhain farmers for their skill development. Presently Rakkhain people are surviving only by the indigenous agricultural methods as the new technology come into conflict with their traditional belief and practices. Irrigation and tillage equipments are not made available to match with local situation.

The current Rakkhain agricultural tools and practices are not found to be adequate. There is a great need for technological support to. Agricultural extension services are quite insufficient. Integrate pest management practices are confirmed somehow continuing for protecting ecological and socio-cultural atmosphere.

FARMING ACTIVITIES

The study village is protected by polder area. There is only flashing sluice sea dick which controls saline water and flash out excessive rain water from the agricultural land. In low lying areas, from December onward the soil tends to become hard and land becomes fallow while a depth of two meter ground water remains saline.

Farming activities of the village is characterized mostly by single cropping and it is *T. Amon*. The varieties are mostly local. Only a small negligible area is planted for local *B. Aus*. During rabi season on small area *rabi* crops are grown standing crops face the problem of salinity.

Rakkhain farmers cultivate rabi crops in their agricultural field. Low land remains fallow. Before harvesting *T. Amon*, people broadcast pulse. They also produce watermelon, sweet potato, chili, ground nut. Farmers cultivate different varieties of paddy in their agricultural land, namely *Raza shail*, *Pijam*, *BR-11*, *Kazal Shail*, *Mota Dhan*, *Shakar Khana*. Rakkhain farmers produce small quantity of traditional *bini dhan* and cultivate *paijam dhan* on a large scale as from this variety yield is more.

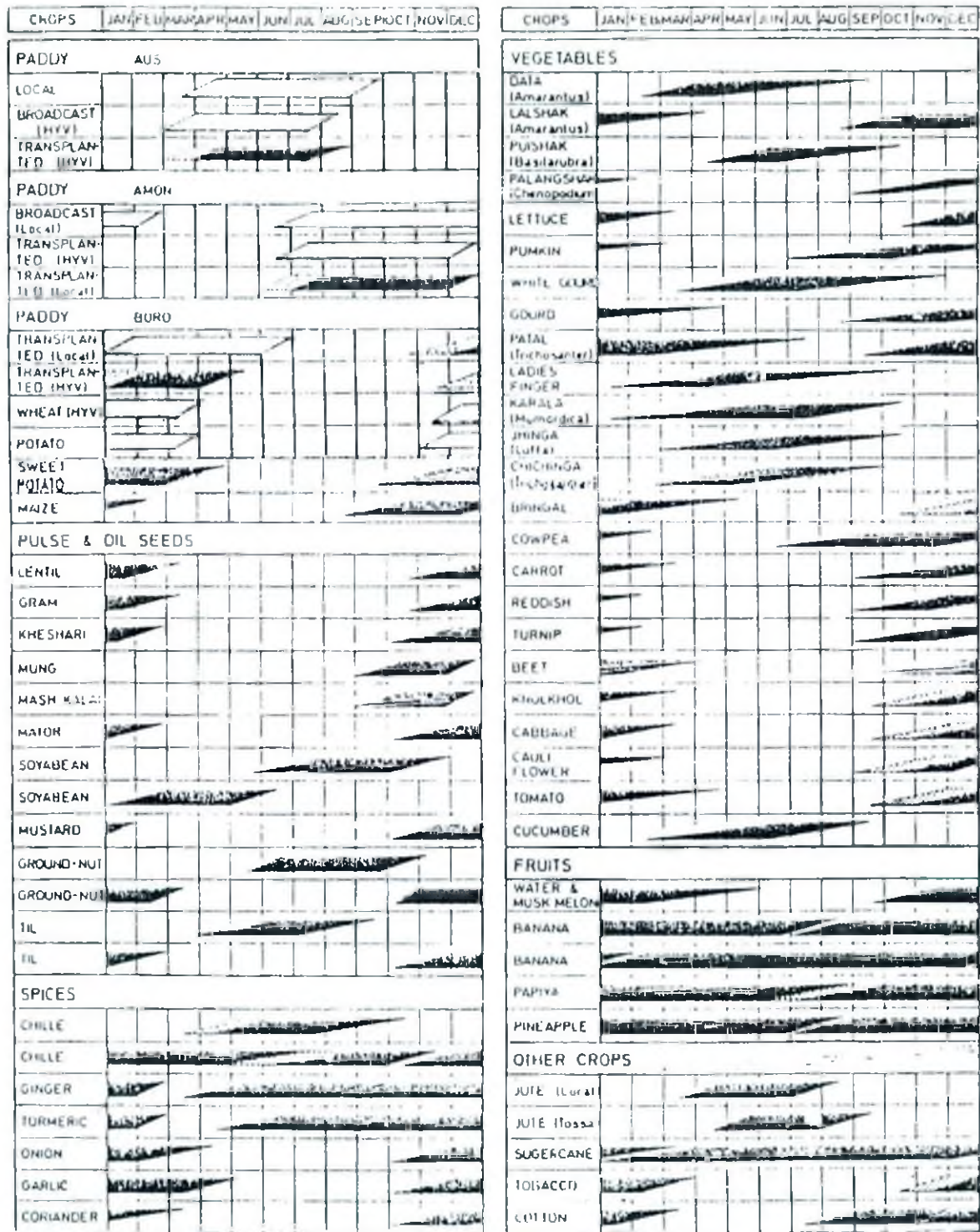
Rakkhains cultivate their lands by traditional plough. Farmers broadcasts paddy by indigenous way. They produce seeds by local method and preserve in the clay made container.

Broadcasting method as practiced by Rakkhain family is locally known as *chitay dhan bona*. This is a popular method for them to broadcast paddy. Farmers also follow the practice of transplantation, dribbling and line soaing.

Rakkhain farmers use *Aaa* (Plough), *Thampo* (Yoke), *Cha* (ladder), *Chakrary* (Scissor) as agricultural tools. They clean weed by *Daw* (Big knife). Farmers who have no ploughing buffaloes get relatives cattle for a day loan. The farmers take assistance from their neighbours at the time of plantation. Rich farm labourers for three months from Baisak to Asar months for cultivation and harvesting. Farm labourers get eight to nine mund of paddy as fixed wage.

Chart-2

CROP CALENDAR OF BANGLADESH
EXISTING CROPPING PATTERNS



Seed bed
[HYV] High yield variety

EXISTING CROPPING PATTERNS:

- 1. AUS/APE + 1 AMON
- 2. AUS + 1 AMON + KHESARI (LAIN+RUST)
- 3. JUTE + KALAM (PULSE)
- 4. APE AND 1 AMON MIXED
- 5. AUS + MUSTARD/PULSE + RABI VEGETABLES/ TOISACCI/CUCUR/POTATO
- 6. AUS AND AMON (C/AMON)TIL (S/SAMUMI) MIXED
- 7. 1 AMON
- 8. AUS AND 1 AMON MIXED
- 9. BORO
- 10. SUGARCANE
- 11. SUMMER VEGETABLES + MUSTARD/PULSES

During winter and farmers fix up wage rate for one to two Bengali months (Agrahyan to Poush). This time also a farm labourer get food and shelter. The collect seeds for *Rabi* crops from Dhaka or local city. Specially they take ground nut and water seeds from local businessmen who collect from particular seed shops Dhaka.

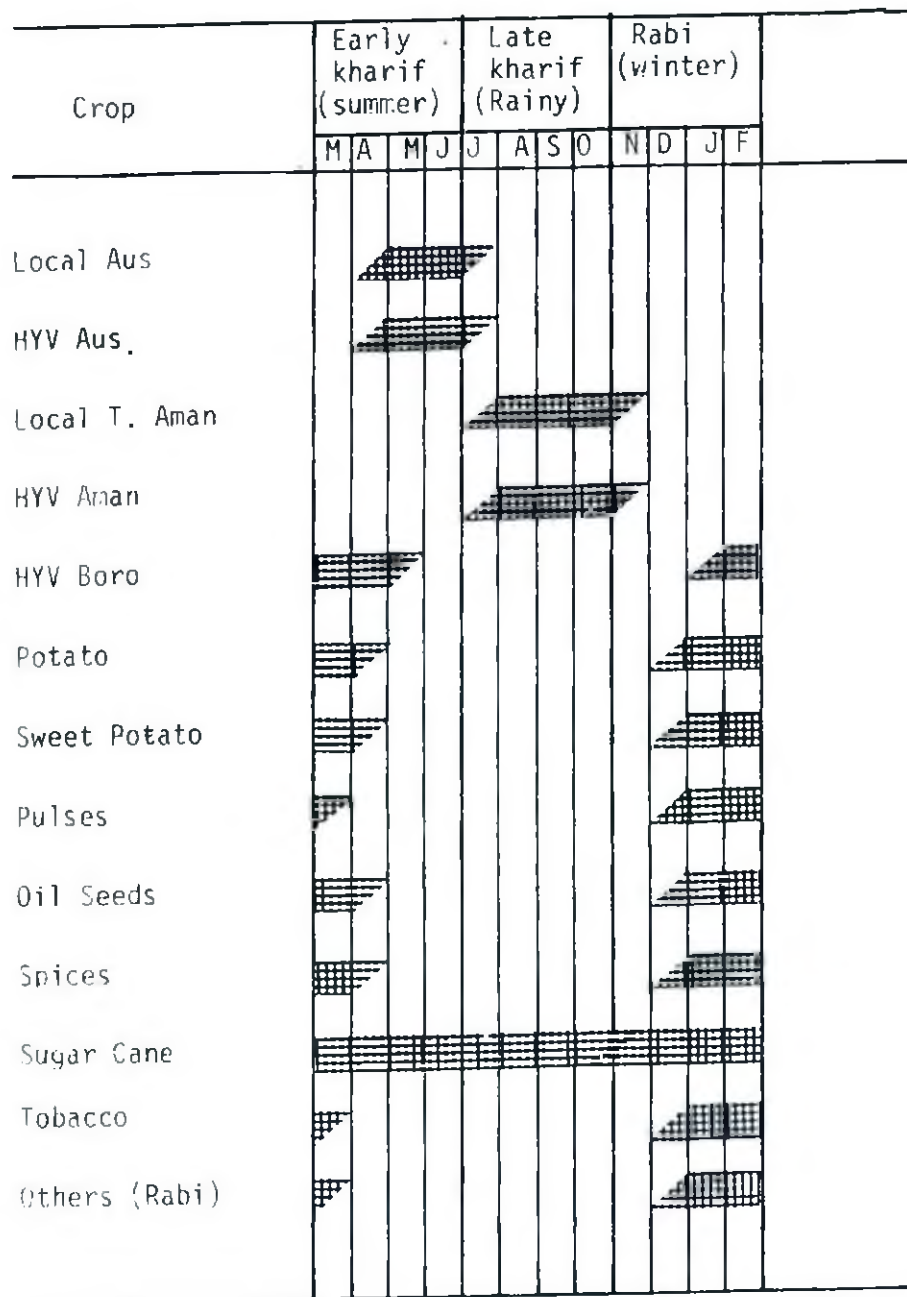
It is obvious, that local farmers face saline water problem during cultivation period. Sweet water is not easily available in the locality. The people demand for tube-well water is great. During winter season at the time of high tide sea water intrude in the canal by the sluice gate which farmers easily use for irrigation purpose.

Chart-3: Crops Cultivated in the Area.

| Local Name of the Variety | Botanical Name | Rakkhain Name |
|---------------------------|---|---------------|
| Rajasail | These are the Local varieties of oryzasativa | Bajaha |
| Chikon | | |
| Mota | | |
| Lal Mota | | |
| Lakmi Bilash | | |
| Katabahari | | |
| Khaia | | |
| Sakkorkhana | | |
| Betak | | |
| Binni | | |

The Rakkhain's villagers use natural water in the agricultural field. They are cultivating the following traditional local varieties to meet their food demands which is shown in Chart-4.

Chart-4



Source: Upazila Agriculture Office, Kalapara

GENDER ISSUE

Males work in the agricultural field. Occasionally females go to the field with their husbands or relatives to help them. Poor women labour in the agricultural field. They carry food to the field for labourers working in the field.

Land cultivation and ploughing are performed by the male members. Weed clearing, harvesting, livestock rearing are performed by female workers. This is treated as a family responsibility.

There is no binding for women to go out-side family for agricultural works. Young women do not move frequently out-side the village. Normally male take up all hard work e.g. land ploughing, preparing. Women go for light work such as transplant seeds and care of their livestock.

Normally child labor is not used in the agricultural field. During the time of cultivation all the members of a family excepting children provide physical labour in the field.

In the peak period of crop transplant farmers hire daily labour. There is also voluntary labour system which is provide by the nearest relatives. The land owner offer good dinner or lunch after the work is over. Thus a community practice sharing voluntary labour among themselves, which for land ploughing, planting, harvesting. Further, the male members go for hunting fishing for their survivals on livelihood. The tools and weapons used in hunting and fishing are shown in Chart-5: A, B, C & D.

Chart-5A: List of Hunting, Fishing and Weapons

| Name in Rakhain Language | Description |
|--------------------------|--|
| Haipyen | Three spited sharp edge fishing tool. |
| Che Soogh | Multiple splited sharp edge fishing tool. |
| Hmya | Angling. |
| Pai | Net. |
| Kyon | Hand throughing net. |
| Boong | Bamboo Trap for crabs, made of Bamboo. |
| Pudow | Basket for fishing made of bamboo. |
| Kaindan | Long stick for angling. |
| Hmou | Pipe for hunting with & arrow. The arrow is blowered by mouth. |
| Hmou-Chu | Arrow for blowing. |
| Hlay | Bow for hunting. |
| Hmra | Arrow for hunting. |
| Khow | made of wood, wood Box for trapping wild animals. |
| Hla Shay | Iron spare |
| Damah | Chopper for cutting heavy things. |
| Dhray | Long chopper for cutting. |
| dgow | Curve Chopper for cutting. |
| Thenang | Gun |
| Than Iyat | Sword |

Chart-5B: Agricultural Products

| English Name | Botanical Name | Rakkhain Name |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Khesari | Lathyrus sativus | <i>Daoaa</i> |
| Sweet Potato | Ipomea batatus | <i>Kanjau</i> |
| Onion | Alium cepa | <i>Crowachan</i> |
| Garlic | Alium sativum | <i>Crowachau afro</i> |
| Ginger | Gingiber officinolis | <i>Sayma</i> |
| Turmeric | Curcuma longa | <i>Lanhoe</i> |
| Mustard | Brassica compestris | <i>Minhia</i> |
| Potato | Solanum tuberosum | <i>Matause</i> |
| Maise | Zea mays | <i>Safu</i> |
| water melon | Cucumis melo | <i>Fretia</i> |
| Cowpea | Vigna unguiculata | <i>Palenda</i> |
| Chili | Capsicum frutesconce | <i>Nafause</i> |

Chart-5C: Forest Trees

| English Name | Botanical Name | Rakkhain Name |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Sundari | Heriteria fomes | <i>Ragocha</i> |
| Keora | Suneatia Spetaca | <i>Jita</i> |
| Koroi | Albizziasp | <i>Kari</i> |
| Mahogoni | Swientenia mohogani | <i>Tangausa</i> |
| Babla | Acacia arabica | <i>Babla</i> |
| Sisso | Dalbergia sisoo | <i>Sisso</i> |
| Banyan tree | Dficus bengalensis | <i>Bat gash</i> |
| Mander | Eruthrina indica | <i>Madar</i> |
| kadam | Anthocephallus cadamba | <i>Kadam</i> |

Chart-5D: Fruit Trees

| English Name | Botanical Name | Rakkhain Name |
|----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Mango | Mangitera indica | <i>Tatrapa</i> |
| Coconut | Cocos nucifera | <i>Narikel</i> |
| Blachbery | Cumini | <i>Mirasatri</i> |
| Banana | Musa spp. | <i>Kola</i> |
| Jackfruit | Rotocarpus hetrophyllus | <i>Kanthal</i> |
| Pomelo | Citrus grandis | <i>Jambura</i> |
| Guava | Psidium guajava | <i>Goandi</i> |
| Lemon | Citrus limon | <i>Rauti</i> |
| Bif sour fruit | Dillena arundinaceae | <i>Raupa</i> |

***Tosi usni* (Herbal Medicine)**

In the earlier stage of Rakkhain settlement the settlers had suffered from contagious and infections diseases. At that time there was no doctor and modern medicine to treat the patients. People had to depend on indigenous treatment. Herbal doctors utilized the plants for preparing herbal medicine. Herbal doctors had learned this king of treatment from *fovea* (forefather).

Rakkhain men and women as they had started their permanent settlement in this area began to transplant different herbal trees for indigenous treatment. They also have brought some vine species trees from Arakan with them during their migration in the initial stage of their settlement. They suffered from common diseases of diarrhoea, pneumonia, typhoid and malaria. The Rakkhain people used herbal medicine since 1446 A.D. The name of the medicine as follows:

Padesha : Paralysis patients are advised to Padesha herbal medicine. Cough, ereating problem are also treated by *padesha*.

Letai Toeasery : It is a medicine used for stomach disease, gastric ulcer. indigestion and vomiting.

Leas nobe tosey : This is used for leg biting, menstruation, weakness and heart disease.

Kadesa : *Kadesa* is a traditional medicine which is used by Rakkhain more than three hundred years ago. Rakkhain suffer from various diseases during different seasons. In the *naye udu* (summer season) many Rakkhains suffer from diarrhoea, chicken pox and stomach diseases. The Rakkhains suffer from phenomena, influenza and cold in the *mo-udu* (rainy season). They also suffer badly during *song - udu* (winter season) from fever, hand and leg biting, tonsillitis. This ethnic group counts three seasons in the year while they believe that every disease came harm to people in different seasons. For intense salinity in the area people suffer from stomach disease. This was my observation during fieldwork. Rakkhain babies suffer from malnutrition, while the sea going fishermen suffer from scabby and heart disease. At present all patients take local herbal doctor's advice. Occasionally few men and women take allopathic treatment. The allopathic treatment is expensive, so they less expensive traditional herbal and indigenous treatment which they learned from their grandparents and neighbors or the same community.

The *kadesa* herbal medicine is a common usable medicine. From ancient period to the present day the Rakkhain people have been using this traditional medicine. There is no side effect of *kadesa* herbal medicine, so most of the aboriginal use this medicine without any hesitation. The herbal medicine is less costing and easily available, which all classes people in the community can afford. Valuable medicinal species are being exploited by the people. Any kinds of herbs, vines, leaves are slowly getting extinct and declining in the area. This herbal treatment is more effective for the community people. The herbal doctors can early remove stone from *chauka* (kidney) by using tree leaves. This wild tree is widely known as *kywaa* (big leaf) and *thant* (small leaf) in the area. The doctors mix this wild leaf with boil water and suggest it for kidney patients.

Chart-6: The Ingredients and Traditional Treatment Species.

| Leaf/Tree Roots and Others | Name | Treatment |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---|
| Thankani pata | Puias painjari | Decentry |
| Sajna | Cratela | Blood pressure |
| Arum and Grass | Pringpa-mra | Hand, leg Cutting |
| Tea (without sweet & milk) | Lafa | diarrhoes |
| Garlic | Cratau | Indigation |
| Seeds of green banana | Gifauti sing | Stomach diseases |
| Seeds of karamga trees | Saoaitey | Teeth pain |
| Honey | pia | Cold fever |
| Honey & lime | pia-tung | skin diseases |
| Breast milk | Amino | Eye trouble |
| Urine | Sabarobey | Injuries from poisonous fisher & cutting by knife |
| Stool & tamarid | Shi-maidi | Poision eating patient |

CHAPTER-IV

THE RAKKHAINS OF BELKATA : THEIR WAY OF LIFE

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE RAKKHAINS

The origin of the Rakkhain people of the district may be traced to the beginning of the nineteenth century. After the annexation of Arakan¹ by Burma in 1817 some 30,000 Arakanese migrated from Arakan to coastal zone. Some Arakanese settled in Patuakhali and Sundarban region. Arakanese settlers were encouraged by the British officials for extending cultivation. In the early stage of their settlement they paid no land tax to British Government.

The Rakkhains of Patuakhali identify themselves as Rakkhain but not as Mugh. According to khan (1984) the origin of Buddhist settlement in

¹ Arakan belongs to present Myanmar State (former State of Burma).

Patuakhali is closely connected to Cox's Bazar and Arakan. Similar observation has been made by Satter (1975) as "that the Buddhist of Patuakhali district sailed up to Bay of Bengal in 1789 from Rangoon and reached to area to settle down". There are similarities with respect to language, religions and cultural life among the Rakkhain of Patuakhali and Rakkhain of Cox's Bazar . Marmas of Bandarban hill district have also similarities with the Rakkhains of Patuakhali have the same origin although they came at different times and following different routes and eventually one group settled in hilly and another group settled in the coastal areas of Bangladesh. Rakkhains to-day identify themselves as separate tribal group of Bangladesh.

Rakkhain are the first settlers in the coastal areas of Patuakhali and Barguna districts. They migrated to these coastal areas after Arakan had been conquered by Burmese king Bowdowphya. In this connection H. Beveridge says, "On the 24th March 1824, Thungari Mugh Petitioned the Board of Revenue saying that he had brought two hundred and thirty families of settlers at a great expense from Chittagong and Ramu, he was a native of Arakan and he had abandoned his country when his monarch was

dethroned and he had availed himself of the asylum offered by the British government (Bangladesh District Gazetteer, 1982).

Historian G.E. Harvey mentioned that in 1789 the British in Bengal granted Mugh families the right over the lands in Bakergonj, Sundarban, the southern most Ganges delta. During the last quarter of 18th century 150 Arakanese families, led by captain Paw Aung, U Gown Bagree and Aflow kyaw fled from Arakan in 50 boats to Rangabali island in the district of Patuakhali. Led by these three leaders Arakanese immigrants cleared the land and built their home in the island. Gradually the number of the Arakanese increased and they spread to the neighbouring no mans land. At present, Arakanese settlement exist in 52 villages of four thanas of Patuakhali and Barguna. It has been shown in Table-7.

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Table-7: Arakanese Population Census in Patuakhali and Barguna.

| Year | Male | Female | Total Population |
|------|------|--------|------------------|
| 1872 | 2140 | 1909 | 4049 |
| 1911 | - | - | 8600 |
| 1951 | - | - | 16,394 |
| 1961 | 5934 | 6259 | 12,190 |
| 1979 | 1881 | 1832 | 3713 |

Source: *Census of India 1872, 1911, Pakistan 1951, 1961, Bangladesh 1979.*

The above census shows an increase of Arakanese population from 1872 to 1951 and its decrease during the period from 1961 to 1979 in these district. The tidal bore, tornado, and cyclone that occurred in 1960, 1964, 1965 brought devastation and salinity and adversely affected agriculture.

