

A Study of Social Justice and development of Rajwar in Barind region



M.Phil Thesis

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Anthropology,
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**Department of Anthropology
University of Dhaka**

June, 2016

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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that, I have written this M.phil thesis myself, it is an original work and that it has not been submitted to any other University for a degree. No part of it, in any form, has been published in any book or journal.

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CERTIFICATE

I do hereby certify that Hosne-Ara-Afroz, my M.phil supervisee has written this M.phil thesis herself, it is an original work and that it has not been submitted to any other university for a degree. I recommend this thesis for final submission to the concerned authority.

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Acknowledgement

Bangladesh is a very densely-populated country with a population of nearly 160 million on a landmass of 147,570 square km. The overall economy of Bangladesh is not satisfactory. Poverty persists at a very high level. According to the World Bank around 40% of total populations live below national poverty line. 25% of those are classified by governments as 'extreme poor' who cannot afford an adequate diet. However, the ethnic minorities of the Barind region are not only living in poverty, but also suffer from additional problems. The economic condition, political freedom, and the state of human rights are sharply different in the case of the ethnic communities. These aspects raise the issues of citizenship, political identity and the various dimension of exclusion. This again boils down to their access to social policies and their equal participation in state benefits as well as other welfare activities. Most of the ethnic communities of the Barind are deprived of their land rights. Furthermore, they do not have equal access to trade in markets. This study of a small ethnic community in Barind has examined the present situation of social justice and development of Rajwar. It identifies processes of discrimination and exploitation that lead to their exclusion and marginalization.

At first, I would like to express all praises to almighty Allah who enables her to pursue higher educated and to complete the research work as well as to submit the dissertation for the degree of Master of Philosophy, in Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka. The researcher wishes to express her gratefulness and respect to her supervisor Dr. Md. Ahsan Ali, Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Dhaka for his constant guidance, advice and kind help for encouragement from the very beginning of the study. His critic, self-analysis, constructive suggestion, unlimited patience and sincere appreciation throughout the study to help the researcher to analyze every chapters and complete the task sincerely in an organized way.

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The Researcher takes the opportunity to express her endless gratitude and cordial thanks to all the respondents of Ujirpur and Fohimpur villages of Naogaon district for sharing the important information's with her and spending their valuable time.

At last the researcher express her heartiest felicity to her parents and other family members including her brother Prantic and husband M.H. Rashed for their assistance and cooperation during the field work.

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Glossary

<i>Aar:</i> Egg	<i>Kather:</i> Jack fruit
<i>Bap:</i> Fater	<i>Kusar:</i> Suggest Cane
<i>Bazri:</i> Bazar	<i>Khari:</i> Cannel
<i>Bela:</i> Sun	<i>Mai:</i> Mother
<i>Behin:</i> Sister	<i>Matheel:</i> Farmer's hat
<i>Bhai:</i> Brother	<i>Moe:</i> Self
<i>Bhitha:</i> Home Land	<i>Mosha:</i> Husband of maternal aunt
<i>Borof:</i> Ice-cream	<i>Moshi:</i> Maternal aunt
<i>Chan:</i> Moon	<i>Masri:</i> Fish
<i>Chulha:</i> Woven	<i>Musa:</i> Rat
<i>Chawa:</i> Child	<i>Ong:</i> Color
<i>Charei:</i> Bird	<i>Pipa:</i> Papaya
<i>Chagri:</i> Goat	<i>Pisa:</i> husband of paternal aunt
<i>Chinhila:</i> Know	<i>Pisi:</i> paternal aunt
<i>Dupari:</i> Bath	<i>Sadhu:</i> Nun
<i>Dali:</i> Bowl	<i>Serisa:</i> Master seed
<i>Dar:</i> Branch	<i>Sikri:</i> Chain
<i>Gao:</i> Village	<i>Suer:</i> Pig
<i>Gotra:</i> Clane	<i>Tir:</i> Arrow
<i>Gohom:</i> Wheat	<i>Tohni:</i> You
<i>Ghor:</i> House	<i>Zamindary:</i> Land taxation system
<i>Gosthi:</i> Lineage	<i>Zamindar:</i> Tax Collector of British Indian Government.
<i>Hamni:</i> We	
<i>Hat:</i> Hat	
<i>Jhal:</i> Chilly	
<i>Kamla:</i> Labour	

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ABSTRACT

A study of social justice and development of Rajwar in Barind region concerns social justice and development of Rajwar in Bangladesh. The Rajwar are an ethnic community who mainly live in the North–West region of Bangladesh. This proposed research examines the inequalities towards the Rajwar that lead to their exclusion and marginalization. The research will portrayed the process of marginalization and socio- economic alienation of the Rajwar and how it is structured by their present economic condition. The literature the Rajwar community shows that they had a prosperous life before colonization in 1765.They were self sufficient in livelihood as agriculturalists ,soldiers(Buchanan) and forest food gatherers. However, their livelihood activities were interrupted by the Hindu, Muslim and British administrators in India. The Rajwar were taken away from Bihar and Chota Nagpur in India and were settled in Bangladesh by the British India Government(1765-1947).Over time, different socio-political factors ,including the partition of Bengal in 1947, the abolition of the *zamindari* (land tenancy) act in 1951,economic differentiation and the communal war between India-Pakistan in 1965 and the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, have caused economic deterioration among the Rajwars. This study reveals that almost all of the Rajwar are landless agricultural day laborers and less than self- sufficient in terms of livelihood. Their socio –cultural practices contribute to understanding of their domestic moral economy. They sell their physical labour to rich Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants. The proposed study focuses on the exclusion and marginalization of Rajwar in Bangladesh and this problem will be looked at in terms of the cultural contrasts that are employed to organise and form identity, social stigma, exclusion and interaction. This research demonstrates a relationship between different inequalities and exclusion in the case of Rajwars. Significantly, this study explores peoples’ choice and interests in shaping their livelihood and survival strategies. In exploring the problems of indignity in Bangladesh and demonstrates the importance of devising policies for the ethnic communities of plain regions such as Barindas most development programmes in our country based only on the ethnic groups of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The economic condition of the Rajwars in Barind has changed over time. Yet while they have discontinued many aspects of their earlier cultural life, they continue to practice some socio-cultural features that present them as a distinct group of people. Additionally, the changing economic condition of the Rajwars, as well as their socio-economic interactions with the dominant Bengali peasants in Barind, helps constitute their identity. My study, exploring the problems of indignity in Bangladesh, provides a" resource for the Bangladeshi nationals who wish to build a modern nation-state. My study urges that attention be given to policies for the *ethnic communities*, including the Rajwars in the Barind region. The governments of Bangladesh along with concerned international parties should take steps to resolve the problems of the Rajwars along with other *ethnic community* groups in Barind. The *ethnic communities* of the Barind region are not well known to the international community. Policies should be devised to solve their problems, aiming to ensure their equal participation in mainstream Bangladeshi society. The Bangladeshi Governments and the international community need to extend humanitarian services, including security, justice and good governance to eliminate exploitation, reduce poverty and enhance the wellbeing of the Rajwars and other ethnic minority groups in the plains regions, such as

Barind. However, the ethnic peoples had expected a better life after the independence of Bangladesh. The ethnic minorities of the Barind region potentially could obtain a better life through well crafted welfare programs. These programs could resolve their long endured vulnerability, which in their turn are essential for maintaining unity and solidarity among the citizens, irrespective of ethnic affiliation and vital for ensuring that Bangladesh remains united. Ethnic violence and ethnic movements are among the main reasons behind the collapse or failure of a state. Social policy can enhance solidarity among its citizens and neighbors. Thus, I argue that a state can receive returns in terms of loyalty by providing services to its population through a proper social policy.

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A Study of Social Justice and development of Rajwar in Barind region

CHAPTER –I: INTRODUCTION

Preamble

Economic progress that Bangladesh has made in recent times in significant this demonstrates strong will and hard work of the people of Bangladesh. It is astounding that Bangladesh, a country with little over half of India's per capital income, fares better than India and some of its neighboring countries in many social indicators. Deduction in extreme poverty is also impressive in Bangladesh. Yet, there is a significant percentage of population of the country- Socially and economically excluded for their identity, captive situation and various other reasons. Many of these excluded groups live on the fringes of the country deprived of equal opportunities and facing wide-ranging social, economic and political problems. Rajwar living in North-West Bangladesh called Barind region is one of such ethnic community who are facing extreme poverty, socially and politically marginalized and excluded population. This study tried to explore links between the socially and economically marginalized and excluded population and political governance in terms of development of Rajwar in Barind region. The study examines the factors leading to the political and social exclusions. The politics of identity, religious discrimination, economic deprivation and poverty are indeed the root causes behind the predicaments this group of indigenous community face in Bangladesh. Lack of political protection is a common problem that the religious minorities and excluded groups face in Bangladesh. Where 'Islam' is the state religion and all people are identified as 'Bengalees'. It is in this context the excluded groups of Bangladesh have been clustered in two broad lines-one in terms of ethnicity and religion; and the other in terms of disadvantages and alienation from social relations. The Rajwar is such community fall in this category.

According to the 2001 census, ethnic, religious and other minorities in Bangladesh constituted approximately a little over 10 percent like Hindus 9.2%, Buddhists 0.7%, Christians 0.3% and others 0.2% of the 130 million people. The case of the ethnic minorities, when it comes to numbers is clouded like other section' of the minorities. There are a great number of small ethnic communities and caste minorities- many of

them remain invisible. On the other, a significant percentage of the religious minority come from among the ethnic communities.

This proposed research work address the problem of the development of the Rajwar found in Barind region. It identifies some practices to counteract the processes of discrimination and exploitation that lead to their exclusion and marginalisation. This problem will be looked at in terms of the cultural contrasts that are employed to organise and form identity, social stigma, exclusion and interaction (Barth 1994). Evidence from Study Area suggests that the clustering and hierarchic arrangement of ethnic identities construct social barriers that prevent indigenous people like Rajwar connecting with the wider social networks. This research emphasise the significance of socio cultural factors in devising necessary and appropriate strategies to bring about more inclusive social outcomes for peoples. (Aguirre Beltran 1973; Albo 1996). As a consequence, indigenous people continue to be the most impoverished sector among the poor (Uquillas and Rivera 1993). Their plight is characterised by poor health, disease, hunger, malnourishment, illiteracy, restricted access to resources, poor housing, unemployment, and lack of access to basic services such as water, sewage, electricity and so forth. (Psacharoulas and Patrions 1994: Durston 1993). The multi-ethnic situation for Barind region of Bangladesh establishes the conditions for the indigenous people to confront the overwhelming majority of Bengali people, who have a very different social and religious orientation. This difference has significant consequences on the local cultural and social forms that have evolved among Rajwar groups. Cultural/social exclusion emerges from interactions based on the majorities' insistence on certain value preferences and the minorities' attempt to cope with and adapt to these preferences. Eventually, they are socially isolated from the wider society and have little access to the mainstream socio-cultural, economic and political spheres of the country. Moreover, they are subject to theenforcement of imagined political values of national unification by the elimination of their own cultural variants of these values.(Hasan shafi and patrick kilby, 2003). Concepts like social exclusion, deprivation, multiple marginalization, social capital, social capability, and civic engagement have gained wide acceptance in much of the recent development literature. The concept of social exclusion is also of relatively recent origin. While extensive empirical work has been done focusing on the range of social, political, institutional, and cultural processes that lead to the exclusion of marginal groups in

society, Atkinson and Hills (1998) argue that social exclusion has three aspects. First, it is relative—exclusion is from a particular society, at a particular place and time. Second, it implies an act of exclusion and hence an agent or agency that is responsible. Finally, it has a dynamic aspect, in that people are excluded not just because they are currently without a job or income, but because they have little prospect for the future even though they have the same productive endowments as those who exclude them. The main concern of this research paper is that we can appreciate the idea of social exclusion by placing it in the broader context of our relatively old problem of inequality. Forms of inequality in Bangladesh are manifested in terms of economic inequality, lack of opportunity and power, and inequality of choice and status. In Barind region, ethnic identities are ranked hierarchically and this conditions minority ethnic groups to impoverishment and lack of freedom.

Social Justice

The concept of social justice is relatively new.

Social justice is typically taken to mean distributive justice. The concept is implied in various academic and theoretical works and in many international legal and quasi legal texts. such as in the first chapter of “A theory of Justice” a masterpiece published in 1971, John Rawls refers on several occasions to the principles of social justice” when formulating his two “principles of Justice”. It is treated as synonymous with distributive justice, which again is after indentified with unqualified references to justice.

Justice is linked to the sovereign equality of all members and to the maintenance of peace and security. Justice has a broader positive effect on development. Usually people defined “Social justice” as Justice in terms of the distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges with in a society.--- Oxford Dictionary. It is quite common to talk about a fair distribution of wealth or social justice as if a single and simple definition of social justice even existed. The main stream idea is that wealth needs to be “well” distributed so that some do not just spare what they cannot spend and others struggle to live a decent life. Social justice aims to support a society in

which people feel free and all share the same chances to achieve the most sought for position. Therefore without social justice a society simply cannot last long.

In deed as far as people have equal access to work position society ensures the best possible repartition of work force through the economy, and gives no ground to a feeling of unfairness or social unrest.

Social and cultural rights

To support the concept of social justice is to argue for a reconciliation of these priorities within the context of a broader social perspective in which individuals endowed with rights and freedoms operate within the framework of the duties and responsibilities attached to living in society justice for people is expressed as a reaffirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human being in the equal rights of men and women. It requires the promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom” and of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. It underlies to achieve an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

In short; Justice derives from equality of opportunities for all peoples and the possibility for all human beings, without discrimination, to benefit from the economic and social progress disseminated and secured.

Economic Justice

It is a component of social justice, defined as the existence of opportunities for meaningful work and employment and the dispensation of fair rewards for the productive activities of individuals, will be treated here as an aspect of social justice. Economic justice is one among many interrelated dimensions of life in society. It is suggested here that the distributive and redistributive aspects of justice do not have to be separated or perceived as antagonistic.

Equality of rights, primarily implying the elimination of all forms of discrimination and respect for the fundamental freedoms and civil and political rights of all individuals. This represents the most fundamental form of equality. That is all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

More specific, everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Equality of opportunities which requires stable social, economic, cultural and political conditions that enable all individuals to fulfill their potential and contribute to the economy and to society.

Social exclusion

Social exclusion has several dimensions. It exists in various spheres and in many forms. Race and caste have however dominated the discourse on social exclusion. In its simplest understanding, social exclusion is lack of access to resources and consequent inability to utilize them. It is further accentuated by denial of opportunities which enhance access to resources and their utilization. It can, therefore be experienced by anyone who is in a position which is vulnerable to such impeding conditions. Thus, besides caste and race, religion, age, gender, social position and occupational hierarchy-are all potentially volatile to social exclusion. Stratification of human populations occurs at various levels and in many forms. It has a reflection of power dynamics which exist between people and also between population groups. This drives some caste and religious groups to be more advantaged as against others. The young and the elderly population are likely to be less equipped as compared to the adults in the sphere of work. The elders may be the dominating persons within the household; making the young and the adults vulnerable. Similarly, the gender roles are likely to put women at certain disadvantages vis-à-vis men. Superimposing this with lack of access to education and employment; other incomes; land ownership and political participation- all are drivers to accentuate social exclusion. Thus, people who

are socially excluded are vulnerable. Social exclusion can happen to anyone. Specially as society moves towards newer technological and economic progress, it elevates and improves the opportunities for some people and leaves others behind. Individuals who belong to underprivileged groups or minority social groups are at higher risk of facing social exclusion. Although social exclusion is used extensively in the current debates on equity and equitable access to resources and opportunities, it is, however, a very vague concept. There are no common measures on social exclusion. It is viewed as an umbrella concept for measures and policies for combating unemployment, dependency and poverty. These are social phenomenon which have different causes and consequences and often involve different population groups. The causes of social exclusion have been attributed to the economic and social changes in free-market economies, and to weaknesses in government policies and services. The concept of social exclusion has its origins in France. The main thrust on the concept of social exclusion in the region of its origin has been for poverty alleviation and thus for addressing unemployment, low income, poor jobs, homelessness, poor health, low qualifications and leaving school early, gender inequalities, discrimination and racism, handicaps, old age, divorce, drug abuse and alcoholism and to be living in a deprived socio-economic area. Most of the debate has therefore, surrounded the labour market. Social exclusion is a universal phenomenon which has existed over time and space.

Marginalization

The concept of marginality was first introduced in 1928 with an essay by Robert park title "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" (Park 1928) in which park described the cross-pressures experienced by immigrants through the overlapping involvement in different cultures. The resulting lack of integrants and the status as an "outsider" with respect to dominant cultures, park termed "Marginality". This strand of work was letter continued by stonequist (1937) who studied hybrid identities caught "Between two fires" (stonequist 1937).

Since that time the use of the term "marginality" has flourished and the concept has been broadened and diffused (Billson 2005: 33). Billson has suggested, that marginality has actually been applied in sociology in three different kinds of ways; a)

as cultural marginality, referring to the dilemmas of cross-cultural identities and assimilation, b) as social role marginality, describing the tensions which occur when an individual is restricted from belonging to a positive reference group, c) as structural marginality, referring to political, social and economic powerlessness and disadvantage. "marginality" as the lack of power, participation and integration experienced by a group, or a territory.

In the beginning, the concept of marginalization was introduced by the sociologists. Later, it was developed for second time by the anthropologist. And nowadays, the issue become as a concern for psychologists in their research and practices. "Marginalization involves contact between two cultural groups in which one is usually dominant over the other. There may be both cultural and racial differences between the groups as well as individuals who trace their ancestry to both groups" (APA, 2000:159). In this process, one cultural group seeks to cope with the group which possesses the greater value and power. In the case of Rajwar people, they are dominated by wider society-Rajwar people are divided by their own separated cultural views and practices. They are not only dominated against culturally, but also they are discriminated against and separated socially, economically, politically. Even geographically they are isolated from mainstream people.

Identity

At this point, the idea of identity needs interpretation for the purpose of the study. Identity refers to the way people define themselves and others in terms of different categories, to differentiate between themselves and 'others' (Turner *et al*, 1987). When an identity category is determined by ethnic origin, it is termed 'ethnic identity'. Generally, ethnic identity is marked by the cultural features of a group of people. These features are considered as the outward symbols through which they maintain their proprietary identity.

With this idea of identity formation, in this study I attempt to understand how a changing economy affects the socio-cultural life and the identity of the Rajwar of Barind. I consider how the Rajwar in Barind, as an ethnic community, maintain their group identity. In other words, how do the Rajwar determine their identity, given their

situation of changing dependency. How important to Rajwar is the maintenance of particular socio-cultural features such as their distinctive housing arrangements, dress, language, economic activities, and religious beliefs? What role do such socio-cultural practices play in helping Rajwar maintain a distinctive identity that distinguishes them from other social groupings or entities in Barind? Answering these questions helps understand how Rajwar frame their own identity in primordialist terms. However, Rajwar also frame their identity in circumstantialist terms, through recognising their oppression and through engaging in protest against socio-economic exploitation by the Bengalis.

Relation between social justice and development

Social justice is closely interlinked with community development or to derive positive social changes. Social justice is a core value for community work and is centered on promoting human rights for everyone in society. Achieving social justice is about identifying and attempting to address structural disadvantage, discrimination and inequality. The conception of social justice used within community development content reeks to address and focus upon the collective broader rights for groups. The conception of Social justice used and focus upon the collective broader rights for groups such as income, employment, education, healthcare, identity race clan, gender, poverty, discrimination etc. Other issues such as unemployment lack of communication support, political control drug and alcohol abuse and poor relation with the police station were also identified.

Social justice is defined as promoting a just society by challenging justice and valuing diversity. It exists when all people share a common humanity and therefore have a right to equitable treatment support for their human rights and a fair allocation of community resources.

Except social justice people are unable to secure livelihoods, lose their income and can fall deeper into poverty and despair. If we fail to establish social justice in every sector of development then it is not possible to step forward and achieve equality without discrimination.

Ethnic communities in Bangladesh

Ethno-linguistically, Bangladesh has a diverse population. The Bengalis are in the majority, while the country has a large number of other ethnic communities with distinct languages, religions, cultures and identities. According to Schendel (2009), Although Islamic Bengali identity is strongly rooted in Bangladesh, the country includes non-Islamic Bengalis as well as many people with non-Bengali identities. These include: Rajwar, Koch, Malo and many others in the north-west (Barind region); Garo in central Bangladesh Dhaka and Mymensingh); Khashi and Hajong in the north-east (Sylhety and Ralrham f Arakanese) in the southern and south-eastern regions (Chittagong and Patuakhali). These peoples have been living for centuries on land that is now part of Bangladesh. These peoples are considered ethnic minorities in relation to the dominant ethnic identity in Bangladesh, Islamic Bengali (Schendel, 5009:31-32).

According to the Population Census Report of Bangladesh (BBS, 2011), the total population of Bangladesh is about 160 million, distributed by religion as Hindu and Muslim (89.52 per cent), Hindu (9.58 per cent), Buddhist (0.46 per cent), Christian (0.27 per cent) and others (0.14 per cent). About 98 per cent of the people of Bangladesh speak Bengali (BBS, 2011). The small ethnic groups (SEGs) living in different parts of the country speak about 68 languages (Rafi. 2006: 36). The non-Hindu and Muslim Bengali communities include Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Animists and form minority groups in the country.

The 1991 Population Census Report of Bangladesh records 27 ethnic communities, numbering about 1.2 million people. This constitutes 1.13 per cent of the country's total population (BBS, 1991). The Population Census of Bangladesh does not allow people to identify their ethnic category themselves. Instead, interpreters/others fill in the census form and identify the religious or ethnic identity according to their own preconceived or stereotyped perceptions. Thus, although the ethnic communities have different religious and ethnic identities, they are often placed in a single category as minorities in the Census Report. The number of ethnic communities in 1991 has remained the same in the 2001 Census and the 2011 Census Reports. The Reports analysing the Census data for 2001 and 2011 have not provided accurate

demographics on the ethnic communities, although two decades have passed. Ethnic communities have not been properly presented in the Population Census Reports because of the frequent political changes and attitudes of the Bangladeshi Government (BBS, 2001 and 2011).

For any statistical information about the ethnic communities of Bangladesh, scholars or development practitioners have to depend on the 1991 Population Census Report. The categories, names and numbers of the ethnic communities have been depicted as follows: (1) The ethnic communities in the plains include the Rajwar (202,744), Oraon (11,296), Buna (13,914), Koch (12,631), Garo (68,210), Hajong (11,477), Harijon (1132), Khashi (13,412) Mahato (3,534) Manipuri (24,902), Munda (2,112), Paharia (1,853), Rajbongshi (5,444), Rakhain (16,932) ria (2,481); (2) the ethnic communities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts JCHT are the Bawam (6,978), Sak (2,127), Chakma (239,417), Khyang (1,950), Khumi (12,341), Lusai (662), Manna (142,334), Muro (3,227), Murong (22,178), Pangkhuya (3,227), Tanchanghya (19,211) and Tripura (61,129); and (3) the names of other ethnic communities both in the plains and CHTs are not mentioned, but constitute a population of 261,747 (BBS 1991,2001,2011 and also see Barakat *et al*, 2009).

In contrast to the census representation of ethnic communities in Bangladesh. Kamal *et al* (2007) describe the ethnic communities of Bangladesh as living in three different regions. These are: (1) Barind or the north-west region inhabited by the Rajwar, Oraon, Bhumalis, Lahras, Mahalis, Mahatos, Mundas, Mushhors, Noonias, Pahans, Palias, Robidas, Rajbongshis, Ranjoarhs and Rana Karmakars; (2) CHTs or the south-east region inhabited by the Bawms, Chaks, Chakmas, Khyangs, Khumis, Cushais, Mannas, Mros, Pangkhoas, Rakhains, Tanchangas and Tripuras, and (3) Mymensingh-Sylhet or the north-east region inhabited by the Beens, Bhumijis, Bonajs, Barmans, Dalus, Garos, Hajongs, Halams, Kharias, Khasis, Kochs, Kondas, Kunuis, Manipuris, Nayeks, Pangaas, Patras and Shabars (Kamal *et al*, 2007: ix-x).

Drong (2004) argues that there are at least 45 indigenous ethnic communities in Bangladesh, constituting around 2.5 million in total population. They live in both the CHTs and Rain plainland districts (Prong 2004). According to Rafi (2006), Bangladesh has 73 small ethnic groups (SEGs) divided into three broad categories,

including 64 discrete, five merged and four ethno-occupational groups (Rafi. 2006: 33). The Research and Development Collective (RDC) - an organisation for the development of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh- claims there are 75 indigenous ethnic communities (RDC, 2010: 10). These accounts do not provide any substantive statistics regarding the ethnic communities of Bangladesh. For this reason, scholars and development practitioners still have to depend on the population Census Reports of Bangladesh of my statistical information about the size and population of the ethnic communities.

The Rajwar of Barind region

The Barind tract covers major parts of greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna district and is the home of 13 ethnic communities i.e. Rajwar, Rajwar, Malpahari, Mundari, Mushar, Rajwar, Mahle, Kole, Kamar, Kora, Bhunjer, Bhuya and Malo. According to 2001 population census indigenous households and population of the above greater districts estimated as 355032.