The Rakkhains were nomadic in their habits and gradually they settled down in the land which they cleared of mangrove forest. In the earlier stage they were excellent wood cutters, but slowly they lost their stamina and settled down as ordinary cultivators. After that they became permanent settlers in the area and began to live in the villages near the sea. Normally, they live in wooden houses raised on piles. The Rakkhain can marry both within and outside the clan. The important jobs are mostly entrusted to women in the Rakkhain community. Important jobs are those connected with the earning of bread and maintenance of livelihood. Farming is done by women and men are just auxiliary in it. The structure of the clan is based on dominance of the male and as such it is patriarchal.

The number of the Rakhain Buddhists shown in the 1951 census was 16,394 for the district of Bakergonj, which included the present Patuakhali district.

According to the census of 1961, 12,190 Buddhists in the area now comprising Patuakhali district. Of them, 5,934 were males and 6,256 females.

Table-8: The Rakhain Population of the Patuakhali District (Thana-wise) According to the 1961 Census.

| Locality | Buddhists |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Patuakhali Sub-division | 6,915 |
| Patuakhali Thana | 9 |
| Mirzagonj Thana | 5 |
| Bauphal Thana | -- |
| Galachipa Thana | 315 |
| Kalapara Thana | 6,586 |
| Barguna Sub-division | 5,275 |
| Barguna Thana | 266 |
| Amtali Thana | 4,986 |
| Betagi Thana | 23 |
| Bamna Thana | -- |
| Patharghata Thana | -- |

HOUSING PATTERN

Housing Pattern: The tradition of housing practices of mongoloid people have similar character in the most part of Asia and Southeast Asia. The Rakkhains of Belkata built houses to take shelter and to protect themselves from all natural calamities. The Rakkhain houses are built at high places. The houses are built on the following consideration:

- Hygienic because easy to remove dust.
- Easy to clean house.
- Moderate cold and hot.
- Free air movement.
- Easy to repair the houses.

Most of Rakkhain houses in Belkata are made of mangroves trees e.g. *sundari*, *gazari*, *keora*, *hetal*, *golpata* and bamboo. The houses are bungalow type which are locally known as *tong* house. In this construction system big wooden posts are fixed on the ground. The measurement and distance to posts may vary as required. The construction of reams started from the post and there is a gap between stair and ground. Roof is made of

golpata. The houses of Rakkhain are generally strong enough to face strong wind.

Houses are made by them as required. Main doors and windows are essential. The owner can make such houses according to his need and financial ability. The rooms are constructed considering corner like prayer room, *agandu tai* (family corner), *eensha tai* (guardian corner), *lupyo tai* (bachelor corner), *aswe khang* (store room), *thmey sha-khang* (kitchen room), *ayen tha* (lavatory) etc. Main entrance to the house is nothing but a wooden ladder through a door.

The house of the Rakkhains consist of several rooms like guest room, guardian room, family room, spinster room, bachelor room etc. These rooms are separated by bamboo fencing. The spinster room and family rooms are very essential to them. Sometimes guest room and bachelor rooms are used for the same purpose. Guardian room or master bed room remain reserved for household head living with his wife.

The houses have two types of store rooms. One is for preserving food stuff, household utensils, usable additional mattress and quilt, pillow, basket, old box, etc. Another store room is used for keeping agricultural tools, fishing equipment and household usable implements. The store room is adjacent to the ground. It's between upstairs and ground floor.

The rear part of the house is allotted for kitchen and adjacent to the habitable rooms. Cooking utensils, condiments, grinding equipment, oven, small cup-board and other necessary articles are kept in the kitchen.

The extreme rear part of the house is connected with latrine. The height of latrine is as usual as other rooms. In the past, most of the Rakkhains toilets were unsanitary. Still some of the poor families are use open toilets adjacent to the house. Both water and special type of sanitary sticks are used by Rakkhain people for cleaning purposes.

Use of Furniture : The Rakkhains use special type of traditional dinning table. It is called *poidan* (small type of dinning table). It's stands are short but food may be served easily on the table. Other furniture are

traditionally home made. These are cupboard, mats (made of Hogol pata and Keoa Pata), special wooden box (locally called Rangoon Box) etc. Rakkhain are habituated to sleep on the wooden floor. Some houses are decorated with deer skull and horn.

Valuation of Rakkhain houses : It may vary from house to house according to different social stratum. Some rich people have tin houses and other people simply live in small hut. Approximate valuation of the houses ranges from three thousand taka to sixty thousand taka.

Food habit : Food habits of the Rakkhains have grown according to their religious ideology. Most of the Rakkhains are Buddhist by birth. They have Buddhist tradition in their food practices. Rakkhains preserve their traditions with attractive food and drinks. In various festivals they use special type of food and drinks. Rice is most common to them. The Rakkhains are using rice as their staple food. Types, quality and food value are very important matters in respect of food. Most of Rakkhains foods are nutritious.

The following are their special foods :

Hloza : Steam boiled *bini* rice mixed with a kind of powder (made from various roots of plants) to form youg heart. It is kept for three days in room temperature and on the third day the rice become youg hearted and the juice becomes very sweet. It is served in a plate with spoon.

Moonde : It is totally rice noodle. Rice is penetrated with water for one night. One the next day it is formed as paste and pressed by a dice to produce noodles. It is served with tasty soup, product of fish and shrimp source. Black pepper, onion fry and egg boil are additional food for better test.

Gnpie : Made of dry shrimp in a pasty form. It is stored in a clay pot. Salt, garlic and mastered oil are applied for the long term use. This shrimp is used in vegetable fry, various types of curry etc. It is used in economical cooking. Calcium and protein are confining in this *gnpie* (dried fish).

Hmoo : It is mushroom. type of curry in Rakkhain tradition. It is used in soup and fry. The mushroom is obtained from cowdung heap. It is a high protein containing food.

Khow Swee : It is egg noodle. Rakkhain take this in soup and fry. It is very nutritious food.

Hen Roy Sheng : Ingredients are green vegetable, hot water boiled rice, salt etc. They are stored in a pot and after two days the vegetable is taken out from the pot. It is sour in taste. served with normal dish added by ground chilli with *gnpie*.

Kythemu : It is made from rice powder. The ingredients are rice powder, sugar, water, coconut milk.

Sath bomu : It is made of special rice called *bini*. The ingredients are by *bini* rice powder, coconut kernel, sugar. It is prepared without water. Powder is spread over a hot pan which forms a bread. It is prepared

without water. Powder is spreaded over a hot pan and formed a bread. Then coconut kernel and sugar are mixed with it. It is very delicious and highly nutritious.

Seagyow-mu : It is made of special rice *bini*. Its ingredients are banana, rice powder coconut, kernel, sugar, hot water. Rice powder and sugar are mixed and then they make small breads. Coconut with sugar are poured into the bread and fried in deep oil. Hot or cold dish may be served.

Kow-hneng : It is black *bini* rice steam boiled with coconut kernel. It is good in taste but it is prohibited for the sick people, because of rice fat.

CHART NO. 7

List of Rakkhain's Food

| <u>OTHER FOODS</u> | <u>DESCRIPTION OF PREPARATION</u> |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Pork | - Baking, frying, cooking and mixing with potato as a curry. |
| 2. Shark flesh | - Drying, burning, cooking. |
| 3. Turtle & it's eggs. | - Cooking and frying & egg boiled. |
| 4. Snail | - Frying. |
| 5. Crabs | - Burning, pest frying, salt boiling, |
| 6. Mussels | - Cooking, frying. |
| 7. Iguana | - Cooking eggs are served with salt boiling. |
| 8. Crocodile & eggs | - Cooking, baking, eggs are served as salt youg heartening. |
| 9. Frog | - Cooking, frying. |
| 10. Cat (wild) | - Cooking, baking. |
| 11. Fox | - Baking, cooking |
| 12. Porcupine | - Baking, cooking. |
| 13. Round eel | - Cooking with coconut kernel. |
| 14. Mutton | - Cooking, baking. |
| 15. Beef | - Cooking, baking. |
| 16. Buffalo meat | - Cooking, baking. |
| 17. Hare | - Cooking, baking. |

DRINKS

Arya (Rice wine) : It is made from rice. Locally it is known as *arya* (wine). Boiled rice is medicated by home made ingredients. After four or five days the rice become juicy and a bit fungal. Then all amount is taken to oven for distillation. The rice wine is produced for drinking.

Molasses wine : This wine is made from molasses. Molasses and water, the two components are main raw materials. With required proportion it is placed in a corner of house to maintain temperature. The expert knows about air bubbles that the symptom of the formation of alcohol. Later, it is taken for distillation. The molasses wine is more stronger than the rice wine.

Lafa : The most important and common drinks in the daily life of the Rakkhains of Belkata is lafa. It is difficult to imagine the daily life without *lafa*. It is the day long drink. It is very hot drink from light tea use without sugar and milk. It is believed that dehydration is partly prevented by the *lafa*. It reduces thirst in summer and increases energy for works. They also maintain hospitality by the *lafa* to the strangers.

DRESS PATTERN AND ORNAMENTS

Rakkhains have traditional dress and ornaments. For the men and women there is different types of dresses. *Thbing* (cloth) is for women covering lower part of body. Men use *renjai* (shirt) and women are using *anee* (blouse). The children use child dresses from early life. In the past they use to make their own dress by hand looms. Still most women make their dress at home. Gradually these dress are being replaced by printed clothes from the market. The Rakkhains have traditional weaving system for a long time. But it is going to disappear due to (market) competition.

CHART NO. 8

List of Rakkhain's Dresses

| <u>NAME OF DRESSES</u> | <u>DESCRIPTION OF USE</u> |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Angee</i> | - Shirt for male. |
| <i>Khyout</i> | - Loongi for male. |
| <i>Bodli</i> | - Bodies for female. |
| <i>Taipoong</i> | - Shirt without colour male. |
| <i>Gbongi</i> | - Old man's cap. |
| <i>Thbing</i> | - Loongi for women |
| <i>Tanbaing</i> | - Cloth, used by women in prayer time. |
| <i>Rengang</i> | - Used by old women insted of bodies. |
| <i>Athe khan</i> | - Petty coat for women. |
| <i>Pwa</i> | - Handkerchief. |
| <i>Mmaangee</i> | - Blouse |
| <i>Kodong kodong</i> | - Old man's cloth. |

CHART NO. 9

LIST OF ORNAMENTS

| Name in Rakkhain Language | Description of use |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Laikow</i> | - Bracelet |
| <i>Nswee</i> | - Ornaments for young girl |
| <i>Byat</i> | - Necklace |
| <i>Chindoo</i> | - Ornaments for women |
| <i>Thogro</i> | - Waistlet |
| <i>Kshen</i> | - Leg bracelet |
| <i>Laichoat</i> | - Ring |
| <i>Ngat</i> | - Cloth for old women |
| <i>Shewgro</i> | - Chain for young girl |

Rakkhains use traditional utensils which are mainly made of valuable wood, cane and bamboo. Some utensils are purchased from local market.

CHART-10

LIST OF UTENSILS

| Name of Rakkhain Language | Description of preparation |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Ooh</i> | - Cooking, pan made of brass, aluminium, clay etc. |
| <i>Heno-Ooh</i> | - Curry cooking pan, made of brass, aluminium, clay etc. |
| <i>Pong-Ooh</i> | - Steam boiling pan for Bini rice and made of clay. |
| <i>Themeng-Ooh</i> | - Rice cooking pan, made of aluminium. |
| <i>Augh</i> | - Made of special type wood designed for cooking food, other excessories for religious purpose. |
| <i>Swan-Augh</i> | - A kind of container used for carry meal for Buddhist monk. Made of any good metal. |
| <i>Khoen</i> | - Oven, mounted on a table with thick clay. |
| <i>Phaying</i> | - Plate for using meal, Made of bronze, stainless steel and ceramics. |

| Name of Rakkhain Language | Description of preparation |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Pgun</i> | - Bowl used for serving curry, soup and other foods. Made of metal or ceramics. |
| <i>Hen Khoe</i> | - Bowl for serving curry and other meal. |
| <i>Long Boyi</i> | - Extra plate for serving rice. Made of metal or ceramic. |
| <i>Jouan</i> | - Long spoon made of metal for serving rice. |
| <i>Jouan Shey</i> | - Small spoon used for serving curry and soup. |
| <i>Thong</i> | - Long spoon, made of wood or bamboo, used for serving food in a pan. |
| <i>Thong Soong</i> | - Condiments grinder. Made of clay. |
| <i>Changoo</i> | - Made of bamboo and cane. Used for removing husk from milled rice and other purpose. |
| <i>San-Kha</i> | - Made of bamboo and cane. Used for removing broken rice and husk from milled rice. |
| <i>Tong</i> | - Container, used for carry paddy and rice. Made of bamboo and cane. |
| <i>Tong-Shay</i> | - Small container. |
| <i>Khreng</i> | - Basket made of bamboo and cane. Used for catching fish. |

| Name of Rakkhain Language | Description of preparation |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Slaa</i> | - Gunny bag used for preserving rice and seed. |
| <i>Oong-Khrai</i> | - Whipper of coconut kernel. Made of steel. |
| <i>Koan-Hnayt</i> | - Betelnut cutter. Made of steel. |
| <i>Koan-Augh</i> | - Container for betel leaf. Made of metal. |
| <i>Thonch-Moyen</i> | - Wooden shaft for grinding condiments. |
| <i>Se-Me-Khoai</i> | - Lamp, made of clay, tin, glass etc. |
| <i>Se-Me-Deng</i> | - Stand for lamp. |
| <i>Hman-Loon</i> | - Hurricane |
| <i>Byan</i> | - Flat cup. Made of ceramic used for drinking tea and milk. |
| <i>Khoai</i> | - Cup made of ceramic used for drinking tea and milk. |
| <i>Phan-Doon</i> | - Glass for drinking water |
| <i>Poi-Dan</i> | - Round table with short stand made of wood, used for taking meal. |
| <i>Ookhoai</i> | - Pitcher, Made of clay, water container. |
| <i>Do-Ooh</i> | - Big water container, made of clay. It is in round shape. |
| <i>Balty</i> | - Water carrier. Made of tin and iron. |
| <i>Hpyah</i> | - Mat used for sitting made of Hogla leaf. |

| Name of Rakkhain Language | Description of preparation |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Re-Bu</i> | - Water container, used for serving on the dinning table. Made of aluminium, glass, |
| <i>Bangma</i> | - Half round basket. |
| <i>Kdow</i> | - Container of salt or Napi. Made of hoglapata. |
| <i>Thain-Khu</i> | - Small wooden seat. |
| <i>Song Doong</i> | - Box for storing utensils. |

WORK CYCLE

Rakkhain women wake up early in the morning. They fold their bed after raising from the bed. Firstly they begin to clean the boundary of the house. Before preparing breakfast they use to clean face and wash mouth by ashes or tooth brash. They go to prayer room for several minutes. During prayer time they ring peace bell. Women and girls dress up with various cosmetics. *Thanakha* is a very essential cosmetic for the Rakkain women. It is made of root of *thanakha* plant. This is a popular medicine plant. It cures various fungal infection on the face. Women carry water by a pitcher from clean pond or ditches near the village. They never use tubewell water

for cooking purpose but use ponds and ditches water for house use. They drink boiled water. Neat and cleanliness is major part of Rakkhain women's life. Rakkhain girls are habituated with modern dress and cosmetics. They have got beautiful physical structure with smiling face during work time. Sometimes the women work in the field. Most of the field work is done by males. Women take bath in mid day and use a small *reshokhang* (bath room) near the house.

Hair dressing is also important routine for Rakkhain women. They use coconut oil for hair. Most of the Rakkhain women of Belkata have long hair because they take care of their hair.

RAKKHAIN MUSIC

Rakkhain music has its own tradition. There are two types of Rakkhain music. Modern music is followed by now-a-day idioms. In this modern music method Rakkhin young people use to compose the songs with some modern instrument and modern idioms of songs. They may use the instrument with combination of traditional and modern music.

The ancient system is followed by the absolute traditional method. In this system they distinguish different types of songs and idioms *Lenga, Than - bowgh*. The people use to follow *pegu* or *Jaipoi* is the most popular traditional musical folklore among the Rakhain people. In this *pegu* dance, main focusing point is drama. The drama is divided by two parts. The first is composed by modern facts. Joker, parody, candle dance, and other roles are important chapter of this modern facts.

The second parts is composed by total historical affairs. The story may be taken from any religions facts. This acting roles start from mid night to early morning. The drama is always with full of tragedy and comedy. All categories of actions can participate in the drama.

Different types of musical instruments are used in different part of action.

Following instruments are used by the Rakkhains of Belkata :

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CHART NO. 11

Musical Instruments

Description of Music

- | | | |
|------------------|---|--|
| <i>Heny</i> | - | A kind of flute like shanai. Most essential instrument used for tragedy and parody. It is use by mouth. |
| <i>Pama</i> | - | The main drum for music playing. Made of big hollow wood in figure of round. It is covered by skin of cattle. Drum is controlling music. |
| <i>Pama Shey</i> | - | Small drum for assisting big <i>Pama</i> and maintain musical time. There may be four or five numbers of <i>Pama shey</i> for balancing the scale of <i>Pama</i> . |
| <i>Lan Khoy</i> | - | A kind of musical instrument made of round shape brass. |
| <i>Che</i> | - | Made of wood or bamboo used for maintaining time of <i>lan_khoy</i> . |

- Paitalow* - Composition of several ripples (without water) made of bamboo, brass, iron or other metal.
- Sein* - Composition of many small drums. About 25-30 small drums are surrounded. It is costly and difficult to play.
- chandya* - A kind of very ancient ripple it is very nice to play.
- Chong* - A kind of sophisticated music consist of forty or fifty metallic wire. It is played by special type of artist. It is used for exposing tragedy and comedy.

RAKKHAIN SPORTS AND GAMES

Rakkhain have their own games. Mostly they follow outdoor games.

Rakkhain people enjoy their games. They play the following games :

- *Phan dan* (Hadodo)
- *Down brow* (Jumping)
- *Kro swepry* (Rope drawing)
- *Kyen lumpoy* (Wrestling)

There is no specific play ground but the Rakkhain youths use open field for game. During the winter season they play more games. Wrestling is a favourite game in the community. *Phan dan* is a popular game. Youth people organize *phandan* competition in the para. Football is also a favourite game to youth. Boys and girls play carom, ludo in the houses.

RAKKHAIN'S SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS IN THE VILLAGE

The Government of Bangladesh adopted a policy for agricultural development. Bangladesh Water Development Board implemented the project for making coastal flood protective polder to check both salinity and inundation brackish water. This improved the condition of socio-economic development of the distressed people. Meanwhile most of the

Rakkhains were ruined as a result of previous disaster. They became poor and had to sell almost all their lands to the plain native settlers. Also some of the local people gave loans to the aboriginal with high interest rate. To recover interest they followed illegal way to grab Rakkhains assets. They played role of mediator between local administration and Rakkhains. Later the relation became bitter between two ethnic groups.

In Belkata village Rakkhains face following social constrains:

- The Rakkhain community is a minority group and they have failed to assimilate with plain natives. Though they are living in the same area.
- The Rakkhains are facing natural calamities. For that reason they cannot built rural infrastructure properly.
- Still they are surviving with farming profession, but they have failed to adopt diversified profession.

- Rakkhain people are not quite educated in Bengali, for that reason they cannot write, read and communicate with local administrator and others.
- They are not socially well organised, for that reason they cannot move with their demands to higher authority.
- Most of the administrator are plain natives, so ethnocentrism is working in favour of plain natives. So, naturally Rakkhains are not getting proper justice from local authority and administration.

Sometimes plain natives utter bad language to Rakkhain. Some plain natives often come into conflict with Rakkhain to forfeit their land and valuable assets.

CHAPTER-V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RAKKHAINS OF BELKATA

FAMILY

Family is a micro unit of the society. This is a universal traditional social institution. Family is also a small nucleus of social organization. Family functions through the institution of marriage. Without marriage no family can exist in society. The Rakkhain family comes into existence through marriage. “Actually marriage means a socially approved sexual and economic union between a woman and man. It is presumed, both by the couple and by other to be more or less permanent, and it subsumes reciprocal rights and obligations between the two spouses and their future children.” (Carol R. Ember & Melvin Ember, 1993).

In Rakkhain society there are both matriarchal and patriarchal forms of family. When a husband determines to stay in the father-in-law's house it is treated as matriarchal form of family. In this family all rights belong to women. When a male individual wants to stay in his own house with father this type of family treated as patriarchal family. In this patriarchal family all powers belong to a male individual.

Basically, husband and wife may select their dwelling place. However, there is no binding for the Rakkhain people to stay in the father in law's house. Rakkhain son-in-law does not feel shy to stay in the father- in-law's house. Though the family structure is mostly of patriarchal form but matriarchal social system still exists in this community.

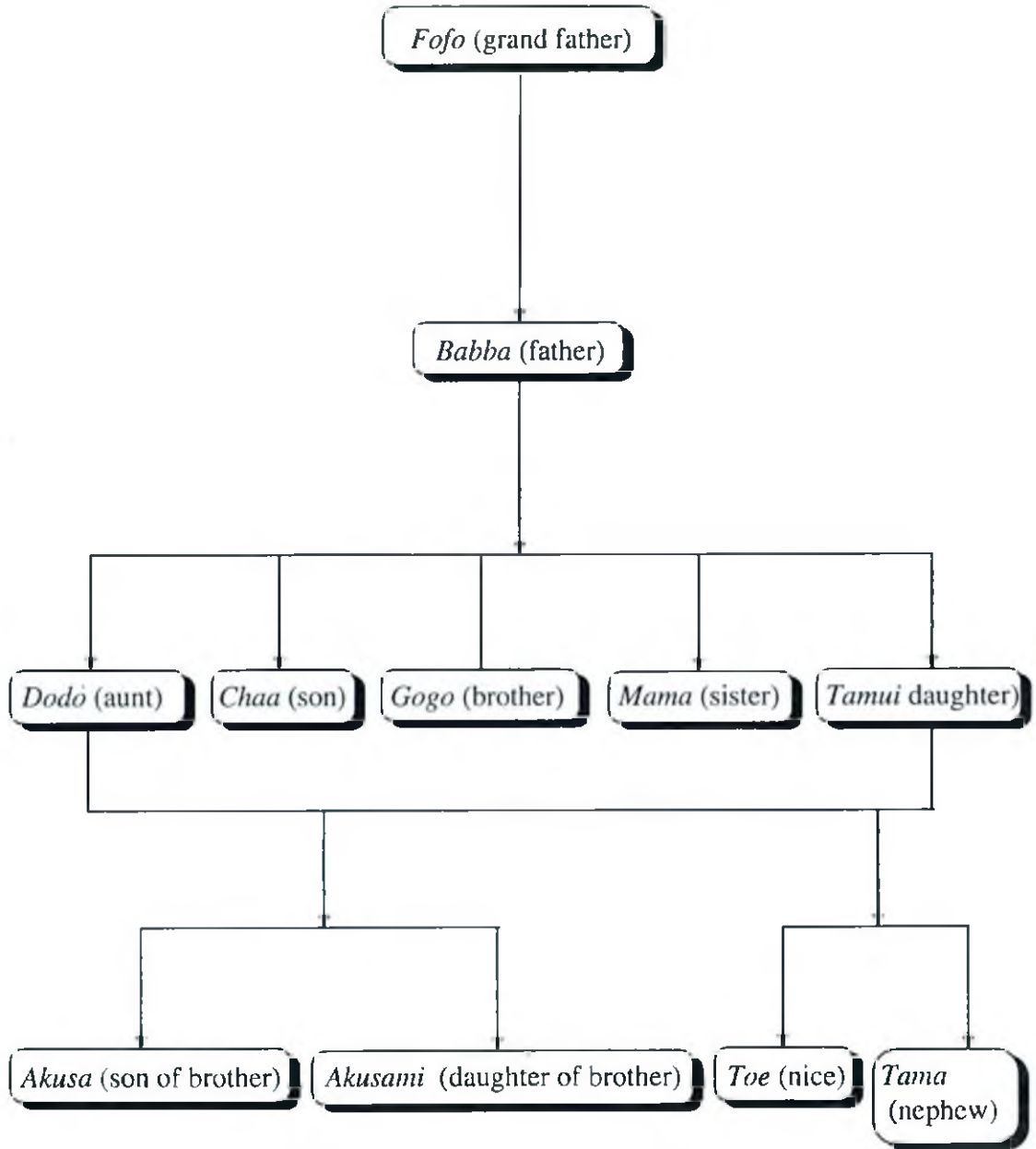
The family structure is like primitive type of 'clan' or tribe. In present days there are so many nuclear and extended families found in this community. In the Rakkhain community husband and wife are conservative. They regard their elders. Elders are also affectionate toward younger generation. Mother takes care of her babies and other family members.

Father does all kinds of agricultural field works. Younger people have to learn all kinds of mechanism which are related with farming, hunting, fishing and household activities. Even younger people are religious minded. They worship, pray and do all social works. For making family life better husband and wife work in a reciprocal way. They respect different opinions of the family members and take any decision by mutual understanding.

KINSHIP

Rakkhain's status, rights, duties claim to property largely depend on his genealogical relationship to other members as well as his family is composed by the blood relation. Rakkhains are related with each other by kinship system. The following genealogical Chart-12 represents the Rakkhain kinship system :

Chart-12



Society is formed by kinship. In every society kinship is important for basic relationship with each other. By the kinship we mean a network of people, related primarily by common ancestry and marriage. In such a kinship network, we are all related to some other persons either through birth (descent) or marriage. In rural society of Bangladesh consanguine and affinal relatives are known as *atmiya syajon* or kinsmen. *Atmiya syajon* is a wide term which may include several *gusthi* (lineage) and may extend over a number of village, (Chowdhury, 1982.44).

Kinship is the system of human relationships derived from marriage and descent plays an important role in all societies. It is a major factor regulating behaviour between individuals and affecting the formation of social, political and territorial groups.

In the Rakkhain community kinship system is more important for family ties. By the kinship system men and women establish family and property right. Even property right is determined by the kinship system.

KINSHIP PATTERN OF RAKKHAIN COMMUNITY

Chart-13: Kinship Terms

| Male (Bengali term) | Female (Bengali term) | Male (Rakkhain term) | Female (Rakkhain term) |
|--|--|----------------------|------------------------|
| Pita (Father) | Mata (Mother) | Bow Ba | Eeya |
| Via (Brother) elder | Bon (Sister) elder | Goo Go | May May |
| Via (Brother) younger | Bon (Sister) younger | Nye Shay | Ma Shy |
| Chacha (Uncle) younger | Chachi (Aunt) elder | Bagri | Gri gri |
| Chacha (Uncle) younger | Chachi (Aunt) younger | Bay Bay | Yo Yo |
| Mama (Uncle) elder | Mami (Aunt) elder | Mingri | Arigri |
| Mama (Uncle) younger | Mami (Aunt) younger | Minshay | Arishay |
| Dada (Grandfather) | Dadi (Grandmother) | Fo Fo | Dow Dow |
| Nana (Grandfather) | Nani (Grandfather) | Fo Fo | Dow Dow |
| Fufa (Uncle-in-law) | Fufu (Aunt-in-law) | Mi Mi | Ari |
| Talya (Brother/sister's Father-in-law) | Maya (Brother/ Sister's father-in-law) | Mi Mi | Ari |
| Shasur (Father-in-law) | Shasuri (Mother-in-law) | Mi Mi | Ari |
| Vatija (Nephew) | Vatiji (Niece) | Thami Shay | Tha Shay |
| Natini (Son's daughter) | Nati (Son's son) | Mrima Shay | Mri Shay |
| Putini (Son daughter's daughter) | Puti (Son son's son) | Mraima Shay | Mrai Shay |

PROPERTY INHERITANCE

The daughter and son get equal property share by inheritance. But the *urtasi* (eldest son) get more share from father's land. *Urtasi* give more labour for taking care of all the family members. For that reason he gets more share than others.

After marriage a male or female can stay in the father-in-law's house. Male and female get equal share of the parental properties. According to my observation Rakkhain family is not absolutely matriarchal or patriarchal. Both the system exist in this community. Mutual understanding, reciprocal relations and traditional systems are the basic elements for the integration of the family. No second or third marriage is accepted in the community. If any individual desires to donate a piece of land to any orphanage or welfare institution, he must have to call the community people and announce donation information in front of the *para Matbor* (community leader). In that gathering he announces that a particular portion of his land is donated for welfare works. All the family members accept his decision. Every body in the assembly expresses the best wishes to the donator.

Even, an individual can make a trust for welfare works and he has sufficient right to make a trust for the community service. The old people think that sacrificing land to any temple or tomb is a noble work.

MARRIAGE

In the Rakkhain community there are three forms of marriage. Through marriage Rakkhain people start their family life .Basically Rakkhain family pattern is patriarchal but women get more social right. They get equal share of father's property. There are extended families in this community. In some cases matriarchal types of family are also found. Mother is all in all in that type of family. In the joint family husband and wife take decision for any work.

According to Rakkhain marriage system a bride can stay in groom's house, even, groom can stay in the bride's house. There is no social binding for permanent living in any place of bride or groom. It depends on the nature of the family.

Before marriage Rakkhain people give importance to women's opinion to choose life partner. Firstly, male and female sit in a particular place for exchanging views between them which is called *sisamu seyata*.

If male and female choose each other only then the date of the marriage ceremony is scheduled. Father of the bride takes all kinds of responsibilities for the marriage. Traditionally, Rakkhain people perform all cultural programmes in the bride's house. Now a days many marriage functions are held in groom's house. But there is no *ayswe* (dowry) system in their community. In the early days there was dowry system in this community. If father desires to give presentation to the bride or groom willingly, that is accepted by both the parties. There is a tradition in Rakkhain community. During marriage time, specially they entertain the guests and offer good food.

***Manglapoey* (marriage) Systems**

“Marriage is a socio-cultural phenomenon which recognizes union between a male and female and intended to give sexual rights in each

other of the couple and to fulfil further social functions” (Selina, 1993, p33). Family has developed through evolutionary way from ancient period to present marriage system. In the ancient time there was promiscuity system, then consanguine-pemaluan-pairing-patriarchal stages.

Rakkhain family pattern is both patriarchal and matriarchal. Gradually they are practising one wife and one husband pair marriage in their society. After marriage a husband can stay in his wife's house. Even a wife can stay in her husband's house. In this society man and woman are getting equal property right.

The Rakkhain people are traditionally following *salepolo* (systematic marriage) and *aisia* (love marriage) in their society. The common men and women are executing salepolo (systematic marriage) widely in the community.

***Salepolo* (systematic marriage)**

In this system of marriage guardians take main steps for their son's or daughter's marriage. The parents send proposal to bride's house or

bridegroom's house each other. First of all bride is selected by the parents, but specially opinion may be given by the bridegroom for final choice. For better communication both bride and bridegroom parties take help from a *anoo* (match maker). After finalization of preliminary talks the match maker decides the marriage at ceremonial place in the bride's house. This is the normal system of this community to organize marriage ceremony at the bride's resident.

In Rakkhain marriage ceremony main role is played by the *Vikku* (Monk). Both male and female parties sit together in front of the *Vikku* for *Ragaijala* (final commitment of the marriage).

Parents of both parties decide the marriage date according to local astrologer's opinion. Normally they choose *Tanagenly* (Sunday) for marriage. There are traditional selective date for *poou* (marriage) in Rakkhain community which is mentioned below :

| According to astrologer's view good couple selection | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Bride/Bride groom | Bride groom/Bride |
| <i>Tanagenly</i> | Sunday | Friday |
| <i>Ching -pa</i> | Tuesday | Thursday |
| <i>Jung-hala</i> | Saturday | Wednesday |
| <i>Ko-sa</i> | Monday | Wednesday |

| According to astrologer's view bad couple selection | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| | Bride groom / Bride | Bride / Bride groom |
| <i>Ja-ma</i> | Saturday | Thursday |
| <i>Cho -ka</i> | Friday | Monday |
| <i>Aaye-owa</i> | Friday | Monday |
| <i>Tanagenly</i> | Sunday | Wednesday |
| <i>Lngo-Thangfai</i> | Wednesday | Tuesday |
| <i>Asai-marapa</i> | | |

After getting astrologer's opinion parents arrange *lathate* (oath) of marriage. Here only marriage oath is performed by bride and bridegroom saying *Ragaiyaala* (accepted). This marriage oath is administered by the *Vikku*. The *Vikku* will administer oath in the following manner, "from this moment you are husband and wife of each other." Both bride and

bridegroom will say in a same loudly voice Ragaiyaala (accepted). Both bride and bridegroom will say three times Ragaiyaala then it is recognised by all. Normally this marriage ceremony is arranged during the sun rising period.

In the ancient time Rakkhain used *pigeon* (writing leaf) for invitation purpose. Now they use written *nimra mangla faisal* (invitation letter) to invite their relatives. There is no dowry system in this society, but parents present gold and valuable assets to the bride.

***Aastoama* (marriage by capture)**

Marriage by capture is prohibited in Rakkhain community. In the sense of their religion they cannot marry with the persons beyond their community. If they do so they cannot return to their kin groups. Parents control their sons and daughters properly in the community.

WOMEN'S RIGHT

In the Rakkhain society women work in the house, homestead land and occasionally in the agricultural field. Even they play important role in

families activities. Women enjoy equal right in property inheritance system. Men and women have equal social right in the family. There is no divorce system in this society. If there is any misunderstanding between couples then women stay alone for a particular time, after restoring relations with her husband she can live with her husband. The women and men perform religious activities in the same temple. In the family normally they lead a peaceful life and avoid quarrelling. Both the sexes move together to the temple, market and any funeral programmes. They smoke *bidi*, cigarette, or their hand made *gol* leaf (mangrove leaf) *bidi*. Also they chew betel-nut freely in the temple or family. Female use dresses according to their choice. Most of the Rakkhain women and men are deprived from mid level and higher level education. There are few educational facilities in this region. So, normally they spend whole time in the *tong* (house), home and agricultural field. Having less recreational and other civic facilities Rakkhain people are in the latency stage which is like a primitive homogenous clan. Generally the Rakkhain keep less contact with plain natives. From morning to evening they maintain their own schedule for household and agricultural works. They listen more to radio programmes. A few educated women are in services near the Kalapara

thana headquarters. Also women are working as a house tutor. The poor women gather food and sell labour to the rich family.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

For governing and enforcing law and order there is a *Matbor* (headman) system in the Rakkhain community. For better administration Rakkhain people select a good and capable man as a *Matbor*. A man who possesses the following character qualities he may be selected as *Matbor*.

- Socially and economically must be familiar and solvent.
- Person must be honourable in the community.
- Person should have the knowledge of Rakkhain education as well as little bit knowledge of Bengali.
- Person should have power of judgement.
- Person should have better understanding with the persons of his own *para* and also with the renowned persons of the neighbouring *para*.

In the Rakkhain community there are three tier administration system

- Own para administration
- Local level administration.
- Government institutional administration.

A *Matbor* should established liaison with the community people, local public representatives as well as the government officials.

Function of the *Matbor* (Headman)

For the villagers' security, *Matbor* plays a key role. Religious, social and cultural functions are also led by the *Matbor*. In funeral function *Matbor* is the only media of maintaining ancient and recent social custom. He prevents and settles the conflict among the villagers and acts as a co-ordinator between villagers and the authority of the affair of land for tax and other purposes. In religious function *Matbor* decides the whole

routines after discussing with Monk. In marriage ceremony *Matbor* acts as a mediator between bride and groom. *Matbor* is the informal leader in the village. He tries to solve any problem of the villagers and directs the development work of the village. In the villages *Matbor* has additional power. He selects some assistants from the villagers as his staff. These people are neither employed on salary basis nor get regular payment. They get a little facility from the *Matbor* for their assistance. Sometimes they carry the order from the *Matbor* to the people.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

In the Rakkhain area there is shortage of educational institutions. Most of the people are deprived from modern education. Due to bad communication Rakkhains can not send their children to school. This ethnic community fails to compete with plain natives to obtain government services, teaching and other technical jobs. For educational deprivation they have failed to get good position in the society.

About 99% Rakkhains are educated in their own Rakkhain language. They have their own language and phonetics. After birth, a baby must learn Rakkhain language. He or she learns how to read and write. In the first stage boys and girls take elementary lesson from their parents. Then the parents send them to *kiang* (school) near their temple. The *Vikku* (monk) takes socialization responsibilities of the minor boys and girls. The *Vikku* rears destitute boys and girls in the temple area. The village people provide food, cloth and books for the destitute in the temple. Compulsorily students have to learn alphabetical knowledge from the Monk in the *kiang*. After that they go to nearest primary school for completing fifth class education. There is Bengali medium course, for which the Rakkhain face language problem. It is very difficult for them to learn Bengali and express it properly. As a result most of the Rakkhain students drop out from the school. A few students complete the secondary and higher secondary education in different educational institutions of Patuakhali, Barisal, Barguna district headquarters. No Rakkhain language course curriculum is found in the higher education syllabus in different Universities in Bangladesh. As a result the Rakkhains do not get any inspiration to go for higher education. Most of the parents are in financial

hardship, for that reason they can not afford their sons and daughters educational expenses. They send their boys in the agricultural field and girls in the weaving training at home.

There is only one free primary school in the village. During my research, I saw only one school in a cyclone shelter. This cyclone shelter is used for school. Even, teachers use this cyclone shelter for their permanent accommodation after school hours. Many Rakkhains can not send their boys to this school due to social causes. They can not adjust with plain native boys. They like their *kiang* in their village. In the *kiang* (school) there is *changsara* (teacher). In the morning *changsara* ring the *toukhong* (wooden made bell) for calling students. This school is maintained by community people through subscription system. The school authority is uses temple for conducting classes.

During class period all the boys and girls including destitute boys attend the classes. The students use simple teaching aids. The poor students use *pigong* (palm leaf) for writing alphabet, while rich students use *kalonda* (pen) and white paper. Those who can not purchase *chaoo* (book) they

obtain it free from the Monk. This is a collectivist system school which is helpful for educating all the Rakkhain students.

A very few Rakkhain students have less opportunity to go for secondary, higher secondary and higher education. They can not afford higher education due to their personal economic crisis. Due to poor knowledge in English and Bengali they can not compete with plain native students. They use Rakkhain language in their education system. From boyhood they have to learn basically following alphabets :

Chart-14: *Beayi* (Vowel)

Namo Bothai: Cide, Asa, Ass, Eiei, Uuu, Aa, Oo, Aoe

ဒ် . ဂော ဗုဒ္ဓ ယာ . သိ ဒ်
ဒာ . ဒာ . ဒါ . ဒါ . ဉ . ဉ . ဂ . ဂေ .
ဝေ ဝေ . ဒာ . ဒာ :

Chart-15: Aeo (Consonant)

*Kazi, Khake, Ghanga, Ghakri, Naa, Chlong, Salay,
 Jagoya, Jamiasua, Naya, Tatanyasya, Yajombay,
 ayenga, Darrimo, Nazi, Taiumbo, Thasenkho, Dade,
 Daose, Nnga, Pajao, Jaot he, Barsey, Bago, Masa, Yaya,
 Raa, Laa, Woa, Saa, Tha, Nazia,*

ণ. ঙ. ঞ. ঝ. ঞ. ঠ. ড. ঳.
 ণ. ঙ. ঞ. ঝ. ঞ. ঠ. ড. ঳.
 ণ. ঙ. ঞ. ঝ. ঞ. ঠ. ড. ঳.
 ণ. ঙ. ঞ. ঝ. ঞ. ঠ. ড. ঳.

30

Chart-16: Name of the Day

| Bengali language | English language | Rakkhain language |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Sani | Saturday | <i>Sanley</i> |
| Rabi | Sunday | <i>Tanagenly</i> |
| Soam | Monday | <i>Tanala</i> |
| Mongal | Tuesday | <i>Augga</i> |
| Bud | Wednesday | <i>Pudhalun</i> |
| Brihaspati | Thursday | <i>Crachaf fedeha</i> |
| Shukro | Friday | <i>Thacra.</i> |

Chart-17: Name of the Month

| Bengali | English | Rakkhain |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Poush | January | <i>Tubutuea</i> |
| Magh | February | <i>Tabao</i> |
| Falgun | March | <i>Tagu</i> |
| Chaitra | April | <i>Tngkhebu</i> |
| Baishak | May | <i>Kangchu</i> |
| Jaishtha | June | <i>Nayong</i> |
| Ashar | July | <i>Waso</i> |
| Srabon | August | <i>Wakho</i> |
| Vadro | September | <i>Totalay</i> |
| Asshin | October | <i>Danjua</i> |
| Kartik | November | <i>Naito</i> |
| Agrohayan | December | <i>Prato</i> |

Chart-18: Direction Terminology

| Bengali | English | Rakkhain |
|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| Purbo | East | <i>A - Rhee</i> |
| Panchim | West | <i>Anow</i> |
| Dakkin | South | <i>Tong</i> |
| Uttar | North | <i>Arhee</i> |
| Dakkin Purbo | South East | <i>Arhee Tongi</i> |
| Uttar Purbo | North East | <i>Arhee mrow</i> |
| Dakkin Panchim | South West | <i>Anow mrow</i> |
| Uttar Panchim | North West | <i>Arhee Anow</i> |
| Upor | Up | <i>Ahai</i> |
| Nich | Down | <i>Aow</i> |