The Bangladeshi population census of 1991 does not provide sufficient information on the correct number of ethnic people in Bangladesh. No clear differentiation between religion and ethnicity was drawn in this census. With regard to the total ethnic population, the numbers provided by the “Bangladesh Adibashi Forum’s formal association of ethnic peoples to achieve their rights. They contributed in our liberation war and so the state has it’s own duty to ensure their land rights , more legal aid and more provisions into the development agenda. As a first step for the proper rollout of development programmes, a survey needs to be conducted in ethnic peoples are to be capture the exact number, location and other socio –economic data. Total number of Rajwar in Bangladesh is 9700. Among them 4000 lives in Rajshahi, 2600 lives in Rangpur, 1700 live in Dhaka. CHT 30 and 1400 live in Khulna. Rajwar are also known as Ranchwar, Rajuaur, Rajhar, Rajjar, and Rajjhar.

Edward Tuite Dalton states Rajwar as a tribe of united Bengal in his book ‘Tribal history of Eastern India’ Published in 1872. Dr. Buchanon Hamilton also stated Rajwar as ‘aboriginal race’.

No	District	Number of Rajwar	Caste
1	Patna	3244	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
2	Maldah, Rangpur & Dinajpur	108	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
3.	Midnapur and Hugli (Including Howrah)	1525	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
4.	Singbhum, Chutia Nagpur and Manbhum.	33	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
5	Gaya and Shahabad	39484	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
6	Hazaribag and Lohardaga	1265	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
7.	Murshidabad and Pabna	685	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
8.	Trihut and Champaran	72	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
9.	Bhagalpur and Rajwar Pargana's	289	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal
10	Manghyr and Purnia	114	Semi Hinduised Aboriginal

Source: Hunter, W.W:1877

H.R. Risely said in the ethnographic glossary of his book "The tribe and 1891, Rajwar as Dravidian. He said they are.....probably a branch of one of the aboriginal recess. We can see that the Rajwar lived in Bardhaman, Bakura, Mehindipur, Hugli, Haora, 24 Porgons, Nodia, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Dargiling, Faridpur, Chittagong, Patna, Goa, Mojaffarpur, Vagalpur, Purnia, Maldaho (which in Chapai Nobabgonj), Rajwar porgona, Hajaribag, Momuums once the tributary states in the first and the second censers of united Bengal that head on 1872 and 1881.

According to the census of 1872: Here Mr. C.F Magrath's district census compilation shows the number of Rajwar in different district. Now a day we can see the existence or settlement of the Rajwar in some district of the northern and southern-western part of Bangladesh. According to Mesbah Kamal and Bhaswati Barmans, among them Chaytannapur, domdoma, soraipur, Benypur, Molapara, Rahee, Rohanpur, Avoa

gopalpur, Kalipur, Phulbari etc of the Rajshahi district about 350 Rajwar household lives. Beside this, near about 150 household of Rajwar live in Falahar, Khalisha, Kalhor Saktipara, Gopinathpur of Chapai Nababganj districts. Moreover about 30 households lives in kholisagari villages of Bogra. Except this in the khamarpara and Masala village of Magura district, there live 20 households of Rajwar.14 households lives in Nakaria,40 households in Hat-Bongram,60 in Char-Gopalpur,35 in Rotondia and 50 families in Kalukhali.(Kamal,Mesbah:493). Beside these from field study it is found there are 114 house holds in Ujirpur and Fohimpur village in Patnitala of Naogaon district.

Objective of the research

This research will shed light on the Rajwar people, especially on their access to the institutions of social justice and development. It will represent the major changes in their socio-economic life in general. From this research will know about the obstacles to achieve their social justice and to develop their present situation.

This research will focus on the Rajwar' identity crisis, language threat, limited employment opportunities, problems related to land tenure system and land grabbing, education and health care, poverty, legal support, access to take part in local government's development issues, gender discrimination etc.

Today, our government and especially non-government organizations, are taking different steps to develop these vulnerable peoples condition. We have to understand their situation from their own points of view. Most of our developments projects become fail for their *top-down* approach. I wanted to follow *down top* approach to investigate the fact .In order to do this I focused on the social and economical institutions of Rajwar including their belief and values.

Finally it will show how the impact of urbanization, modernization *and* globalization influence to change their "world view", specially the next generations' views.

Importance of the Study

Barind is an important region to consider in any attempt to address the most underdeveloped and unprivileged ethnic communities in Bangladesh. The ethnic

communities in this region lack satisfactory conditions compared with their ethnic peers in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) and their counterparts in the wider Bengali society. They face many challenges in their lives. In this regard, to (2012: 15-16) writes:

In discussing minority issues in Bangladesh policy makers' attention is invariably drawn to ethnic groups in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Important as they are, the plight of minorities in the Barind region should warrant equal recognition. Today most of them are landless labourers living under the poverty line, their interactions with [the] Hindu and Muslim majority in terms of labour and financial contracts are characterised by exploitation and they are socially and culturally isolated among the Hindu and Muslim majority. Although different non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been working for the development of the ethnic communities in Barind, the quality of life among them is gradually deteriorating. Little research has been carried out into their plight. Even fewer studies have been conducted on their economies and changing socio-cultural processes. While past literature generally portrays the marginalisation and socio-economic alienation of the ethnic communities in Bangladesh, it does not provide insights into the specific problems of economy and identity among these people.

My thesis addresses the process of marginalization and exclusion of Rajwar in Bangladesh and their resistance to such marginalisation. Rajwar demands for socio-economic change and equal participation in mainstream Bangladeshi society and culture, described in this study, are partly framed in terms of a discourse of indigeneity. The changing socio-economic conditions experienced by the Rajwar help describe the process of Rajwarisation in constituting their identity as 'Rajwar'. Also Rajwar' marginalisation and their resistance to local Bengali domination and state oppression, as well as their strategic networks with adibashi groups from both Bangladesh and abroad help, represent their identity as adibashis or indigenous peoples.

I hope that this thesis will enable the research participants (Rajwar) to identify their socio-economic problems, help the general community to understand the problems of marginalised ethnic groups such as the Rajwar, and provide practical insights into ways of improving their socio-economic condition. My study includes information to

guide researchers, social scientists, policy makers and development practitioners in working for the development of the Rajwar of Barind. Also, by addressing the Rajwar *adibashis* in the Barind region, I hope to highlight the need to develop policies for *adibashis* who live in different regions, as most development programmes focus only on the ethnic groups of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs) in Bangladesh.

Methodology

"Ethnographer must wander through a multicultural wilderness, learning to see the world through the eyes of people from all walks of life."(Fetterman David 1989 :137)

" To a person uninstructed in a natural history his country or sea -side stroll is a walk through a gallery filled with wonderful works of art, nineteenth of which have their focus turned with wall" (Thomas Huxley).

Research methodology as a matter of fact, includes everything concerning the research. Every social science must have methodology concerning its figurative aspects as well as its structured modification. In recent years, a quiet revolution is seen in the field of anthropological, social sciences, as well as in the development research where a new application for qualitative research has emerged among different scholars of different disciplines.

An anthropologist uses a multiplicity of methods in a single study, thus increasing the likelihood of obtaining credible and utilizable findings, with multiple methods to enhance understanding both of adding layers of information and by using one type of data to validate and refine another methodology.

I outline below the methods and techniques that I employed in this study and consider the appropriateness of those methods and techniques. This research study is based primarily on ethnographic fieldwork conducted among the Rajwar in Barind. supplemented by an investigation of the literature and historical sources on the Rajwar.

Selection of the study Area

As mentioned earlier, the present study focusses on Barind. I considered a few points in the selection of the study area. The objectives of the study, the availability of reliable primary data and secondary sources and information appropriate for answering my research questions were taken into account. I also considered accessibility of the study area and the time and resources to conduct the study. As most ethnic studies in Bangladesh have focused on the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHTs), I chose to do a study on a group that lives outside of this area. *The* CHTs are familiar to national and international researchers as a fertile land of only 12 ethnic communities, as well as of anthropological or ethnographic studies. But the ethnic communities who live in Barind that is, in the plains of Bangladesh, have not been well studied. For this reason, as a native researcher, I chose to especially concentrate on the Rajwar as an ethnic community in Barind.

Fieldwork

I started my field work among the Rajwar in Barind in early November 2011. Four times I went to my study area in different seasons and years. For the first time, in 7th November, 2011 I went Ujirpur village wherestands the two Rajwar dominant villages like *Rajwar para (Ujirpara)* and *Kamarpara (Fohimpur)*. I stayed at Najipur for 15 days. After that I went my study area in May, 2014 for seven days for the second phase. Thirdly, in February, 2014; I visited my study area for a week. Finally, in June 2016, I visited my study area for a week (1-7) th June.

Ethnographic Methods

As well as individual interviews, my research involved focus group interviews and participant observation of community events, allowing for qualitative description of Rajwar socio-cultural life. I applied ethnographic methods to gather firsthand knowledge and material about the Rajwar, through the application of different tools and techniques. The data collection techniques included rapport building through initial contact, participant observation, a survey with a structured questionnaire (Appendix 1), ethnographic interviews, Household census (Appendix-2) and collection of genealogies. I also conducted key informant interviews, case studies focus group discussions (FGDs) with a guideline (Appendix 3), and informal

discussions. I also applied visual methods, using video and photography. I discuss my methods in more detail below.

Rapport Building

Mr Saclain and Bissowjit Sarker of *Ashrai* played as a role of gateway. They helped me to reach Ujirpur Village and introduce me with the villagers. I started my fieldwork by introducing myself as a researcher as well as by explaining the objectives of my project. At first not many of the research participants responded favourably to my study. I spent the initial few days travelling to the Rajwar in Barind to develop a relationship with them. Eventually, the Rajwar began understand the value of my project and became my friends in practice. This rapport-building process helped me to become familiar with the Rajwar in Barind. They eventually cordially accepted me into their community. They helped me patiently and provided data and information on then community and life for the interest of this study.

Survey

I applied survey methods to collect socio-economic information from all the Rajwar families under study. I developed and pre-tested a structured questionnaire collecting both quantitative and qualitative questions. The survey allowed me to collect Rajwar household informations systematically. All the questionnaires were filled in by conducting face-to-face interviews with the heads of Rajwar families. In conducting these interviews with the research participants, I was also able to observe Rajwar socio-economic practices, including housing patterns, dress patterns, food habits and other aspects of their life. This process of data collection by survey helped me to understand Rajwar life at the individual household level.

Ethnographic Interviews

Ethnographic interviews using an open-ended questionnaire allowed me to understand Rajwar activities at both the individual and community levels. I was able to document changes in their socio-economic activities and begin to understand their migration patterns, family histories and their responses to their changing socio-economic condition. These ethnographic interviews also allowed me to identify some key

informants and participants for case studies and focus group discussions, which finally helped deepen my insights into Rajwar society and culture.

Collection of Genealogies

The collection of genealogies while I conducted interviews with the open-ended questionnaire helped me to understand the socio-economic background and migration of Rajwar to Barind. Specifically, collection of genealogies of the research participants enables a comparison between their present and past economic situation and cultural practices. In other words, the data collected through the collection of genealogies or interviews also enabled me to document Rajwar's history and their presence and connections with their relatives, who live both in the village of Barind and in different places in India, where they had been settled in the past.

Key Research Participant Interview

I had 6 key research participants of the study, Although I interviewed both adult male and female Rajwar research participants at the study site.

The key research participants of the study provided historical facts and informations about the Rajwar community. The key research participants provided me with materials and literature on the Rajwar community. They provided information about the recent changes, problems, ways of solving problems and the question of Rajwar integration and disintegration within the community. The key research interviews helped explore clarify the historical as well as the substantive factors that continue to change their economy and create differentiation, contrasts and confrontations among them.

Case Studies

Case studies/ life stories give information about which experiences a person uses to make decisions and how he explains the course of his life to himself (schutz & Luckmann 1967, o 15ff, 52ff).

I developed case studies by conducting in-depth interviews with specific individuals. Through the case studies I was able to explore the practical situation of particular

individual Rajwar. The case studies helped strengthen the findings, data and information about the reasons for economic change in the individual's life. The case studies also provided insights into Rajwar interpersonal relationships, their interactions or interrelationships with other groups of people, the role of development practitioners in their community and support data on differentiation among the Rajwar. I was careful to include stories from people different age and sexes. I was especially interested in how certain individuals reconstructed and described their past and linked it to an explanation of their present situation. These life stories are based on numerous conversations, held in course of several weeks. Some of these stories are added inside my research paper within related topics. This provided me with information about individual experiences, interpretation and stock of knowledge.

Focus Group Discussion

I conducted 6 focus group discussions (FGDs) among Rajwar choosing seven to nine research participants from each of the Rajwar clusters in my study area. I developed a guideline for this purpose to discuss Rajwar socio-cultural features and the recent changes and problems in their lives. Focus group discussions helped me to understand Rajwar community views and practices and provided confirmation of their internal stratification. The data collected via focus group discussions allows comparison with data collected via interviews, case studies and surveys among the Rajwar.

Informal Discussion

I interviewed both the adult Rajwar men and women informally, during my fieldwork. My informal discussions with them helped me understand their feelings and attitudes regarding many issues in life. Such issues include their interactions and interrelations with the wider society, problems and suggestions for solving problems, deprivation by the local government officials, and the expectations and demands of the larger society, they also expressed their frustration and anger regarding their present economic situation because they had lost the principal means of their agricultural practice - their land. The Rajwar, especially the elderly, expressed then-acute frustration regarding changes to their age-old religious beliefs and practices. The Rajwar also expressed concern over the disintegration of their community. All this information collected by

informal discussion with the Rajwar further enabled me to explore their changing socio-economic situation.

Participant Observation

Participation and Observation was the most important method as oral and ethnic societies like the Rajwar people do not formulate a large part of their knowledge stocks explicitly. In the frame of participant observation. I undertook “transect boat trips”, intensive observation in the usual anthropological since could only be applied among the Rajwar people. I tried to observe them on the fields, market, festival meetings, household works and deities etc. Ethnic societies seldom formulate their stock of knowledge export but pass down practical examples of everyday and expert knowledge. By taking part in the activities of different groups of population (male/female), I discover source of knowledge, which although quite routine are of vital importance to them.

Rural societies seldom formulate their stock of knowledge exploit but pass down practical examples of everyday and expert knowledge. By taking part in the activities of different groups of population (Male/Female), I discover sources of knowledge, which although quite routine, are of vital importance to the Rajwar. Such activities included the work of women in the household, fishing and games of children and young people etc. I examine expert knowledge by verifying and supplementing information gained from individual and group discussions on the ground. I could discover the particular strategies adopted to ensure a successful harvest and cultivation techniques.

I attended some of the Rajwar festivals and life-cycle events, including birth, marriage and funeral ceremonies. Participation in these Rajwar events maximised the reliability of my research study. I observed Rajwar practices by participating in their community events. I interacted and stayed with them during their festivals, which helped me gather deep insights into their specific festivals and ceremonies. This method of participant observation also allowed maximum time to understand Rajwar' leisure and enjoyment, in the face of the hard lives they lead due to their economic crisis.

Visual Method

In relation to the research aims of this project, videotaping and photographing have helped me in the analysis and presentation of their socio-cultural practices. Through the visual examination of housing patterns, dress, food habits, religious festivals, ceremonies, other rituals of symbolic activities, economic activities and so on of the Rajwar, the researcher is able to identify the social and cultural practices that define them as a distinct group of people. The photographs and video recordings proved to be an important data resource after the completion of my fieldwork. Video recordings of interviews enabled me to examine what the participants' gestures and body language revealed about their feelings and understandings on specific issues. Recording and videotaping the Rajwar festivals enabled me to discuss them later on with Rajwar and to analyse the various activities and stages of the relevant events.

Other Sources of Data

Secondary data were sourced from various books, journals, articles, statistical accounts and materials in the libraries of different institutions, government directorates and different expert bodies in Bangladesh. For this purpose, the Seminar Library at Department of Anthropology and the Central Library at University of Dhaka, the national library of Bangladesh, Library of the Research and Development Collective (RDC) at Dhaka and Library of Bangladesh Rural Development Academy (RDA) at Bogra. Online journals and books have also been used as an important source of secondary data.

Data Analysis Techniques

In this study, I pay much attention to collating the collected qualitative primary data. The data from the secondary sources were first assessed to determine their importance. As I conducted my fieldwork and collected the ethnographic data in Bengali, I had to translate all the collected data and information into English for the purpose of the thesis. I also had to translate Bengali secondary sources and materials on the Rajwar community. In addition, as the Rajwar in Bangladesh speak in Khotta or *sadri* language, I have provided the meaning of the words used in the thesis paper (Glossary).

Checklist

An organized and well-developed checklist has been used in the study, which included the important indicator related to the study. It helps to organized and discipline data collection and analysis. A well-organized checklist has been used in this study where the important indicator of the study was include and it help the research to do the study in a more symmetrical and systematic way.

Literature Review

The evaluation of primary and secondary literature about origin, migration, language books on south Asian ethnic people were a valuable supplement to the data gain and observation. More over journals and conference reports were also help me to gather knowledge and enlighten my way of research.

I got concept about what methodology would I follow. Moreover my observation approach, collecting information, analyzing, rapport building process, taking field note, diary maintaining, filing census, report writing all were well shaped by literature review. Evolution of primary and secondary literature helped as a guide in an unknown world and place. Thus helped me to take preparation before going to field also.

Montgomery Martin provide some information about the Rajwar in his book, "*The history, antiquates, topography and statistics of eastern India; (Vol. II)*. This is a official survey and politically, socially and commercially extremely valuable document, been submitted to the attention of reflecting communities. The information was collected by Dr. Francis Buchanan. He was directed to collect information upon the general topography of each district, the condition of the inhabitants, their religion, customs, the natural productions of the country, fisheries, forests, mines and quarries, the state of agriculture, the condition of landed property and tenures, the operations of commerce and every particular that can be regarded as forming an element of prospenty or depression of the people. Tribal history of eastern India-By dalton E.T (1872)

Edward tuite Dalton states Rajwar as a tribe of united Bengal in this book 'tribal history of eastern India (1972). He identity this tribe as trouble some character, especially addicted to highway robbery have from this was can know about aboriginal races, chiefly in consequence of tkheir impure practices. Dalton marked in his book that Dr. Buehanan Hamilton also states Rajwar as "aboriginal race" A link between Bhuiyas and Rajwar in found in this book, However, writer declared themselves to be fallen Kshatrays and be of Dravidian origin. He states the Rajwar of Bengal admit they (Rajwar) are derived from next-generation of kermis and kols and they are booked upon as very impure by Hindus.

R.V. Russell has written the book namely "*The tribe and castes of the central province of India*".In his book (Vol-IV) he express about the origin, and different cultural activities of ?Rajwar. He discussed about the link or relation and mith among the Rajwar, Musahar and Bhuiyan. He states Rajwar' migration, customs, religious practices, marriage rituals, divorce, remarriage, dances etc. in this book, Here the writer expressed Rajwar as a low cultivating caste of Bihar and chota Nagpur, who are probably an offshoot of the Bhuiyas. In 1911 a total of-25,000 Rajwar were returned in central provinces of whom 22,000 belong to Sarguja state. The Rajwar in Sarguja are peaceably disposed cultivators and skilled in a dance called '*chailo*' that made a relation/bridge with their Dravidian origin. In this book he remarks in the central provinces the Bhuiyas have a sub caste called Rajwar. He stated about their belief the rajwar believe that every man has a soul or *pran*, and they think that soul leaves the body, not only at death, but whenever he is asleep or becomes unconscious owing to injury or illness. Dreams are the adventures of the sole while wandering over the world apart from the body. They think it is very unlucky for a man to see his own reflection in water and carefully avoid doing so.

The book named "*Indigenous Communities*"-(Part-5) Edited By Kamal, Mesbah(2007)

Shows primary concept about Rajwar in Bangladesh. They chose the village Nakaria of Joypurhat district as their field study. They focused on their present practices. They tried to provide an ethnographic picture of the Rajwar community of Bangladesh. We can gen some ideas about the clans, family, marriage last rites, food habits, houses, customs and beliefs, costume, profession, health care services, justice, leadership etc.

This essay *How Do Local-Level Legal Institutions Promote Development? An Exploratory* by Varun Gauri develops a framework and some hypotheses regarding the impact of local-level, informal legal institutions on three economic outcomes: aggregate growth, inequality, and human capabilities. It presents a set of stylized differences between formal and informal legal justice systems, identifies the pathways through which formal systems promote economic outcomes, reflects on what the stylized differences mean for the potential impact of informal legal institutions on economic outcomes, and looks at extant case studies to examine the plausibility of the arguments presented. The paper concludes that local-level, informal legal institutions (i) can support social substitutes for the enforcement of contracts, though these substitutes tend to be limited in range and scale; (ii) are flexible and could conceivably be organizational and social resources could be brought to buttress the legal claims of the disempowered; and (iii) are more likely to support personal integrity rights than the positive liberties that are also constitutive of development as freedom.

Social Justice and Development by Behrooz Morvandi shows Poverty is quintessentially an issue of inequality or lack of social justice within and between nation states. And yet mainstream development theory and institutions of global governance continue to focus reducing poverty as a policy objective, rather than focus on underlying issues of inequality. This book confronts the failings of neo-liberalism and the global governance institutions that promote it. The aim is to explain how the current structure of global governance, which is biased towards the powerful nation states, could be radically changed through the principles of global social justice to deliver a mechanism for addressing inequality, and ultimately poverty.

Social Justice and Development makes a significant contribution to current debates around development theory and policy. It explores why articulating social justice in development provides the potential for a fresh approach to global poverty. It is essentially an optimistic text that suggests how the principles of global social justice could be used to shift the development paradigm from a consensus that hinges on Washington to one that is global.

The volume *Social Development, Social Inequalities, and Social Justice* by Cecilia Wainryb considers previously separate bodies of research on social justice, social equality, and social development. Eminent scholars from a variety of disciplines discuss the latest research to help us understand the relation between social inequalities and social development. In so doing, the book documents the powerful ways that social inequalities frame development and explores the conflicts that arise in the context of these inequalities. It illustrates how people around the world make judgments about these conditions and how they resist or change the practices they deem unjust. By bringing together these perspectives, the editors hope to demonstrate how understanding social development carries with it the possibility of change and social justice. The book considers processes of social development. The book considers:

-) Inequalities in educational and health care opportunities.
-) Unequal rights and harassment and their effects on minorities.
-) The hardships and inequalities encountered by women.

Intended for researchers and advanced students in developmental, social, cultural, and health psychology, policy, anthropology, and philosophy interested in a world that is socially just.

“Santals of Bangladesh” by Dr. Ali, Ahsan: 1998 based on author’s extensive ethnography on the Santals of Bangladesh and India. He discussed the process of social changes that has taken place among the Rajwar living in Bangladesh. There five villages were studied, four are situated in Barind region under Dinajpur, Naogaon and Rajshahi districts and rest of village is situated in modnapur district of west Bengal in India. Writer focused on recent social changes among the sandals of Bangladesh. This study is to understand the decentralization process in Bangladesh.

“The Marmas of Bangladesh” –by Selina Ahsan (1988), provides an formal education and the need to become bilingual, more and more involvement with people from other groups. It is about the people who are changing rapidly in some ways but who remain resiliently themselves in others writers paid his attention to the matrilineal kinship

organization of them and to the special role that Garos may play in Bangladesh in the future.

“Deshen Manusher Kotha” by Drong, Sanjeeb (2006), here Sanjeeb Drong tried to point out various problems of ethnic minority of Bangladesh as like as injustice, pain, poverty, vulnerability and helpless situation. In his writings he expressed that the indigenous peoples in Bangladesh have been facing the brutal or severe effect of government policies like land grabbing, forceful migration and human rights violation including the colonial policy of divided and rule. He said Bangladesh Government does not have any policy for the development of indigenous populations many times these people have faced forceful eviction from their homeland in the name of development projects, national parks, eco-parks, protected areas, reserve forests and even military bases. Thus indigenous peoples have become the most marginalized and vulnerable group in the country.

“Dalits in India search for common Destiny- (2009) by Thorat, Sukhadeo. The central and distinguishing features of this book: first, it deals exclusively with the status of dalits in India and, second, it locates itself within the framework of exclusion and discrimination. More important, the thematic issues dealt within the book have been substantiated by detailed datasets—from there decadal periods, emanating from the 1980s to the present day—generated from a wide universe of sources, including official sources and micro-level studies. The book critically engages with various dimensions such as demography, gender, levels and patterns of urbanization, occupational patterns, ownership of agricultural land, rural labour, employment and unemployment rates, employment under reservation in the public sector, incidence of poverty, literacy and education health status and access to healthcare facilities, access to civil amenities and status of civil rights.

Limitations of the study

A researcher has to face some difficulties to conduct a research work. I also had to face some obstacles such as follows.....

The duration of field work was only for one month. That was very insufficient to conduct this research. So the time schedule for such an important work was too short.

But a Rajwar young boy named Monoranjon Rajwar who passed in S.S.C examination and a women Sabitry Rajwar always keep relation with me over mobile phone.

There is very little previous writings and records about Rajwar. The published and unpublished information is not sufficient. Even government's statistics did not listed the Rajwar as ethnic group before 2015.