Chart-19: The Rakkhain *Ruray* (Calculating) System

| <u>Bengali Word</u> | <u>Rakkhain Word</u> | <u>English Word</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Akk | <i>Tai</i> | One |
| Dui | <i>Naai</i> | Two |
| Tin | <i>Tung</i> | Three |
| Char | <i>Lay</i> | four |
| Panch | <i>Naa</i> | Five |
| Chay | <i>Mrau</i> | Six |
| Sath | <i>Khani</i> | Seven |
| Att | <i>Krai</i> | Eight |
| Naay | <i>Koo</i> | Nine |
| Dash | <i>Tasay</i> | Ten |
| Agaro | <i>Tasa tai</i> | Eleven |
| Baro | <i>Tasa nai</i> | Twelve |
| Taro | <i>Tasatung</i> | Thirteen |
| Chaddo | <i>Tasele</i> | Fourteen |
| Panoro | <i>Tasenan</i> | Fifteen |
| Solo | <i>Tase Krai</i> | Sixteen |
| Sataro | <i>Tase khani</i> | Seventeen |
| Atharo | <i>Tase sai</i> | Eighteen |
| Anuish | <i>Tase koo</i> | Nineteen |
| Bish | <i>Nai sey</i> | Twenty |
| Akus | <i>Naise tai</i> | Twenty one |
| Bais | <i>Nasie nai</i> | Twenty two |

| <u>Bengali Word</u> | <u>Rakkhain Word</u> | <u>English Word</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Tais | <i>Naise tung</i> | Twenty three |
| Chbbis | <i>Naise ley</i> | Twenty four |
| Poses | <i>Naise naa</i> | Twenty five |
| Sabbis | <i>Kharru</i> | Twenty six |
| Satash | <i>Naise Konai</i> | Twenty seven |
| Atash | <i>Naise Snai</i> | Twenty eight |
| Auntirish | <i>Naise koo</i> | Twenty nine |
| Trish | <i>Tung sey</i> | Thirty |
| Akkotrish | <i>Tunsey tai</i> | Thirty One |
| Battirish | <i>Tunsey Nai</i> | Thirty Two |
| Tattiris | <i>Tungsey tung</i> | Thirty three |
| Chautrish | <i>Tungsey ley</i> | Thirty four |
| Paytrish | <i>Tunse naa</i> | Thirty five |
| Saytrish | <i>Tunsey mrau</i> | Thirty six |
| Saitrish | <i>Tunse khani</i> | Thirty seven |
| Attrish | <i>Tunse sai</i> | Thirty eight |
| Unochallish | <i>Tunse koo</i> | Thirty nine |
| Challish | <i>Le sey</i> | Forty |
| Akchallish | <i>Lese tai</i> | Forty one |
| Biallish | <i>Lese nait</i> | Forty two |
| Tetallish | <i>Lese tung</i> | Forty three |
| Chuchallish | <i>Lese ley</i> | Forty four |
| Panchallish | <i>Lese naa</i> | Forty five |
| Sichallish | <i>Lese krau</i> | Forty six |

| <u>Bengali Word</u> | <u>Rakkhain Word</u> | <u>English Word</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Satchallis | <i>Lese Kanai</i> | Forty seven |
| Atchallish | <i>Lese sai</i> | Forty eight |
| Unopanchash | <i>Lese koo</i> | Forty nine |
| Panchash | <i>Nese</i> | Fifty |
| Akanno | <i>Nese tai</i> | Fifty one |
| Banno | <i>Nese nai</i> | Fifty two |
| Tepanno | <i>Nese tung</i> | Fifty three |
| Chuanno | <i>Nese Ley</i> | Fifty four |
| Panchanno | <i>Nese naa</i> | Fifty five |
| Sappanno | <i>Nese krau</i> | Fifty six |
| Satanno | <i>Nese kannai</i> | Fifty seven |
| Atanno | <i>Nese sai</i> | Fifty eight |
| Un sat | <i>Nese koo</i> | Fifty nine |
| Satt | <i>Kerausu</i> | Sixty |
| Aksatti | <i>Kerausu tai</i> | Sixty one |
| Basatti | <i>Kerausu nai</i> | Sixty two |
| Tesatti | <i>Kerausu tung</i> | Sixty three |
| Chousatti | <i>Kerausu Ley</i> | Sixty four |
| Paysatti | <i>Kerausu naa</i> | Sixty five |
| Sisatti | <i>Kerausu krau</i> | Sixty six |
| Satsatti | <i>Kerausu Kannai</i> | Sixty seven |
| Atsatti | <i>Kerausu sai</i> | Sixty eight |
| Unsattor | <i>Kerausu koo</i> | Sixty nine |
| Sattor | <i>Kanaise</i> | Seventy |

| <u>Bengali Word</u> | <u>Rakkhain Word</u> | <u>English Word</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Akattor | <i>Kanaise tai</i> | Seventy one |
| Bahattor | <i>Kanaise nai</i> | Seventy two |
| Tehattor | <i>Kanaise tung</i> | Seventy three |
| Chuhattor | <i>Kanaise Ley</i> | Seventy four |
| Panchchattor | <i>Kanaise naa</i> | Seventy five |
| Sahattor | <i>Kanaise krau</i> | Seventy six |
| Satator | <i>Kanaise Kannai</i> | Seventy seven |
| Attattor | <i>Kanaise sai</i> | Seventy eight |
| Unashi | <i>Kanaise koo</i> | Seventy nine |
| Ashi | <i>Saise</i> | Eighty |
| Akasi | <i>Saise Tai</i> | Eighty One |
| Birashi | <i>Saise Nai</i> | Eighty Two |
| Tirashi | <i>Saise Tung</i> | Eighty Three |
| Churashi | <i>Saise Ley</i> | Eighty Four |
| Panchasi | <i>Saise Naa</i> | Eighty Five |
| Siasi | <i>Saise Krou</i> | Eighty Six |
| Satasi | <i>Saise Kanei</i> | Eighty Seven |
| Austoasi | <i>Saise Sai</i> | Eighty Eight |
| Unanabbaai | <i>Saise Koo</i> | Eighty Nine |
| Nabbai | <i>Kose</i> | Ninety |
| Akanabbai | <i>Kose Tai</i> | Ninety One |
| Biranabbai | <i>Kose Nai</i> | Ninety Two |
| Tiranabbai | <i>Kose Tung</i> | Ninety Three |
| Churanabbai | <i>Kose Ley</i> | Ninety Four |

| <u>Bengali Word</u> | <u>Rakkhain Word</u> | <u>English Word</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Panchanabbai | <i>Kose Naa</i> | Ninety Five |
| Sianabbai | <i>Kose Mrau</i> | Ninety Six |
| Satanabbai | <i>Kose Kanai</i> | Ninety Seven |
| Atanabbai | <i>Kose Sai</i> | Ninety Eight |
| Niranabbai | <i>Kose Koo</i> | Ninety Nine |
| Akksoto | <i>Tra</i> | Hundred |

CHAPTER-VI

LIFE CYCLE, BELIEFS AND RITUALS OF THE RAKKHAINS OF BELKATA

BIRTH

In every society and every culture people pass some universal human stages of life which includes birth, childhood, puberty, marriage, adulthood, old stage and death. Some beliefs, rituals and ceremonies remain associated with these stages of life.

In the Rakkhain society all eligible couples expect child for their own satisfaction. The Rakkhain people also protect their generation. Rakkhain couple take babies after understanding with each other. In a particular period the Rakkhain women conceive and then male people take special care of the pregnant women.

During the child birth pregnant women are kept in an isolated room. Normally, the older women assist when pregnant women feel labour pain. She is advised to remember the name of Buddha. The attendant maintain all precautions for pregnant women. Sometimes the Rakkhain women follow the herbal doctor's advice for easy delivery. If a baby is born in a moon night they think he or she would be a great man in course of time. After delivery women follow food rituals. They take only simple food like rice, vegetables and spice mixed dry food while the pork meat, hilsha fish are restricted. Rakkhains think that it may be harmful for the baby. After passing of fifteen days, pork, chicken, duck are restricted for the mother. There is no restriction for the mother to provide breast to the newly born babies. Babies are always kept on the cradle. In the Rakkhain community women can worship after pregnancy. They do not bother for pollution. But after giving birth to baby mother is advised not to go far away from her house. Always she should keep contact with her newly born baby. If she keeps contact with her baby then devil can not harm the newly born baby. In the Rakkhain community, if any eligible couple fails to give birth to a child, in their belief, it means the curse on the family. Monk is informed after the birth of a baby. Vikku prayed for Buddha for happy and

prosperous life of the baby. Also he has to decide a good name for the newly born baby.

CEREMONY FOR BABY'S FIRST FOOD

When a baby reaches eating age a ceremonial performance is observed in the family which is called rice eating ceremony (*thamoy*). Parents invite the monk in their house. The Rakkhain people organize a simple rice eating ceremony. Firstly monk gives food by his hand into the baby's mouth. On this occasion monk prays to Buddha wishing joy and happiness for the baby.

EARBORING

Earboring of the Rakkhain baby is completed at an early age, but in some cases it is completed at the age of six to eight. Women earbore the baby by the indigenous method. First they take a simple needle and small pieces of thread and burn the needle and bore the ears and for the antiseptic purpose they use ashes. Normally, mother or aunt performs this earboring duty for

wearing ornaments. Rich people serve good food to the *para* (village) people during this ceremony.

POLLUTION

In the Rakkhain community there are some specific rituals in the period of puberty and pollution. After the age of fourteen any moment female youth face symptoms of puberty. When a girl becomes mature, firstly she informs her mother about her physical changes. Mother will convey this message to her father. In this case son and daughter will sleep in their specific rooms of the tong house. In Rakkhain community mature girl gets first preference for her accommodation. If required father will stay in the guest corner and sacrifice the master bed for his daughter. There is no binding during menstruation on prayer, or food cooking by the incumbent and normally she can move outside the house. There is no pollution binding on the farming activities during menstruation period.

FESTIVALS

The Rakkhain people are jovial. They spend a big amount of money for festival or social occasions. They follow their traditional religion and cultural ritual and practices during the festival period. Rakkhains perform different ritual activities during crop plantation and harvesting time. During plantation time they follow symbolic Dragon's movement. The Rakkhain people believe in dragon's supernatural power. They think that if they can please the Dragon, then it brings the good luck for them. Before starting any work they worship this Dragon.

a. *Waso labray* (ashari purnima)

The Rakkhain people observe *Ashari purnima* spontaneously in their community. They believe that Buddha came in his mother's womb in this full moonlit night. They give more importance to this festival. The virtuous people assemble in a temple for demonstrating their firm belief in Buddha's ideologies and practices. The women prepare different kinds of cakes for the *Vikku* (monk). They abstain from eating meat or fish, or

killing any birds. They recite Tripitak. Men and women listen Tripitak with devotion. I have observed that during the time of worship, they smoke *bidi* in the temple. There is no restriction on smoking in the temple. The monk distributes different varieties foods among the people. The community people show their deep respect for the monk. In this holy festival community people prepare good food. In the festivals the Rakkhain people serve tortoise, frog, fish, pork and wine to their guests.

b. *Kasum phoeya* (Buddha purnima)

This is a holy day for the Rakkhain people. They believe that on this day Buddha died. For that reason this festival is observed solemnly in the Rakkhain community. Rakkhain men and women worship *ashshasta* trees and Buddha's sculpture as they believe that Buddha sat for meditation under this Ashshasta tree. In this festival Rakkhain people distribute sweets, cakes among the community people. The Rakkhain people observe this festival with devotion during full moonlit night.

c. *Kattiving poya* (Cloth giving Ceremony)

In this ceremony the Rakkhain people present traditional cloth to the monk. The monk is a person who sacrifices his life for community service. Traditionally the community people bear all kinds of expenses for the monk. The people present yellow cloth to the monk. They believe that this sacrifice is a virtuous work for any Rakkhain people. So they arrange cloth giving ceremony in the temple during a particular time in the year.

d. *Waso poya* (Meditation Festival)

Rakkhain people believe that Buddha remained in a deep meditation for six to seven years. Many people stay full time in the temple for three month as a religious practice. from a particular full moonlit night to another full moonlit night for the attainment of success in meditation which was advised by Buddha. They sleep in the temple for getting Buddha's wishes. They do not go outside the temple. Even people fasten a big balloon in this full moonlit night outside the temple.

e. *Sraman* (Vikku ceremony)

An individual must be *vikku* one time in his life time. Any Rakkhain people can be temporary *vikku* within the twenty years of age. Even a minor child may be a *vikku*. When parents intend to send their baby to the monk during a particular period for *vikku* practices he must have to stay in the temple with *vikku*, and he has to perform all kinds of religious ritual. During the period of *Sraman* they clean their hair and put on yellow clothes. when a man becomes *vikku* he must leave his house. The *vikku* has to stay in the temple premise but he can wander outside the premise for necessary works. Normally the *Vikku* is a vegetarian, but in some cases he may take pork meat, tortoise etc. Before twelve noon the *Vikku* has to complete his lunch.

The *Vikku* can not receive any salary from the community people, but he can take festivals money from the community people and may take food from them when it is brought for him. After taking this money and food he gives it to the destitute. He may work as a teacher in the *Kiang* (learning institution for religious matter) without any remuneration.

OLD AGE

In the Rakkhain community most of the old people are farmers. In the old age they can not move to their farming land. Morally they restrict their movement in the house and nearest para. Obviously old people are respected and they are being helped to get out of their house by the community people. Though they are old but they play the important role in the family for making decision. Old couple always avoid hard manual work. Old females take care of the babies in the family. They pass time by gossiping, praying and performing household works. Younger people think that they are their well-wisher. If they stay at home Buddha bless the family members.

***Michagrroa* (Funeral Rites)**

After the death of any person, nearest relatives and well-wishers are informed by the kin groups. Traditionally, the Rakkhain people follow two systems on death rituals: a) a funeral rite, b) graveyard. Selection of the funeral place depends on departed person's nearest kin groups. The

Rakkhain community people maintain death ritual. The dead body is covered by white cloth, while perfume is spreaded in the preserving room of the dead body. The old men, women or any person who died on contagious or infectious disease, the dead body must be burnt. Local name of the funeral is *michagroa*. The graveyard system is called (*mrifra*). When a *Vikku* dies the community people arrange *mmimgri poea* (funeral rites). This *fmimgri poea* is organized by all Rakkhain people of the area. Basic responsibility lies in *para* people where he served as a Monk in the temple.

COMMON PEOPLE'S FUNERAL

When common people die the nearest relatives have to arrange Mrifra (graveyard) or Michagroa (funeral rites) in the own family Mrifra place. It is believed by the Rakkhain people that crying or lamentation may be harmful for departed soul. Everybody should accept God's will. The dead body will be burnt or buried as soon as possible. The male dead body or female dead body must be placed to the Monk. And Monk prays for the peace of departed soul. Monk reads out incantation for deity for the

eternal peace of the departed soul. During the Monk's prayer the dead body is touched by his sons, daughters, and nearest relatives. If it is decided to burn the dead body then Rakkhain people pile dry wood near the pyre and decorate it accordingly. For the male dead body it is needed three tier fire-woods at the pyre. Also it is needed four tier fire-woods for burning female dead body. After completing funeral rituals nearest relatives set fire to the dead body firstly, then other people assist to burn the dead body properly. After finishing the Michagrroa ashes are covered by the clay. After funeral rites a bamboo is placed in the middle place of the burning spot, also a red flag is being flown top of the bamboo. Here it must be mentioned that before funeral rites rich people make special type of chariot for preserving dead body long time in indigenous way. They use local made wooden box and inside that box they place thin paper and hand made tobacco dust to preserve the dead body. By this preservation method they can preserve any dead body for a particular period. They place this wooden box near the house premise and tie it with trees or wooden pole. The rich people invite their nearest relatives and neighbouring well-wishers for attending funeral ceremony. They organize it in the full moon night or any moonlit week. The male or female person

can participate in this funeral ceremony. Even they arrange games, folk songs, good food for the invited funeral participants. Before sending the dead body to the pyre, all the male and female are divided into two groups. After dividing two groups they start to pull the well decorated chariot. If the women win in the pulling competition then they think that the dead body will go to the heaven. If men win in the pulling competition then the dead body, they believe, will go to hell. It is decided previously that women group will win in the chariot pulling competition, because every body expects the heaven. It is restricted to cry before the dead body and Rakkhains ultimately believe that every one will get the *Nibbana* (permanent place of the universe).

THE MONK'S FUNERAL CEREMONY

The Monk is a respectable person in Rakkhain community. Every individual shows his regard to the Monk after his (Monk) death. A special type of funeral ceremony is observed for the Monks by all people of the community. The Rakkhain people arrange *fuungri poea* (Monk's funeral rites) in the temple premises. At that the time of death all the *para*

(village) people assemble in the cremation ground of the Monk. After the death of the Monk his dead body is preserved by indigenous method in the temple area. *Para* people form a committee for Monk's funeral rites. The committee members invite all the Monks of the Rakkhain community. They collect subscription from each Rakkhain households. The funeral committee members invite neighbouring *para* people, local Rakkhains, local elites for attending this special funeral ceremony. They maintain all sorts of funeral rituals like other common people. The Monk's dead body is preserved in the well decorated chariot after *talchotrepoa* (pulling competition). The dead body is placed at a particular point for cremation. From a particular distance funeral ceremony participants through electric and gunpowder device burn the dead body thus the dead body is fully destroyed. If this is done the Rakkhain believe that the dead body has gone to heaven.

The funeral ceremony for the Monk is expensive and for that reason most of the people in different areas are follow *michagrroa* (funeral rites) system for their own temple's Monk where burning system is less costly, so most of the Rakkhain people follow this system. In this system the

Monk is burnt by the fire- wood. All the para and neighbouring people attain the funeral rites. After burning the dead body ashes are preserved by the people. This is the belief of the common people that if they preserve it in the house and worship regularly then God will bestow favour of them.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BUDDHISM

The Rakkhains of Belkata are Buddhist by religion. They follow the principles of Buddhism. Buddha discovered the four noble truths by his intuitive knowledge. In Buddhism the four noble truths lead to get the "Nibbana". Rakkhain Buddhist believe that the Nibbana is the devotion for completing a life cycle. In Nibbana there is no sorrow, happiness, heaven, hell and soul doctrine. All kinds of fulfilment end in Nibbana. Rakkhain Buddhists follow the following ways to get Nibbana:

| <u>Pali</u> | <u>Rakkhain</u> | <u>Description</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| <i>Panchoshila</i> | <i>Gnaba - Thila</i> | The oaths Be abstaining from: 1) Killing 2) Stealing 3) Sexual misconduct 4) Lying (not truth) 5) Intoxication. |
| <i>Ashtamshila</i> | <i>Shepa Thila</i> | 1) Killing 2) Stealing 3) Sexual misconduct 4) Lying (not truth) 5) Intoxication. 6) Afternoon meal 7) Amusement and entertainment 8) Sleeping raised place |
| <i>Dashamshila</i> | <i>Sebathila</i> | 1) Killing 2) Stealing 3) Sexual misconduct 4) Lying (not truth) 5) Intoxication. 6) Afternoon meal 7) Amusement and entertainment 8) Sleeping raised place 9) Using flowers, perfumes and other luxuries 10) Avoid using gold, silver and other ornaments |

A Rakkhain man takes oath for *shila* (religious practice) during the full moonlit night in any lunar month or in every day life. In Buddhism any man or woman follows the *shila* to get *nibbana*. The men who are under oath will possess the holiness. Men and women who are holy can step up the activities leading to Nibbana. The *shila* is very important to build up moral character. The man who is free from temptation, exculpation, illusion is really holy. The *shila* is a main basic foundation for obtaining freeness.

THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTH

Buddha discovered the fourth noble truth by his intuitive knowledge. The great '*Dhamachastra*' is the principle foundation of Buddha's teachings.

THE FIRST NOBLE TRUTH

The first noble truth deals with *Dukha* the better word is rendered by 'Suffering' or 'sorrow' of life. *du* = difficult, *kha* = to endure. *Dukha* starts when one conceives in his/her mother's womb. When a kid or a baby takes

birth sorrow and suffering go along with his/her life cycle. There are four inevitable sufferings, these are:

- *Jati* All are subject to birth.
- *Jara* All are subject to decay
- *Vyadhi* All are subject to disease
- *Marana* Ultimately death through suffering

Buddha felt the suffering. Buddha realized the actual *Dukha* in the life cycle of all creatures.

THE SECOND NOBLE TRUTH

The second noble truth is *smudhya*, the exact reason of *dukha*. Main obstacle of achieving Nibbana is *Smudya*. Thus ignorance, activities, craving attainment grasping and *kamma* are the causes of *Dukha*. Buddha always gave warning in the above. Elimination of *Smudhya* is the elimination of *Dukha*. The cause of *Dukha* neglects the *Smudhya*.

THE THIRD NOBLE TRUTH

The third noble truth is *Nirodha*, the noble goal of Buddhism. The Nirodha obviously remains up to one's life end. A human body is formed by four elements such as earth, water, air, temperature. When a man reach to the Nirodha he becomes free from all troubles. At the end of man's life there will be no existence of elements. At the end of life the holy man free from all kind of painful thoughts, troubles. Man will be neither unhappy nor sorrowful in the eternal peace. The absolute means of Nirodha is free from life wheel, heaven and hell.

THE FOURTH NOBLE TRUTH

The *Megha* (way of nirodha): This truth has to be realized by developing the noble eight fold path. The unique path is the only straight route to Nibbana.

It consists of the following eight holy duties:

- 1) Right understanding
- 2) Right thought
- 3) Right speech
- 4) Right action
- 5) Right livelihood
- 6) Right effort
- 7) Right mindfulness
- 8) Right concentration

1) *Samma ditthi* (Right understanding)

It is explained as the knowledge about the four noble truths. Ditthi is the power of observation with deep knowledge. A person is a combination of mind and matter. If a wise man can distinguish himself from the mind and matter he really understands the ditthi. He assumes that the mind is the reflection of thoughts and matter is the subject.

2. *Samma samkappa* (Right thought)

The man who has right knowledge he has clear thinking. The sense of right resolution or right aspirations is right thought.

3. *Samma vaca* (Right speech)

Right thought leads to right speech. The right speech should be realized as true speaking and refraining from falsehood, slandering, harsh word and frivolous talk.

4. *Samma* (Right action)

It deals with abstinence from killing, stealing and sexual misconduct. The wrong deeds happen due to craving, anger and ignorance. Right action man can lead a holy life. He can subdue himself from evil activities.

5. ***Samma ajiva* (Right livelihood)**

Buddha advised his disciple to live with holiness. A good man can survive his life without wrong livelihood. Buddha also gave advice to refrain from jealousy, slaughtering animals and lying.

6. ***Samman vayma* (Right effort)**

Rakkhain Buddhists concentrate themselves in religious activities without thinking of other evil activities.

7. ***Samma sati* (Right mindfulness)**

The constant mindfulness is required for body, feelings and thoughts. Buddha said *Samma sati* is only the media of achieving Nibbana.

8. ***Samma samadhi* (Right Concentration)**

Right effort and right mindfulness lead to right concentration.

In brief the noble truth is only the way to get *nibbana*.

WHEEL OF LIFE AND REBIRTH

Patica samuppada (Life wheel) is the law of life wheel. The explanation of *patica samuppada* is recycling of a life wheel. The destruction is related with the creation and the creation is firmly related with the destruction. The *tanha* (craving) is main creator of life wheel movement. A man can never get *nibbana* until he stops the cycle of life wheel. The life wheel is linked with different sense of steps. The related steps of life wheel are as follows:

1. *Avijja* (ignorance)
2. *Samkhara* (activities)
3. *Vinnana* (rebirth - consciousness)
4. *Nama Rupa* (mind and matter)
5. *Salayadana* (six sense)
6. *Phassa* (contact)
7. *Vedanta* (feelings)
8. *Tanha* (cravings)
9. *Upadana* (attachment)

10. *Bhava* (action)

11. *Jati* (birth)

12. *Jara marana* (decay and death)

1. *Avijja* (Ignorance)

The basic obstacle of realization about knowledge. *Avijja* prevents to distinguish mind and matter, so a man can not obtain the perfectness of creating and concluding.

2. *Samkhara* (Activities)

Movement for obtaining sensuality from life.

3. *Vinnana* (Rebirth - Consciousness)

This is the result of activities and formation of lives.

4. *Nama rupa* (Mind and Matter)

It is the character of creating mind and matter. Though the mind and matter is co-related but the character is different.

5. *Salayadana* (Six sense)

Extension of mind and matter. In this stage observing, listening, smelling, testing, feeling and understanding power is extended.

6. *Phassa* (Contact)

It causes due to *salayadna*. The expression of sense is expanded in this stage.

7. *Vedanta* (Feeling)

Every feeling comes from contact. It may be painful or delightful.

8. *Tanha* (Cravings)

It comes from feeling.

9. *Upadana* (Decay and death)

Extreme step of *upadana* is attachment. Physically achieves the matter due to craving.

10. *Bhava* (Action)

Again starting of life.

11. *Jati* (Birth)

Again compiled the figure with all matter.

12. *Jara marana* (Decay and death)

Physical structure changes and becomes death.

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7. *Vedanta* (Feeling)

Every feeling comes from contact. It may be painful or delightful.

8. *Tanha* (Cravings)

It comes from feeling.

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Extreme step of upadana is attachment. Physically achieves the matter due to craving.

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Physical structure changes and becomes death.

WORSHIP IN THE HOUSE

Rakkhain people worship inside the house. Normally they worship three times daily. In every house there is Lord Buddha's sculpture. They set up a small type of sculpture of Buddha at the middle point of the house fence. They decorate this praying place and offer a plate of rice, banana, curry, milk to the sculpture of Buddha.

In the morning they start their first prayer to bronze made Buddha's sculpture. They ring peace bell and recite their own religious hymn. They decorate the altar of the Buddha's sculpture with various type of flowers.

In the mid day before taking their lunch they serve a small portion of curries and other Consumable things to Buddha's sculpture. This is their belief that if they serve this food to Buddha then Buddha will wish peace and happiness for that family.

In the evening they pray to Buddha's sculpture and also they ring the peace bell of happiness. At that time they use candle and that is called *fuandi*

prayer. In this fuandi prayer the other family members also attend with elder person. In the housing prayer they expect blessing from Buddha.

TABOO

Taboo is related to social life and more or less it practised by everybody. The meaning of taboo is prohibition from doing particular work which is contrary to customs. It has become a regular sense of believing or thinking without any logic. Many people believe that there is some supernatural powers behind any action, though there is no effective proof about it. According to belief, there are happening many occurrence which cannot be explained. Nobody can deny the action of unseen power whether the result is good or bad. The people of every society believe in this type of happening. The Rakkhain people also believe in such supernatural power which is mentioned in the following :

- In the journey, if a Rakkhain individual sees snake on the road and snake's head is in the eastern side of the road, his belief, his journey will be dangerous but if he sees the snake's head is in the southern or northern side of the road, he assumes, his journey will be fruitful.

- During any movement for good work if any Rakkhain individual sees dead body he assumes that his movement will bring some troubles.
- When a Rakkhain individual goes to perform any work and if he sees empty jar on the way, he assumes that his result will be negative.
- If any individual sees jar full of water on the way then he thinks that it's result will be positive.
- Pregnant women cannot move freely in the afternoon out side the home premise, because devil may destroy the unborn baby in her womb.
- After delivery Rakkhain women face restriction of taking fish, meat, vegetable. At that time they can eat rice with pepper, salt and dried spices. Then they can eat only pork meat. Boal fish, hilisha fish are forbidden for that women. They think if any woman eats these fish, she will loose her health.

- Babies are taken care of upto 12 years by the mother. Because they believe that within this period devil's eye may affect them. Any kinds of fever, diarrhoea, bad sleep are caused by devils. Women believe that if they worship taking a plate of rice, fish and flower then devils drive away and it does not do any harmful action to the baby.
- To get cure and relief from any disease Rakkhain people sacrifice goat, duck, chicken, fish, cake for the devils in the nearest jungle.
- They believe in the consequence of dreams. If they see sun or moon in a dream, their belief, it brings good luck to the couple. If they see snake, buffalo, lion in the dream, then the consequences may be bad.
- Before ploughing they sacrifice *bini* rice, flower, coconut to *pagrema* (head of the devils).
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For happiness they observe *Thambudegatha* (Special prayer) which is led by the monk. The monk also prays for lord Buddha for peacefulness life of the family members.

CHAPTER-VII

CONCLUSION

This is an ethnographic research on a coastal Rakkhain community. The Rakkhain people immigrated in Bangladesh from Arakan of Myanmar. They have been living in this zone for about two hundred years. This ethnic group is traditional in their social life. The Rakkhain people had been derive out from Arakan to Bangladesh in the year 1784 by the Arakan king Bodofoa. This king had been torturing in the habit of common people of Arakan state. By this time some army high officials namely Mr. Pi Un Ang, Captain Mongri, Captain Umago escaped from Machnetang village with some people by wooden made sailing boat to southern coast of Bangladesh. They anchored their boat at Rangabali, Belkata Village in Patuakhali district. They were the first People who fought against the wild ferocious animal for protecting their lives. For the purpose of protection made *Machang* (high shelter house) by the *shundare*, *gajaree*, *golpata*, mangrove trees. They also had to face wild

ecological environment. They were the first initiators who introduced farming by cutting mangrove trees.

In 1947 after the independence of Pakistan the plain natives started to settle in this tribal area for purchasing land from the Rakkhains. Many plain natives came here to seek farm jobs and tried to engage themselves in fishing and business by disguising themselves from the law enforcing agency. Gradually the plain natives possessed most of the land property from the Rakkhains. In recent situation these Rakkhains are in declining position due to socio-economic and ethnic problems.

Most of the Rakkhain houses are made of mangrove trees like *shundare*, *gajaree*, *keora*, *hetal*, *golpata* and bamboo. They make traditional *tong* (wooden house) for dwelling. The poor people are living in small wooden houses. They use traditional *anee* (shirt) for male, *sthekhan* for women and *paana angee* for children. Women ornaments namely *laikow* (bracelet), *laichot* (ring), *shewegro* (chain). Hair dress is a regular practice of Rakkhain women. The Rakkhain people use hand made utensils.

Valuable wood, cane and bamboo are used for traditional utensils while some utensils are purchased from local market.

Rakkhain use *semekhoal* (clay made lamp) during night for lightening purpose. For taking meal they also use traditional *puidan* (dinning table) which is made of wood. It looks like a round table with short stand. The staple food for Rakkhain people is rice. They like sea fishes, *nafi* (dried fish), *hloza* (bini rice mixed with powder which is made of various roots of plants), cake, soup, noodles. All of them are fond of *lafa* (tea without milk and sugar) and some of them often drink wine.

The traditional music of Rakkhain community is *lenga*. They like their traditional dance *Pegu* very much. In the *pegu* dancing main highlighting point is drama. This drama series is divided into two parts. First part is full of joking, dancing and modern facts. The second part is composed of historical affairs and is being played at the social function. The Rakkhain male and female can participate freely in this folklore programme.

The family is a traditional unit in the Rakkhain community. There are two kinds of family type in this community. One is the patriarchal and the other is matriarchal. Basically ninety percent family type is patriarchal while the other ten percent family is matriarchal. The family type developed through marriage. Husband and wife can select their residence according to their opinion. In the patriarchal type of family father governs the family while in the matriarchal type mother governs the family.

In the property inheritance system sons and daughters get equal share but the *urtas* (elder son) gets partly more share of father's land property, because he takes care of his younger sisters and brothers. There is no divorce system in this community. The men and women can pray in the same temple. Society is bound by kinship ties. By this tie men and women get their right in the family and community. Agriculture is the subsistence economy in the Rakkhain community. In the earlier period of settlement, they converted mangrove forest into agricultural land for their survival. Due to landlessness most of the Rakkhain people have chosen other professions like small trade, service, fishing and business.

In present days, a few people cultivate their agricultural lands. The Rakkhains people are exploited by middlemen, because they depend on the them for purchasing all sorts of necessary commodities. In that area previously they followed indigenous agricultural practices, but presently they trying to introduce HYV and modern agricultural varieties. Due to improper management of polder 48, rabi crop is being threatened as saline sea water is not controlled by the sluice gate. Still people depend on nature for agricultural activities. Rakkhain farmers are not quite aware of modern farming system.

There are very few educational institutions than necessary in the Rakkhain community. So the Rakkhain boys and girls have to go to the schools and colleges in the Bengali society. Due to bad communication the Rakkhain people have failed to provide education for their generation. It is obvious that there is no special course curriculum for the Rakkhain students. Due to financial crisis they cannot afford their educational expenses and cannot send their boys and girls to higher educational institutions. Though they are not well educated by modern standard, almost every body in Rakkhain

community is educated in the *kiang* based religious education and Rakkhain language.

All Rakkhains are Buddhists by religion. They believe in Buddha's four noble truths. The four noble truths are *Dukha*, *Smudya*, *Nirodha* and *Megha* and these four noble truths are realized by every body in the Rakkhain community for honest realistic life. They also believe in rebirth system and observe many social and religious festivals like *Waso-labray* (*Ashari purnima*), *Kasum phoea* (*Buddha purnima*), *Katting phoea* (presentation ceremony), *Waso phoea* (meditation festival). After birth of a child they practice some rituals e.g. first giving the child rice in the mouth and earboring their daughters etc.

Marriage is an important institution to form a family in the Rakkhain community. After marriage a bride can stay in the groom's house and a groom can stay in the bride's. In the marriage system parents consider bride and groom's opinion. In this community marriage by capture is not accepted and if someone does that, he is punished. None can marry with

the person beyond their community and if he does he or she can not return to their own community.

The political administrative pattern of the Rakkhain society is of three tier. The local level administration is controlled by the *Matbor* (headman). The Matbor acts as a co-ordinator. He maintains liaison with Union Parishad representatives and Thana level administrators for development work. Old and energetic persons are selected for this position. The Matbor must be intellectual enough for governing a *para* (village). In any odd situation he calls a meeting for solving the social problems and social conflict between two factions in the Rakkhain community.

Usually Rakkhain people do not take any food in the plain natives houses. But the Muslim young people often take food in the Rakkhain houses. Both the children of Rakkhains and plain natives go to the same primary and secondary level schools. In the local markets, both the Rakkhain and plain native people have their shops. Rakkhains are usually involved in the trading of smokes, ornaments, cakes, cosmetics etc. which are produced or prepare by themselves within their home. The Rakkhain farmers who can not cultivate

their total land; use to share with other neighbouring Muslim farmers for cultivation known as *pauton* (sharecropping). In this case, sometimes Muslim sharecropper try to exploit the Rakkhains without giving the due share. Both Rakkhain and plain natives invite each other in their ceremonies. Muslims are found moving frequently to the Rakkhains residential area but the Rakkhains are not moving frequently to plain natives area. They usually try to avoid the Muslims residential area.

In the recent period, various social and cultural changes are being observed in the Rakkhain community. The Rakkhain people are trying to maintain an adjustable life following both the life and value practices of the plain natives with their own one. Due to incorporation of new technology in agriculture, communication media, cosmetics, dresses etc. some significant changes are found very evident in the present day Rakkhain community. They are now found, using modern cosmetics, modern medicines, modern essential family amenities etc. with their indigenous items. Though they are clearly identifiable from the plain natives by their own way of life, beliefs and value practices, language etc., but often they are found accepting some cultural elements of the plain

natives. Due to this, both conflicts and cohesions are very evident among the people of this ethnic communities and the plain natives. There are some specific issues and areas, where Rakkhain are intolerable but for some cases they try to maintain a very cooperative relations with the plain land people.

Considering all these positive and negative aspects of Rakkhain community, it can be concluded by this term that due to the impact of modern technology, communication media and development programme interventions in the coastal region, many changes have been occurring in the recent time and the Rakkhains are trying to assimilate themselves with these social, cultural and economic changes as a whole.

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Annexure-I
GLOSSARY

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Actor..... | <i>Zai-lay</i> |
| Actress..... | <i>Zai-lay ma</i> |
| Adress | <i>Zay raih</i> |
| Admire | <i>She moyan</i> |
| Admit | <i>Lai khan khren</i> |
| Adult | <i>Lu pyoo</i> |
| Advance | <i>Ten kro</i> |
| Adice | <i>Oo-wa-da</i> |
| Advocate | <i>Waih-lung</i> |
| Afraid | <i>Krow khren</i> |
| Afternoon..... | <i>Nya-Za</i> |
| Against | <i>san ghen-khren</i> |
| Ago..... | <i>Athai</i> |
| Age | <i>Attaih</i> |
| Apple..... | <i>Panthe</i> |
| Arms..... | <i>Lay naw</i> |
| Art | <i>Panzhi</i> |
| Ash | <i>Pra</i> |
| Attack..... | <i>Thai khai khren</i> |
| Avoid..... | <i>Pay kren</i> |
| Awake | <i>Thaddi</i> |
| Baby | <i>Kh-lay</i> |
| Bachelor..... | <i>Lu-pyoo</i> |
| Back | <i>Now-koon</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Bad | <i>Mkong</i> |
| Bag | <i>Aai</i> |
| Ball | <i>Boloon</i> |
| Banana..... | <i>Nbyoo thu</i> |
| Bank | <i>Ban</i> |
| Bar | <i>Araihain</i> |
| Barrel..... | <i>Zay loon</i> |
| Bathe | <i>Re show khrun</i> |
| Bear | <i>Musai</i> |
| Bean | <i>Pay</i> |
| Beat | <i>That thayt khrun</i> |
| Beauty | <i>Hla khrun</i> |
| Bed | <i>Aai kra</i> |
| Believe | <i>Yoon khrun</i> |
| Bell | <i>Mong</i> |
| Birth | <i>Moin khrun</i> |
| Carat | <i>Royee</i> |
| Carbon..... | <i>Hmain</i> |
| Card..... | <i>Phey</i> |
| Care | <i>Pruzu hmun</i> |
| Carry..... | <i>Song khreen</i> |
| Case..... | <i>A hmun</i> |
| Casual..... | <i>Akrong</i> |
| Cat | <i>Krong</i> |
| Catch | <i>Phan khreen</i> |
| Cause..... | <i>Akrong</i> |
| Change | <i>Prong loyee</i> |
| Coose..... | <i>Hnai tha khreen</i> |

ENGLISH NAME

RAKKHAIN NAME

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| Citizen | <i>Tani ren than</i> |
| City | <i>Mro</i> |
| Clear | <i>Shenlen</i> |
| Cloud | <i>Morai</i> |
| Cooper | <i>Cree</i> |
| Dad | <i>Baba</i> |
| Daily | <i>Nai zain</i> |
| Danger | <i>krow Chara</i> |
| Dark | <i>A.hmong</i> |
| Gate | <i>Raigh</i> |
| Daughter | <i>Thameen</i> |
| Dead | <i>Thee Khreen</i> |
| Dear | <i>Mai shew</i> |
| Delay | <i>Nai Zain</i> |
| Deny | <i>GNram Khreen</i> |
| Deril | <i>Sai See</i> |
| Diamond | <i>Chin</i> |
| Dignity | <i>Thai Kha</i> |
| District | <i>Krain</i> |
| Disturb | <i>HNown shan Khren</i> |
| Devide | <i>Khoe Khra HMun</i> |
| Dog | <i>Khoy Khoe</i> |
| Door | <i>Tan Kha</i> |
| Donkey | <i>Mray</i> |
| Drama | <i>Zai</i> |
| Dream | <i>Aimaig</i> |
| Dress | <i>Tansa</i> |
| Drink | <i>Thow khreen</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Drop | <i>A ceig</i> |
| Gull | <i>Hmong mai</i> |
| Duty | <i>Ta wan</i> |
| Dynasty | <i>Choehan hmun</i> |
| Ear | <i>na</i> |
| Earth | <i>Mray</i> |
| East | <i>Ahrey</i> |
| Easy | <i>Aloyel tgu</i> |
| Economy | <i>Chibyo re</i> |
| Education | <i>Panya</i> |
| Eel | <i>Gnhow</i> |
| Effect | <i>Thikain Hmu</i> |
| Egg | <i>Bayoo</i> |
| Elder | <i>Agree</i> |
| Electricity | <i>Hlayt che</i> |
| Elephant | <i>Sen</i> |
| Emperor | <i>Shen brang</i> |
| Employee | <i>Alugh tha</i> |
| Encourage | <i>Aupee khreen</i> |
| Enemy | <i>Ranthee</i> |
| Engine | <i>Chai</i> |
| English | <i>Englai</i> |
| Enjoy | <i>Pyoo Hmu</i> |
| Enter | <i>Ween Ray</i> |
| Every | <i>Au Coon</i> |
| Excess | <i>Amya</i> |
| Exchange | <i>Prown Hmun</i> |
| Exclaim | <i>Pyoo Khreen</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Excuse..... | <i>Khoin Pru Khree</i> |
| Exhibit..... | <i>Ai Ang Boyi</i> |
| Expense..... | <i>Thoon Khreen</i> |
| Fail..... | <i>Soon Khreen</i> |
| Fair..... | <i>Hla Khreen</i> |
| Faith..... | <i>Youn Khreen</i> |
| Fall..... | <i>Kya Khreen</i> |
| False..... | <i>Wa Ray</i> |
| Fame..... | <i>Kyow zo khreen</i> |
| Fast..... | <i>Yen Khreen</i> |
| Father..... | <i>Fakhen</i> |
| Fear..... | <i>Krow Khreen</i> |
| Feather..... | <i>Hneag ton</i> |
| Fever..... | <i>Fya ray</i> |
| Field..... | <i>Koen</i> |
| Fight..... | <i>Tai khreen</i> |
| Find..... | <i>Hra khreen</i> |
| Fine..... | <i>hla Khreen</i> |
| Finger..... | <i>Lay Hnyoo</i> |
| Flute..... | <i>Ple</i> |
| Fly..... | <i>Yen</i> |
| Foam..... | <i>A Hmorug</i> |
| Force..... | <i>Au pee Khreen</i> |
| Forest..... | <i>Tow</i> |
| Forget..... | <i>Main khreen</i> |
| Fox..... | <i>Khewa</i> |
| Friend..... | <i>Mai swe</i> |
| Galaxy..... | <i>Che-Kra-Wala</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Game..... | <i>Kza Boi</i> |
| Garlic..... | <i>Kroa than free</i> |
| Gardenq..... | <i>OO-Yen</i> |
| Gate..... | <i>Tankhow</i> |
| Gas..... | <i>Da gnwe</i> |
| Gentle..... | <i>Yen the</i> |
| Get..... | <i>Ra-khren</i> |
| Ghost..... | <i>Sai See</i> |
| Gift..... | <i>Lai Song</i> |
| Give..... | <i>Pay khren</i> |
| Glad..... | <i>Pyo khren</i> |
| Glass..... | <i>Fang</i> |
| Goal..... | <i>Hman dain</i> |
| Gold..... | <i>Shee</i> |
| Good..... | <i>Kong Ray</i> |
| Grave..... | <i>Ku</i> |
| Green..... | <i>Anyou</i> |
| Grind..... | <i>Kri-khren</i> |
| ground..... | <i>Mray</i> |
| Group..... | <i>Au Chu</i> |
| Growth..... | <i>Chai Khren</i> |
| Guarantee..... | <i>Ta wan khan shen</i> |
| Guard..... | <i>A chowng</i> |
| Guest..... | <i>Agandu</i> |
| Gun..... | <i>The Nal</i> |
| Habit..... | <i>Acheng</i> |
| Hair..... | <i>Sanbeng</i> |
| Half..... | <i>Thaiwai</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Ham..... | <i>Wai thaw</i> |
| Hammer | <i>Too</i> |
| Hand..... | <i>A Layt</i> |
| Handle | <i>Layt ken</i> |
| Hard..... | <i>Kyant Ray</i> |
| Harm | <i>Ni Na khren</i> |
| Harvest | <i>A The Rai Tay</i> |
| Have | <i>She Ray</i> |
| Haven | <i>Naipray</i> |
| Head | <i>Agong</i> |
| Health..... | <i>Kyanma khren</i> |
| Hear | <i>Kraw Ray</i> |
| Heat | <i>Apu</i> |
| Heavy | <i>Lee Ray</i> |
| Help..... | <i>Ku Nyant Ray</i> |
| Hero..... | <i>Zalai</i> |
| Hill | <i>Tong</i> |
| Hole..... | <i>Apout</i> |
| Home..... | <i>Eeen</i> |
| Hospital..... | <i>See roong</i> |
| Hour | <i>Nari</i> |
| Ice..... | <i>Rkey</i> |
| Idle..... | <i>Pyen Ray</i> |
| Important..... | <i>Aray Kri Ray</i> |
| Improve | <i>To Ta Tay</i> |
| Increase | <i>To Ray</i> |
| Index..... | <i>matica</i> |
| Industry | <i>Ch Roong</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Infant | <i>Khlay</i> |
| Inform..... | <i>Nakra The</i> |
| Injustice..... | <i>Mtraw</i> |
| Inland | <i>Pre dwen</i> |
| Inn | <i>Raiha</i> |
| Insect | <i>PO</i> |
| Insult..... | <i>Atheray phat the</i> |
| Interest..... | <i>Chai keen zaw Hmun</i> |
| Intoxicate..... | <i>monyet khren</i> |
| Iron | <i>Than</i> |
| Island | <i>kyant</i> |
| Invade..... | <i>Chu cho Boyi</i> |
| Interview | <i>Cha May Boyi</i> |
| Issue..... | <i>Akrong</i> |
| Ivory | <i>Senjwee</i> |
| Jam | <i>Yoo</i> |
| Jan | <i>Boo</i> |
| Jaw | <i>Aan Thow</i> |
| Javelin | <i>Hlan</i> |
| Jelly | <i>Yoo</i> |
| Job | <i>A loght</i> |
| Joint..... | <i>Aro seh</i> |
| Joke | <i>Kre-za khreen</i> |
| Joarney | <i>Khree thoa khreen</i> |
| Judge | <i>Tara thu gree</i> |
| judo..... | <i>Aa kja khreen</i> |
| Juice | <i>Aray</i> |
| Jump..... | <i>Khun khreen</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Jungle | <i>Too</i> |
| Junior | <i>Agnay</i> |
| Just | <i>Yknu</i> |
| Justify | <i>Tara-tha freen</i> |
| Jute | <i>Show</i> |
| Kangaroo..... | <i>Tha bai kong</i> |
| Keep | <i>Thakhreen</i> |
| Kerchief..... | <i>Powa</i> |
| Kerosene | <i>R nangain</i> |
| Key | <i>Thoo</i> |
| Kick | <i>Kyout khreen</i> |
| kidney..... | <i>Kyout Kai</i> |
| Kill | <i>Thai khreen</i> |
| Kind..... | <i>Thanokhreen</i> |
| Kindergarten | <i>Khlay kyoung</i> |
| King..... | <i>Brang</i> |
| Kitchen..... | <i>Thamen shat khan</i> |
| Kite..... | <i>Chown</i> |
| Knee | <i>Do sai</i> |
| know..... | <i>Thei khreen</i> |
| Knife..... | <i>Da shay</i> |
| Knit..... | <i>Aait</i> |
| Knock | <i>Tha khreen</i> |
| Knot..... | <i>Shaim khreen</i> |
| Knuckle..... | <i>Aro saigh</i> |
| Labour | <i>Alough</i> |
| Ladder | <i>Lgraw</i> |
| Lady..... | <i>Mingh ma</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Lake..... | <i>Aingh</i> |
| Lamb | <i>Sai thow</i> |
| Land | <i>Mray</i> |
| Language..... | <i>Batha</i> |
| Large | <i>Agree</i> |
| Lark | <i>Lan skee</i> |
| Last..... | <i>Mow soong</i> |
| Late..... | <i>Kragra</i> |
| Lathe..... | <i>Towen khen</i> |
| Law | <i>Oopday</i> |
| Lead..... | <i>Khey</i> |
| Leaf | <i>Aroay</i> |
| Leak..... | <i>Apough</i> |
| Learn | <i>Thei khreen</i> |
| Left..... | <i>Bay</i> |
| Leg..... | <i>Akhree</i> |
| lemon..... | <i>Through thee</i> |
| Length | <i>Ayawgh</i> |
| Less | <i>Ayoough</i> |
| Letter | <i>Cha</i> |
| Life..... | <i>Bwa</i> |
| Machine..... | <i>Hegh</i> |
| Mad | <i>Aru</i> |
| Madam | <i>Minma</i> |
| Magnet | <i>Than lai</i> |
| Main | <i>Agree</i> |
| Maize..... | <i>Sanfu</i> |
| Major..... | <i>Agru</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Make | <i>Alough</i> |
| Malaria | <i>Ghne phyat roga</i> |
| Man | <i>Lu</i> |
| Mango | <i>Th-ra-the</i> |
| Many | <i>Amyagh</i> |
| Map | <i>Mray boong</i> |
| Marle | <i>Kyowt boong</i> |
| Market | <i>Jee</i> |
| Match | <i>Mgrough</i> |
| Maximum..... | <i>Amyash soong</i> |
| Medicine | <i>Sea</i> |
| Megaphone..... | <i>Khrawa</i> |
| Method | <i>Nay</i> |
| Milk | <i>Noo</i> |
| Mile | <i>Main</i> |
| Mother..... | <i>Amin</i> |
| Name | <i>Hnamey</i> |
| Narrow | <i>Agnay</i> |
| Nation..... | <i>Lu myoo</i> |
| Nature..... | <i>Tha-be-wa</i> |
| Near | <i>Anaw ama</i> |
| Necessary | <i>Aloo</i> |
| Neek | <i>Gow sai</i> |
| Need | <i>Loshan hmun</i> |
| Nerve..... | <i>Acro</i> |
| Nest | <i>Athai</i> |
| New | <i>Athai</i> |
| News | <i>The den</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Night..... | <i>Gneegh</i> |
| Nose | <i>Nkhown</i> |
| Not..... | <i>Mhong</i> |
| Novel..... | <i>Wathu</i> |
| Now | <i>Ykhu</i> |
| Nuclear | <i>Anung mrun</i> |
| Number | <i>Nambai</i> |
| Nurse | <i>Narse</i> |
| Nut..... | <i>Wai oo gong</i> |
| Oar..... | <i>Thai</i> |
| Oath..... | <i>Thaicha</i> |
| Obey | <i>Lai na khren</i> |
| Observe | <i>Mron khrum</i> |
| Ocean | <i>Ran lay</i> |
| Octopus | <i>Re</i> |
| Office | <i>Yoon</i> |
| Officer | <i>Yoon bain</i> |
| Ofter | <i>Mera bera</i> |
| Oil..... | <i>see</i> |
| Old..... | <i>Ahoung</i> |
| Olive..... | <i>Ahoung the</i> |
| On..... | <i>Athahma</i> |
| One..... | <i>Ti</i> |
| Onion..... | <i>Kraw than</i> |
| Open..... | <i>Apoin</i> |
| Opium | <i>Been</i> |
| Orange..... | <i>Hrong thee</i> |
| Order | <i>Ameeng</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Oyt..... | <i>Nyaw</i> |
| Oysten | <i>Goon</i> |
| Page..... | <i>Ana</i> |
| Pagoda..... | <i>Kyoung</i> |
| Pail | <i>Balti</i> |
| Parachute..... | <i>Lay thee</i> |
| Parent | <i>Amyoo</i> |
| Park | <i>Ooyant</i> |
| Parrot..... | <i>Chee shay</i> |
| Part | <i>Khyew khart hmun</i> |
| Pass..... | <i>Aung khrun</i> |
| Peace | <i>Ee shan house</i> |
| Peacock | <i>Oo dong</i> |
| Pearl | <i>Play</i> |
| Pen..... | <i>Phoun tee</i> |
| People..... | <i>Loo</i> |
| Pepper | <i>Gnrow thee</i> |
| Perfect | <i>A hman</i> |
| petrol | <i>Dai See</i> |
| Photograph..... | <i>Daipoong</i> |
| Picture | <i>A rong</i> |
| Pig..... | <i>Waih</i> |
| Pin | <i>Kan aih</i> |
| Pistol | <i>Khrow sheen bow</i> |
| Poem | <i>Kbya</i> |
| Quality..... | <i>Aray shen</i> |
| Quarrel | <i>Ran</i> |
| Question | <i>Powsa</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Queen | <i>Baran ma</i> |
| Quick..... | <i>Ayen amran</i> |
| Quiet..... | <i>Sai gmreen</i> |
| Rahid..... | <i>Aaloong</i> |
| Race..... | <i>Khree</i> |
| Ram..... | <i>Mo</i> |
| Rat..... | <i>Saifu</i> |
| Ray | <i>Krwaih</i> |
| Read | <i>Ronkhree</i> |
| Ready | <i>Phaithe</i> |
| Reason..... | <i>Asam athen</i> |
| Reason..... | <i>Akrong</i> |
| Receive..... | <i>Lai khan the</i> |
| Record..... | <i>Hmai tan</i> |
| Red | <i>A neeng</i> |
| Reflect..... | <i>Ronng bran</i> |
| Refuse | <i>Lai hkhan khren</i> |
| Reliable | <i>Yoon kree khreen</i> |
| Retatice | <i>Amyoo</i> |
| Rhinoceros | <i>Gramsan</i> |
| Rice | <i>Thmen</i> |
| Rice | <i>Sham tha khrun</i> |
| Ring..... | <i>Lay choawt</i> |
| Rose..... | <i>Hnengi pan</i> |
| Run | <i>Bree khreen</i> |
| Sad..... | <i>Chai soe khreen</i> |
| Safe..... | <i>Loyat khreen</i> |
| Saint | <i>Pheengri</i> |