Another limitation was financial problem. When the researcher started the field work then she was a student and it was very difficult for her to stay the field any more due to insufficient fund. So if she got more money than the research will be better.

The informants did not always give the write answer. Sometimes they hide their real opinions. So the researcher has to ask the same question for several time and situation on several people to find the real data.

In spite of above limitations the researcher has tried her best to collect and complete the information that was valuable for understanding the issues to discuss in this research paper.

Pains and pleasure of the fieldwork

Life is not a bed of roses. In every sector of our life we have to face challenges. In case of my fieldwork, at first, my family made a barrier to go to Naogaon and to stay alone there. Because they were afraid of about my security. At last I was able to understand my parents that I will be safe there. I had to face some challenges like new place, new people and unknown social surroundings. But I was very excited to reach nearer to the Rajwar' hearts and share with their life style. The second problem was to reach the field. Before 2011 I never went Naogaon district. But my supervisor helped me a lot to reach the study area from Rajshahi rail station. Beside this he arranged a shelter at Najipur for me .Not that he also managed two staffs of Ashrai who helped me to find and reach my field. They (mr. Sacklain Hossain and Bissowjit Sarker) played as gateway role. They showed me the way of Rajwar para and introduce me with the dwellers.

But before my reach at the Rajshahi rail station, I was about to miss my train of the Dhaka to Rajshahi. I collected my train from Kamalapur rail station and did not notice that the departure place of the train was Dhaka Cantonment railway station. So on that night I was waiting at Kamalapur railway station for my train. The departure time was 11 pm. But my friend Bidyut who came with me to see off at the station, suddenly noticed that the train will be start from Dhaka Cantt. Station. It was only 35-40 minutes to 11 pm. At that night he helped me a lot, and I was able to reach at the station within 40 minutes riding on his bike.

Another problem was faced for being female researcher. I wanted to stay nearer to my study area. So I had to stay alone at the guest room of Ashrafi's a local branch office. Some times at night I felt afraid. I took my meal from local hotel and I really enjoyed local dishes.

Third one is after reached at the villages, the dwellers thought me as a member of NGO. This is why, most of them expect financial help and they hide their real information to get any kind of aid or relief goods. But after some days I was able to clear my ambition. Later, I collected the real data or information step by step.

In case of political questions primarily they were confused but in such situation I had to be diplomatic.

Another thing that made me confused was their religion and ritual. Their culture is very much influenced by Hinduism. I was puzzled. Day by day I could point out the distinction between Hindu and their traditional religion.

Primarily, their phonetics or language pronunciation sounds not clear to me to get real meaning. From the beginning I did not understand their mother tongue but all of them know Bengali well. They translated their *Sadri* language into Bengali.

Another challenge was that, I joined at my job in January, 2012. After joining I didn't get any leave for my field work. So I had to take a long break. I was hopeful, and able to go to my field for second time in May, 2013 during my maternity leave.

Then I stayed at Badalgachi in my relative house. Every day I had to leave my infant of only three months from morning to evening for my field work at Najipur.

I was careful to include stories from people different age and sexes. I was especially interested in .how certain individuals reconstructed and described their past and linked it to an explanation of their present situation. These life stories are based on numerous conversations, held in course of several weeks. Some of these stories are added inside my research paper within related topics. This provided me with information about individual experiences, interpretation and stock of knowledge.

CHAPTER- II: A CULTURAL PROFILE

The culture of a given community is never static; it has to grow with certain changes according to the needs of the situation. So, we find certain changes taking place all the time in terms of time and space. (Ali Ahsan:1998). Naturally, the study of the Rajwar in Bangladesh generate many questions like-----

- i) Pattern of changes in culture.
- ii) Constraints of development.
- iii) Nature of reaction.

And all these taken together constitute the details of ethnography of the ethnic group called Rajwar which is visibly lacking in Bangladesh.

Nomenclature of Rajwar

Roberta Montgomery Morfin in this book "The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of eastern India" said-The Rajwar are a pretty numerous tribe, most of whom are settled in Nawade but some are scattered throughout these districts and I have no doubt are of the same tribe with the Rachewars or Rajawars, mentioned in my account of Mysore (Vol.3.P-435). Although in that country they pretended to be of the *Kshatriya* tribe and have adopted the rules of Hindu purity, here they very reverse in the case, they can't eat beef and everything that shocks Hindu decorum.

He also said that they (Rajwar) pretend that their common ancestor was a certain Rishi who had two sons. From the eldest are descended the Rajwar who become soldiers and obtained their Nobel title; younger are descended to the Musahars, who have obtained their name from eating rats, which the Rajwar rejects. R.V. Russell in his book "The tribes and castes of the central Provinces of India, volume (iv) remarks Rajwar as a low cultivating caste of Bihar and chota Nagpur, who are probably an offshoot of the Bhuiyas. In 1991 a total of 25000 Rajwar were returned in the central Provinces of whom 22000 belong to the sarguja state recently transferred from Bengal. Another 2000 persons are shown in Bilaspur, but these are Musahar, an offshoot of Rajwar, who have taken to the profession of gardening and have changed their name. They probably rank a little higher than the bulk of Rajwar.

“Traditionally”, color Dalton states,” the Rajwar appear to connect the selves with the Bhuiyas; but this is only in Bihar. The Rajwar in Sarguja and the adjoining states are peaceably disposed cultivations, who declare themselves to be fallen ksh at riyas, they do not however, conform to Hinducustoms, and they are skilled in a dance called *Chailo*, which is of Dravidian origin. The Rajwar of Bengal admit that they are the descendants of mixed unions between kurmis and kols. They are looked upon as very impure by the Hindus, who will not take water from their hands.

The musahars as shown by Sir tl. Risely, are probably Bhuiyan degraded to servitude in Hindu villages, and this story confirms the Bhuiya organ of the Rajwar. In the central Provinces the bhuiyas have a sub caste called Rajwar, which further supports this hypothesis and in the absence of evidence of the contrary it is reasonable to suppose that the Rajwar are an offshoot of the Bhiuyas, as they themselves say in Bihar, But in chota Nagpur they Bhuiyas have their own village and live apart from the Hindus, and here the Rajwar, like the land holding branches of other forest tribes, claim to be an inferior class of Rajputs.

There are many theories of their origin that they descended from while some relate them with Musahars, some try to find their connection with the Bhuiyan.

The Rajwar are popular for their rigid and rebellious nature and due to their rebellious characteristics, they were immensely found to be involved in the incidents of dacoits and loot during the early 19th century in the areas of southern Bihar, Even today, their image among the upper easte of the region is that of rebellious and unlawful and the term Rajwar is used as synonyms for those persons, who have rigid and rebellious nature among both upper and lower castes.

In Bangladesh they (Rajwar) are cultivating caste working in other landowner’s farms. They work as agricultural labors. The educated and talented youth are heading towards urban agglome rates for better occupational opportunities.

RAJU RAJWAR of Rajwar para who is 24 years old described a myth about the nomenclature of their community.He said,during ancient period there occure a war among Parsuram and other kings. Those

kings were weak then Parsuram. They were defeated by king Parsuram and took shelter in the forest to save themselves. Those kings were called RAJA in their local dialect.

In those days they managed fire from a long distance of six months. This is why, they always made the fire burning with dry leaves, branches of trees etc. They hunted animals and collect tortoises, scabes, snails from jungle and caught fish from river. They roasted those on fire to eat and hide themselves in the deep forest. In the local dialect the word 'AAR OR ARAL' is used to mean hide. From this... as the kings (RAJA) hide (AAR or ARAL) themselves in the forest, so next time they were named as RAJWAR.

In Bangladesh, Rajwar are represented as socially and culturally distinct from the wider Bengali society although they are entangled with the people of the wider Bengali society and also with other ethnic minorities.

In the nineteenth century when colonial officials encountered slavery and bondage all over India, they came across a class of agricultural laborers called *kamias* in the eastern province of Bihar. Living primarily in the Southern part of the province, these laborers were distinguished by long term ties of landlords known as *maliks*. A *kamia* worked all his life for the same landlord, earning wages for the days that he worked and expecting assistance when needed. For his son's marriage, he received some grains, money and small plot of land from the landlord. After the conclusion of this transaction, called *kamiauti*, the son too became same *malik's kamia*. Women also became attached to same master through the labor relationship of their *kamia* husbands.

Thus both were subjected to a system of restrictions: restrictions on their movements, their labor and their persons. Classified as slavery in 1843 this *kamina- malik* relationship was increasingly reported, studied, legislated and represented as debt-bondage. From colonial records it appears that low-caste rich peasants emerged as employers of *kamias* for the first time towards the end of the nineteenth century. How the Rajwar were subjected to *kamia* labour system can be found in the history of Rajwar during the latter half of nineteenth century.

Process of migration and settlement at Barind region

Some scholars state that the Rajwar migrated from different parts of India and settled in Barind during the period of the British Colonial Government (1765-1947). In the past, agriculture was the main economic activity of the Rajwar. They along with other ethnic minorities settled in the region as forest dwellers during the British period. Many of them were also engaged in menial work at the railway stations and as workers on tea estates in the region. They were also engaged in clearing the jungles in the region, and practising agriculture. They cultivated the land as the tenants of local *zamindars* (tax collectors/intermediaries) of the then British India Government (Gayn prakash, 1990).

The waves of tribal immigration flowed into Barind region of Bangladesh from different ethnic groups of the tribal communities, like Rajwar, Oraon, Munda, Mahali etc. of Bihar and ChotaNagpur. The migration of the tribal communities, to this region may have occurred for a variety of reasons.

- a) One of the important factors for migration to Barind region was the failure of the great Rajwar rebellion in 1855. The natural after-effect of the rebellion was that the Rajwar with other ethnic communities like Rajwar, Oraon etc were plunged into poverty, and many of them migrated to different parts of British Bengal, such as, North Bengal, Assam and Orissa in order to earn their livelihood. In this way, their stringent financial condition compelled them to migrate to the arid uplands of Barind, comprising the parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Bogra and Malda in and around 1901 (Lacey : 1931 : 97 If.)
- b) It appears to be a reasonable guess work that there was a slave trade run by the Imperial Masters and their hired stooges in India with aborigines of the Beerbohm region, and that the aborigines were generally imported for the reclamation and cultivation of the fallow and Jangly barren lands of this tract, Gait (1901) also suggest the same view in the Census Report of 1901. According to Hunter (1876), there is no doubt that slavery was there among the aborigines who used to provide the manpower for 'English enterprise' in this sparsely populated fertile land of Bengal (Hunter : 1876 : 226-7).

They cleared the jungles, terraced the slopes and the land fit for cultivation of winter rice. (Carter : 1928 :2).

Carter's account leaves no doubt in our mind that the Rajwar settled in Barind in a considerable number by the mid-nineteen thirties, and had reached a state of recognition among their contemporary travelers as an agricultural community. As mentioned earlier, migration of the Rajwar into Barind began in the 1880's on a large scale. During the Census operations of the fifty-year period, between 1881 and 1931, the Police Stations grew more rapidly in Rajwar concentrated areas than in other areas in the northern districts of the undivided Bengal.

However, from the year 1921, a steady increase in the number of the Rajwar population was noticed (Ibid : 1931 : 97). In this way, the immigration of the tribals into this region went on unabated for a considerable period of time. It may be mentioned here that the primary cause of their migration to Barind was doubtlessly due to the economic depression. But it appears that their choice for this place was influenced by the availability of cultivable land at Barind. The *Zamindars* and *Jotedars* engaged the Rajwar for clearing jungle and *danga* (high) lands. This gave them an incentive to migrate to Barind region, in as much as it lured them to getting ample employment opportunities. Thus, the Rajwar from India settled here mainly as *bargadar* (share-croppers) under the Permanent *Zamindari* Settlement of Bengal, and they played an important role in 'the extension of agriculture in this region.

The Bengal region was ruled by the British from 1757 to 1947. It is believed that The Rajwar came to Bangladesh from Indian Bihar, Orissa and Chotanagpur for settlement. Before British Period, they engaged with hunting and gathering and there were no boundaries on the use of land. , the Rajwar inhabited the long range of hills and jungles at the southern edges of south Bihar, In Gaya district. they lived in the hills which extended from Rajgir in the northeast to Rajauti and the Danwa pass in the south. Colonial officials noted in the mid-nineteenth century that the Rajwar were prominent in predatory raids committed in the environs and on the highways. As hill people they had probably always carried out raids on the plains and in the valleys where settled agriculture had grown. But the growth of agriculture and the establishment of landed property in the region had two implications. First, they made

the integration of the Rajwar in the agrarian society possible. Second, the expansion of agriculture and assertion of land control in regions surrounding their habitat probably also put pressure on the traditional pattern of Rajwar life and exacerbated their conflicts with the settled agriculturists. In the mid-nineteenth century we find evidence for both of these tendencies. The state of The Rajwar of the mid-nineteenth century was a diverse one. While some Rajwar bands lived on banditry, other worked as agricultural laborers and sometime combined this with participation in brigandage. This diverse range of activities should be seen as evidence of the transitory stage of the Rajwar. While work as agricultural laborers represented their increasing integration into sedentary agrarian society, brigandage harked back to their past existence and reflected the pressure they were under from the growth of agriculture and landed property. Under this pressure, the activities of the Rajwar bands reached their crescendo during the revolt of when British rule came under serious challenge.

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Thus both were subjected to a system of restrictions: restrictions on their movements, their labor and their persons. Classified as slaves in 1843 this *kamina- malik* relationship was increasingly reported, studied, legislated and represented as debt-

bondage. From colonial records it appears that low-caste rich peasants emerged as employers of *kamias* for the first time towards the end of the nineteenth century. How the Rajwar were subjected to kamia labour system can be found in the history of Rajwar during the latter half of nineteenth century.

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In almost all the cases of Dacoity that occur Rajwar alone are not concerned Rajpoots. Bhahmins & Mussalmans join with them & [the dacoities] are no doubt to a certain extent hatched by the zemindars who share in the loot & afford the guilty parties every protection in their power and you must be aware how difficult it is to obtain proof of guilt against the Zemindar.

Projection from zamindar did not end with the revolt of 1857, such support continued even after the revolt. This was not surprising. Working on the land as laborers during a part of the year and living on the estate of zamindar, the Rajwar hands were likely to have had close links with the landholders. Moreover, the complicity of zamindars in the predatory raids by the Rajwar group and others was consistent with

the role that force and non-economic coercion played in social relations right up to the early nineteenth century. Predatory raids were only the more extreme expressions of the control one group established over another through both brute force and ideological power. Faced with colonial administration that defined such activities as crimes, the zamindar did not take an active part in carrying out these raids. But they gave protection to the Rajwar who, not being completely sedentary, moved in and out of the agrarian society and the hilly and forested terrain and continued their raids.

The re-establishment of British power after the revolt of 1857-58 and the reassertion of control by the colonial administration, stemmed the rising tide of Rajwar raids. A campaign against them in 1863 resulted in the capture, trial, and conviction of their leader. Etwa Rajwar " In 1864 the Collector of Gaya said that the Rajwar raids had "ceased completely." Although it was unrealistic to expect that administrative measures by themselves could put an end to predatory expeditions by the Rajwar gangs, the Collector reported once again in 1867 that the Rajwar were keeping away from brigandage. Incidents of their raids appear to decline toward the end of the nineteenth century and later records do not show the same degree of concern.

The apparent success of the punitive campaigns was facilitated by the socio-economic transformation that was already beginning to take effect.

(Gyan Prakash-1990, Page :163-165)

Over time, socio-political factors have changed their economic situation. The partition of Bengal in 1947 caused remarkable changes in the economic life of the Rajwar due to communal rivalry among peoples. The abolition of the *zamindari* (land taxation) system in 1951 deprived many Rajwar and other ethnic minorities of tenure rights to the land that they had under contracts with the local *zamindar*. However, the loss of these tenancy contracts did not have much effect on their livelihood as they still had access to sharecropping arrangements (Bleie, 1987: 29). Some Rajwar also had their own land. They managed their livelihood by depending on agricultural products and remained self-sufficient by cultivating their own land or by engaging as sharecroppers. Bleie (1987) states that pauperisation and economic differentiation took place in the society toward the end of the 1950s when land owners expanded the labour market in the region, fixing the dairy labour to the price of one kilogram of rice

(the staple crop). This wage fixation meant that if an agricultural labourer worked in the field of a landed peasant, the labourer's daily wage would be calculated according to the price of one kilogram of rice (Bleie, 1987: 29). . At present, almost all Rajwar are landless. Thus, they are unable to grow their own food, but instead have to earn wages selling their physical labour to rich Bengali peasants in order to purchase their food. The Rajwar are, thus, dependent on the wider Bengali Hindu and Muslim society for their subsistence.

The Rajwar were self-sufficient, in relation to their livelihood and economy, after settlement in the former East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) region of British India (1765-1947). As Bleie (2005) describes, when the ethnic communities including the Rajwar, Rajwar, Mundas, and others settled in north-western Bangladesh (Barind), the region was full of forests and jungles. This forested region contained sufficient resources to provide for the livelihoods and economies of these ethnic communities, who practised hunting and gathering as a supplement to agriculture as their main subsistence. However, the age-old experience of settling in jungle environments and the skills of ethnic communities conflicted with the jungle clearing and agricultural practices of the Bengalis in Barind. The British India colonisers, observing these skills of the ethnic communities, used them ruthlessly in large-scale commercial expansion, which affected the livelihoods of these communities. The ethnic communities were appointed to cut timber for railway construction and to convert forests into agricultural land. As a result, the forests and jungles disappeared and there was a shift from a mixed forest-farm economy. These changes have affected the ecological balance in Barind and the livelihoods and economies of the ethnic communities (Bleie, 2005: 249). So they had to change their way of life.

According to the census of 1872: Here Mr. C.F Magrath's district census compilation shows the number of Rajwar in different district. Now a day we can see the existence or settlement of the Rajwar in some district of the northern and southern-western part of Bangladesh. According to Mesbah Kamal and Bhaswati Barmans, among them Chaytannapur, domdoma, soraipur, Benypur, Molapara, Rahee, Rohanpur, Avoa gopalpur, Kalipur, Phulbari etc of the Rajshahi district about 350 Rajwar household lives. Beside this, near about 150 household of Rajwar live in Falahar, Khalisha, Kalhor Saktipara, Gopinathpur of Chapai Nababganj districts. Moreover about 30

households lives in kholisagari villages of Bogra. Except this in the khamarpara and Masala village of Magura district, there live 20 households of Rajwar.14 households lives in Nakaria,40 households in Hat-Bongram,60 in Char-Gopalpur,35 in Rotondia and 50 families in Kalukhali.(Kamal,Mesbah:493). Beside these from field study it is found there are 114 house holds in Ujirpur and Fohimpur village in Patnitala of Naogaon district.

Agencies of change and changing process of Rajwar social organizations

Greek Philosopher Heraclitus, who was known as pioneer of wisdom, put emphasis on “change” as the fundamental essence of the universe. He stated “No man ever steps in the same river twice”.This nature of change also affects the cultural world. This “Problem of change” as a philosophical question attracted anthropologists as well.

The earlier anthropologists like E.B. Tylor, L.H. Morgan, though, regarded non-western cultures as relatively static. For them societies could be ranked hierarchically on the single scale from the savage to civilized, with the peoples at the bottom being less intelligent than those at the top. Therefore, on utilitarian grounds, the institutions of lower societies were less worthy and non-western peoples were seen as comparatively unreflective, their customs. as tightly binding and change as very slow.

Political influence

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British rule (1765-1947). The Rajwar were exploited by these British intermediaries, who collected taxes or revenues, compelling them to pay tribute to the, government of India (the British East India Company). From Chotanagpur, the Rajwar were taken by the British India Government, as part of their administrative policies, to be resettled in the then East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) and other parts of the country. This Rajwar resettlement in Barind is understood as forced migration because of the British India Government's capitalist expansion, which has contributed to the changing economic situation of Rajwar.

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from a mixed forest-farm economy to a rice-fanning production system, which Rajwar had to practise along with Bengalis. These changes have affected the ecological balance in Barind and the livelihoods and economies of the ethnic communities (Bleie, 2005: 249). So they had to change their way of life.

Admixture with Hindu religion

The Rajwar live side by side with the general population though the Rajwar hamlets are separately clustered, they cannot be said to be isolated from the rest of the world. So the orthodox Rajwar society has been changing pattern of social environment of the wades society, like Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and organization on the life style. Identity, food culture rituals, succession proem of etc of this people. Islam has practically no remarkable effect on them. Children and introduced them with modern knowledge. These Christian missionaries education. The Rajwar children and id introduced them with modern knowledge. These Christian missionaries helped them in many ways. During independent was in 1971 some Rajwar family of brained took shelter at Christian missionaries. Beside these, some ethnic people like Rajwar, Rajwar etc women work in there missionaries handicraft work shop. book, pen and other education related instruments are given by missionaries time to, time to the school going children. So the indirect result of the education activities can easily be seen from the changed effect among the Rajwar. But this is not so influential like Rajwar. Rajwar of Barind determine that they will not give up their religion at any cost but their awakened is very much influence by these missionaries.

The influence of the Hindus living nearby saturates their idioms of thought and phrases of expression. In their rural settlement one can find the Rajwar joining to worship of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Durga, Kali, Mahadeva or Shiva and just as the Hindus. They salute these deities. The entire tribe dance and amuse themselves during these ceremonies. In case of marriage the influence of Hindu culture falls a very strong impact on Rajwar original marriage system. According to the Rajwar of Ujirpur village. Now marriage we cannot imagine without dowry. Dowry is not originate from their own culture their own culture permitted bride price. But now, dowry is compulsory by the influence of Hindu.

Food habit is also influence by Hinduism. Killing of cow is taboo to the rajwar but they take or and pork. Some times their ethnic identity is also very much fell in threat because of Hinduism. Many of them thought themselves as Hindu. That is the impact of Hinduism is so story that they many times they are confused about their own identity.

Succession process or system is also influences by Hinduism. Previously Rajwar had communal right on assets. They use their land or forest area communally. But day by day the situation was. Changed and now there develop private property owner system. In case of ownership of land, the system allows only male member. That is also impact of the influence of Hinduism. Traditionally, only son inherits father's asset. In case of husband's death, widow can only utilize his left property and cannot sell or alternate because she is not the real owner of land. She has only the right to use her husband's property tills her death.

Globalization

Nowadays we find many changes of Rajwar traditional way of life due to globalization. They introduce to sky culture by television and can communicate with each other over mobile phone. That enfluence their way of thoughts and they can compare with others. Young generation does not like their traditional occupation and want to educate them for jobs like teacher, soldierect.

Present condition of Rajwar in Barind region

The multi-ethnic situation for Barind region of Bangladesh establishes the conditions for the indigenouse people to confront the overwhelming majority of Bengali people, who have a very different social and religious orientation. This difference has significant consequences on the local cultural and social forms that have evolved among Rajwar groups. Cultural and social exclusion emerges from interactions based on the majorities' insistence on certain value preferences and the minorities' attempt to cope with and adapt to these preferences. Eventually, the of Rajwar h are socially isolated from the wider society and have little access to the mainstream sociocultural, economic and political spheres of the country. Moreover, they are subject to the

enforcement of imagined political values of national unification by the elimination of their own cultural variants of these values.

The boundaries between Bengalis and indigenous non-Bengalis are not always clear. For example Hindus, being a religious category, are rather betwixt and between in terms of ethnic identification. And there are Bengali Hindus, RajwarHindus, and those Rajwar in the process of becoming Hindu. Hinduisation is a significant process, and many of the Rajwar identify themselves as Hindu. A statistical representation regarding the Hindu and Rajwar population does not express the real complexity of the situation. In addition, the presence of various Christian missions has further complicated this situation. Therefore, the study locale exhibits conditions in which 'cultures are hybrid and mixed rather than homogenous and exactly patterned, and that societies are increasingly interconnected rather than bounded and independent' (Donham 2000:1). The social and cultural features of Rajwar exhibit profound variation—a complex civilisation where there is a great abundance of cultural materials, connections and concerns.

The evidence from Barind of Bangladesh suggests that occupational segregation and lack of human capital attainment has direct implications for local labour market conditions. The Rajwar of the study local do not have specialised skills and productive characteristics besides their traditional agricultural knowledge. But, because they have been deprived of their traditional possession of land, they are forced to sell their labour in the production sector controlled by the Bengali majority— then, as the supply of labour in these sectors increases, wages fall. Compounding the problem, mechanisation has diminished the demand for manual labour to mainly seasonal requirements—land preparation, planting, and harvesting. Eventually, the overcrowding of the Rajwar labourers forces them to migrate for temporary seasonal employment over a region of 100 kilometres from their home villages.

The Constitution of Bangladesh, which is Hindu and Muslim in spirit, does not recognise the distinct languages, religions cultures and identities of the ethnic minorities (Drong 2004). For example, in 2011 Ahmed, the then Law Minister of Bangladesh stated that the *upajatis* (sub-nations) of Bangladesh are not eligible to be recognised as the *adibashis* (original inhabitants/indigenous peoples) of the country.