ENGLISH NAME**RAKKHAIN NAME**

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Salary..... | <i>Laza</i> |
| Sale..... | <i>Rong khreen</i> |
| Salt..... | <i>Saw</i> |
| Sand..... | <i>Thei</i> |
| School..... | <i>Kyoung</i> |
| Science..... | <i>Lokdai</i> |
| Season..... | <i>Rathee</i> |
| Second..... | <i>Chekan</i> |
| See..... | <i>Mran khreen</i> |
| Sense..... | <i>Thedi</i> |
| Sex..... | <i>Kama</i> |
| Sharecropping..... | <i>Pauto</i> |
| She..... | <i>Thee ma</i> |
| Sheep..... | <i>Saithoo</i> |
| Ship..... | <i>Thanfo</i> |
| Shoes..... | <i>Phnaih</i> |
| Shop..... | <i>Sain</i> |
| Sand..... | <i>Thei</i> |
| | |
| Science..... | <i>Lokdai</i> |
| Season..... | <i>Rathee</i> |
| Second..... | <i>Chekan</i> |
| See..... | <i>Mran khreen</i> |
| Sense..... | <i>Thedi</i> |
| Sex..... | <i>Kama</i> |
| She..... | <i>Thee ma</i> |
| Sheep..... | <i>Saithoo</i> |
| Ship..... | <i>Thanfo</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Shoes | <i>Phnaih</i> |
| Shop | <i>Sain</i> |
| Shuttle | <i>Roan</i> |
| Skin | <i>Tha ray</i> |
| Sleep..... | <i>Aai khreen</i> |
| Small | <i>Agnay</i> |
| Snail | <i>Khree</i> |
| Thail | <i>Mdoon</i> |
| Take..... | <i>You khrun</i> |
| Talk | <i>Pro khreen</i> |
| Tea..... | <i>Lafai</i> |
| Tear | <i>Myout ray</i> |
| Teeth..... | <i>Thoa</i> |
| Thank | <i>Chejertom khreen</i> |
| Theory | <i>Nay</i> |
| They..... | <i>Thee dow</i> |
| Thief..... | <i>Thu kho</i> |
| Thumb..... | <i>Lai ma</i> |
| Tide | <i>Fraw</i> |
| Time | <i>A sheen</i> |
| Tomato | <i>Khramshen thee</i> |
| Tooth..... | <i>Thoa</i> |
| Tortoise..... | <i>Laishay</i> |
| Town | <i>Mro</i> |
| Train | <i>Rathaw</i> |
| Truth..... | <i>Ahman</i> |
| Two | <i>Hnai</i> |
| Tutor..... | <i>Sra</i> |

| <u>ENGLISH NAME</u> | <u>RAKKHAIN NAME</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Under..... | <i>Auka</i> |
| Understand | <i>Na lay khren</i> |
| Under ground | <i>Mray aow</i> |
| Universe | <i>Checha wala</i> |
| upper..... | <i>Athai</i> |
| Urine..... | <i>A bow</i> |
| Use | <i>A thoon</i> |
| Vacant | <i>Kyoat lai</i> |
| Vacation..... | <i>Akhoin</i> |
| Vaise..... | <i>Akroo</i> |
| Value | <i>Tanfo</i> |
| Van | <i>Kaw</i> |
| Very..... | <i>A mya</i> |
| Vegitable..... | <i>Hen</i> |
| Verb..... | <i>Kriya</i> |
| View | <i>Mren khren</i> |
| Village..... | <i>Roa</i> |
| Visite | <i>Le la khren</i> |
| Vote..... | <i>May</i> |
| Walk | <i>Thoakhreen</i> |
| Wall..... | <i>Nam ran</i> |
| War..... | <i>Chai poi</i> |
| Warm..... | <i>Noy the</i> |
| Ward..... | <i>Chga</i> |
| Wash | <i>see khrun</i> |
| Water..... | <i>Ree</i> |
| Wave | <i>Laim</i> |
| Wax | <i>Phyoung</i> |

ENGLISH NAME

RAKKHAIN NAME

| | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Way | <i>Lan</i> |
| Weak | <i>Aa yoot khrun</i> |
| Wine..... | <i>Arai</i> |
| Win..... | <i>Arai</i> |
| Window..... | <i>pden bowt</i> |
| Wind..... | <i>Lee</i> |
| World | <i>Kba</i> |
| Write | <i>Raykhrun</i> |
| Wrong | <i>Ahma</i> |
| Year..... | <i>Hnai</i> |
| Yollow..... | <i>Awa</i> |
| Yes | <i>Hmam baray</i> |
| Yoke..... | <i>Noa khe</i> |
| Zero | <i>thu klay mya</i> |
| Zinc | <i>zoyat</i> |



পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি

(স্থাপিত ১৯৭৯ ইং, রেজিঃ নং ১৭৬)
বৌদ্ধ বিহার সড়ক, পটুয়াখালী,
বাংলাদেশ

সূত্র নং পি.বি.বি.সি. ২৩৯

তারিখঃ

মাননীয়া,

প্রধান মন্ত্রী,
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার,
সুগন্ধা কার্যালয়, ঢাকা।

বিষয়ঃ- রহমত পটুয়াখালী জেলার রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের সমস্যা এবং প্রতিকার প্রসঙ্গে।

মহাশয়,

যথাযথ সম্মান পূর্বক বিনীত বিবেদন এই যে, আমরা বাংলাদেশের সর্ব দক্ষিণ রহমত পটুয়াখালী জেলার রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায় প্রায় ২০০ শত বছর ধরে আসছি। এই দুই শত বছরের ইতিহাসে পটুয়াখালী রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের পূর্ব পুরুষগণ বঙ্গোপসাগর উপকূল বর্তী বন জংগল সমূহকে বিভিন্ন প্রকারের হিংস্র জীব জন্তু জানোয়ারের বিরুদ্ধে জীবন দিয়ে লড়াই করে আজকের সুস্বাদা সুস্বাদা শস্য শ্যামলা এই নতুন বাংলাদেশে আবাদী ভূমিতে রক্ষাশীল করেছেন। পরবর্তীকালে ১৯৬০, ৬৫ ও ৭০ সনের মত প্রতিকূল আবহাওয়া ও প্রাকৃতিক দুর্যোগ প্রলয়ংকারী ঘূর্ণিঝড় ও জলোচ্ছ্বাসের কারণে আজকের রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সমাজ অর্থাৎ সামাজিক দিক দিয়ে শীর্ণ অবস্থায় পরিণত হয়েছে। বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন হওয়ার পর হইতে মহামান্য রাষ্ট্রপতি মরহুম জিয়াউর রহমানের আমলে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের উন্নয়ন ও কল্যাণার্থে সার্বাঙ্গী মন্ত্রনালয়ের অধীনে "সেপসিয়াল ওয়েলফেয়ার সেকশন" খোলা হয়। তারপরিক্রমে কিছু সংখ্যক রাখাইন উপজাতি বৌদ্ধ জনগণের আর্থিক, সামাজিক, চাকুরী ক্ষেত্রে বেশ উন্নতি হইয়াছিল এবং পরবর্তীকালে সাবেক রাষ্ট্রপতি তাহার ঐকামিক ইচ্ছায় অবহেলিত সংখ্যালঘু রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের কল্যাণার্থে "বিশেষ কার্যাদি কল্যাণ বিভাগ" গঠন করিয়া রাখাইন সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে নতুন আশার খানো সঞ্চার হইয়াছিল। কিন্তু প্রধান সমস্যা সমূহ সমাধানে আশ্বাস দেওয়া এযাবৎ তাহা বাস্তবায়িত হয় নাই।

পরবর্তী দীর্ঘ ৯টি বছর আপনার ঐকামিক ইচ্ছায় দেশ জাতি ও জনগণের স্বার্থে মৈত্রাচারী সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে অস্বাভাবিক পরিশ্রম ও ধৈর্য সহকারে গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার বলে দেশ গঠনের দায়িত্ব বাংলাদেশের ইতিহাসে সর্ব প্রথম মহিলা প্রধান মন্ত্রী পদে আপনি অর্জন হওয়ায় আমরা উপজাতি রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ জনগণ বিশেষ ভাবে গর্বিত ও আনন্দিত। তাই আমাদের প্রধান সমস্যা সমূহকে আশু প্রতিকার পাইবার কর্তব্য আর্জি পেশ করছি।

" প্রধান সমস্যা সমূহ ও আশু সমাধান প্রয়োজন "

১। বিশাল বন ভূমিকে খাবাদ যোগ্য করে ভূমির সুরক্ষাধিকার অর্জন করেছে যারা এ ভূমিতে তাদের প্রথম অধিকার তারপরিক্রমে ব্রিটিশ শাসন থেকে শুরু করে উপজাতি রাখাইন জনগণের জন্য সরকার খাবাদি খাবাদি ভূমির বন্দোবস্তের নিমিত্তে জুন ১২৯ এর রেকর্ডস ম্যানুয়াল ১৯৯৭ ১ এর অনুযায়ী বিভিন্ন জেলায় বিভিন্ন



পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি

(স্থাপিত ১৯৭৯ ইং, রেজিঃ নং ১৭৬)

বৌদ্ধ বিহার সড়ক, পটুয়াখালী,
বাংলাদেশ

সূত্র নং.....

তারিখ.....

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সময়ে তৎকালীন সরকার খাস জমি বন্সোবপের দেওয়ান হইয়াছে যাগার পেটেলমেন্ট কেস নং- ৫৪ কে / ১৯০৯-৪০, ৩২ কে / ১৯৪১-৪২, ৫০ কে / ১৯৪৬-৪৭, ২৯কে / ১৯৪৬-৪৭, মিসকেস নং ৩০কে / ১৯৪৭-৪৮ (with effect from ' 45-46) পেটেলমেন্ট কেস নং- ১০কে / ১৯০৭-৫৮, ইত্যাদি এই ভাবে অনেক পেটেলমেন্ট কেস আছে তৎ সত্ত্বেও অত্র রাখাইন জনগণ অত্র বরাদ্দকৃত জমি হইতে বঞ্চিত। তেমনি ভাবে উপরে বর্ণিত পেটেলমেন্ট কেস সমূহ সুক্ষিমেয় কিছু সংখ্যক উপজাতিদের নামে বন্সোবসু হইয়াছে নাম মাত্র, কেননা, বহু দেশী-বিদেশী সূর্যমুখী ব্যক্তিগণ সংশ্লিষ্ট সরকারী কর্মচারীদের সাথে অবৈধ উপায় অবলম্বন করিয়া বন্যা ও জলে চছাসের কারন দর্শাইয়া অরিজিনাল পেটেলমেন্ট হোস্ট্রার গনকে (রাখাইনদের) বঞ্চিত করা হইয়াছে ইহার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে অধিকাংশ উপজাতি রাখাইন জনগণ দেশানুরিত হইয়া বার্মা চলে গিয়াছে। আর কতিপয় রাখাইন ছিন্নমূল ভূমিহীন হইয়া অন্যাহারে ও অর্থাহারে দিনাতিপাত করিতেছে।

২। দেশ স্বাধীন হওয়ার পর থেকে গণপজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার ভূমিহীনদের মধ্যে খাস জমি বন্সনে সুন্দর নীতিমালা প্রণয়ন করা হইয়াছে কিন্তু রাখাইন উপজাতিরা দরখাস্ত করা সত্ত্বেও কোন ভূমিহীন রাখাইন খাস জমি পাইতেছেন না সুক্ষিমেয় কিছু সংখ্যক রাখাইন পাইয়া থাকলেও উহা নানাবিধ সমস্যা, মামলা ও মোকদ্দমার হযুরানী শিকার হইতে হয়। দফতানু মলক - রাখাইন উপজাতি খাস জমিপাওয়ার জন্য (১) কলাপাড়া সহকারী কমিশনার (ভূমি) আদালত যাহার কেস নং- ১ খে / ৮৭-৮৮, (২) পটুয়াখালী অতিরিক্ত জেলা প্রশাসক (রাজস্ব) আদালত যাহার কেস নং- মিসকেস নং ৩ এস, এ, / ৮-৮৯ (৩) পেটেলমেন্ট কেস নং ১৯০ / ৮০-৮১ কলাপাড়া সহকারী কমিশনার (ভূমি) এবং সাবজজ আদালত, পটুখালী যাহার কেস নং- ৯০ / ৯১, জি, আর, কেস নং- ৩২ / ৯১ কলাপাড়া ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট কোর্ট উপজেলা সহকারী জজ আদালত দেওয়ানী মোকদ্দমান নং- ২১ / ৯০ এই ভাবে বিভিন্ন কোর্টে মামলা, মোকদ্দমা করে রাখাইন উপজাতিদের অর্থনৈতিক দুর্বল করিয়া ফেলে এবং পরিশেষে রাখাইন জনগণ বাধ্যহেয়ে জমি ছেড়ে অন্যত্র চলে যেতে হয়। উপরোল্লিখিত কারণ সমূহে বিবেচনায় বিগত ১৯৭৯ সন হইতে রাখাইন উপজাতিদের মুকসত্তাদের জ্যেত জমায়া খাস জমি সমূহ থেকে বন্সনকৃত পেটেলমেন্ট কেস সমূহ বাতিল করিয়া তদন্তহলে রাখাইন উপজাতিদেরকে সরকারী নীতিমালা অনুযায়ী পেটেলমেন্ট দেওয়ার জন্য জোর আবেদন করিতেছি।

৩। খাদিবাসী রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের জমাজমি হগুনুর ব্যাপারে সরকার বেইল টেনানশি এ্যাক্ট ৯ (এক) ধারামোতাবেক কেবল মাত্র সার্টিফিকেট ও বিলাম ছাড়া উপজাতিদের সহায়ক সঙ্গতি অনুমতি ব্যতীত খরিদ করা নিষেধ এবং অনুমতি ব্যতীত কোন দলিল পত্র বেআইনী ও অবৈধ বলিয়া ঘোষণা করা হইয়াছে। তথাপিও উপজাতিগণ অবৈধ ভাবে বিভিন্ন প্রকারে দলিল তৈয়ার করিয়া সংখ্যালঘু রাখাইনদের জমাজমি নামজারীকরিয়া জোর গুর্ভক দখল করা, ফসল কালীন ফসল কাটা ও লুটপাট করা, উপজাতিদের উপর অন্য জাতীয়দের পেশা ও নেশা হযে দাড়াইয়াছে। অন্তএব ৪৯ (এক) ধারার বহির্ভূত বিভিন্ন প্রকারের অবৈধ দলিল পত্র অত্র দলিল সমূহ বলে নামজারী কৃত রেকর্ড কর্তৃক আদেশ দান করতঃ তৎসহলে সাবেক রেকর্ডীয় মানিকের নাম বহাল রাখার জন্য জোরআবেদন করিতেছি।

পত্র পাতা / ৩



পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি

(স্থাপিত ১৯৭৯ ইং, রেজিঃ নং ১৭৬)
বৌদ্ধ বিহার সড়ক, পটুয়াখালী,
বাংলাদেশ

স্মরণ নং.....

তারিখ.....