He also said that the minorities can be treated as the small ethnic groups/communities or *upajatis* of the country and those new articles for preserving their rights in the country would be included in the reviewed Constitution of the country (Ahmed, 2011). His statement shows the marginalisation process and exclusion of the ethnic communities in Bangladesh. In this process, the Rajwar are not an exception and many aspects of their socio-cultural life in the country are in a process of flux. As stated earlier, in this study I examine the present economic condition of the Rajwar, and how this condition affects their socio-cultural life and their identity.

Specifically, I address the following objectives and research questions. Firstly, what are the features and the attributes of Rajwar history and culture through which they define themselves as a distinct group of people or a community in Barind? Secondly, what processes help explain the Rajwar' present economic condition in Barind? Thirdly, how have these economic circumstances influenced Rajwar socio-cultural life and their identity? Have differentiation and polarisation occurred among the Rajwar and, if so, is this structured by their economic condition in Barind? In other words, my task is to identify the factors that define the Rajwar as Rajwar and the processes of Organisation in Barind. I also investigate how the Rajwar respond to the discourse of indignity, as the Bangladesh Government does not recognise them as adibashis or indigenous peoples. Finally, my research heads me to consider the processes that could be put in place to ensure the equal participation of Rajwar with mainstream Bangladeshi society and culture.

Racial Type

Anthropologists and other evolutionists accept the ample evidence that not only plants and animals are the products of evolution, but so also is *Homo sapiens*. By 'evolution' we mean that living forms are ultimately related through shared ancestry and that they have changed from their ancestral forms. The earth is billions of years old, but life has not existed for this whole period. Some change takes place rapidly, some slowly, and evidence exists for both type of evolution.

People whose ancestors have been living in the some geographic area for along time tend to show similarities in visible characteristics such as size and shape, skin color,

hair form, and blood groups. Human 'racial' diversity is a result of people in a geographic area intermarrying. Being exposed to a number of biological processes and adapting slowly to local environments. These biological processes include combining and recombining inherited genetic material over the generations, which produces offspring and descendants who differ from their parents and ancestors. The environment may favor certain characteristics, producing populations that are on the average taller or darker or more rugged than other populations from other geographic areas. Isolation and inbreeding of some populations may produce differences as well. These natural processes occur in humans as well as other animals and are the source of much study in Biology and anthropology.

However, even if people in different geographic areas differ, it is impossible to draw sharp lines between racial groups. Few if any populations are cut off from others and even if laws, culture or religion prohibit it, mating does take place. Characteristics of people change gradually from one geographic area to another. Anthropologists see race as temporary, changing phenomena, products of genetic processes and natural selection. The races we see today are different from those of yesterday and will be different tomorrow. Scientific racism of late 19th and 20th centuries divided mankind into three "great races", Caucasoid (white), Mongoloid (yellow) and Negroid (black) in accordance with their own world view.

The population of Indian subcontinent, however, was problematic to classify under this scheme. They were assumed to be a mixture of "Dravidian race", tentatively with an "Australoid" grouping, with an Aryan race, identified as a subrace to the Caucasoid race, but some others also assumed Mongolic admixture, so that Indian subcontinent, for the purposes of scientific racism, presented a complicated mixture of all major types. Edgar Thurston identified a "Homo Dravida" who had more in common with the Australian aboriginals than their Indo-Aryan. As evidence, he adduced the use of the boomerang by Kallar and Maravar warriors and the proficiency at tree-climbing among both the Kadirs of the Anomalai hills and the Dayaks of Borneo.

The 'Negroid' status of the Dravidians remained disputed. In 1898, ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel remarked about the "Mongolian features" of "Dravidians" resulting in

what he described as his “hypothesis of their (Dravidian) close connection with the population of Tibet”, whom he adds “Tibetans may be decidedly reckoned in the Mongol race”, In 1899, Science summarized Ratzel’s had more in common with the Australian aboriginals than their Indo-Aryan. As evidence he adduced the use of the boomerang by Kallar and Moravar warriors and the proficiency at tree-climbing among both the Kadirs of the Anomalai hills and the Dayaks of Borneo.

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On 1900, anthropologist Joseph Deniker said “the Dravidian race connected with both the Indonesian and Australian the Dravidian race, which it would be better to call south Indian, is prevalent among the peoples of southern India speaking the Dravidian tongues, and also among the Kols and other people of India. The Veddas come much nearer to the Dravidian type, which more over also penetrates among the populations of India, even into the middle valley of the Ganges”. Deniker groups Dravidians as a “subrace” under “curly or wavy hair Dark Skin” in which he also Deniker mentions that the “Indian race has its typical representatives among the Afghans, the Rajputs, the Brahmins and most of North India but it has undergone numerous alterations as a consequence with crosses with Assyrian, Dravidian, Mongol, Turkish, Arab and other elements. His theories have been discarded by postmodern anthropologists.

Corlestone S. Coon, in his book “The Race of Europe (1939), classified the Dravidians as Caucasoid due to their “Caucasoid skull structure” and other physical traits such

as nose, eyes and hair. Genetic studies concluded that the Dravidian people are not distinct race, but rather, a common genetic pool between the Dravidian and non Dravidian people of south India. H.R. Risely states in the ethnographic glossary of his book. "The Tribe and castes of Bengal" published in 1891, Rajwar as Dravidian.

"Traditionally", Colonel Dalton states, "the Rajwar appear based on the accounts of sir li by pandit G.L. Palhak, superintend-Risely and Colonel Dalton connect them with Bhuiyas but this is only in Bihar, Rajwar in Sarguja and the adjoining states are peaceably disposed cultivators. Who declared themselves to be fallen kshatriyas but they do not conform to hindu customs and are skilled in chailo dance which is of Dravidian origin. On the other hand the Rajwar of Bengal admit that they are the descendants of mixed unions between kurmis and kols.

Language & Linguistic family

The word language broadly uses to mean any system of communications any system for transferring information from one party to another. This would include body language. People use languages to express the experience. The Rajwar speak the languages and dialects of the regions they live in. In najipur, they speak a dialect called "Khottra" which is abolishing by the influence of the language of mahisso said monoranjan Rajwar. They are fluent in a dialect and declared as their mother tongue knows as *Sadri* or *sardi* language. But over all they are also conversant with Bengali. However, *Sadri* is known by many different names. Lewis (2009) lists the following alternate names among them the first was chota nogpuri which can be relate with "Chotta" language. Another names are Dikku jaki, Ganwari, Gauuari, Gawari, Goari, Jharkhandhi, Nagpuri, Nagpuria, Sadan, Sadani, Sadari, Sadati, Sadhan, Sadhari, Sadna, Sadrik, Santi, Siddri and Sradri. Some names denote the region where it is Spoken. Eg (chota) Nagpuri (ya) reffering to Nagpur or Chota Nagpur. Some derive from the names of the Groups that speak this language e.g (Sadani from Saddan).

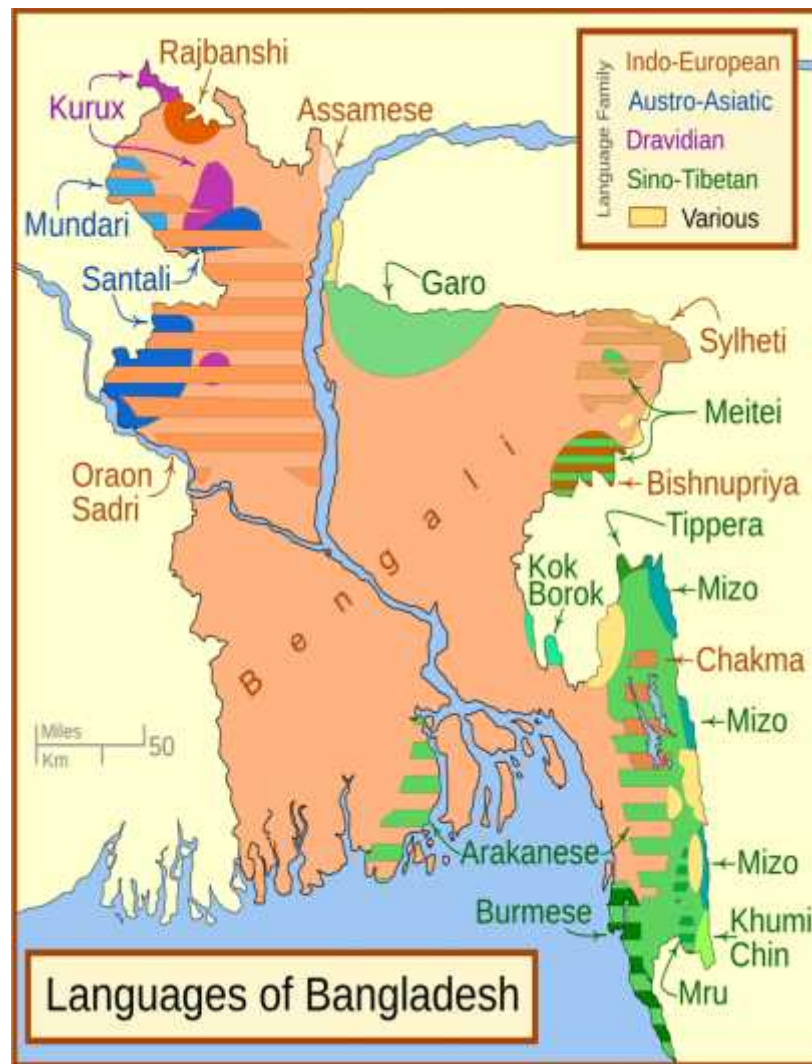


Figure-1: Map of Languages of Bangladesh

Lewis (2009) estimates the total number of *Sadri* speakers is to be 19,70,000 for the year 1997. *Sadri* is mainly spoken in western and central Jharkhand but also in parts of Orissa, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh. The census of India 2001 Provides the figure of 2044776 Speakers. In Bangladesh though *Sadri* is Rajwar's' mother tongue but besides Bengli is also their primary language.

Sadri, is a branch of the Prakrit language and is regarded as a sister language of Oriya, Bengali and Mainhilli. It belongs to the family of Indo European, Indo Iranian, Indo Aryan, Eastern gourp, Bihar, and Sadri. This Language follows Devnagri writing system, Speakers of Sadri also use Hindi, Oriya and Bengali.

Sadri is virtually always written in Devanagari Script.

Linguistic Characteristics: The lexicon and morphology of Sadri closely resemble those of other eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Bhojpuri (cf. Grier. 1903; Towari, 1960; Dardan-Horstmann, 1969) Some of the general, eastern Indo-Aryan Traits found in Sadri include lack of grammatical gender, predominance of suffixes and enclitics for grammatical marking, numeral classifiers; which can also be used post nominally without a numeral as a kind of definite article, and unmarked and future imperatives.

Language and Dialects

Dialect

1. E. I throw a arrow.
S → Dhonuk deikheΛ tir marila
B → Dhonulk dia tir mari
2. E. Child is langhing, seeing the mirror
S → Ayna dekhke chua hasela.
B → Dekhe Sisu hashe.
3. E. Moon raises on the sky.
S → Chan uthlehe akasne.
B → Chad uthese Akase.
4. E. I draw a bird with color
S → Rong deike chari akaila.
B → Rong die Pakhi aki.
5. E. Eat Papaya and keep well
S → Pipa Khaoa beram kudaoa.
B → Pape khao, rog tarao.
6. E. Mango is
S → Amba Jhulasei darne, darne.
B → Am Jhulse dale dale.
7. E. We introduce with the letter
S → Akkhar chnhila sovemane.
B → Akkhor chini sobai mile.

Songs and rimes

During different deities, all the villagers contribute. Some Rajwar combine to go door to door to collect paddy or rice or money. Every household contributes to their ability. That time they sing different songs like---

Singho domari Jothadhari
vikkha mange baro chol kori
dekho ma dego vikkha kahe kor deri?
dekho go ma dos duari.

Means: I am begging door to door in different ways, please give me something mother, Why do you be late?

Source: (Field data, Sabitry Rajwar)

During their games children utter the following rimes some times. Some times These rimes are created with meaning less words but there is a similarity between the last word of the sentences.

“Ghuti ghuti ghuti,
nia baske ghuti
sara rat bodon khellam mia
bian ghor chutti”

Means: In the morning, it is time to break after playing *bodon* whole night.

Source: (Field data: Tipon Rajwar, age-8).

Songs and History

The Rajwar have distinctive songs that they sing at festivals and during ceremonies. These songs concern their history and migration. The Rajwar Bengal and were driven out from their settlement. My research participants provided the songs in memory of their battle against the Hindus and translated them into Bengali, which I translate into English below. These Rajwar songs are associated with their history and migration, and are important to their representations of their identity.

1. Rajwar song in *sadri* concerning their history and settlement:

koha sirijala-re-myana [oh my child, where have you been born]

kaha nubujala re [where have you been placed]

Rohitas pate naame sirijala re myana [you have been born in Rohtas Patna]

Nagpure khotha disai aara paray [you have gave birth to an egg settling in Nagpur]

Nagpure janama tohara-re [you have been born in Nagpur]

ghanta ghwnari jhumtil bajala [you ringing the bell, you ringing the bell] *sato*

gutnijagala [you wake up the wives of seven brothers] *sato gutni dekhala re* [you called the wives of seven brothers]

kon ghate nutarala byarangire varya rnora [oh boatman, on which bank of the river, have you placed my brother?]

dulu dulu dera karay [you have built small huts] *dulu duhi basa karay re* [you have built small houses]

mk ghate nutarala byarangire vaiya mora [oh boatman, on some bank of the river, have you placed my brother?]

dulu dulu dera karay [you have bnilt small huts] *dulu dulu basa karay re* [you have built small houses]

loro ghate mttarala byarangire vaiya mora [oh boatman, on other bank of the river, have you placed my brother?]

dulu dulu dera karay [you have built small huts] *dulu dulu basa karay re* [you have built small houses]

manoyake mati maru sati katu byarangire vaiya mora [oh boatman, do not kill my brother — human being]

manaya bina rah-ji nahi sotay [the world will not survive without human beings]

manaya bina desha nahi shovai re [the country will took bare without human beings]

2. Rajwar song (mixed) in both *kurukh* and *sadri* concerning women's hunting every 12 years remembering their contribution to the battle against Hindus at Rohtasgarh:

choaay koi lanreepello [wake up the lazy girl]

ball koranuh ballu rai [the sands in the corner of the door]

bare bachchare jani sikar [women's hunting after 12 years]

janika mure raja pagri bandhay [the king has placed hats on the women's heads]

chal nayo jani sikar [let's go, my daughter, to the women's hunting] *janika mure*

pagri bandhay [the women have kept hats on their heads] *baro bachchare jani*

sikar [women's hunting after 12 years]

janika mure raja pagri bandhay [the king has placed hats on the women's heads]

hur hur hur [let's go, let's go, let's go] (Raju Rajwar, Age: 18)

The Rajwar who live in different villages of Barind/Bangladesh still remember their history and settlement in Chotonagpur through their songs and, thus, remember their fellow community members in Chotonagpu, India. Although the Rajwar migrated to Barind, from Bihar and Chotonagpur they remember Chotonagpur and Bihar as their 'homeland'.

CHAPTER- III: VILLAGES AND DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

The Historical Background of Barind Tract



Figure-2 Map of Barind tract

Barind Tract largest Pleistocene physiographic unit of the Bengal basin, covering an area of about 7,770 sq km. It has long been recognized as a unit of old alluvium, which differs from the surrounding floodplains. In Bangla, it is spelled and pronounced as Varendra Bhumi. Geographically this unit lies roughly between latitudes 24'20'N and 25'35'N and longitudes 88'20'E and 89'30'E. In Bangladesh the tract covers 2.1 million acres of land, spread over five old districts of Rajshahi ,Dinajpur, Rangpur ,Bogra and Pabna district of old Rajshahi Division. (Ali. Ahsan, 1998). This physiographic unit is bounded by the Karatoya to the east, the mahananda to the west, and the northern bank of the Ganges to the South. A lower fault scarp marks the eastern edge of the Barind Tract, and the Jamuna, Atrai and Lower Punarbhaba rivers occupy fault troughs. The western part of this unit has been tilted up; parts of the western edge are more than 15m higher than the rest of the tract and the adjoining Mahananda floodplain. The southern part of the main eastern block of the Barind Tract is tilted down towards the southwest and passes under lower Atrai basin sediments in the south. The Barind Tract covers most parts of the greater

Dinajpur, Rangpur, Pabna, Rajshahi, Bogra, Joypurhat and Naogaon districts of Rajshahi division.

The Barind Tract lies in the monsoon region of the summer dominant hemisphere. The tropic of cancer lies south of this region. The climate of the area is generally warm and humid. Based on rainfall, humidity, temperature and wind pressure the weather condition is classified into four types, such as, (a) pre-monsoon, (b) monsoon, (c) post-monsoon and (d) winter. Rainfall is comparatively little in this region, the average being about 1,971 mm. It mainly occurs during the monsoon. Generally this region is rather hot and is considered semi-arid. In summer, some of the hottest days experience a temperature of about 45°C or even more in Rajshahi area, particularly in Lalpur upazila. In winter it falls to about 5°C in some places of Dinajpur and Rangpur districts. So this older alluvium region experiences extremes that are clearly in contrast to the climatic condition of the rest of the country.

Physiographically this region is divided into three units. These are Recent Alluvial Fan, Barind Pleistocene, and Recent Floodplain. These morphologic units are separated by long, narrow bands of recent alluvium. The floodplain of the Mahananda flanks the west side while the Karatoya delineates the eastern margin. The punarbhaba, Atrai and Old Jamuna with headwaters in the foothills of the Himalayas have cut across the Pleistocene and their floodplains separate the units. These and numerous other streams are responsible for the development of a broad Piedmont alluvial plain, which delineates the northern flank of the Tract. The Tista alluvial fan is located to the north of the area. This fan surface of the Himalayan foothills has a slope of approximately 0.43m/km and it overlaps the Barind, which has essentially a flat or somewhat domed surface. South of the Barind Tract are the Recent Floodplains, with a southerly slope of about 0.06m/km.

In the Barind region, three distinct channel patterns are observed. In the north there is a great number of small braided streams, which have built a broad piedmont alluvial plain along the foothills of the Himalayas. The major rivers of these alluvial plains are the Atrai and the Punarbhaba, with entrenched valleys. On the Pleistocene unit, there are numerous small entrenched, tightly meandering streams, which have developed an overall dendritic pattern and flow into the major north-south rivers of the Barind unit.

There are some major valleys that separate the Pleistocene unit into some north-south elongated units. These valleys are followed by some major rivers, such as the Mahananda in the west, the Karatoya in the east, the Atrai and the Punarbhaba in between. The largest unit is bounded by the river Punarbhaba and the Atrai. Another large unit is bounded by the Karatoya and the Little Jamuna. Many small channels, mostly of dendritic pattern, flow through the individual units.

However, it is very interesting that the course of the Karatoya is controlled by a southeast trending fault. In the late 17th century, the major stream of this region was Tista which, near Jalpaiguri, branched and followed the course of the Depa-Punarbhaba to the west, the Atrai due south and the Little Jamuna to the southeast. All of these rivers discharged into the Ganges. Of these rivers, the Atrai seems to have been the major channel in the late 17th century with the Punarbhaba as the second most important. But now the Tista, Karatoya and Atrai flow into the Jamuna (Brahmaputra). The river courses, particularly of the Tista, changed suddenly in 1787 during a major flood. This change could have been accompanied by renewed uplift and tilting of the Barind surface. At the present time, the Punarbhaba, Atrai and Little Jamuna still carry some flood flow but they generally can be considered as antecedent streams carrying mainly local runoff water of the uplifted Barind area.

Barind Tract, which is the largest Pleistocene terrace of the country, is made up of the Pleistocene alluvium, also the known as older alluvium. Tectonically, this region is situated in the Precambrian Indian platform, mostly in the saddle and shelf area of the shield. This platform region is covered mostly by Tertiary and Quaternary sediments and Recent Alluvium.

The Barind unit is comparatively at a higher elevation than the adjoining floodplains. The contours of the Tract suggest that there are two terrace levels - one at 40m and the other between 19.8 and 22.9m. Therefore, when the floodplains go under water during the monsoon the Barind Tract remains free from flooding and is drained by a few small streams. About 47% of the Barind region is classified as highland; about 41% as medium highland and the rest are lowland. Agricultural land commonly occupies about 80% of the hill slopes of Barind unit most of the year. As this region is

generally free from floodwater, rainwater is the only major source of groundwater recharge. Once there were many isolated small depressions but those have since been converted into agricultural land. This landscape modification has affected the groundwater recharge and has increased dependence on rainwater. Again, the channel migration, mainly the shifting of the Tista and the Atrai and their distributaries over the last couple of centuries, has greatly influenced the climatic conditions of the area. Geomorphic modifications gradually turned this area into a hot region.

The Barind is floored by the characteristic Pleistocene sediments known as the Madhupur (Barind) Clay. The madhupur clay is reddish brown in colour, oxidised, sticky and rather compact. Actually they were deposited in the late Pleistocene time towards the end of the last glacial period. Nearly 18,000 years ago, the last glacial period reached the peak of activities. During that time the sea level dropped to 100m to 130m below the present-day level. Then the ice-melt water flowed into the Bay of Bengal. Right at that time the northeast monsoon climatic condition commenced in the subcontinent. Rainfall was not then dominating the Bengal plain. Bengal rivers only flowed with ice-melt water through their narrow and incised valleys. Later, 12,000 years ago, the southwest monsoon climate started dominating the region, and brought heavy rainfall over the Bengal Basin.

The monsoon rainfall was even more intense than at present. The narrow Bengal rivers could not discharge this huge quantity of water, supplied by huge rainfall as well as the ice-melt water from the Himalayan Range. The rivers spilled over the banks and deposited sediments over the large Bengal plain washing the sediments to the south where the sediments prevailed in the Barind Tract and Madhupur tract and also in the Lalmai area. Afterwards, climatic conditions started to change, making temperature rather hot, which readily influenced the Bengal river courses, the sea level started rising again and the depressed regions began getting more sediments but these Holocene (Recent time) sediments could not reach such a height that they would be deposited over the earlier Madhupur sediments. There is another school of thought that suggests a tectonic origin for the Pleistocene high terrace. This school says that the Pleistocene sediments were deposited in large depressions of the Barind and

Madhupur regions. After the deposition due to the geotectonic movement, these regions uplifted and formed high terraces.

The Barind Tract is rich in mineral resources as it rests upon the Precambrian Indian Shield of the Bengal Basin. Of the mineral resources, coal, peat, hardrock, limestone, white clay and glass sand are very important.

Rapid population growth along with modifications of the landforms of the Barind Tract has been degrading the biophysical environment of this region. The climatic condition in this region has changed. There is very little rainfall and the weather remains hot by the daytime but becomes cooler by late night. Since rainwater is the main source of groundwater recharge in this area, the climatic change that disfavours abundant precipitation has adversely affected the ground water recharge system. The withdrawal of more groundwater than its recharge causes the successive lowering of the groundwater table of the Barind region. This phenomenon has eventually been greatly affecting the environmental parameters and if it persists the environment of the Barind Tract will become rather unfavourable for habitation in the near future. Besides lowering of the water table another noticeable change is the decrease in forest area. According to some reports from the British colonial times about 42% area of this Tract was covered by forests in early 19th century. Statistical reports of the land survey since 1849 showed that forests covered about 55% of the Barind lands. But by 1974, about 70% land of the region had been changed into cultivable land.

Naogaon district:



Figure-3: Map of Naogaon District

Naogaon district is located in the northern part of Bangladesh. The word Naogaon has been origin from Nao (New- a french word) Gaon (village). So the word Naogaon means new village. By the passing of age the region was turned into Naogaon city and finally Naogaon district. Once, the region was included in Pundrabardhana. It is also a part of Barendra region. The ancient inhabitants of the region were the inheritor of Pundra nation. Indigo Rebellion (1859-62), Peasant Revolt against the landlords (1883) etc are the remarkable chapters of the region. Naogaon subdivision was established in 1877 with three police stations under Rajshahi district and the subdivision was turned into a district in 01 March 1984. The area of Naogaon is 3435.65 Sq Km.

Bordered By: Naogaon District is bordered by West Bengal (Indian State) to the north, Rajshahi and Natore districts to the south, Joypurhat and Bogra districts to the east, Chapai Nawabganj district and West Bengal (Indian State) to the west.

Administration: Naogaon district is under Rajshahi Division. There are 03 Municipalities in Naogaon named Patnitala, Naogaon, and Dhamoirhat. The number of Upazilla (sub district) in Naogaon district is 11, named- Naogaon, Patnitala, Atrai, Raninogor, Mohadebpur, Porsha, Damurhat, Niamotpur, Sapahar, Mandra and Badolgachi containing 99 Unions, 2397 Mauzas and 2779 Villages.

Population of Naogaon District

The total population of Naogaon district is 26,00,157 (Male- 13,00,227 and Female- 12,99,930), Sex ratio 100:100, Population Density 757/Sq Km and annual growth rate is 0.83%.

Literacy: The Literacy Rate of Naogaon district is 48.20% (Male- 51.30% and Female- 45.20%), School attendance rate is 51.70% for 5 to 24 years age group.

Rivers: Atrai, Tulshi, Punarbhaba, Choto Jamuna, Shib etc.