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৪। গত ইং ২৭/৮/৯০ তারিখে কক্স বাজারের মহাসম্মেলনে রাখাইন সংবর্ধনা কমিটির আহ্বায়ক লেঃ কর্নেল (অবঃ প্রাঃ) মিঃ মংতিউ সভাপতিত্বে সাবেক রাষ্ট্রপতি এই সম্প্রদায় নোকদের বিভিন্ন ব্যংক থেকে নেওয়া ১ কোটি ১৭ লক্ষ টাকা ঋণ মওকুফ করা কথা ঘোষণা করা হয়েছে। অন্তর্গত আমাদের পটুয়াখালী জেলার রাখাইন সম্প্রদায়ের নেওয়া ঘেমন - (অগ্রণী ব্যংক , কৃষি ব্যংক ও সোনালী ব্যংক উক্ত তিনটি ব্যংক থেকে লোন গ্রহীতা ৫ (পাঁচ) জন এবং মোট ৩, ৭১, ০০০/- (তিন লক্ষ একাত্তর হাজার) টাকা মাত্র। যাহার কেস নং- ৮২ (আই, টি, এ, পি) -৪-৫, কৃষি ব্যংক মহিপুর, শাখা, মহি / চিঃ ডিঃ / ১৪১, ৪২০ ও ১৪০, সোনালী ব্যংক মহিপুর শাখা, কলা / চিঃ ডিঃ ৯২২ সোনালী ব্যংক কলাপাড়া, স্যাংলন এডভান্স ইজ নং- এইচ, ও/পি, এ/টি ০০০৭ অগ্রণী ব্যংক পটুয়াখালী) তদনুসারে ঋণ মওকুফের ব্যাপারে সংশ্লিষ্ট বিভিন্ন ব্যংক কর্তৃপক্ষ ও বিভিন্ন কোর্টে দায়ের কৃত মোকর্দমা অবিলম্বে প্রত্যাহার করার জন্য জোর আবেদন করিতেছি।

৫। রাখাইন উপজাতিদের আশ্রয়-সহায়তার সমস্ত দান ও নামজারী এবং বিএনপির ব্যাপারে ইউনিয়ন চেয়ারম্যগণ রাখাইন বৌদ্ধদের পূর্ব পুরুষের সম্মর্ক ও নিয়ম কানুন (বুদ্ধিষ্ট ম্যানুয়াল) বা জাতিয়া প্রায় তুল ওয়ারিশ পার্টিফিকেট প্রদানের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উপজাতি ও অউপজাতীদের মধ্যে বিভিন্ন সমস্যা এবং পরবর্তীকালে অত্র পার্টিফিকেট আবার প্রত্যাহার ইত্যাদি কারণে মামলা মোকর্দমা দেখা দিগছে। অন্তর্গত রহওর পটুয়াখালী জেলার একমাত্র রেজিস্ট্রিকৃত নেতৃত্ব দানকারী একমাত্র সংগঠন " পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি " কে রাখাইন উপজাতিদের মধ্যে ওয়ারিশ পার্টিফিকেট প্রদান করার জন্য অবিলম্বে সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্ম-কর্তাদের নিকট নির্দেশ দেওয়া ইউক।

৬। গত ইং ২৭/৮/৯০ ইং তারিখে সাবেক রাষ্ট্রপতি ঘোষিত আদিবাসী সংখ্যালঘু স্মার্থে উপজাতি রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে জেলা ও উপজেলা পরিসরে রাখাইনদের প্রতিনিধি - নিয়োগের ব্যাপারে পটুয়াখালী জেলায় অতিমতুর বাসুবাযিত করণের জন্য জোর আবেদন করিতেছি।

৭। রহওর পটুয়াখালী জেলার রাখাইন উপজাতি সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে এস, এস, পি ও এইচ, এস, পি ও বিভিন্ন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হইতে পাশ করা বেকার ছেলে-মেয়েদেরকে বিশেষ সুযোগ সুবিধার মাধ্যমে বিভিন্ন সরকারী ওবেসরকারী সংস্থা সমূহে চাকুরী প্রদান করার জন্য জোর আবেদন জানাইতেছি।

৮। বাংলাদেশে বিভিন্ন মেডিকেল কলেজ, ইঞ্জিনিয়ারিং ইউনিভারসিটি, কৃষি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ও বিভিন্ন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় সমূহে পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রাম জেলার উপজাতিদের ন্যায় রহওর পটুয়াখালী জেলা হইতে ও ছাত্র ছাত্রীদের আসন সংরক্ষিত ব্যবস্থাপণের জন্য জোর দাবী জানাইতেছি।

পর পাতা / ৪



পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি

(স্থাপিত ১৯৭৯ ইং, রেজিঃ নং ১৭৬)
বৌদ্ধ বিহার সড়ক, পটুয়াখালী,
বাংলাদেশ

সূত্র নং.....

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তারিখ.....

৯। বিগত ইং ১৯৮৩ সন হইতে তথাকথিত আলীপুর বাজার, রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ পাড়া হইতে ৬০০ শত > গজ পূর্বদিকে স্থানানুরিত করণ ব্যাপারে কালাচান পাড়া রাখাইন অধিবাসী, রাখাইন সম্ভ্রদায়ের নেতৃ বৃন্দ, স্থানীয় প্রশাসনের কর্মকর্তা, জেলা প্রশাসক, মাননীয় স্থানীয় সরকার ও পলীউন্নয়ন মন্ত্রী মহোদয় ও জেলা জজ সাহেবের আদেশ থাকা সত্ত্বেও অদ্যাবধি কোন কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা না হওয়ার ব্যাপারে যাহাতে আপনার মাধ্যমে প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের জন্য জোর আবেদন জানাইতেছি ।

১০। স্বত্বসিদ্ধি - সাবরেজিষ্টার-কলাপাড়া উপজেলাধীন ৫ নং লতাচাপলী ইউনিয়নের অনূর্ণিত চরচাপলী মৌজা ২ নং খেবটে জমির পরিমাণ ২৪১১*১৭ একর, ২ নং খেবটে মালিক শ্রীমতী চৌধুরী তাহার ঐনিক ওয়ারিশগণের নামে রেকর্ডনা হইয়া ভুল বশতঃ বর্তমানে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের ১ নং খাস বস্তিঘানে রেকর্ড হইয়াছে উক্ত ১ নং খাস বস্তিঘানে রেকর্ড কর্তন হইয়া শ্রীমতী চৌধুরী ওয়ারিশ ও ঐনিক ওয়ারিশগণের নামে জমা ব্যক্তি করা এবং খাজনাদি প্রদানে দাখিলা প্রাপ্তির বিহিত আদেশ প্রদানের নির্দেশ দেওয়া হইক ।

১১। পটুয়াখালী সদরে অবস্থিত রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্ভ্রদায়ের একমাত্র পেট্রোল পাম্প "মেসার্স পাথুরা ওয়েল লিমিটেড" এর অনুকূলে বরাদ্দ কৃত বাংলাদেশ পেট্রোলিয়াম কর্পোরেশনের চীফ ডিস্ট্রিক্ট বিউশন ম্যানেজারের বিগত ইং ৯/৯/৮৩ তারিখে নির্দেশ অনুযায়ী মেসাবী পেট্রোলিয়াম কোম্পানী লিঃ কর্তক আন্ডার গ্রাইন্ড ফিলিং স্টেশন স্থাপন করা হয় । তাহার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে নূতন ডিসপেনসিং ইউনিট স্থাপন পূর্বক পেট্রোলপম্পটি পুরাদমে চালু করার নির্দেশ প্রদানের জন্য জোর আবেদন করিতেছি ।

১২। বৃহত্তর পটুয়াখালী জেলার একমাত্র রেজিষ্টারীকৃত নেতৃত্বদান কারী সংগঠন পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতির উপজাতি রাখাইন বৌদ্ধদের ধর্মীয় সাংস্কৃতিক, ও ঐতিহ্য রক্ষার করার লক্ষে অত্র সমিতির প্রতিনিধিকে "বৌদ্ধ কল্যান ট্রাস্ট" এর সদস্য পদে উপস্থিত করার জন্য জোর আবেদন করিতেছি ।

অতএব, আপনার সমীপে সুপ্রস্তু প্রার্থনা এই যে, বৃহত্তর পটুয়াখালী জেলার অবহেলিত ও অনগ্রসর রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্ভ্রদায়ের জন্য এই কয়েকটি প্রধান সমস্যা সমূহকে আশু সমাধান করতঃ যাহাতে এই পঞ্চাংগদ রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সমাজের মনে নতুন উৎসাহ ও উদ্দীপনা সঞ্চার হতে পারে তাহার বিহিত সুববেশ্চসা দানের জন্য আপনার প্রতি পটুয়াখালী জেলা রাখাইনদের পক্ষ হইতে আকুল আবেদন জানাচ্ছি ।

বিনীত নিবেদক-

বৃহত্তর পটুয়াখালী রাখাইন বৌদ্ধ সম্ভ্রদায়ের পক্ষ হইতে-

তারিখঃ-

প্রবীণ
(অংখা কিউ)
সাধারণ সম্মাদক,

পটুয়াখালী বৌদ্ধ বিহার সমিতি,
পটুয়াখালী ।

Land Tenency Act, 1950

The State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1950
(East Bengal Act XXVIII of 1951) (Dhaka: B. G. Press 1948)
97 Tenancy Act, 1950 PP. 101-103.

বনভূমিকে আবাদযোগ্য করে ভূমির সূত্বাধিকার অর্জন করেছে যে, রাশাইনরা, এতমিতে তাদের প্রথম অধিকার। কারণ তাদের প্রমৈ উৎপাদনের উপকরণে পরিণত হয়েছে এ ভূখন্ড।

১৯৫০ ইং সনের রাষ্ট্রীয় অধিগ্রহণ ও প্রজাসূচু আইনে পটুয়াখালী রাশাইনদের বাখেরগঞ্জ-এর 'মগ' অভিধায় আদিবাসী (aboriginal) রূপে স্বীকার করে ভূমি হস্তানুর বিষয়ে তাদের স্থার্থ রক্ষায় নিম্নবর্ণিত ধারা সন্নিবেশ করা হয়েছে :

৯৭(১) সরকার সময়ে সময়ে বিজ্ঞপ্তির মাধ্যমে ঘোষণা করতে পারবেন যে, এই অনুচ্ছেদের বিধান নিম্নবর্ণিত আদিবাসী গোত্র বা উপজাতীর ক্ষেত্রে -এ ঘোষণার নির্দেশমতে প্রযোজ্য হবে এবং এই অনুচ্ছেদের প্রয়োজনে এরূপগোত্র বা উপজাতী আদিবাসীরূপে গন্য হবে এবং এরূপ বিজ্ঞপ্তির প্রকাশনায় চড়ানুভাবে প্রমান হবে যে, এই অনুচ্ছেদের ধারা এই গোত্র বা উপজাতীর ক্ষেত্রে যথাযথরূপে প্রযোজ্য হয়েছে। যথাঃ

সওতাল, বাবিয়া, উইয়া, ভুমিজি, ভালু, গারো, গন্ড, হাদী, হাজং, হস, খাসিয়া, খারওয়ার, কোচ, (ঢাকা বিভাগ), মেরা, মগ (বাখেরগঞ্জ জেলা) মাল ও সৌরিয়া, পাহাড়িয়া, মাচ, মুনডা, মুনডাই, ওরীও ও তুরী।

২। এই অনুচ্ছেদের বর্ণিত বিধান ব্যতিরেকে কোন আদিবাসী রায়ত কর্তৃক তার জোত বা তার অংশ বিশেষ হস্তানুর বৈধ হবে না, যদি না তা বাংলাদেশে নিবেশিত বা স্থায়ীভাবে বসবাসরত অন্য আদিবাসীর নিকট হস্তানুর করা হয় যাকে '৯০ ধারা মতে ঐ জোত বা জোতের অংশ বিশেষ হস্তানুর করা যেতে পারে।

৩। যদি কোন আদিবাসী রায়ত কোন জোত বা তার অংশ বিশেষ বিক্রয়, দান বা উইলের মাধ্যমে আদিবাসী ভিন্ন অন্য কোন ব্যক্তিকে হস্তান্তর করতে ইচ্ছা পোষণ করেন, তিনি রাজস্ব কর্মকর্তার নিকট সেই মর্মে অনুমতির জন্য আবেদন করবেন, এবং রাজস্ব কর্মকর্তা ঐ আবেদনের উপর '৮৮ ও '৯০ ধারা অনুসরণ সাপেক্ষে তিনি যেরূপ সঠিক বিবেচনা করবেন সেসম্প্র আদেশ দান করবেন।

উপরে বর্ণিত ৯৭ ধারায় জমি হস্তান্তর এর ক্ষেত্রে আরও ক'টি শর্ত যুক্ত করা হয়েছে :-

(১) ৯৭(৩) ধারায় বর্ণিত হস্তান্তর এর ক্ষেত্রে দলিল রেজিস্ট্রীকৃত হবে এবং দলিল রেজিস্ট্রী করণের পূর্বে দলিলের শর্ত সম্পর্কে রাজস্ব কর্মকর্তার অনুমতি প্রয়োজন হবে।

(২) আদিবাসী রায়তের জমি বন্ধ দানের ক্ষমতা শুধু "খাইখালাসী বন্ধকে" (Complete Usufructuary mortgage) সীমিত থাকবে। তবে বি, কে, বি, বি, এ, ডি, সি, ও সমবায় সমিতি হতে গৃহীত ঋণের ক্ষেত্রে এই শর্ত কোন বাধা হবে না।

(৩) কোন আদিবাসী বাংলাদেশে স্থায়ীভাবে বসবাসকারী বা নিবেশিত অন্য আদিবাসীর নিকট রেজিস্ট্রীকৃত দলীল মূল্য ৭ বছর পর্যন্ত খাইখালাসী বন্ধক প্রদান করতে পারবেন।

(৪) কোন আদিবাসী কর্তৃক এই আইনের সাথে সংগতিহীন কোন হস্তান্তর বৈধ হবে না। এরূপ হস্তান্তর করা হলে রাজস্ব কর্মকর্তা লিখিত আদেশে কারণ দর্শানোর সুযোগদান সাপেক্ষে গ্রহীতাকে (Transfer) উচ্ছেদ করতে পারবেন। উচ্ছেদকৃত ভূমি তিনি জমি হস্তান্তকারী আদিবাসী বা তার প্রতিনিধির নিকট হস্তান্তর করতে পারবেন, কিংবা তাদের ব্যর্থতায় ঐ জমি সরকারের অর্পিত ঘোষণা করতে পারবেন।

(৫) সার্টিফিকেট নিলাম ভিন্ন কোন আদালত আদিবাসীদের জমি নিলাম বিক্রির আদেশ দিবেন না।

DC's Letter to Rakkhain Area

In 1976 District commissioner of Patuakhali had circulated cautious leaflet from aeroplane to aboriginal areas. The catus letter as follows:

পটুয়াখালির জেলার প্রশাসক হিসাবে আমি গভীরভাবে লক্ষ্য করিতেছি যে, অত্র জেলার সর্ব দক্ষিণে অবস্থিত খেপুপাড়া ও আমতলী থানার বসবাসকারী উপজাতীদের নিবাস মালিকানাভুক্ত ও নিজ চাষকৃত জমির ফসল কতিপয় দূষ্ণতিকারী অনুপ্রবেশ করিয়া জোর পূর্বক ও অবৈধভাবে কাটিয়া নিয়া উপজাতীদেরকে অর্পনৈতিকভাবে পঙ্গু করার অপচেষ্টায় লিপ্ত আছে। জেলা ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট হিসাবে আমি এই দূষ্ণতিকারীদেরকে কঠোরভাবে হুঁশিয়ার করিয়া দিতেছি যে, ভবিষ্যতে এহেন কার্যে লিপ্ত ব্যক্তিবর্গকে আইনের আওতায় অতুর্ভুক্ত করিয়া যথোপযুক্ত শাস্তিদানের ব্যবস্থা করা হইবে। উল্লেখিত এলাকার শান্তিপ্ৰিয় জনসাধারণের প্রতি আকুল আবেদন তাহারা যেন দূষ্ণর্মে লিপ্ত ব্যক্তিকে ধরিয়া যথাযথ কর্তৃপক্ষের নিকট সোপর্দ করেন।

(p.115, M. Mazid).

(နဂါးယဉ်း)

၀၇- ဂျီဒင်မောင်ဝင်း

(ကျေဂဝတီတိုင်းပြည်ကရားလူလားနတ်လားလားနတ်လားနဂါးယဉ်းနှင့် ဂျီဒင်
ကရားအိမ်စိုက်ပျော်ရွှင်လှတယ်၊ ဖူးစါမက်ရုံဖြင့်တွေ့ ဂတင်ဂူယဉ်း ကျိတ်
ဓမ္မာဒိန္နိတံတံတံ)၊ ဝလီတွင်းဗျာဗျာဖွယ်ကရားကယ်စခန်းကယ်စခန်းမ
ရယ် အချစ်ရေးဖြင့်တွေ့ခဲ့ရတယ်၊ ဖူးစါ အချစ်နှင့်အတူတွဲပျော်
ရွှင်တယ်

***နဂါးယဉ်းတွေကရားနှုတ်ခဲ့တဲ့ဒီအချိန်တိုင်းကရားဟင်းများ
စိုက်ပြန်ဖို့လှတယ်၊ ကယ်ဖျားဖူးစါပြင်မောင်ရယ်၊ မရရင်မနေကွယ်၊ တွေ့အောင်
ပြန် အချစ်ရယ်ထိုးဖြင့်စေတီစေတီကစားကစား သမ္မိတေ့ယံ၊ သမ္မိတေ့သ
မာစိကမေ့ဖူးစါပြင်ရယ်၊ မောင်ဖူးစါချင်မောင်ရယ်မကြိုက်ရင်တွေ့အောင်
ပြန်မယ်)

(ဂနိး ... မောင်ဖြင့် သန်းယုဒ်အိုင်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓါပန်းများ စာမေ့ဖျားရင်အောင်
ဒါသာ၊ မမိတေ့အချိန်နဲ့၊ စိတ်ဆိုးကောင်းပေတီပန်း ကော်မုန်းဖူး
ရင်အောင်ဖူးစောကြပေတီ)

Minkhaiygo Chisu (Mother's song)

** ရက်ဟောင်းအညာဉ္ဇူ **

ဆို = စင်စောငဝင်း

*** ရက်ဟောင်းညာဉ္ဇူ၊ မြီဗာခဗာလါ၊ ရက်များဂိုဏ်း၊ လွမ်းဂုပါဂေ
ဝေ၊ ဖြေမဖြေ ကိုယ် ဂုဏ်ထူး နှုဉ်း ကိုလေးဖြင့် သက် ဂုပါဂေ ***

*** ဥစ္စာချေတွံသံ ဤ၊ နှလုံး သီးက မချစ်စကား ပြိုရက်ဝါ မြီဗာ

အသံထဲက လွမ်းကို ဂု၊ ငဝဒနာနေရာ ဂု၊ အမျိုးဆူ ကို အဖိုးလခရေ၊

ချစ်ခြင်း ကို မဆို အသံအူကြီး ကျ မျက်နှာ ကျ ဗာဂေ ဖြေ ဝေ ဂု

ဖြေမဖြေ၊ စောင့်နှလုံး သီးက မဖြေဖြေ ခိုင်ပါဝေ ***

ချစ်စကလွမ်းဂေ၊ လွမ်း မပြည့်ချစ်စက၊ ဝမ်းမနည်း သဲလမ်း

စွဲလစာဂေ၊ ချစ်စာကိုဖြေ ဂုဂေါက်လို့ နှုဉ်း ဂရုတ်ဗာလါ၊

ကေးသံစုံဗျား၊ စောင့်နှလုံး သီးက မဖြေဖြေ ခိုင် ပါစေ ဝေ ***

Reykhayin (Water collecting song)

ဂေး...ကောငါစီး ကောပယ်ဦး

(လိ-လိ- ဝေ - ကေးဝေး: ကောကောစေး)၎

(လိကေး - လိကေး - - လိကေးကော)၎

(ကေးညီညီညီညီစေးစေး: ကေးပယ်လိ: ကပေး)၎

ကေးစီး: စေးစီး: ကေးပယ်လိ - - ကေးပယ်စေးလိ ဝါကပေး - - (ကေး
စုံကပ - - ကောကော စေး x ကေးစေး: ကေးပယ်စေးလိ: ဝါကပေး)၎

(ကေးစေးလိကေးစေးလိ ကေးပယ်လိ စေးပယ်: ကပ - - စေးကပေး)၎

ကေးစီးကေးစီးကေးစီး: ... လူကေး: ကေးကေးစေး: ကပ လိကေးစေး...

လိ: ဝေ - - - လိ: ဝေ လူကေး: ကေးကေးစေး: ကပ လိကေးစေး x x x x ..