Agro Products: Paddy, Potato, Wheat, Mango, Banana, Jute, Sugarcane, Water-Melon, Jack fruit, Banana, Oil seeds etc.

Villages and Demographic Aspects

The study was mostly depended on some primary data collected. The Rawar of Barind live in intensively close, somewhere like a cluster proximity with the wider society due to various historical and geographical causes. Before the partition of Bengal or during British period they migrated in Bangladesh from Kuchbihar, Orrissa, Patna, Assam, due to work and bread. In Bangladesh they took shelter under zamindar's merchy. According to Jamindar's oral permission they made clean the bush and forest clean and started to live by making kutir or small hut. Now time has changed and with the time being their relatives came through the chanal and took shelter beside their relatives, thus day by day these villages were build up. This is the general phenomenon in regard to settlement pattern as well as the way of life in the Rajwar villages of Barind.

A village is generally the smallest territorial, administrative and social unit in Bangladesh, standing in contrast with mahalla. The term is here interchangeable what that of mouza, the lowest revenue collection unit for the government having some boundary and cluster of huts belonging different groups of people, huddled up together. There are lanes and by lanes, sacred sites of temple, mosque or church and school. There may be shops here and there from which the villagers can get their essential commodities and a market place may be located somewhere along the road due to conveyance facilities of different types.

A number of local terms are used to define various levels in the settlement, the terms for the villages are (gram), Para (hamlets). The gram or para actually means a conglomeration of huts surrounded by cultivable plots of land. The core settlement of a village is usually given this term mentioned above, while the satellite hamlets are called (dihi or tola). A dihi or tola may contain within itself names like or lanes with huts arranged on either side.

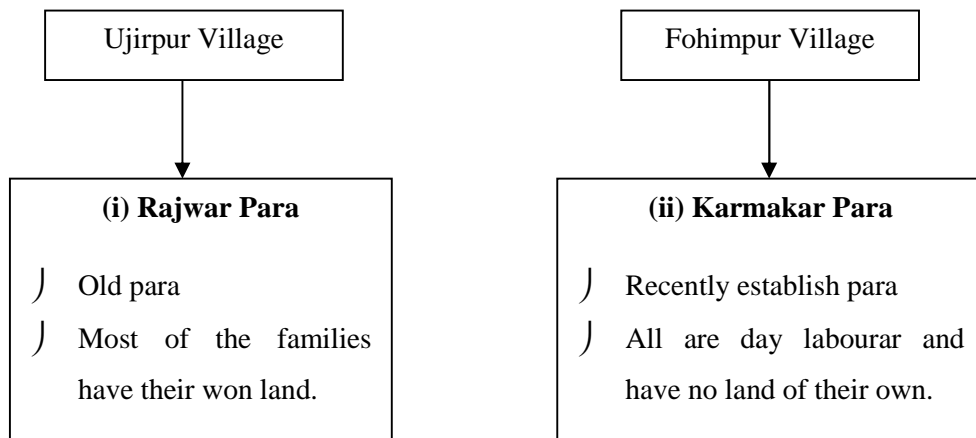
When a joint family or a lineage under goes fragmentation, the component families may life in separate huts, while sharing a common courtyard. Such a cluster of huts forms a para.

If we see the history of the villages we can find out that the village life was static. The mobility among the villagers was static. But in the last 30 years especially in the last two decades village life has changed rapidly. These are causing due to development of communication of system, electricity, mobile phone, easy entrance of sky culture, education etc.

Ujirpur and Fohimpur villages of Barind have two Rajwar dominant paras.

- **Rajwar para:** This para is situated in Ujirpur village. This para is comparatively old and surrounded by Hindues.
- **Kamar Para:** This one comperatively new one which situated in Fohimpur village. Only(20-25)years ago some migrated Rajwar establish this para.

The two paras of Barind region under study are as follows:



It may be mentioned here that consequent upon the sanguinary war of liberation from the Pakistan Joke in 1971, except 5 households of Rajwar para, all were fled away for fear of life to India and they did not returned this place after independence. That 5 families took shelter in the ehristian charch/missionaries which is situated beside $\frac{1}{2}$ kilo distance near the Atri river. They however, returned after victory and took shelter under the sheds of tree. They later built Jhopris (very small huts) and ate bail wheat

for a year and passed their day with a great suffering. Missionaries at Barind came forward to help them. Day by Day they constructed their houses or huts according to their capabilities. Today it is a matter of please that there are brick houses stand/build in Rajoarh para.

The details of the above paras are as follows:

Ujirpur village (Rajwar Para)



Figure 4 : Social Map of Rajwar Para

Patnitala Thanahas 11 unions or words.297mouzas and 292 villages . Among these unions Najipur is one of them. It is a matter of great regret that we do not found the name of rajwar as ethnic group in the list of indigenous people of Noagaon , published by but in govt. website .But we found this two villages at Naogaon district where the Rajwar lives . The Rajwar lives in 3 para under these two villages. Ujirpur village belongs two paras.Between these two one is situated at the last phase of the villages beside the river named Rajwarpara. Middle of the village is called moddho para and

29 Rajwar households lives there. Another para situateds in Fohimpur village .It's name is kamar para or karmokar para.

(1)Ujirpur village

Rajwar para
moddho para

(2) Fohimpur village

Kumar para or
karmokar para.

In Rajowar para there lives 58 househols, and moddho para is consists of 70-80 households among those 19 household are Rajwar and rests are Mahossow. On the other hand kamar para is of 27 house holds.All one Rajwar except one in kamar para. Rajwar para is situated western pert of Ujirpur village by the back of Atrai river. Among these 3 paras this one is the oldest and biggest one. If anyone wants to reach there S/he may can use two ways .One is by boat crossing the Atria river.In that case she has to reach kataban that on ricleshaw or van. Another way is by road. From panatela bus stand one can hire a autho rickshaw or rickshaw or bus to reach katabati bazar locally known as bottola bazar. Which is situated new about 5 km north from Patnitala busstand. From *battala bagar* one red mud way is run to the west that is about 4 km and ended to world barage .Najipur community health clinic is on the right side and a brick field is on the left side are found from the very beginning of the mud way towards the study area.

Some small hotels, shops and 3 saloons are found in this bazar where some Rajwar boys work also .This mud way touches Moddopara and kamar para also.

Rajwar para is about approximately one kilometre long and 1.2 (half)km wide. The households are mainly situated besides the barraze which cross the para and rund thought from north to south.

On the east side of the village Fohimpur village stands and the Atrai river is runing on the west side of rajwar para. Noorpur village is situated on the south and Kanchon or Shamnagar is on the north.The natural scenerio of this village is very beautiful .Most of the houses are surrounded by mango , jack fruit, banana and other trees.Many to big trees are found beside the barage that give shadow to the passersby and villagers.

Another thing which makes me pleased that a primary school is situated from the beginning of village this Ujirpur govt. primary school is like a great of the village that establish in 1990.



Figure 5 : Ujirpur Govt. Primary School

Most of the house hold are build with bamboo jute stick, palm leaves with attached roofs, only 5 households are made by bricks and tins on the east side of the barage . Eastern side dwellers are comparatively well off than that of western side dwellers. The villages not drink water from to be well.

There were 14 tube wells. Among them BDO establish 12 and BRAC established 2 tube wells but only 5 are in good in condition or usable .Most of the dewellens go to atrai river to take bath and washing cloths.

BDO establish one toilet for seven households but those are left useless because the village dewellens fond of going to bush or open field to do their natural world. Women and child are also including doing so. This is why the settlers especially children are affected by many diseases .Beside selling labourmost of the dwellers rear live stock by the help of BRAC. They catch fishes from bills and Atria rives. There are two small bills to the east and a cannel run though east to west across the village and joined with Atrai river. This cannel play a vital role for irrigation and water is control by a switch gate during monsoon or flood.

There are two poor Mondir” or temples in the village .One is **Kali** mondir and another is **Durga** mondir or **Durga** tample.

One grave yard is seen to the west side of barrage beside the canal that is considered as community property and two years ago the dwellers of it from government this grave is a government khasland.

Though most of the dwellers both male and female are agriculture labourers.

But during off season they sell their labour in brick field. Sometimes they pull van and work at hotel and saloon in katabari bagar. Old dwellers do not want to leave the village because they are living here for 3 generation but new generation want to make them educated and go outside the village to change their fate.

Kamarpara



Figure 6: Kamarpara

Kamarpara is recently settled only 23/24 years ago .The dwellers of this para come from Niamatpur, Sapahar and Ujirpur to get work .There are only 27 households in this para. The households are stands beside a pond the owner of the pond is a rich Hindu Mahissow named Subol chadra. This para consists of some cluster house holds. According to the dwellers the area of kamar para is about approximately of 3 bighas .From the katabari bazar to kamar para, the distance is 3km west. From katabari bazar a mud way run through north towards the kamar para beside the pond .From the beginning of the para there is a mango tree, some broken harricam chymny are found hugging to the branches of the trees by the dwellers. They believe that these broken glasses will save the para from evil soul.



Figure-7: Mango tree with broken chimney

According to “**Sowdes Rajwar**”, during 20 years ago he gave 6 thousand tk to Subol Chandra to buy this land on behalf of the dwellers due to trust. But till today they do not get any legal document from him though they are allow living here.

In this para all are Rajwar, except one household that is mahissow. 25 households are made of bamboo. Jute stick and mud with attached tin roofs and only 2 household’s walls are built by brick but roofs are made of tins. There are useless 4 toilets because dowellers are not interested to use those. They like open field or bush for their natural work. There are 2 tube wells in the para among them one is established by BDO and oneis establish by BRAC. They use these tube wells for drinking water and cooking food. But most of the time they use pond’s water to take bath, wash cloths and dishes and other uses. They have no temple or grave yard for their own. They go to rajwar para during deitics. There are two community cooperatives (Sapla and Golap) in Kamarpara. They save 10 tk per week in this samiti named “Sapla” and get loan in care of needs. All dwellens are day labors. Both male and female of this para to go to work. All are day labours and work as agricultural labourers. During dull seasons they work in brick field. Two or three pull vans on hire. Old people of house take care of the children and guard the households. New generation of this para go to school. Uttom Rajwar of this para completed graduation and now works in BDO. The items of furniture are mats to sleep on, some tool or chair to sit on, some clay and silver pots to cook their are two televisions and five mobile phones in the para. Most of the families have one room. They have no cooking room; they cook inside their bed room during rainy season. Other times, they make their woven front of the house. They have no cow shed except one household. They live with their live stock. Most of the times people walk on compus of others households or by lane and rough path or field

side narrow road. There is no modern drainage system. Open fields are surrounded by the para and there grows plenty of natural vegetation that meets the dwellers' nutrition needs.

Process of Missionary help

Generally speaking, our observation confirmed that a systematic development programme is being run by the Christian missionaries for many years and recently government and non-government organizations are also working to uplift the life of the poor Rajwar of Barind. In Table 3.1, we have shown the forms of help to the Rajwar of these two paras of Barind under study.

Table: 3.1

Process of Missionary help

Village	Help to terms of				
	Education		Health Program	Community	Relief during natural calamities
	Formal	Non Formal		Programme	
Ujirpur Rajwar para	Primary School	No	Free-sanitary Free-treatment	Yes	Yes
Fohimpur Village (Kamar Para)	Do	No	Do	Yes	No

From table : 3.1 we can say they helped by money, food, note books, cloth and private tuition fees to the school going students of Rajwar and Kamar para. Before 1990, the ethnic children of Noor pur, Ujirpur and Fohimpur went to mission's School. After the establishment of Ujirpur Govt Primary school at 1990, their children go to govt primary school.

According to Chittaranjan Rajwar(17)

The basic education quality of mission School was too good .That is why a student needs not to go to private teacher till SSC .More over , The school gave a systematic help in terms of educational,medical and community development programme to uplift their lifestyle.

Govt. and NGO’s contribution

Besides this, Government and different NGO’s also play role to uplift their lifestyle.These organizations paly a role to reduce the inequalities and wanted to ensure education, healthcare,develop working scope and maintain minimum life standerd.Table 3.2 shows the process of govern t and non government organizations helps.The chart presents that these organizations gives formal and non formal education ,health care, mother and chield care,relief ,festival allowance etc to the villagers.Tubewells and sanitary toilets were also stablished by these govt .and non govt. organizations in very cheap rate or sometimes in free.

Table:3.2
Process of Govt. and NGO’s help

Village (Rajwar Para + Kamar para)	Help to terms of				
	Education		Health Program	Legal Aid	Community development Program
Government	Formal	Non Formal		Yes	Yes
NGO	Primary High School	Adult Night school) Mother care) Child care) Clinic) Sadar Hospital) Tubewell) Sanitary latrine	Yes	Yes
		PPS preprimary educations		No	Yes
	Festival	Relief			
Government	Yes	Yes			

NGO	No	Yes			
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Table: 3.3 show the information of the area, names of villages, impact and the number of total house worlds.

Table :3.3
Particulars of villages

Country	Region	District	Upozilla/Thana	Village and word no.	Dominant Culture	Total HH
Bangladesh	Barind	Naogaon	Nazipur Patnitala	Rajwar para woard-9	Traditional Hindu	58
Do	Do	Do	Do	Kamarpara W-8	Traditional Hindu	27
Total						85

Source:field data.2011,Nov

Table:3.4
Period of Residence of Inhabitant of the Village

Villages/Paras	Household Permanent Residence		
	Total HH	Yes	No
Rajwar para	58	51	7
Kamar para	27	-	27
Total	85	51	34

Source : Field data (2013, May)

Most of the householders interviewed failed to tell exactly the period of migration & therefore the village was inhabited by the Rajwar before the partition of Bengal in 1949 most probably within (1930-1940). According to table 3.4, it is seen that out of total no of house hold of 85,34 have no permanent abode. That is near about 40% people have no permanent residence. These people have migrated from other villages of Barind somewhere in the part.

Table: 3.5
Total population according to sex and age group

Village			Age group and sex								
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total		
	0	14	15	30	31	60	61	up	M	F	
Rajwar Para	33	37	33	41	68	44	8	3	142	125	
Kamar Para	15	13	11	17	19	14	2	0	47	44	
Total	48	40	44	58	87	85	10	30	189	169	
Total									358		

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

There are 85 Rajwar households in the two villages of Barind. All these households have been surveyed. The total number of population living in these households are 358. From age group (0-14), 48 are male and 40 are female. From age group (15-30), 44 are male and 58 are female. From age group (31-60), 87 are male and 85 are female and finally from age group (61-up), there are 10 are male and 3 are female.

Table 3.5 shows the details of sex ratio of the total population of these two villages:

Table: 3.6
Sex Ratio

Village	Total Population	Sex (%)		Ratio	
		M	F	M	F
Ujirpur (Rajwar Para)	267	142 (53.2)	125 (46.8)	53.2%	46.8%
Kamar Para	91	47 (51.6)	44 (48.4)	51.6%	48.4%

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

For the purpose of better understanding of Rajwar families, we have shown here the size of the family (table 3.7), average persons of the household (Table-3.8) and they

types of family and their relationship (Table (3.9). Family size varies as per the number of members who live together to constitute the unit.

The types of families are:

- a) Small-size families having 3 members or less
- b) Medium – size families having 4 to 6 members
- c) Large-size families having 7 to 9 members.
- d) Very large size families having 10 or more members.

Table: 3.7
Family size (%)

Village	Small	Medium	Large	very large	Total H.H
Rajwar para	23	39	4		58
Kamar para	1	13	-	-	27
Total	37	42	4	2	85
Ratio	43.50%	49.40%	4.70%	2.40%	100% (total ratio)

Source: Field data (2013, May)

The criteria of the composition of a family have been taken as a family of people living and eating in the same mess and living under the same roof. The principal criteria of a family is the common cooking and messing facility (B.B.S- 1980: 174) Small – size and medium-size families are common among the Rajwar of Barind is 37 families (43.50%) have 3 members or less and 42 (49.50%) families have 6 members or less. But in fact, the medium-type of families are greater in number. These four types of families are distributed in almost all Rajwar Village under study of Barind.

Table: 3.8
Size of family According to sex

Village	Total H H	Total Members	Male	Female	Av per H. H
Rajwar para	58	267	142	125	4.60

Kamar para	27	91	47	44	3.37
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Source: Field data(2013,May)

As per table 3.8 the average family members per family is 3.37 kamarpare and 4.60 in Rajwar para in Barind. With regard to the types of family it can be broadly grouped into: a) Nuclear family b) Joint family and c) Others.

- a) A nuclear family includes wife and husband with or without unmarried children.
- b) Joint or extended family consists of a nuclear family consisting of wife and husband parents and married son with or without children or close relatives.
- c) 'Other' family means a single man or woman family having one man due to peculiar condition or dirorce due to bandhya (barren) or other causes.

Table: 3.9
Type of family

Village	No of Nuclear family		No of Joint/Extended	No of other family
Rajwar Para	58	31 (53.45)%	23 (39.66%)	4 (6.89)%
Kamar Para	27	24 (88.89)%	2 (39.41%)	1 (3.70%)
Total	85	55 (64.71%)	25 (29.41)%	5 (5.88%)

Source:Field data (year 2013, May)

Note : Here should be noted that in kamar para Nittogopal Rajwar has two wives. For the purpose of a detailed analysis those individual Rajwar who can just read and write their names or have read up to primary clear, are considered as literates. On the other to hand those who have read between the high school level and the degree classes are regarded as educated. According to the above classification the Rajwar literacy position is as follows:

Table: 3.11
Education Status

Village/Para	Illiterate		Literate /sign		Students group						Total Population
	M	F	M	F	1-v		vi-x		xi-xii		
					M	F	M	F	M	F	
Rajwar Para	64	77	29	17	29	20	18	13	-		267
Kamar Para	24	23	3	1	10	12	9	8	1	0	91
Total	88	100	32	18	29	32	27	21	1	0	358

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

From table-1.10 present the education status of these two paras of Ujirpur and Fohimpur villages. Among 267 people of Rajwar para 64 male are illiterate, 29 (male) can obly sign their name. On the other land 77 femal are illiterate and obly 17 can sign their name. This shows that femal are comperativly more illiterate. In case of Kamar para, among 91 people, 24 male and 23 female are totally illiterate. 3 male and 1 female can sign their name. The same thing is shown here also. In Rajwar para, academic qualification from (I-V) are 29 (male) and 20 (female). From (VI-X) there are 18 male and 13 female. No one goes to higher seconday.

However, In Kamar para, the academic qualification from (I-V) are 10 (Male) and 12 (Female). From (VI-X) there are 9 (male) and 8 (female). Only one person named Uttom Rajwar has completed Graduation. Here, the literacy rate of male is more than female.

Table: 3.12
Marital Status

Villages/Para	Population		Unmarried		Married		Divorced		Widow/Wiwer	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Ujirpur (Rajwar para)	142	125	95	71	43	45	-	-	4	9
Fohimpur (Kamar para)	47	44	21	17	24	26	-	-	2	1

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

The chart presents that there is no divorce case. In Rajwar para 43 male and 45 female are married; 45 male had lost their life and 9 females are widow. Rest of 95 male and 71 female are remain unmarried. On the other hand 24 (male) and 26 (female) of kamar para are married; 2 (male) had lost their wife and 1 widow is found there. Rest are 21 (male) and 17 (Female) remain unmarried.

Labour, non Labour and Working Force

labours/ non labour/working force of the villages under study have been assented as per the census conducted by the researcher during her fieldwork.

Table:3.13
labour/ non labour and woriking force

Villages	Total population		non labour force				labour force		working force	
	male	female	Age group				Age group		Age group	
			0-14		61-up		15-60		15-60	
	male	female	M	F	M	F	male	female	male	female
Ujirpur (Rajwar para)	142	125	36	30	6	8	79	66	92	76
Fohimpur (Kamar para)	47	44	13	14	3	3	31	27	35	30
Total	189	169	49	44	9	11	110	103	127	106

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

It is significant to note that the working force is higher than the labour force in the year of (15-60) age group. This indicates the involvement of the non-labour force in day to day economic activities, which has been accelerated by the opportunity of employment of the Rajwar in non-agricultural sectors, like pulling van or auto-rikshaw, earthwork, work in brickfield, construction work etc.

CHAPTER-IV: ECONOMIC LIFE

An attempt has been made in this chapter to give an account of the economy of the Rajwar of Barind on the basis of data collected from the study area. The data presented here will reveal the general patterns and trends of their economic life.

Economics may briefly be described as the study of the broad aspects of human activities concerning the utilization of resources and the organization whereby they are brought into relation with human wants. It has some times been said that the simple societies have no economic organization worth the name but the study of any society, however simple, will show that the resources of a people are in a systematic way regarded as the means to an end. And this economic organization is fundamental to their life, their system of government, their technology and their other institutions. The Rajwar of Barind prefer to engage themselves as agricultural day labours because of illiteracy they are not able to involve themselves with job. But now this picture is changing. Because new generation becoming educated. They are interested about job in different government and non government organizations. But there is a problem that the Rajwar thought they are schedule caste and the higher caste (Hindu) and Muslim society do not feel good to give them honorable job. The thought that higher caste neglect them and feel comfortable to keep them away. According to Kanu Rajwar (age 55), higher caste like Mahissow are not fond of their sitting on a chair in front of them. So they are suffering one kind of inferior complex and created a sense of isolation from wider society. But exception example is also found.

Household Information

Housing, food, drink, shelter, education and minimum health care facilities are human's fundamental right and the Rajwar are no exception to this general rule.

The typical Rajwar Cottages stand both sides of WAPDA barrage and both sides of the struggling (village lane).

Table: 4.1
Types of homestead of the Rajwar (%)

Village	Total H.H	Own Land	Govt./Khans land (No rent)	Others land
Rajwar Para	58	24	26	8
Kamar Para	27			27
Total	85	24	26	35

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

From our observation it is found that only 24 households of Rajwar para have their cottages on their own land and rest of 26 cottages built up on other's and govt. khas land beside/ the Barrage in Rajwar para. In case of Kamar para all cottages are stands with the permission of a rich finds (Mahissow) land owner (Subal Chandra).

Each Rajwar cottage generally is one roomed with a verandah in kamar para but in case of Rajwar para in vavarage there are two bedroom with a verandah and cow shed. Our experience reveals that the verandahs of the cottages are used as kitchen during rainy season. And most of the time verandah is used as a sleeping place at night by the old and unmarried male members of the family. Some times they divide their single room with a temporary partition or curtain for the purpose of delivery or for a newly married couple. In kamar Para, verandah is used as cowshed also.

Table:4.2
No of Room per house hold

Village	Total H.H	No of Bed Room		Kitchen		Cowshed	
		one roomed	two/more roomed	Yes	No	Yes	No
Rajwar para	58	4	54	8	50	9	39
Kamar para	27	14	13	1	26	4	23
Total	85	18	67	9	76	13	52

Source:Field data (year 2013, May) .

Table 4.2 shows that the Rajwar of kamar para are more poor than Rajwar para. In Rajwar para most of the households have two or more rooms to live but in kamarpara 13 of 27 have more than one room; 8 families belong to separate kitchen and 9 families have cowshed or *goal ghor*. On the other hand, in kamar para only one family has separate kitchen room and 4 household have separate cowsheds.

Table: 4.3
Reflects the materials used for house construction

Village (Ujipur)	Total No of H.H	Wall				Roof		
		Tin	MUD	Thatch	Brick	Thatch	Tally	Tim
Rajwar para	58	23	19	11	1+4=5	9+2=11	-	47
Kamar para	27	-	18	7	2	7	-	20
Total	85	23	37	18	7	18	-	67

Field data (year 2013, May)

The household implements of the Rajwar include cooking and arrows. Their material equipment is very simple.

The cooking and eating utensils are generally made of either clay or aluminium. These earthenwares and aluminium vessels are purchased from the nearby market katabari bazar.



Figure-8 : Rajwar Women Cooking their meal

Cooking vessels like oven-pot is made either of clay or of aluminum. It is used for cooking rice and similar other things. They use aluminum plate as dining vessels. Aluminum spoons are used for serving and stirring purposes they use water storing vessels made of day. For storing of drinking water they use kalar which is made of clay. For the preparation of rice vessels mentioned above and ground vessels.

Baskets of different shapes and sizes are made of bamboo for carrying gram for cattle; carrying things to the field. For measuring paddy they use "Kata" like basket made of bamboo. They use Jute bag, Nilon bag, cloth bag of marketing. During past they used bamboo basket for this purpose.

Among the many equipments of a Rajwar house there are dhekis (husking lever) in some cottages. But most of the Rajwar under study are wage earners and they buy their daily rice from the market and hence, husking lever has become insignificant now due to their changing economic situation.

Among agricultural implements, like the plough, sickle, axe and weeding hook are not different from the ones in use in the region. These implements have become a part of their material equipment as settle agriculturists.

They use (*gulty-Batool*) for hunting bird. Hunting implements include bows and arrows during past time. But now a days due to reclamation of the jungles in the region the use of bow and arrow became useless.

They use net, polui, Tora jal, hook, Tota, fishing basket that are made by them for fishing. Fishing nets are made of cotton which are purchased from the market and are prepared by them at their leisure period. Fishing basket is made by bamboo splinters.

In general, the Rajwar use simple furniture. They prefer to make them by themselves and try to avoid investing money on purchasing the household implements. Their poor economy does not allow them to have utilises and implements on a large scale.

Food habits and drinks

Boiled rice is the staple food of Rajwar. They eat all the kinds of fish and crabs. They eat meat, pulse and various kinds of edible leaves? They eat snails, tortor se pig, kucho (One kind of fish like snake) but now a days these become rare but they very found of these foods. Rajwar may take mainly three meals in a day. During festival they make muri (field rice), Chira (Crispy rice), cake and chuani (one kind of rice been0. For the male any time is liquor time for them. During karam festival drinking is a must in a heavy quantity, if the economy permits. Rice beer which the Rajwar called *chuani* is the only beverage for the Rajwar but now the future generation start to dislike this to take any time and theycreating obstacle to take this beer without festival. According to them, forthis bad habit their past generation waste money and lost their land. And today by dint of sky cluture or TV new negeration take cocka-cola, Re-cola, pepsi etc as drink. But in case of any festival they can not think without rice beer. Both male and female drink this beer. During occasions they invites their relatives “Chuani or haria” is very expensive drink for them. I glass of chuani costs 20tk. To make hari or Chuani, at first they make rice half-boile, after that they put this rice on banana leaf and make it cool. Then they mixed some special pill brought from *kabiraj or Ayurvedic* medical practitioner. Twenty pill costs forty taka. After mixing the pills with rice they add water with that rice. Here they maintain a Ratio. That is 5:2 If rice is 5kg then they will add 2 kg water with that rice. Next the left the rice rotted for 3/4 days. After rotten they add 7 kg water and serve it after 2 or 2.30 hours.

Most of the male folks are habituated to smoking cigard, beedis etc and purchase these from the local market. Cheuing of betel leaves and tobacco is also quite consmon with their women folk also.

The Rajwar have very few articles of domestic use. Cooking utensils are consists of a few earthern and aluminium pots and vessels. They use plate made by tin and glass. During worship they use the plates made by brass. These are purchased by them from the nearby market and sometimes from the wondering traders.

Dress

In the distant past the **Rajwar** male used “*Dhuti*”. Now they wear shirt, lungi, genji etc. During past they used ‘kharam’ wooden shoe on their foot and gamsa (towl) on shouldre or loin. Recently they have adopted the dress of the Bengalee and changed considerably. They are using pant, shirt, dhuti, lungi etc like Bengalee.

During marriage a male Rajwar wears “Dhuti” and Babaji shirt” (the shirt has two pocket and round Shape)

The Rajwar women generally wear sharee, Salower leamij etc. Few days ago they did not wear bloolz/bodice but now they lower blowses with sherees. After death of someone’s husband a widow wears white sharee. White marriage they wear yellow and Red Sharees. At present, the women, who can afford wear silver ear ringes; Married women use “sidur” or vermilion on their forehead and use conch bracelet (Shakha), Polla (Red Bangles) on their wrist cheaptye of carryings made of brass and studded with cheap coloured stone type glan on the lower part of the car. They also use neck laces of cheap composite metals. Most women have glass bangles round their wrist.

A Rajwar woman is to let the hair grow on the head long enough to tie up a knot. Plastic Combs or robber combs are generally used for combing heir purchased from the local market. Young school going women wear kamij-salower and orna.

Generally children wear half Pant. Running their festival they wear dhuti, pant, shirt, frok etc.

Occupation

Traditionally the Rajwar are share croper and wage earners. It is clear from table 5.04 mentioned below that the Rajwar of Barind Region under study are mainly wage earners. They engage themselves agriculture oriented work like ploughing, throwing seeds, weeding harrowing field and hervesting and carring paddy and other crops.



Figure 9 :Rajwar are cutting paddy in the Field

The Rajwar wage-earner is he who is mainly an agricultural day labourer and in the off season of agricultural activity engage himself in non-agricultural activity like working in brick field, fishing pulling van etc.

As regards the wage of the agricultural labours, it is not uniform. It is revised from time to time. In the plantation and harvesting seasons, the rate of wages is generally high. The daily wages range from take (250-300) in cash or both cash an meal some time mainly during her venting period they take paddy as wage. For cutting per 40 kg paddy they get 5 kg as wage.

From our collecting data we can see that every household of Rajwar is agriculture day labour because those who are share cropper, they are also work in other's field for wage. More over, van puller or small cloth businessman also sell labour in field during harvesting and plouing seasons. Besides this, women are also works in field as wage labourer. So It can be say that every house hold does not depends on share cropping but on wage earning. Table .4.7shows will the occupational pattern of Rajwar.

Table :4.4
Occupationa pattern

Village/para	No of HH	Plough cultivation	wage earners	service and other
Rajwar para	58	23	29	6
Kamar para	27	9	18	2
Total	85	32	48	8

source: Field data (year 2013, May)

Out of 58 house holds at Rajwar para only 6 household's main Occupation is are pulling van, auto rikshaw and small business of cloth. They also work as day labour during dull seasons. 23 family lives on share cropping and 29 families are on wage earning.

On the other hand in Kamar para out of 27 households 2 family depends on shop keeping, working at saloon and small business. Rests of all are day labour. Only 9 families have a little land for share cropping.

Almost all Rajwar cultivators cultivate their lands by their own family labour.

Land Holding

Table: 4.5
Land holding (village Basis)

Village /para	No. of HH	Total members	Total land owned (homestead and cutivable acre)	Total land cultivated by them as shame croppers	Average land per head (bigha)
Rajwar Para	58	267	10.13 Bighas & 32 Bighas	73 Bighas	0.431%
Kamar para	27	91	2.40 Bighas	17.78 Bighas	0.195%
Total	85	358	44.53	90.70	0.626%

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

The data presented in table 4.5 show that the total land among the Rajwar is distributed quite unevenly among the different households. The majority of the Rajwar

households in Barind do not own any agricultural Land. Most of them are Share croppers. It is seen that per capita land of Rajwar Para is 0.431 bigha and in case of kamar para is 0.195 bigha (as share cropper).

Agriculture expenditure

The Rajwar are very much skilful in agriculture. Paddy is the main item of production at Barind. Besides this they cultivate sugercan, Jute, master, wheet, corn etc. In case of cultivation of paddy, fields are first ploughed in the month of magh (January-February) or phalgun (February-March). Then manure, consisting of ashes or kitchen refuse or cow dung etc are scattered liberally on the furrowed fields. Before the advent of the rain beds for the scads are prepared with special care. As soon as they sprout, the seedlings are transplanted in the paddy fields in regular rows. Grass and other unwanted weeds are weeded out. In modern times well to do they use chemical fertilizers for better production when the paddy begin to ripen the stalks are cut with a sickle, bound in small bundles and carried home for threshing. These are carried by men, women and children on their head.

When a sufficient quantity has been dumped in the thresher field, the threshing operations begin on an auspicious day. These small bundles of paddy are threshed on thick wooden planks with very hard strokes. Later the chaff is separated from the grains with the help of a winnowing fan and the grains are stored carefully. Now a days, we can find modern agricultural equipments are used for irrigation plough and separate grains from bundle of paddy.

Table 4.6

Agricultural Expenditure per Square Bigha for paddy (Barind only)

Human labour	Animal labour	Seed	Fuel cost	Insecticide	manure+Chemical Fertilizer	Others
Tk	Tk	Tk	Tk	Tk	Tk	Tk
1. Ploughing 8 days ×300=2400	2 bullocks 5 days ×300=1500	300	30 lt×70tk=2100tk	200	Manure 30 kg ×15=450 DAP Fertilizer 30 kg	800 tk

g 3 days × 0					×20tk=600	
300= 900					Uria =30 kg (or	
3. Weeding					5 dhara)	
Operation 2					×20=600	
days ×300 =					Gypsum	
600					1bag=120 tk	
4. Harvesting						
& Stacking 7						
days×300=2						
100						
5. Separation of						
straw, paddy						
ett 2 days						
×300=600						
6. Miscellaneo						
us 2 days						
×300=600						
Total=6300	1500	300	2100	200	1770	800
Grand Total= 12,920						

Source: Field data according to kanu Rajwar (55), 2013.

Table: 4.9 shows that traditionally two bullocks are used for 8 days to prepare the soil. Now a day, they also use tractor for preparing soil. In that case they need. 2400 tk for per bigha land. Table: 4.9 above has shown the details of agricultural expenses per acre in the normal year, i. e., if there is no failure of monsoon. Most of the Rajwar possess dry and monocrop land. The yield is very poor due to want of fund for buying chemical fertilizer and pesticides and also due to lack of irrigation facility. The yield from agriculture is usually sufficient to keep them going or 4 to 5 months. It is, however, conditional that this income from agriculture is mainly dependent upon timely and adequate rain.

It may be pointed out here that the average cost of cultivation of an acre of land in the Barind region varies widely from high Barind area to lower Barind area. The

production is high and the cost is less, to some extent, in the lower Barind due to terrain and availability of irrigation facility. We have already mentioned that the Rajwar live in the high Barind area

The person who has his own land and two bullocks and can pur his own labour, assisted by other members in of the family and spend cash on this account for manure, fertilizer, pesticide, etc. Generaly have on yield as stated in table 5.08.

Table:4.7
Normal out turn per bigha (if weather's favourable)

Crops	Tk	Tk
Paddy	30×750	22,500
Jute	10×1200	12,000

Source: Field data (According to Kanu Rajwar 55)

In actual practice, no cash money is spent for the manuring and the wages calculated are not taken into account the item of costing of the wage of the family members, as they do all these work themselves. But serious difficulties are experienced when a man has to hire bullocks, purchase fertilizer, pesticides and pay for labour. Rajwar never count loss or profit in regard to cultivation. On the other kind, unemployment is a burning problem among the Rajwar today.

Cultivation calendar

The cultivation calendar is based or field data and refers to exclusively to Ujirpur village of Briand.

The exact time of sowing and harvesting cannot be determined because it varies from year to year by up to two week, depending on the climate condition.

Agricultural labour provides seasonal employment to the Rajwar. Generally they are employed in the operations like weeding harvesting and threshing. They are employed in the fields of Hindu and Muslim farmers.

Both male and female work in the field. However ploughing is an exclusive privilege of men and women are debarred from doing it as a social taboo.

Crops	Baisakh	jaishtha	Ashar	Stravan	Vadra	Ashin	karik	ogranayan	pous	magh	Falgun	Chithra
Aush												
Amon												
Boro												
Irri Rice												
Wheat												
kinds of pulse												
Mustard												
Sesame												
Linseed												
Vegetable												
Spices												
Sugarcane												
Jute												
Kaun												

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

Figure-10: Cultivation calendar

During plantation and harvesting seasons, the rate of wages is generally high. In care of wage gender discrimination occurs. Men earn 250-300 tk per day where a women get 200-250tk per day.

Previously that means two generation ago Rajwar wage earners did not get their wage properly. They were oppressed but now changed. They get their committed money other wise they can take step. This is a positive change.

According to Anil Rajwar age-58. Said during the period of his grand father they did not get wage money properly. They worked at Rich Hindus field. Some times they had to work two days by dint of one meal. If they demanded their wage money, the Rajwar were punished by the Rich. During serving meal, they serve plate from distance and most of the time food is served on Kola pata or banana leaves. After having meal the Rajwar had to throw away the leaves and smear the place. But now, if deny to pay their wage no one have such coverage to deny to pay their wage.

Loan

To meet the annual expenditure previously the average Rajwar generally borrows money from the nearby moneylenders. Village money lenders were the major source of agricultural credit. Now they take loan from Agriculture bank and BDO and from brack they got loan for (11-12.50%) rate of interest.

But in previous day, the village money under provide nearly 80 percent of loans on high interest rates, ranging between 150-200 percent of the principal amount.

Table :4.8
Sources of loan and rate of Interest

Source of Loan	Amount	Rate of Interest
Govt. Bank (Agriculture Bank)	Up to 25,000	10% for one year
BDO	(15,00-12000)	10% for one year
BRAC	(1000-20000)	10-10.5% for one year or 42 installment.
Mohajon (Money lender)	As per need	(50-70% in circle rate of interest.
Govt. Project (one home one farm)	5000	5% for one year

Field data (year 2013, May)

The major section of the Rajwar in Barind have been living through dept year in and year out to meet their anualbudget. In order to meet their necessities of life, the Rajwar generally borrow from money lenders and other sources on high rate of interest. In the table 5.09 we have shown the Rajwar of Barind taking loans from Agriculture Bank, BDO, government project (one home one farm) and local

(mohajon) money lender on unusual terms of interest (50%-70%). From Bangladesh Agriculture Bank, they may get upto 25,000 tk for 1 year by 10% interest. Any one can take (100-20000) tk for (10-10.5) interest form BRAC. They have to repay by 42 installments with in a year. BDO supplies (1500-12000) tk for one year with 10% interest, government project ‘one home one firm’ supplies 5000 tk with 5% interest for one year. But besides these, they lend money from local money lender in case of urgent like operation, marriage ceremony, befor plantation or they lend money by (50-70)% in circular interest rate form mohajon or local money lender.

Landlessness

Land relates to the formation of identity, survival, religious practices and the material based for indigenious culture and the spiritual activities that nourish and sustain their life and living.

Many Rajwar loss their land due to various reasons like legal tricks, dowry, addiction, debt etc. By the table 4.9 (A) we will see the condition/Situation:

Village	Loss of land legal tricks	Due to debt	Dowry	Addiction
Rajwar	6	4	3	19
Kamar Para	27 They give money without any legal document.	----	----	----
Total	33	4	3	19

Source: Field data (year 2013, May)

From the chart we see that in Rajwar para 6 people loss his land due to legal trick. And 27 houses hold head loss their land in Kamar para. 6 years ago they had paid money without any written document. For this now when they demand their registered paper the previous land owner avoid this. So legaly they cannot demand the land. In fact most of the Rajwar have not their own land. Who are the owner of a little

piece among them in Rajwar para 4 house holds loss their land due to debt, 3 for dowry and 19 household had sell their land due to addiction. This is a horrible thing.

Drinking water facilities

Before 1971 there was no tube well and the inhabitation of Rajwar para got drinking water from Atrai river. They used river water in case of cooking, washing cloth and to bath. But after liberation period this take situation was changed day by day. Now in Rajwar para there are 4 tube wells that are useable. Most of the Tube well were established by BRAC (3) and 1 is established Bangladesh Government. The villages use these tube wells taking bath, washing cloth and pots. They prefer to go river for bath of cattle and washing cloths.

In case of kamar para they use tube well water to drink and use pond's water for other purpose like bath, washing cloth and pots etc. Washing grass for cattle is a common picture to the bank of pond and river.

Latrin

Most of the Rajwar like to do their natural work in open field. BDO build healthy sanitary latrin made of tin but among those 14 are useless because they think they cannot take breath freely. This is why, they prefer sugar cane field, bush, open field etc. Only 5 latrins are usable.

Ownership of land

Succession law of Rajwar is patriarchy. Son inherits full property from father after his death. But daughter has no right on father's land. But she can get partial property of his mother. It should be noted that if the daughter has any son they he get his grand gathers full property but not his mother. If anyone give his property to his daughter in written, in that case their society will not except but if the daughter has any son he will get all properties. As the daughter has no right on father's property so they gave dower to his daughter during her marriage.

Process of landlessness

From focus group discussion it is found that there are mainly four (4) causes that influence the process of landlessness of the group of people.

- (1) lack of proper documentation .
- (2) Addiction to alcohol .
- (3) Loan
- (4) Dowry

In previous time the rajwar were illiterate, and they were not interested to reserve legal documentations of land. That is why they loss their land that is given by Zeminder in British period. The zaminder declared to clean the forest and bushes and establish settlement' but day by day the situation was changed. Influential people grab their land due to power. But now the situation is changed. They are getting aware and literate. New generation are interested to Reserve documentation of land and to get government aid and services.

Addiction to alcohol: According to villages the main cause landlessness is excess addiction to alcohol. Taking alcohol is the part of their traditional life, custom,, ritual and religious ceremony. But they are addicted to alcohol like home make palm lequire, rice bear know as haria, chuani etc. They sold their land to by alcohol .Price of per glass alcohol is 20 tk and haria 10-15 tk liter. But addiction to alcohol sometimes make them bound to sell their property.

Monoronjon Rajwar have to gave up his education after passing S.S.C due to poverty as his father sold his land for taking alcohol .

Loan

Beside taking alcohol, as the Rajwar are poor day labour and they have a little or no savings. That is why , in case of any problem like illness, marriage ceremony or funeral they have to take loan. Sometimes, they had to sell their land due to refund of loan.

Jogen Rajwar, age 65. He was very much addicted in alchole. Due to addiction he had to lend money from his friends and relatives. At last he sold 10 kathas land to repay the lending money. For this, he was failed to bear his son's (Sree nandon) educational cost and his son was bound to stop his study after SSC. That is why, his son left his

house and gave him a condition that if Jogen do not give up taking alchole, Sreenondon will not come back.

Dowry

In case of marriage, dowry is mandatory. Many father loss his land due to dowry for his daughter’s marriage.

Nilmony Rajwar, Age-52

Age- 52 years he sold 10 katha lands for his daughter’s (bonita rani’s) dowry. He had to give 1 Bhor gold Jewelry and 15 thousand Tk. as dowry to the groom’s family.

Beside this reasons sometimes they mortgage their land for getting credit in case of marriage and death ceremonies, bullock purchase and health contingencies.

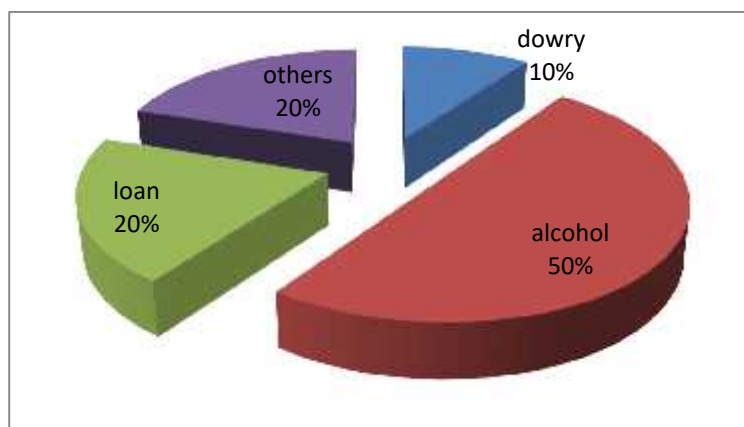


Figure-11: Causes of landlessness

Wages:

All Rajwer people of this two para expect children and old man sell their labour as agricultural labour. Most of Rajwer both male and female are day labours some times in baron period they sold their labour earlier to credit money from well off farmers and during harvesting or plantation period they repay their credit by their physical labour in land.

There exists gender discrimination to pay wage, where male labour gets 150 tk. as his wage in that case a female worker gets 120 tk. during harvesting period. Who did not sold labour earlier, gets 300 tk. (male), and 250 tk. (female) everyday. When they have no work in fields they work in brick field for 150 tk. (female) and 200tk (male) daily.

Who have own van they charge 25 tk. for per trip. Thus they can earn (350-450) tk. everyday.

Calendar of busy and slag periods of wage labour

SL NO	Work Involvement	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1	Busy months for wage labor's												
2	Stock months for wage labour:												

Figure-12: Calendar of busy and slag periods of wage labour

From the chart it is seen that the wage labourers become busy during the month of plough and harvest period. During monsoon and other seasons are the slag month for wage labourers. Busy month for them are January, March, April, June, October and November. On the other hand, February, May, July, August, September and December are slag month for wage laborers.

Savings

Their savings is not in remarkable amount. But this is very positive change that they realize to save money and they become integrated to save money. they trust different government and non government organization like banks and NGOs to save money. They become organized and make cooperative club like “sapla” by themselves. Per week they save 10 tk. to their club and they also maintain an account in janata bank by the name of their club.

Daily Life

Daily Routine

The daily routine of a adult male differs from a woman in barind region has the lowest average annual rainfall in Bangladesh and few irrigation opportunities (Rashid 1991:13) . In addition, deforestation has resulted in serious ecological damage; farther

limiting land use options make their production system very hard. Here both male and female have to work hard to sustain.

The Rajwar both men and women sell their labour to live. Senior member like grandmother and grand father look after their children at that time. According to Sabitri Rajwar –“If husband and wife do not go to work than other members of home will starve. To eat at home idle without doing any think is not written in our luck.

Most the Rajwar of Rajwar para are agricultural wage labour and share cropper, in field and some times rich bangali garmers house from the crop after harvesting. Beside these in case of their own cultivation both of them go to fild to preparing field stand seedling .alter have including their daily works. During harvesting both of them go to field for we thing crops and after that they have to wark herd to proum thecrops like drying, husking and paekedging ect. So they have to busy all day long. But in the rainy season male have no work in field but female have to workin their houses and face more problems. Now I want to give a general daily routine to understand their working pattern and life world.

Uttom Rajwar Age-42, occupation:agriculture wage labour.

- *Before sun rise (5 an-5.30) he has to awake up.*
- *Then he brushes his teeth with coal or little branch of tree and during this time he takes his cattle out side from shelter and gives fodder.*
- *He goes to bush or open field nevar the house to his natural works.*
- *Then he takes his breakfast most of the time he eats panta or rice with onion and chili. some day depends on only fried rice or muri*
- *But if he goes to field for selling labor they have to present their at 7 am and most of the time their employer supply food at field near about 8am-9am)*
- *He works hard in the field till sunset.*
- *During midday (1.30am-2.30am) he takes his lunch. Some times lunch is supplied by the employer then the wage labor is decrease in cach but some times he himself takes his lunch then he gets more money. After lunch he and other works take rest some moments.*
- *He returns back home after sunset and takes his bath or Atrai river according to his word “Dupari dei”*

- *His next task is to take rest a little and go out side for a walk or gossiping some times he sings song with his dotara and his family members and others enjoy his song.*
- *End of the day, he goes to bed after taking his dinner with up 8 pm.*

Harvesting period

During harvesting period in case of his own field, home Rajwar has no time to rest at a glance. He does not cut all crops alone, his wife Citra Rani Rajwar and some relatives help him in the field.

- At 7am he and his wife with their relatives go to field after taking break fast like *panta*.
- Cut the crops of the field approximately till 9 am. They take rest for a little more and in this time they take buries or cigarettes.
- After that they go back to their task till lunch.
- He has to supervise and give direction to finish the work early and properly
- In the field he cut the crops and make bundles and carries those crops to the home with the help of his wife and relatives.
- Then these small bundles of crops grains are threshed or thick wooden planks with very hard storks latas the daft is separated from the frain with the help of a winning fun or kula and grains are stored carefully
- During harvesting period he has to work at night till 9/10 pm.
- He takes his bath at tubeweel
- Having dinner after finished his work he goes to sleep at 11 pm.

During moon soon: Ashar sravan, these two months together make rainy season is off season” because in this period there is no work in field and people villegers can not go out side to work. As they are poor and depend *on* selling labor, so they can hardly pass their day. Most of the time they have to take loan or lending money or by selling early labor in a cheap price. They stay at home idely because of bad weather.

- In the morning utlom Rajwar goes to cut grass and manage fodder for his cattle. He gives his cattle to eat in the shade on vharanddah

- Takes his breakfast most of the time he takes fried rice (chalvaja) with onion and chili or boiled half broken rice (khud). Sometimes if there is nothing in house then only depends on a glass of water.
- During rainy season he passes his time ideally some times make ropes or nets.
- All on a sudden if rain stops he goes out from house.
- In the rainy season most of the time he sleeps or laydown or sings with his dotara.

Consequence of Land losses and Social Exclusion

The Rajwar have faced many interruptions, conflicts and confrontations in the course of their history. According to the literature, they had a relatively prosperous life in earlier habitats during the course of their migrations, including in South India, North India and their settlement in Chotanagpur (see Roy 2004: Tirkey 1980, 1989, 1999. Koonathan 1999; Das & Raha 1963). They lived from nature and the products they produced from the land. The objects and materials they gathered from the forests and rivers significantly supported their livelihood. In all their settlements, they were self-sufficient. However, their lifestyle was impacted by over-population, natural calamities, and the intervention of the *dikus* (powerful foreigners), including Hindus, Hindu and Muslims and the British. These powerful foreigners created problems for them in terms of their livelihood and socio-cultural life (see Tirkey 1989; Koonathan 1999).

During British rule (1765-1947). The Rajwar were exploited by these British intermediaries, who collected taxes or revenues, compelling them to pay tribute to the, then, government of India (the British East India Company). From Chotanagpur. The Rajwar were taken by the British India Government, as part of their administrative policies, to be resettled in the then East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) and other parts of the country. This Rajwar resettlement in Barind is understood as forced migration because of the British India Government's capitalist expansion, which has contributed to the changing economic situation of Rajwar.

The Rajwar were self-sufficient, in relation to their livelihood and economy, after settlement in the former East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) region of British India

(1765-1947). As Bleie (2005) describes, when the ethnic communities including the Rajwar, Rajwar, Mundas, and others settled in north-western Bangladesh (Barind), the region was full of forests and jungles. This forested region contained sufficient resources to provide for the livelihoods and economies of these ethnic communities, who practised hunting and gathering as a supplement to agriculture as their main subsistence. However, the age-old experience of settling in jungle environments and the skills of ethnic communities conflicted with the jungle clearing and agricultural practices of the Bengalis in Barind.