Farmers in the winter crop field



Rakkhain man with phio (hunting weapon)



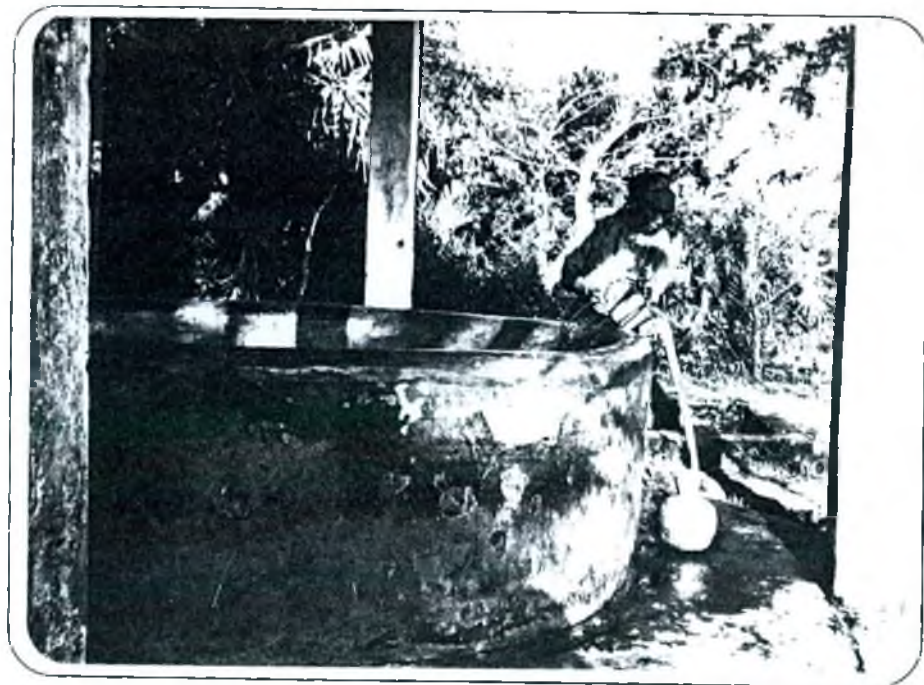
Rakkhain woman in the ripe paddy field



Farmer collecting sungrass



Rakkhain woman taking care of maize



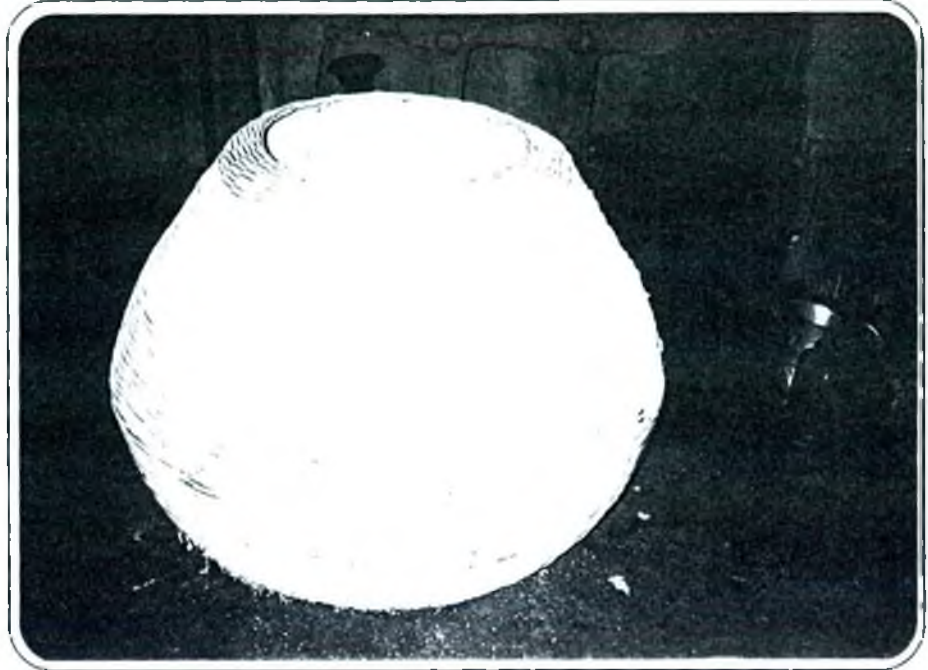
Rakkhain woman containing water



Collecting sea fish



A traditional Rakkhain Temple



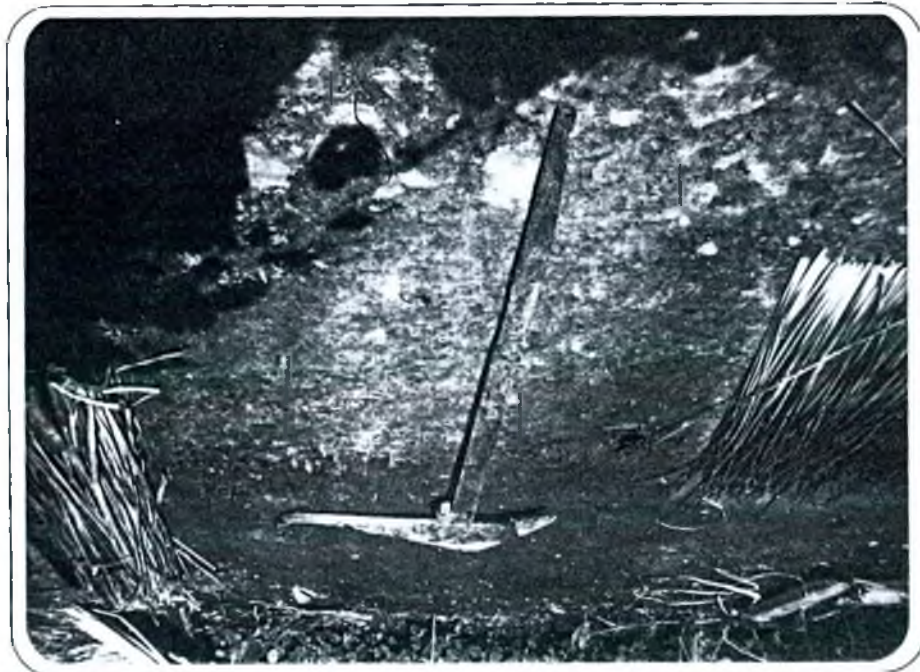
Bamboo made paddy paoo (container)



Paddy boiling tin boat



Land preparing spade



Local plough



Children collecting fire wood from the forest



Clay made paddy doo (container)



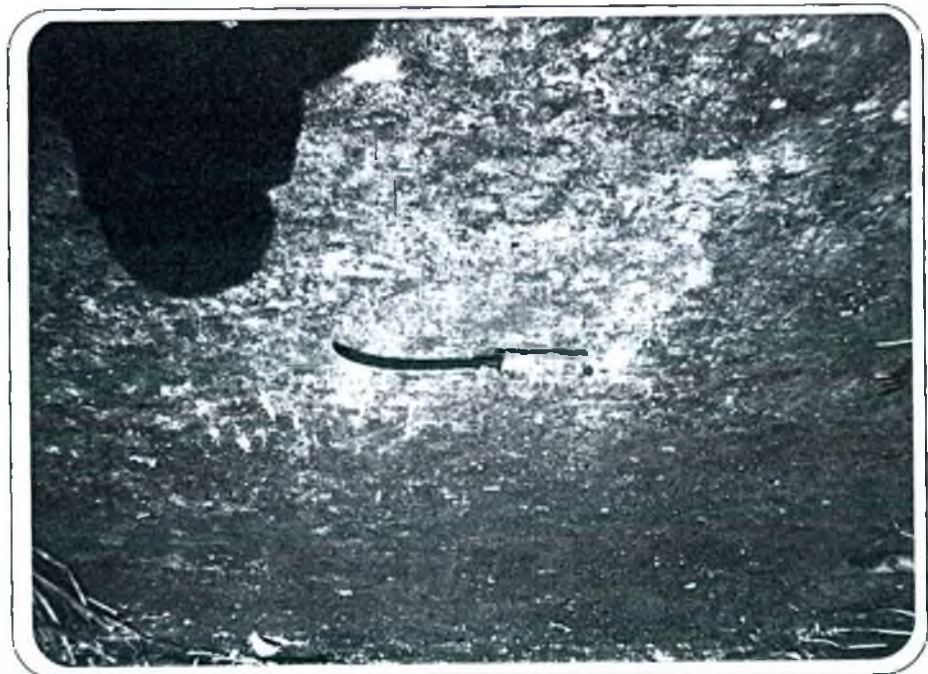
Peasant bathing Buffalo



Rakkhain farmer cultivating land



Farming thampo (yoke)



Paddy harvesting sakarey (scissor)



Rakkhain woman collecting rice



Rakkhain dwelling house



Drying naffi (compact fish dust)



Preparing hand made munji (noodles)



The Rakkhain woman in the open kitchen



Two hundred year's wooden bowl



A landless Rakkhain family



Rakkhain lady preparing cowdung cake



Searching root of mangrove trees



Rakkhain woman providing feed for pig



Donation box in the Temple



Rakkhain women praying in the Temple



Rakkhain Baby with mongolid facial expression



Children with their parents for practicing monk



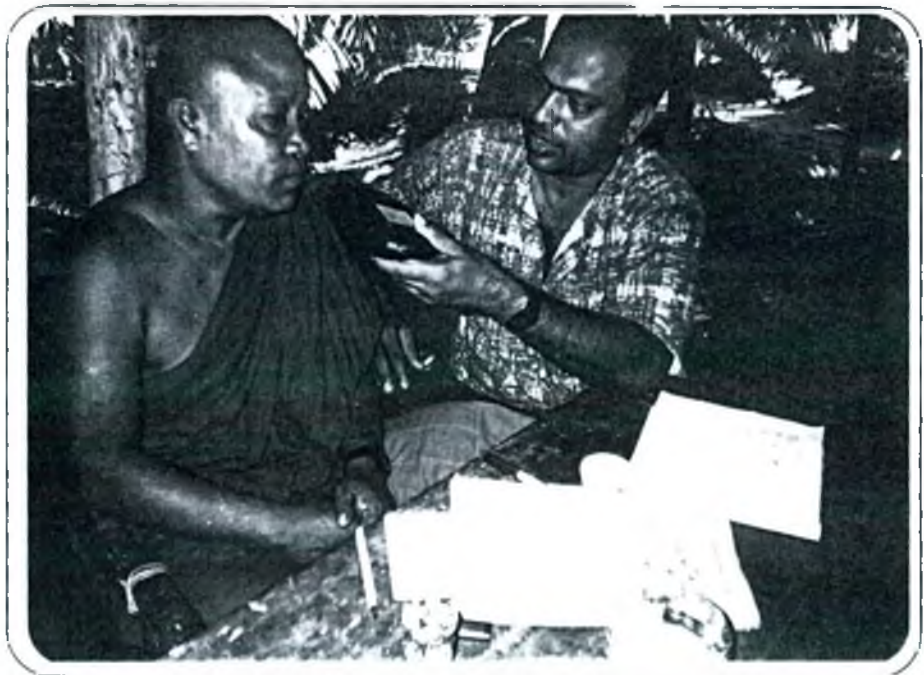
An old Rakkhain man smoking in the temple



Presenting cloth to Vikku



Two Rakkhain matbor (leader)



Researcher interviewing Vikku



Dinner on the traditional puidan



Rakkhain Children



Tranapoya (fruits for Vikku) in the temple



Rakkhain woman processing paddy



Married couple take first food in the morning



Fuandai (candle burning) in the temple



Vikku receiving fruits from bride & groom



Bride & groom with traditional marriage dress



Rakkhain old lady



Bride & groome with nearest relatives



Rakkhain orphan *salepole* (marriage)



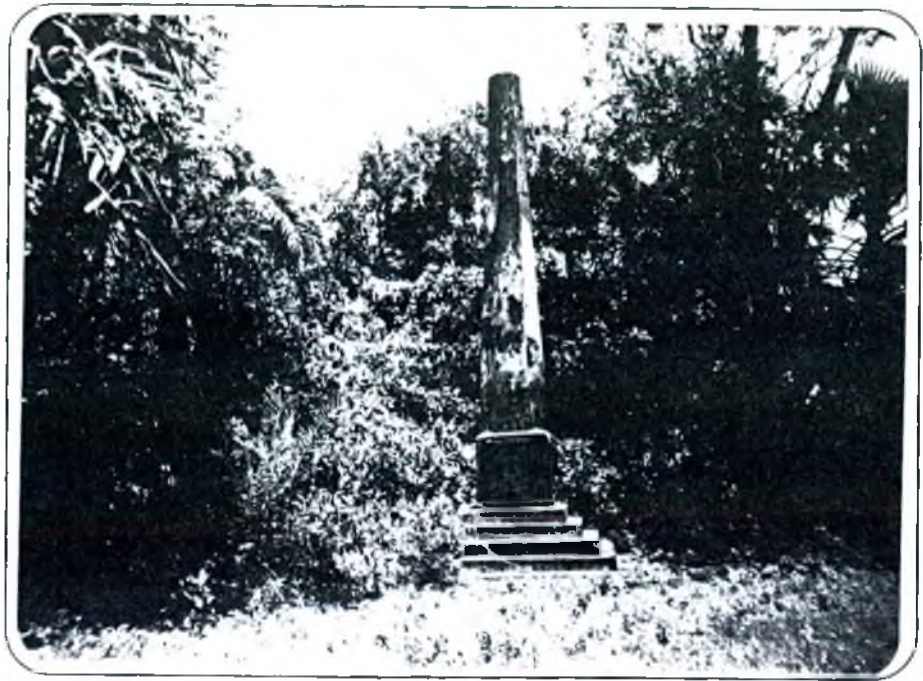
Dragon



Rakkhain *pama* musical instrument



Rakkhain *heny* musical instrument



Centenary aboriginal monument



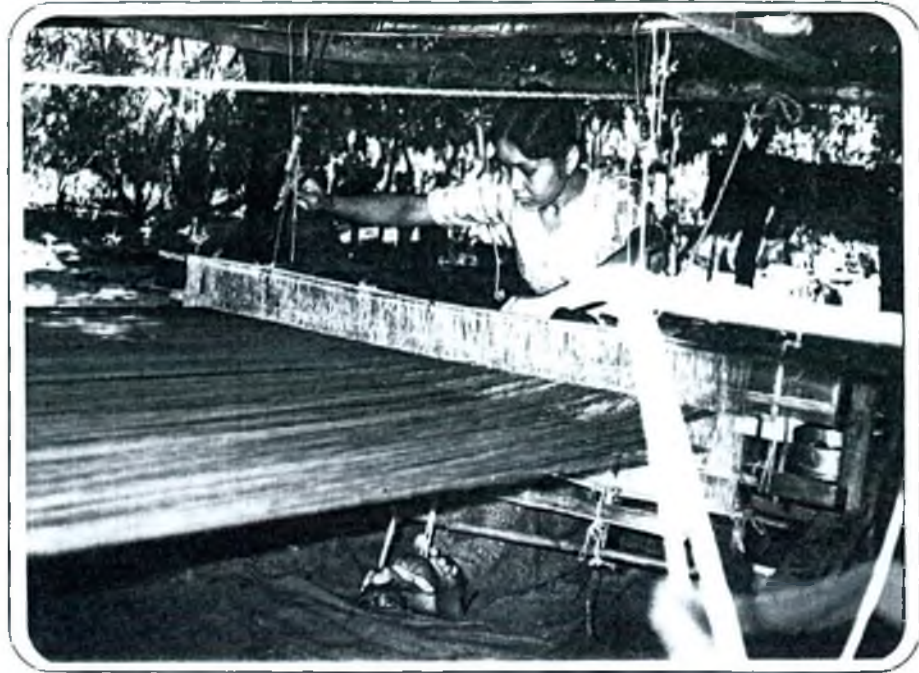
An old man preparing roof



Chibhokdhan (cloth giving ceremony)



Rakkhain. poor man's dwelling house



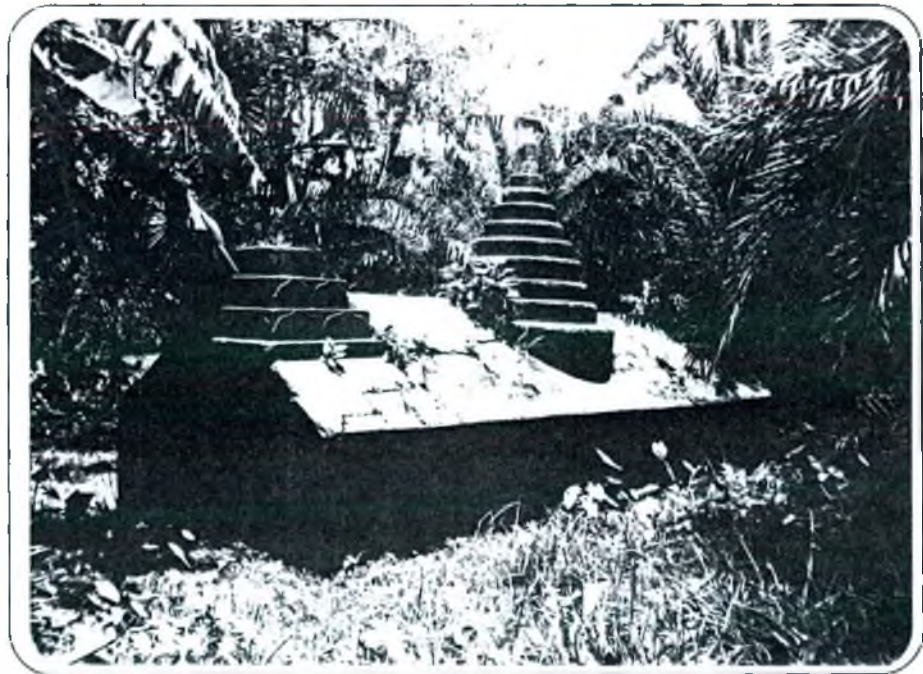
Rakkhain woman weaving cloth



Troa thai ray (meditation) in the Temple



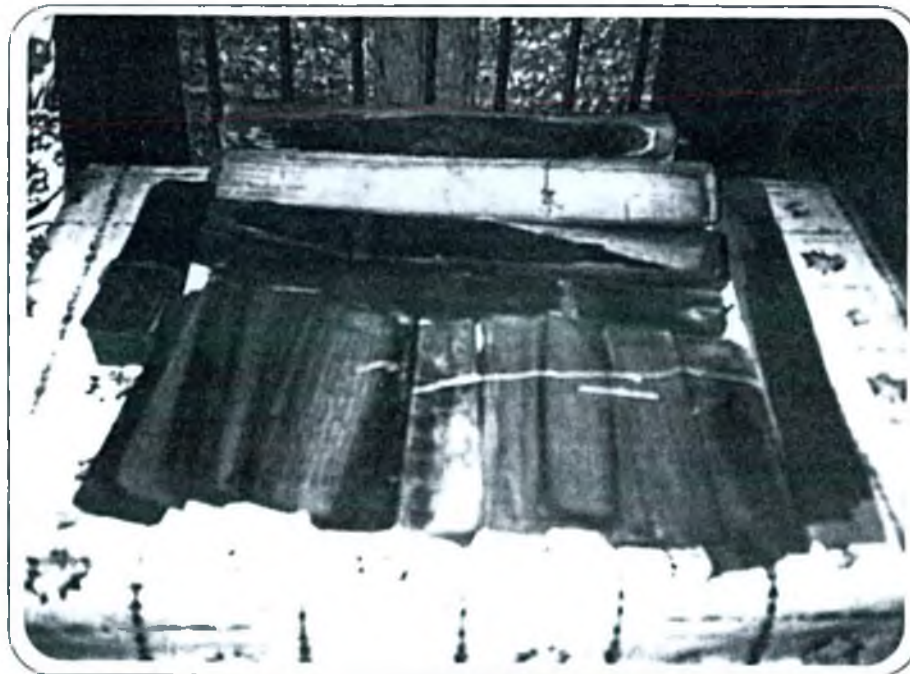
Rakkhain house tutor



Rakkhain graveyard



Rakkhain's Kiang (elementary school)



Ancient Pigon (writing leaf)



Lunch with family members



Praying in Magipurnima



Old Rakkhain man



Traditional puidan (small dining table)



A Rakkhain youth



Laisure time of Rakkhain youth



An old man cleaning home premises



Mid day swantere(prayer) in the house



Smiling face of a Rakkhain lady



An old poor Rakkhain man



Rakkhain Vikku



Matbor of Belkata village



The monk wishes to Buddha near woman dead body



Rakkhain modern tong house



Preserving dead body of the monk for community funeral



Indigenous way preserving dead body for funeral



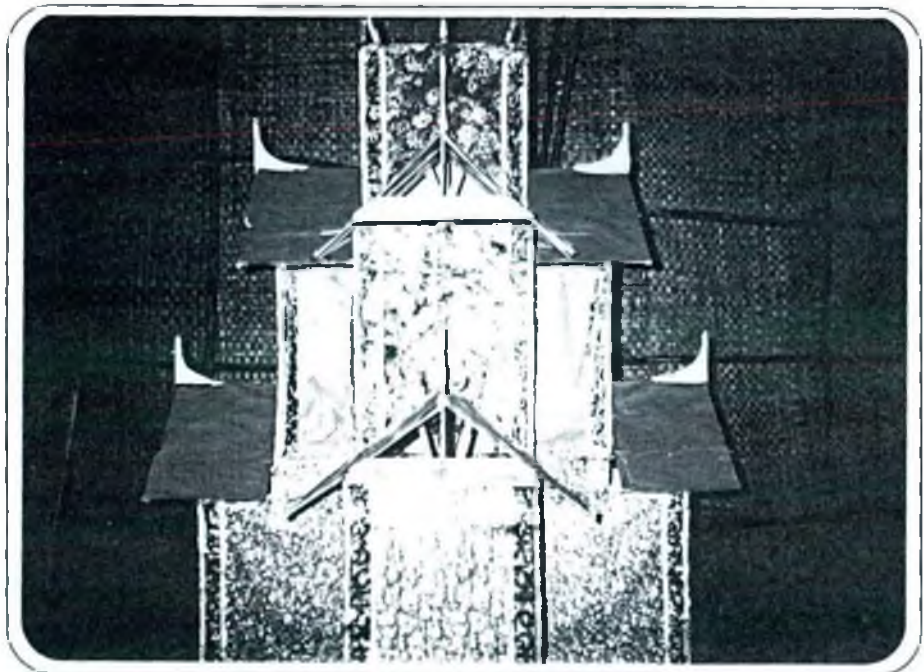
Funeral ceremonial congression



Women preparing traditional Rakkhain cake



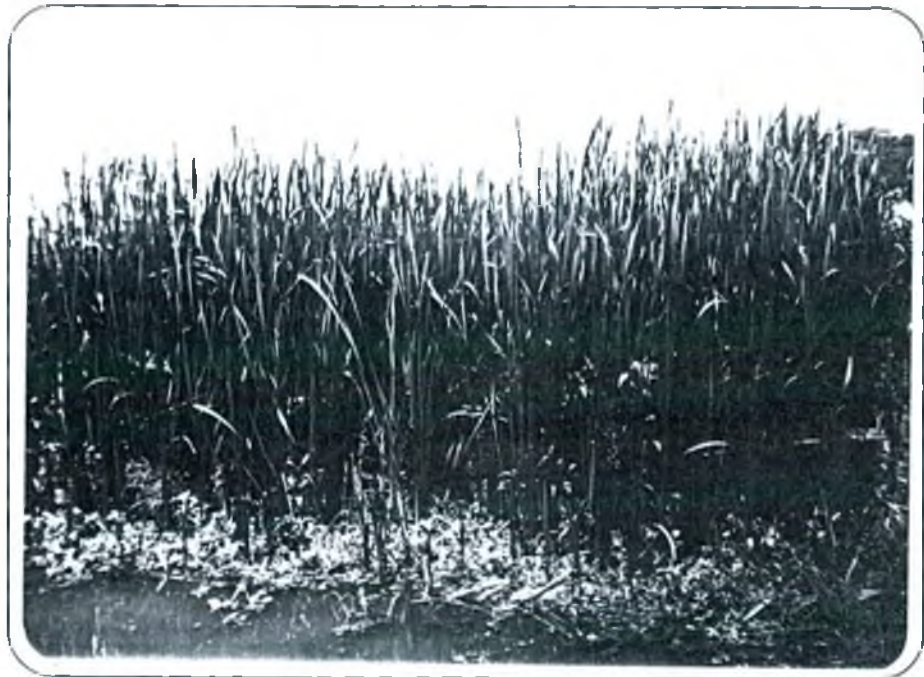
Parents praying with their boys in the temple



Partly design of tala (chariot)



Goalpata mangrove trees



Hogolapata mangrove trees



On the way to coastal village



Traditional Rakkhain Ainn (house)



View of Belkata sea beach



Belkata sea beach in rainy season



Cyclone shelter near sea beach



Rakkhain youth enjoying sea wave



Soil eroision by wave



Local sailing boat



Government guest house damaged by sea wave



Broded coconut garden



Southern estuary of Bay of Bengal



Children playing in Belkata sea beach



Sun rise at Belkata sea beach



Sun set at Belkata sea beach