The British India colonisers, observing these skills of the ethnic communities, used them ruthlessly in large-scale commercial expansion, which affected the livelihoods of these communities. The ethnic communities were appointed to cut timber for railway construction and to convert forests into agricultural land. As a result, the forests and jungles disappeared and there was a shift from a mixed forest-farm economy.

In the Rajwar lived in the dense forest of the country. The British colonisers along with their local intermediaries, the *zamindars*, motivated the Rajwar to clear jungle forests to practise agriculture. The British declared that if the Rajwar cleared the dense forest and practised agriculture, the government would offer them the ownership of those lands free of taxes and for revenues. But the British failed to adhere to their promise and the Rajwar did not get land ownership rights. The local *zamindars* remained the owners of the land. The Rajwar, however, remained the tenants of local *zamindars*. A similar situation was experienced by the Rajwar and other ethnic communities during the British India Government. The Rajwar also cleared the forests and cultivated the land, but they were not offered ownership of those lands. Nevertheless, they were relatively self-sufficient as tenants or sharecroppers having a direct relationship to local *zamindars*.

Also, Rajwar people were not accustomed to a production-oriented economy. They had no experience with the coin/cash economy culture. They were partially dependent on food gathering in forests and jungles and mainly practised a subsistence based economy, which was not profit-oriented. Maintaining the basic needs of life was the

prime objective of their economy, which Sahlins (1972: 1), refers to as the 'original affluent society'.

Eventually, the Rajwar became dependent on agricultural production for their livelihoods, as the clearing of jungles and forests resulted in the loss of their hunting and gathering economy. This shift was problematic, as they became dependent on local money-lenders in order to manage their economic crises. However, they did not understand the extreme impacts of the interest associated with loans from money-lenders. This transformation in Rajwar economy and livelihood continued throughout the entire period of the British India Government, until 1947, which resulted in a worsening economic situation for the Rajwar.

The already worsening economic situation of the Rajwar was, subsequently, sharpened by the partition of Bengal in 1947. Many Rajwar left land, cattle, houses and property and fled to other parts of the country - India as a country was divided based on the religious disparities of the people. The Rajwar, along with other minority communities, felt threatened by the local Bengali. This changing social condition created a communal uprising in Barind (see Ali, 2008; Barakat *et al*, 2009). A communal uprising also occurred between the Hindu and Muslim s and Hindus, alongwith other minority groups, including the Rajwar, before the partition of Bengal in 1947. This uprising also contributed to their changing economic situation.

The most vulnerable political stage in British India occurred from 1946 until August 1947, and resulted in Hindu and Muslim rivalry (Khan, 2014). The Hindu and Muslim s claimed supremacy as early invaders and rulers of India, while the Hindus, as the earlier invaders of India who were defeated by the Hindu and Muslim s, claimed rights over their proprietary lands. These claims of supremacy resulted in a conflict that was vented in parts of India, including Bengal. This Hindu-Hindu and Muslim conflict was evident in the 'blood bath' in Calcutta in August 1946, known as the 'Great Calcutta Killings'. The communal rivalry between the Hindus and Hindu and Muslim s flared up due to the second partition of Bengal in 1947, which induced a partition-migration of millions of Hindus and Hindu and Muslim s from both ends of Bengal - East Bengal (EB) and West Bengal (WB). Because of this massive migration, a 'Nehru-Liaquat Agreement' was held to solve the problems of partition-

migration between India and Pakistan. The Hindus were returned to their parental homes on assurance of communal safety, but suffered from anxiety due to memories of horrifying communal violence in the past (Khan, 2014: 326-328).

The Rajwar migrated to India during 1946-1947, along with the Hindus and other minority groups. This concurrent migration was influenced by the fact that many Rajwar, along with other ethnic communities, found homogeneity as minorities with the Hindus in their socio-cultural practices. The Rajwar who migrated to India eventually returned to Barind to *live* in their parental homes. However, what happened to the Rajwar who returned to their parental homes in Barind? What happened to the Rajwar who did not migrate to India but stayed in Barind? Were they able to change their socio-economic condition? Or did the Rajwar again migrate to India because of the socio-economic exploitation or subsequent communal violence, while the region was a part of the then East Pakistan (subsequently Bangladesh) (1947-1971).

As the socio-political situation stabilised, the Rajwar came back to their houses and land in Barind. Upon their return, the Rajwar found that much of their land and property had been occupied by the local influential Bengali Hindus and Hindu and Muslim peasants. Incidents of land and household property grabbing, by the Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants, were commonplace. A number of my Rajwar research participants described their land and property loss during the partition of Bengal in 1947.

Rajwar land loss during the partition of Bengal in 1947
Mohim Rajwar, aged 70 years old. He notes that his grand father had 400 decimals farm land in angpur district. In 1947, a local influential Bengali Srimonto Chandra occupied his farm land negotiating with local Hindu *zamindar* who attempted to flee to India during the partition in 1947. After that, his grandfather came here (Ujirpur) and started to live here with some other Rajwar.

Rajwar loss their land in Rajwarpara during the liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971. Kanu Rajwar, aged 60 years old, lives in the Rajwar para of Ujirpur. He described, during liberation war all but 4 families were fled away to India and left their household and farm land. They did not come back after independence. Their farm land were occupied by influential local Hindu and Muslim peasants.

This is how they have experienced land loss and economic deterioration.

Poverty and Economic discrimination

Remaining outside of government monetary regulations, moneylenders, traders, pawnbrokers, friends and family members are important sources of finance in rural Bangladesh, to the extent that they are playing a decisive role in determining the fate of the indigenous people. This involves a level of exploitation through complex contractual obligations inherent in money-lending. The indigenous people, being in a vulnerable position, have traditionally, received financial services exclusively from the informal networks of moneylenders (mostly Bengali people). Mortgaging land against loans (cash or kind) with high interest almost invariably ends up in land dispossession of indigenous people. Loan repayment along with high cumulative interest becomes nearly impossible for the indigenous households, and additionally, these people are highly susceptible to secondary exploitation of their illiteracy -all of which leads to further impoverishment.

The effective functioning of financial intermediaries should play a strategic role in capital formation that will in time be beneficial for income generation and contribute to poverty alleviation. This paper argues, however, that even if all the general conditions remain favourable the socially constructed barriers of exclusion will significantly prevent the indigenous people using flow of scarce financial resources for investments of higher returns.

The labour market and the cost of discrimination Indigenous, ethnic, racial and linguistic minorities worldwide are in an inferior economic and social position. The ethnic concentration of poverty and inequality is increasingly being recognised in the development literature (see, for example, Birdsall and Sabot 1991; Klitgaard 1992). However, little investigation has been made of the different economic experiences of Rajwar people and other minority groups within a society. This paper addresses the problem in economic terms and analyses the consequences of discrimination of Rajwar. The consequences can be categorized broadly as direct discrimination restricting and constraining Rajwar access to the labour market, and indirect discrimination constraining their prior to entering the labour market.

Economic theory posits that competitive forces in the economy will lead to a gradual elimination of wage and employment discrimination over time and that divisions based on race and ethnicity will diminish in modern societies where social mobility is based upon achieved rather than ascribed status (Hirschman 1983; & Linton 1936). In this world order, inequality based on 'traditional' criteria will be replaced by both 'rational' or legal criteria and universal criteria—such as education and ability.

The local labour market in Northwest Bangladesh is characterised by different returns for the same income-generating activities to workers of different identities. Three factors make up wage discrimination between workers from an economically dominant group and workers from marginal groups.

- Identity, for example, non-indigenous (majority) and indigenous (minority)
- Labour market earnings measured productivity-determining characteristics of the workers, such as education, experience and other control variables.

There is also a strong correlation between Rajwar identity and lack of access to schooling lead to lower earnings, and ultimately higher levels of poverty. (Hasan shafi and Prick kibly, 2003)

However, our experience regarding the Rajwar changing scene from agriculture economy in British Barind to the present day-laborers group status has been there. The land alienation process has been accentuated due to the impact of several causes like the new system of ownership of land owing to abolition of the zemindary system in 1950, loss of political platform, forcible eviction from their agricultural lands by the Hindu land-lords, rich peasants and the grabbing of agricultural lands by the Hindu sharecroppers' group. So far as we know, no government measure has been taken against these artificial torturing by the *jotedars* (the rich peasants and the local administration.)

CHAPTER –V: SOCIO-POLITICAL LIFE

The life world is not a private world but it is inter subjective and shared by a group of people assume that others perceive and interpret the outer world the same way, The frame of interpretation is based on sediment experiences .Social organization is based on sediment experiences the ancestors and own lived experiences .Social organization is the network of relations existing among individuals and groups in a society. In it mutual relations, obligations element of ideal behaviors, anticipated behavior are all included. The Rajwar is a group, have their identity, and in language and physical features they differ from one another. However, the social organization of the Rajwar is considered as a functional aspect of the units of which associations the aggregate of the individuals and institutions (i,e, rules and procedures) governing the group to run the society smoothly are parts,

these can be grouped as follows:

- A. Clan.
- B. Family.
- C. Marriage Form
- D. Relationship inter-group

Clans

Most of the indigenous groups have clans and these are the sum-total of the families. The clans are known as different names, sects, genes etc. Many of these are associated with some objects like plants animals and sometimes heavenly bodies. People have established association or mytheological relationships with the members and such bodies are known as ‘totem’ constitutes a belief system as referred to in the easiest form of religion. Thus, relationship between the totem and the totemic is very significant. However, there are a series of beliefs and formalities concerning the clan organization.

However, the main functions of the ‘clans’ are regulating marriage, inheritance, succession and affixations .Clan membership is acquired either by birth or by marriage.

According to Chittaranjon Rajwar (age 18), there are three types of Rajwar.

- Teli Rajwar.
- Sikra Rajwar. And
- Rajwar.

The villages under study, several clans are found and named according to their 'totem'. Those clans are as follows:

Chart of clans Distribution

N.:	Clan	Totem	Taboo
1.	Nag	Snake	The people of this clan cannot kills snakes.
2.	Karhor	Korhor tree	The people of korhor clan do not come in contact with korhor tree.
3.	Sankh	Conch shell	The people of this clan do not use conch shell.
4	Agnis	Fire	The people of this clan cannot singe the dead.
5.	Dumbor	Fig tree	The people of this clan avoid the shadow of fig trees. They respect the tree.
6.	Chil	Kite	They do not lcill lcite .
7.	Duar/kacchp	Tortoise	The people of this clan do not eat tortoise.....
8.	Kashap		
9.	Murgish	Hen	The people of this clan cannot eat the meat to him. They worship hen.
10.	Kathal	Jack fruit tree	The people of this clan worships jack fruit tree.
11.	Singh	Loin	The people of this clan worship lion.
12.	Modhu golllok	Honey	The people of this clan do not touch or eat honey
13.	Canch	Point of gold measuring level	
14.	Kush		

Source: field data, 2013, Susil Rajwar (Mondol)

Figure-13: Chart of clans

Totem is very important for them because it reflects their social identity, regulates and conditions their social life and action pattern in various ways.

Table: 5.1
Clan distribution

village/para	Nag	Kanch	Kush	Korhor/korol
Rajwar para	20 families	3 families	23 families	12families
Kamar para	3 families	-	-	24 families
Total	23	3	23	36

Source: field data, 2013

From the table we can see that most of families belong to *Korhor/korol* clan, that is 36 families in the studies area are of *Korhor/korol* clan. The number Kush and Nag household are same (23). Only (3) families belong to the clan named *Kanch*.

Family

A family is the smallest social unit, which consists of parents and children. All economic activities like agriculture, earth work or any other manual labor Rajwar are found to have engaged themselves in totality and this is based on family tie. The Rajwar husband and wife are found to be engaged in agricultural work like, transplant seedlings, break earth clods, reap and harvest paddy. Generally men plough and sow seeds but women can work as translators: while threshing paddy, they work jointly.

Both single and joint family systems are found in Rajwar in Barind. Most of the single families are among the paras are day labour but in case of joint families are comparatively rich and have some land to cultivate. However, clan is unilateral groups but the family is a bilateral groups. The family is always related to community village life .So, in this way a man is not only a family member but also a member of the community of the village in which he lives and he shares the ups and downs of the whole village group. The member ship of a family among rajwar is based on various factors, namely-

- (i)By birth—A child gets the member ship of a family and clan his /har birth,
- (ii) By marriage.

The family usually consists of husband, wife and unmarried children. Group sons set up separate house holds after marriage, while married daughters go to live with the husbands. In case of divorce they return to their parents. The parents live independently as long as they are able to work but when unable to work they are totally care of by the sons. Few joint families with grown-up married sons are present in our study villages. The social system of the Rajwar are patriarchal and only the sons inherit their paternal property. The property owned by the mother goes to the daughter's son but not her daughter. According to the villagers without will or buying, a women can never inherit land from her family. But in these two villages there is no women having land of her own., Though most of the Rajwar are land less day labour But women have no right on land in their social system.

Table: 5.2
Types of families

Name	Nuclear family	Joint family
Rajwar para	41	17
kamar para	24	3
Total	65 (76.47%)	20 (23.53%)

Percentage of nuclear family in Rajwar para is 76.47% and joint family is 23.53%

On the other hand, in case of kamar para occurs the same thing here, among total house hold (27), number of nuclear families are 24, on the other hand there are only 3 joint family. That is 89% families are nuclear family and only 11% families are joint in Kamar para.

The table presents that the percentage of the nuclear family is much higher than the joint type of family. This is due to the changing land tenure system of the country and the entrance of the market economy. Owing to diffusion in the form of modernization and the patterns of family influence, the Rajwar society tends to weaken its social economic structure. This is why, most of Rajwar families have no land of their own and depends on day laboring, so nuclear families predominate the socio-economic profile of the ranjoash as many as 76.74% of the total families are nuclear and 23.53% are joint types of these two villages. A nuclear family is composed of parents and unmarried children. There might also be broken types. When

one of the parents is dead. The joint families are either vertically or horizontally extended. According to table 5.2, 65 households belong to nuclear families and 20 households belong to joint families the average size of a nuclear family is 76.47% and that of a joint family is 23.53%. The father is the head of the Rajwar family. and his authority is implicitly accepted by all its members. However, he does not act arbitrarily. In the Rajwar families of Rajwar para, the families that regulate some land, in most cases the male people take important decision about agriculture, bread work expenditure or field. But in case of day labour like in kamar para, women whom we interviewed are found are active in decision making of the family affairs in case of family planning both husband and wife take decision together. But in the Rajwar family, male baby is more desirable than female baby. It can be said that the relation between a man and his wife are severally good and friendly.

Polygamy is not permissible. In case of a second marriage, the consent of the first wife and the village organization (**Baishi**) is essential , if some one neglect this and break the rule then he has to be punished and others members of the village avoid him. But if the accused person invites the *mondol* and the other members of the **Baishi** (like village panchayat) and the village people in a grand feast , then the **Baishi** declare him to include in the society or samaj .

In case of barren her of first wife the village organization permit second marriage naturally.

After marriage a woman includes herself as a member of his husband's clan .Within the family, economic cooperation in daily life is maintained by all the members .Generally the father is the head of the family who manages the family affairs and also allow specific duties and responsibilities to individual members of the family in consultant or with all the grown up male and female members. If the father is dead, the eldest son, provided his adult, or the widowed mother where the children are independent, conducts the family affairs if there occurs any case of quarrels or scandals spreading in the family, the elderly members are require to deal with the situation and in extreme cases, when there have reached public ears or villagers are informed and finally the case is placed before the 'mondol' for a decision.

In case of death, family members both near and distance are informed. Father and mother are always respected in the family. Grand father, grand mother and other old persons of a family are paid due respect by the younger generation. Other members of the family like the paternal uncle or aunt is also respected like ones own father or mother. The elder brother is highly respected by the wife of the younger brother and exists a relationship of respectness.

In a family the spouses are addressed directly as the father or mother of his/har children. Young folks are addressed by name by the older generations and the relatives are addressed with definite terms of *Sadri* language.

Kinship

Kinship lays the basis of foundation of social organizations .Social networks and connections among individuals, families and social groups are created through kin relations. Kinship is the relationship through which rules the of inheritance, descent, marriage system and families are organized.

Kinship has a major role in leadership, social control and conflict resolution. Family structure, marriage system, patterns of property ownership and inheritance rules are decided by the kinship rules. Social bonds among the kin groups are structured through kinship which leads towards social solidarity and unity. The group of people related by the kinship, feel inspired by the fellow feelings in their social life. For that reason, they feel motivated to maintain social prestige and interest of their own. In this way, members of society actively participate in preserving their own tradition .Such; kinship has profound and far reaching influence in social development and progress.

Terminology

The social recognition and expression of genealogical relationships both consanguinal and affinal and kinships systems may include socially recognized relationships based on supposed as well as actual genealogical ties. The study of kinship system is one of the oldest and is still considered by many to be one of the most important elements in the study of social organization. Kinship terms can be studied linguistically, ethno

graphically, sociologically and psychology cally (winick ed:1961:301) . It has been suggested by Radcliffe brown that there is a high correlation between social organization and kin terminology. Rivers has noted that particular features of social organization and Kroeber has emphasized role of language in system of terminology (Ibid 302). The terminology that the Rajwar use to address some one or their kins is in sadri language. So their terminology is as follows-

Bangle Terminology	English Terminology	Rajwar language/ <i>Sadri</i> Tarminology
Ma	Mother	Mai
Baba	Father	Bap
Boro Vai	Elder Brother	Borka Dada
Choto Vai	Younger Brother	Chotka Dada
Boro Bon	Elder Sister	Borka Behin
Choto Ban	Younger Sister	Chotka Behin
Chele	Son	Beta
Meya	Daughter	Beti
Dada	Grand Father (Paternal)	Aaja
Dadi	Grand Mother(Paternal)	Aaji
Nana	Grand Father (Maternal)	Nana
Nani	Grand Mother(Maternal)	Nani
Chaca	Uncle	Kaka
Chaci	Aunt	Kaki
Fupu	Aunt	Pishi
Fupa	Uncle	Pisha
Khala	Aunt	Moshi
Khalu	Uncle	Mosha
Shashur	Father in Law	Shashu
Shasuri	Mother in Law	Shas

A village forms an important social unite with territorial boundary where the families of different clans foster mutual relations in many social religious or economic activities. Inter Family relationship among the Rajwar are traced in the villages of

Barind where they remain the feeling of group consciousness or individuality, even though living in close contact or proximity with the wider society.

However, the family as an institution is in a process of disintegration from its traditional style, due to modernisation and spread of education. Their tribal customs and manners in Barind are also changing for all these reasons. Still some of the Rajwar are maintaining their traditional customs and manners in their families.

Political organization

Traditionally the Rajwars' political organization is divided into three steps. The top administrative tier of the Rajwars traditional political organization is *Baishy*. The chief of all Rajwar is called *Baishy prodhan* or chief of Baishy. Then the mid level tier is *Mondol* or *Morol* that is chief of the village. And the lowest administrative tier is *Toholdar* or watchman.

Baishy System

The basic unit of the Rajwar communal system is the village. For the efficient running of the village administration, a council which is called *Baishy* meaning twenty two achieves of twenty two villages play the key role of Rajwar' traditional political organization. The chief of the village is known as *mondol*. In practical, sometimes it can be less or more than twenty two.

The function of *Baishy* is to maintain peace and order and enforce the community's moral or social code of behavior. Generally, disputes regarding division of Family property, offence against customary laws, especially marriage law and taboo are placed before the *Baishy* for its judgments. As a punishment normally a guilty person has to pay some fine but in serious cases, like break of marriage laws and taboos one can be excommunicated from the community. It does not only exist to important customary laws but also acts as a platform for social activities, like arrangement of marriage, funeral, religious deities and festivals. The *Baishy* of Ujirpur village consists of the chief of Ujirpur, Rohanpur, Chaitannayapur, Durgadoho, Nachol, Tongpara, Chanpur, Madapur, Gopinath pur, Kalhor, Soraipur etc. They together solve in case of serious problem. People are bound to obey the

decision of **Baishy** because if someone does not obey the decision, then his family will be boycotted by others. But if the offenders invite the villagers and **Baishy** to a feast and give fine to the **Baishy** then his family is accepted to the society again.

Sonaton Rajwar lives in Rajwar para .He is 30 years old.His wife descend from Karakar family.This is not acceptable for Rajwar society. They had pre-marital affair.As they violate the society's rule, so they had face the judgement of **Baishy**.The **Baishy** declared his family to be boycotted. After some days, Sonaton invite all the male household heads and the members of **Baishy** to a feast and give the fine to the chief. After receiving Penalty charge the **Baishy** declared to be received them in their society.

If the **Baishy** is failed to solve any problem, in that case they take the help of Thana, chairman or word commissioners and local influential Bengali peoples.

Selecting process of chief or *mondol*' and *toholdar* or watchman

The chief of the community is selected by inheritance.After the death of present chief or *mondol*, most of the time traditionally, his elder son is nominated as chief of the villages.The **Baishy** or council takes decision after taking meal of obsequences or *Srddah*.It is to be noted that ,always a male will be *mondol* or chief.No female is allowed as a chief or *mondol* according to their customs or tradition.After that the community welcome their new *mondol* or chief with garland of flowers.But if he does not carry the qualities become a chief than all other of the villagers and **Baishy** take decision together and select their new chief or *Mondol*.

Toholdar or watchman is not a hereditary post.*Toholdar* is selected by the *Mondol*.

If there occur any problem in village ,at first they try to solve it themselves with the help of *Mondol*.But if they failed,**Baishy** try to solve the problem.In case of **Baishy's** failure ,then they try to solve their problem with the help of Thana and local word commissioner or Chairman.

Participation in local politics

There is no barrier to participate in the local level politics or election.But wider society does not support them.Rajwar women can go to vote centre but none of them wants to be union Parishad representative.Most Adivasis in the Barind tract live in a rural secluded environment, which offers only limited information about national

political trends. The study showed, however, that most Adivasis in the area were to some extent familiar with the political activities of the local government. Nevertheless, no preserved quota for Adivasis as a disadvantaged category in the existing local government bodies could be identified to expedite their political participation at the local level beyond their participation in Upazila and national elections. In the study area, none of the Word Comissioner and Chairpersons were from an Adivasi community.

Adivasis typically have their own community leaders known as *Morolor Mondol*. The activities of these leaders are to a large extent found in the non-political sphere, such as celebration of cultural practices or the arbitration of intra-communal disputes. The Adivasi leaders are supposed to be notified and consulted during the distribution of Social sefty net support since representatives from the Adivasi community and other minority groups are not present in local government bodies (i.e. the Union Parishad). In the framework of the study, no case could be identified where such notifications or consultations took place. Generally, the interviewed Adivasis expressed the idea that their voices are not heard by local political decision-makers.

Some Rajwar specialy new generation thinks that democratic practices may bring new era for their society, but many are quite attached to their traditional social organization.Rajwar are willing and thirsty to establish their land rights,get access to education, health services, job opportunities etc.They demand their voting rights are properly implementedand want to elect their leader and represent.

Atives democratically.Some other like Uttpol Rajwar of Kamarpara advocate that ...village Chief *or Mondol*should be elected also.These are significant positive signs of an ongoing democratic process as if the awareness of their right to equal access to social services and an improved quality of life that can reverse the ongoing process of social exclusion of the Rajwar of Barind Region.

Lack of political Protection and Social discrimination

Rajwar are marginalized by the government and most of the time, the government assistance is not sufficient for the poor Rajwar people. They are discriminated at

national and local levels and are seen as a 'backward section' of the population, due to their traditional beliefs, and customs. They have not been recognized by the state as 'indigenous people' of the country. They are treated as minorities among the majority in Bangladesh. Article 14 of the Bangladesh Constitution does not say anything about them and has not classified them as citizens of Bangladesh on any ground; "Rather it declared that all the citizens of Bangladesh are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. It is over conviction that the State deprive of any group of people inhabited in this land their social status and legacy of historical development," (Rahman, 2000). The Rajwar people are deprived in all grounds of their traditional life. Socially, they are discriminated against and ignored by the by the mainstream people. The political circumstances affecting the Rajwar merge from the combined treatment of the State and the Bengali people.

Silent discrimination of education and danger of language loss

As we know, education is an important instrument for every nation. But as far as the education sector is concerned the Rajwar people are facing the silent discrimination in different ways. The main obstacle of their study system is the medium of teaching. In Bangladesh, the study medium of teaching is Bengali. The children speak *Sadrior khottya* language in home but in the school with his classmates, they have to speak Bengali. Therefore, they often do not feel comfortable conversing with their classmate or participating in classes. Those students cannot cope with Bengali language lose their interest in going to school. According to Ranjit kumar monol, assistant teacher of Ujirpur govt. primary school Prosenjit of noorpur village ,age ten, does not interested in study. Most of the time he leaves his home for school in the every morning, but at last he does not reach school, on the way, he starts playing under the bridge. According to Prosenjit, he does not like study ,it seems very hard to him and he could not remember his lesson .In Bangladesh the design of text book curriculum does not introduce them with their own language , culture and identity. So they are not able to know thyself through their learning and education which is a threat to their identity and language. Day by day, they practice to learn Bengali but at the same time they there emerge a distance to their own language. It is seen in the field that in case of new generation, they use Bengali terminology instead of *Sadri*. Chittaya ranjan Rajwar called her mother as '*ammu*' instead of '*moe*'.

On the otherhand, Rajwar, language does not have any alphabetic recognition. So they are losing their freedom to speak and their own language. This attitude has promote language shift and loss.

Due to extreme poverty most of the Rajwar children are not regular to their study. Their rate of absence in school is high due to help to their family.

There is a strong correlation between lack of access to schooling and lack of identity. Quality of schooling that they receive, affects their labor market performances .That is lower schooling levels lead to lower retention rate, lowerearnings and ultimately higher levels of poverty. Schooling and education can provide flexibility in making choice and devising strategies to enter the occupational sector from which the ethnic community like Rajwar are excluded by the prejudiced and negligence of the Bengali majority.

Rajwar women

Like women of the other parts of the world, indigenous women of Bangladesh have a lower socio-economic status then their men folk. Indigenous women's life in Bangladesh is shaped by the partiarchal and largely patrilineal nature of the social system. Although indigenous women have far greater social mobility than non-indigenous women in comparable rural societies in Bangladesh, in terms of right to inheritance, legal and political rights, decision-making powers and so forth, their situation is little better than non-indigenous women, if at all. In Bangladesh, indigenous women remain among the poorest, most violated, most oppressed; most scorned and most exploited sectors of society. Since the majority of the rural girls do not go to school beyond the primary stage, it is natural for parents to groom the girls for their "most important role" of motherhood. Thus, in the rural areas, girls are mirried between the ages of 11-18. Unlike, the women of the plains, the indigenous women have more freedom in-terms of selectiing their partners . Marriages are guided by the customary laws and not recorded. Most of the marrieages take place within the same people or "tribe", but seldom within the same clan. Since in indigenous inhabited areas no such initiatives have been taken to teach the children in their mother tongue; which discourages indigenous children form education.

The major problem that indigenous women face as part of indigenous people in particular is the denial of their customary land rights. Furthermore, the indigenous women however, have the added burden of discrimination due to their gender. The poor land scarcity of the indigenous communities as a whole is even worse for indigenous women, as they have fewer rights to land than indigenous men under customary right system.

Despite their socio-economic and political marginalisation, indigenous women play a primary role in production, especially in the subsistence-oriented agricultural communities. The impact of globalisation on indigenous women is far reaching. Physical displacement from their ancestral territories and production base has led to economic and cultural dislocation. Many policies on women are aimed at the atypical cases of discrimination faced by ethnic Bengali women in the plains regions. Since the social, cultural and economic context are so different, many of these laws and policies are not appropriate for preventing discrimination against indigenous women. The inadequacies of these policies are however seldom recognised in the national discourses on women's rights, which are dominated by concerns for Bengali-speaking and Hindu and Muslim women more than that of minority groups (Farhana 2001). To conclude this section, Bangladeshi women, whether rural or urban, traditional or modern, from the majority community or minorities, live in a social system that sanctifies subordination and the continuance of the inferior status of women. The above-depicted situation of women highlights the need for a development strategy that effectively integrates women into the development process by recognising their political, social and economic needs.

Social security

For the allocation of governmental SSN measures, 4 types of local committees exist and operate at different levels: the Upazila Committee, the Union Committee, the Ward Committee and the Monitoring Committee. The Upazila Committee is headed by the Upazila Nirbahi Officer or Upazila Chair and is mainly responsible for the Union-wise approval and distribution of SSNs proposed by the Union Committee. The Union Committee is headed by the UP Chair and includes 9 Ward Commissioners, 3 Women Ward Commissioners and 2 persons responsible for the

preparation of the primary list of potential recipients. A Ward Committee is formed to select the recipients of VGD cards, VGF cards, old age and widow allowance. It comprises 4 people: 2 Ward Commissioners, 1 official from the respective department and 1 person who enjoys the respect of the concerned community. The committee consults with the community people at a local level. The monitoring committee consists of a government official and a number of people who are in charge of the quality of implementation.

None of the above mentioned committees in the working area include ethnic representatives. Even the Ward Committee which works at the very local level to prepare the lists of potential beneficiaries does not have representatives from the ethnic communities. Most of the committee members are chosen from among the non-ethnic community which are mainly Muslim and tend to distribute SSNs among their own community members. Furthermore, all the committees lack a supervisory body which audits operations and decisions. This allows for mismanagement through mis-targeting and nepotism.

Poorer Rajwar are mostly excluded from social security programs given by the government. Most of them do not even have adequate information about the support Programs. The survey reported that only 4.65% of the respondents had received monthly government allowances for the elderly and widows and disable allowance.

Table:5.3 Types of Government support Received by the Respondents

Types of Support	Respondents	
	Rajwar Para	Kamar Para
Elderly allowance	4	2
Widow allowance	1	1
Indigenous allowance(as they are not listed as indigenous before 2015).	-	-
Maternal allowance	-	-
Disable allowance	3	1
Total	8	4

Interviewees reported that the annual budget for the union council was insufficient. The interviewees deplored the deprivation of the Adibasi people.

Infra-structure Development and communication

Roads, Transport and Communication within these two Rajwar dominant Paras are of poor quality and old-fashioned. There is no metallic road within para. The villagers of these two villages are not getting the facilities of electricity till today.

Lack of Access to the Union Council Office

The Rajwar faces political discrimination to select the union parishad representative from their own community because of lack of man power and poverty. They are less in number compare to majority Bengali people and this majority do not vote them. Last year Monoranjon Rajwar were nominated for election from Rajwar para but he failed. According to him it is not possible to elect without money. We are poor day labour. Wealthy people will elect. According to Konika Rajwar of 22 years old ...last year during election we supported Mukti kormokar as our women word commissioner but due to corruption Bany (muslim) was elected. They think they are excluded and deprived.

Strategic Indebtedness

Because of the loss of their land, Rajwar have move on to wage labour activities. Because of the priority of their subsistence and social and ceremonial obligations within the community, the Rajwar who borrow cannot repay loans. They continue to borrow again and again and fell into a cycle of indebtedness. Given their prevalent economic-crisis, they cannot manage three meals a day along with other expenses, such as medical treatment, festival or funeral arrangements, marriages and children's education or clothing. Consequently, Rajwar adopt alternative strategies for their livelihood management. The Rajwar do not have any other alternative, but to borrow or sell their physical labour in advance. The cases below help in understanding their choices and alternative livelihood strategies:

Case study 4.15: Rajwar advanced sale of physical labour for subsistence. Komol Rajwar, Aged 55 years old, lives in Kamarpara of Uzirpur Village. He lives on his 3 decimals homestead land. He is illiterate and manages subsistence as an agricultural day labourer from which he earns BDT 250 a day during the agricultural season. He gets work for three months out of the two agricultural seasons per year. He remains

jobless during the other nine months of the year and hardly manages to make a living. This jobless condition compels him to sell his physical labour in advance at a tower wage at BDT 150 a day instead of BDT 250 a day. In 2011, he took BDT 5,000 in advance from a total rich Bengali Hindu peasant (Ratan Mahissaw) on the condition that he would repay the loan by working in the latter's field during the agricultural season. Because of this advanced sale of his physical labour and current subsistence during the agricultural season. He can neither repay the loan nor can earn more money that he still owes to the landlord after doing work. Moreover, because of his dire economic situation, he has been placed in a permanent process of advanced sale of physical labour to earn his subsistence. This case study of advanced sale of physical labour of Komol Rajwar illustrates the livelihood strategies that some landless Rajwar are forced to adopt.

Because of their dire economic situation, Rajwar borrow from either NGOs or rich Bengali Muslim and Hindu peasants and local money lenders to manage subsistence and survive. They borrow in exchange for the advance sale of their physical labour at a tower price. However, they cannot repay loans because of their current demands and the need to repay previous loans. As observed, this situation of indebtedness even puts them at risk of starvation. The Rajwar are forced to develop a 'cliental relationship' (Scon, 1976: 9) with total money lenders or rich Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants as a strategy for their survival.

The strategic relations that Rajwar maintain with Bengali Hindus in order to avoid the risk of starvation put them in a position of 'strategic indebtedness'. Rajwar's strategic indebtedness can be interpreted as 'their actions in an apprehensible moral universe of consequentiality' (Acciaioli, 2004: 179) through which they manage subsistence. The Rajwar engage in strategic indebtedness with the total rich Bengali Hindu peasants to satisfy their everyday moral subsistence/demands and their socio-cultural practices.

At this point, I argue that the Rajwar are compelled to maintain strategic indebtedness with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslims for their moral subsistence and the continuity of their socio-cultural practices. This informs their economic practices. This understanding of the relationship between cultural and economic practices of the

Rajwar is interpreted as Max Weber and Eiiiiile Durkheim propose, that people's 'values and social norms shape their economic actions' (see Blim, 2005: 306-307).

Also, Rajwar' economic practices structure their socio-cultural practkes, which can be interpreted as Marx states that 'human activity to reproduce its existence shapes human outlooks and ultimately what people believe' (see Bliin, 2005: 306). Marx's statement helps understand the Rajwar' economic situation that shapes their daily subsistence and socio-cultural life. The Rajwar have stopped practising many aspects of their community festivals and ceremonies because of a deteriorating economic situation. Rajwar' economic situation, thus, shapes their culttural values and norms, while their economic practkes are the results of long-term relationships with the different actors, including the governments, tocal landlords, money-lenders and the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants. The Rajwar seek to establish a form of relationship - 'strategk indebtedness' - with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants for their daily subsistence and socio-cultural practice.

Thus, Rajwar' socio-cultural practices and ceremonial obligations do not necessarily inform their economic practices; rather it is their economic practices that guide their cultural values and norms.

Rajwar, thus, maintain strategic indebtedness with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants for their survival. As observed, although they may wish to be free of debt, the Rajwar cannot repay loans and remain debtors. Although the Rajwar receive loans from NGOs, money-lenders, relatives or friends; in most cases, they cannot change their economic situation utilising the loan because of their prevalent economic crisis and everyday subsistence and because they have to pay previous loans. The Rajwar spend the loan/fund on their concurrent livelihood management and they cannot transform it into concrete resources to be used in the present or the future. Thus, for the Rajwar, credit can best be termed as 'fictitious capital' (Marx, 1894: 595). Debt places the Rajwar in a destructive position/a position of dependency both in the present and the future.

While debt places the Rajwar in a destructive position and they face risk of starvation, strategic indebtedness can ensure their subsistence and socio-cultural practices. As

discussed earlier, Rajwar strategically maintain relationships with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants for their survival. As the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants invest to maximise profits, they hire physical labour at a cheaper wage from the poor Rajwar and engage them to work in the fields and households. This helps the Rajwar to establish a cliental relationship with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants. The cliental relationship of the Rajwar with the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants is, in fact, a functional framework that allows the Rajwar to establish 'personal relationships [...and] frames of reference' (L'Estoile, 2014: 62) with the latter to mobilise resources in order to respond to their economic precariousness. Thus, Rajwar' strategic indebtedness as a survival strategy potentially offers them a long-term capacity to ensure subsistence, while the dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants maximise profits utilising the Rajwar' physical labour at a cheaper rate.

However, because of their indebtedness, Rajwar face continuing exploitation by dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants. I ask why Rajwar people strategically incur debt themselves to Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants and money lenders when this strategy only leads to their further domination and exploitation. Do Rajwar people have, or seek, any other choice? As Scott (1976) describes, the categories of the chokes and adaptations, or survival strategies, of peasants are: (1) reliance on local forms of self-help; (2) reliance on the nonpeasant sector of the economy; (3) reliance on state-supported forms of patronage and assistance; and (4) reliance on religious or oppositionist structures of protection and assistance (Scott, 1976: 204).

As observed, the Rajwar rely on local forms of self-help for survival because of their landlessness. The Rajwar state that they lack state-supported forms of patronage and assistance because of the negligence of the Bangladeshi Governments. The governments do not have any direct programmes to assist and patronise the Rajwar along with other ethnic communities for income-generating activities. The governments also do not enforce any law regarding the wage payments for the Rajwar. Besides, the local Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants are not sympathetic to Rajwar problems, while the Rajwar are simply blind to them and borrow from them. Rajwar' borrowing from local Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants can be interpreted as local help.

Although Rajwar have turned from fanning and agricultural labour to other economic activities, they are still exploited. These non-peasant economic activities are run by dominant Bengali Hindu and Muslim s who do not offer Rajwar a healthy work environment that is conducive to their survival. The Bengali Hindu and Muslim s pay them less than the daily wage, but work them hard in the fields. They also engage the Rajwar in household works in addition to their daily wage labour. The local rich Bengali Hindu and Muslim peasants also demand the support of the Rajwar, in local politics, to be elected as formal leaders of local Union Council.

CHAPTER-VI:

LIFE CYCLE

The life cycle is the full circle of events when an individual has to face variety of unknown situations which may create some anxiety, stress and strain. These situations are to be tackled by the individual through some rituals, rites and ceremonies in order to integrate himself in the society. The important milestones in the life cycle of a man are birth, puberty, marriage and death. The Rajwar also consider these as the turning points of great consequence in their lives, Which should be properly gone through. There are various ceremonies associated with these different phases like birth, puberty, marriage and death through these various kinds of rituals an individual can overcome social stress and tension and stabiles him/her self with his/her surroundings.

Birth

Like all child-bearing women stoppage of periodic menstruation is as consider the first sign of pregnancy. The Rajwar women become sure after the stoppage of menstruation for two or three months. Then they inform it to an elder female members of the family like her husband's grandmother, mother, brother's wife, aunt or own mother etc. Previously, the husband is not informed due to prudish behaviour of the wife but now a days, couple share this from the beginning in case of her second pregnancy. The symptoms of pregnancy are: vomiting, lack of appetite, desire for unhealthy food-stuff, foods with too much chili, sour or salt etc. These symptoms start from about the 3rd month of pregnancy. There are no special ceremonies to be performed as per tradition, in connection with conception or pregnancy. Most of the expectant mothers perform their day to day household works in the initial stage but during their advanced stage some of them are not allowed to do hard work as it might be harmful to the baby in the womb. Though most of the Rajwar women are wage earners, In this stage, the pregnant women has to continue their routine duties. Besides this they have to assist their husbands in the matter of plantation and harvesting work as well as they work as wage earners. Economically better off pregnant women perform light work; in their advanced stages. Whereas those who are poor and whose

personal services are essentially, necessary for the maintenance of the family, are obliged to perform hard work.

According to Deboti Rajwar (30) wife of Ratun Rajwar (40) of kamar Para, she had to work in the field as wage-earners up to 7 months of her pregnancy. Birth of child is the blessing of god. This is the Rajwar concept of birth- Miscarriage is considered to bring ill-luck to the family. It is also thought as a punishment inflicted on the couple by God for a grievous sin committed by them previously. Sometimes they called the 'ojha' to avoid miscarriage. Now adays, the couple/wife goes to community clinic for Government advice and proper precautionary measures are taken to avert abortions.

Taboos

Among the Rajwar, pregnant women have to follow some following taboos :

1. She should not go to the burial ground;
2. Both husband and wife are allowed to see the dead body of a person, but neither the pregnant woman nor her' husband should touch the dead body. The husband may go to the burial ground, but they should not participate in digging the grave for consigning the dead body in it. He should not also pour earth on the dead body. The pregnant woman is not allowed to eat cooked food in the house of the deceased person.
3. Joint banana is forbidden to eat.

If she violates the taboo, the fetus may suffer injury resulting in abortion.

As the Rajwar have a large number of unclear families, naturally the husband is the only person, who generally stays at home at the time of the delivery and he watches the symptoms cautiously and arranges for a smooth delivery with the help and assistance of others. If she is in her mother's house she is taken care of by her mother and sometimes by her elder sisters, or by grandmother, if she is alive. . The pregnant woman is also assisted by her mother, mother-in law. elder sister and other elderly neighboring women.

The mother sat on the back-side to support the woman in delivery. The Rajwar midwife (professional) supervised the case for a smooth delivery, inthe case of a difficult delivery *ojha* (a tribal exorcist), is commissioned diagnose the problem or perform rites so as to ward off the evil spirits supposed to create difficulties.

Birth

However, when the child is born, the umbilical cord is snapped by the midwife with a sharp bamboo split. The baby is then bathed in tepid water and the navalstring and placenta after birth are buried near the main door of the *room* where birth takes place. During her confinement, the mother is allowed to eat warm starched rice with salt and garlic.

To purify the house and the village, a purification ceremony, called *janam chatiar* is held after 3 to 40 days.

After birth waste matter is called *narri* in the local dialect. It is kept in some ashes in a pot and is carried by the mid-wife followed by the husband. The digs a pit by the side of his hut and bury the *narri*.

The midwife is required to stay for sometime after delivery for assisting the new mother and for nursing the child. She is given cooked food daily. She collects remuneration for the services.

Marriage

When a householder wants a suitable bride for his son then he will have a confidential chat with some of his relatives, friends etc about the suitable girls of the locality or even outside the area. If they hit upon anyone, then they will make enquiries about the girls. Now, if they think her a proper match for the young man, they will inform the girl's father about the desires of the youth's father. If the girl's father agrees to talk over the proposal, a discussion of their clans, sub-clans and the other prohibited degrees ensures so that the marriage may not cause infringement of the tribal laws. If these are found to fill in, the youth's father will be informed as to when he may formally see the girls.

Then the youth's father starts with a party on the appointed day. If the party is satisfied with the prospective bride, then an amount of dowry is fixed. After that, blessings take place.

The dowry has to be paid before marriage. We can see that there are some steps or parts in a hole or complete marriage ceremony. Many of these are closely analogous

to Hindu practices and have probably been borrowed from them. This it is the result of cultural contact with the Hindus surrounding.

Blessing Ceremony

According to Monoranjan Rajwar, age-(32) Of Ujirpur (Rajwar Para)—

In case of blessing ceremony at first some relatives and honorable people of both side sit together and take decision about the ceremony. Firstly before 15 days of the marriage, Some people from brides side come to grooms house carrying Dhuti, genji, Rohit Fish, sweets, card, betel leaf, supari, etc and then after 5days that means 10 days go of the marriage some people from the grooms side go to the brides house carrying with all necessary things of the bride like sharee, blowse, cosmetics, shoes etc and card, sweets, fish, betel leaf, turmeric etc. Some respect able elders bless the bride with paddy and grass (Durba), After consulting a calendar an suspicious day and time (Lagna) is fixed for the wedding.

Turmeric ceremony

Both bride and groom are smeared with oil and turmeric by relatives sisters, sisters in law, neighbours etc in their own houses. Modal of the village with the bride or grooms family number take decision about the durations of the ceremony like 3 or 5 or 7 days. These are called "lagan". The Ceremony which is made of 3 days is called "Tip lagan". Previously they enjoy this ceremony about 5 or 7 days. But now most of the turmeric ceremony is consists of 3 days or 'Tip lagan'. In case of "Tip lagan". The body of both bride and groom are smeared with oil and turmeric during these 3 days. In this period the bride is not allowed to walk outside alone during midday and night. She is given bath with water collected beforehand. During this time both bride and groom are not allowed to bath in the pond. After that at the last day the groom is shifted under a mango tree for bath. This is called *a am bia*. There is a taboo to eat the fruit or mango of that tree for the bride and groom for one year. But now a day, many of them do not follow this. After' *a am bia*' the groom starts his journey to brides house with his group for wedding.

Wedding ceremony

According to lunar calendar an auspicious day is fixed for the weeding. No wedding talks place in the months of choitra, poush and Bwhadra- according to the lunar calendar. At the wedding day, grooms father, barber, brahmin and other relatives

with groom are attained to brides house with band party. Former days they use palki or cart of cow but now they use van, CNG, auto rickshaw, bus etc. During previous days, to grooms father had to pay bride price to her mother but now the situation has been changed with dowry. Now days in Rajwar para no one can think his daughter marriage without dowry. The range of dowry in tk 10,000-70,000 and Jewelry to in from 2 Ana to 2.5 vory in Rajwar Para and kamar Para When grooms party attended the brides house, at first bride's mother washes the grooms feet and after that receives him to her house. Then the groom make to eat sweets and touch with betel leaf. The groom wear new dhuti and **Babaji** shirt and bride wear red sharee which in given by the grooms parents.

At night a Brahmin conducts the wedding. Her brother, maternal uncle or an uncle gives her away to the groom as he dabs 'Sindur' on the parting of her hair. One day later, they observe 'basi bibaha' that is also conducts by the Brahmin. In this stage the gram touch or put the sindur on the bride's forehead or parting of the hair from a hand. Now they consider as man and wife Sindur is the symbol of marriage to a Rajwar women and they use it for the welfare and long life of their husband and conjugal life.

In this day, the grooms side holds bou bhat! One day after or on the third day of the wedding the groom and his brother in law take the bride to her parents house carrying with them sweets, liquor betel leaves and stay there for eight days. This is known as "**at-monggola**" As most of the Rajwar are day labour so they cannot stay there for eight day. this is why now a days this is not possible for them to maintain this ritual for eight days and they come back earlier. After "aat-monggola" they return home for 'pitribashi' or living at the parents house. The people of the brides village accompany them to the end of the village street, where the two parties formally take, it is to be noted that among Rajwar, marriage means not to leave to each other. Informant Sabitri Rajwar said that this formal leave taking is symbolized by a stereotyped conversation between the officials of the two villages.

Futher that the couple are lowered on the ground and the corners of their cloths are tied together symbolically expressines the concept that one must follow the other.

In case of a Rajwar marriage we observe that it is more than an arrangement entered into by two individuals or even two families. It is a matter in which two entire villages are concerned.

The entire village community share its responsibility in the affair. Not only *two* individuals and their families but also two villages are united by a bond of relationship as a result of the marriage.

According to Sabitri Rajwar many rites and ceremonials which have lost their originality and glamour made it simple due to their impoverished economy on the one hand and the influence of wider society like Hindus, Hindu and Muslim s and Christianity, a slow cultural attenuation is in process among the Rajwar of Barind.

Death

The final 'rite de passage' has to do something with the rituals of death that center round the cremation of the dead body. The Rajwar have their own funeral customs.

Although the dead are required to be cremated but the shortage of firewood obliges them to bury the bodies. It has now become the normal picture. There is a graveyard beside the bridge of the village. In this graveyard the Rajwar of Rajwar Para kamar Para, and moddha Para are buried. There situate a temple which is called 'jungal mondir' nearby, This land is given by government now but before this, some powerful Hindus of katibari, were capture this land unethically *by Using* their wealth and political power. But as Rajwar are becoming educated and united, They protest this thret together and establish the temple and the grave yard as their own communal asset.

At first they wash the dead body with water that is boiled with the leaves of, wood apple (*Aegle mamelos*) and basil plant and after that this boiled water is mixed with normal water. Now this water becomes ready for bathing. The body is raped with two pieces of new white cloth. At the next step the dead body is embellish with sandal wood paste, flower, aromatic vapour and resin smoke. Now the bamboo made funceral cot is carried with the dead body to the grave yard. During this times the sons

and the relatives will lift up the on their shoulder and the procession slowly moves on towards the graveyard pray to good for peach of the departed soul. His/her close relatives make wait for his/her departure. In the grave the deed body is burry towards North South pole that is the head of the dead body is set, towards north side. After burry a muddy/earthen pot sets on the grave besides the dead bodie's head that means in the north side. Now the dead person's son wear one pice cloth from its two parts. This part is called "Logun". Wearing this "Logun" he will come back to his home.

According to kashinath Rajwar (65)- After three nights of death, the children begin to observe '*habishya*'! or eating nothing but boild sun-dried rice and butter oil but during the first three days they eat only fruits. This rite is observed for twelve days using earthen pots for cooking. On the last day three pats are used. The wives of the sons observe the ceremony for three days. During "habishya" all members of thehouse eat vegetarian food. On the fourteenth day "sradh is held with the help of Brahmins. On the fifteenth day the village people are fed if possible, with rice and fish. During In habishya', if one finds a paddy is in the food or if someone calls anybody, in the house by name he or she cannot eat that day. All those observing habishya' remain in a single piece of cloth for the entire period. There days after death, a ceremony called '*ghatpind*' is observed. In this ceremony, an earthen pot filled with cow dung, rice powder, sesame seeds, a green coconut, a butter oil lamp and incense stick is sank in to the river by the sons of the dead. Every night some *habishya* food on a jackfruit leaf is kept order cover on the platform under a basil plant asking the dead to eat it. According to them, on most occasions the food disappears if there is any error in the ceremony the food remains untouched.

When a woman becomes a widow other widows wipe her sindur with the help of fingers or toes of her dead husband. The same rituals are followed in case of unnatural death. In many cases, the rules are bent. But these rituals are undoubtly influenced by Hinduism.

It is interesting that, in case of normal death, villegers burries the dead body in the graveyard. But in case of unusual death the dead body is not allow for burry rather, it is burn said—Chittaya Ranjan Rajwar of Ujirpur Village.

The wife can never apply fire, as she never accompanies the funeral, circumstanced as they are. The Rajwar of Barind have been reduced to the position of landless labourers and it shadow is haunting their changing traditional rituals, like birth rites or *janam chatir*, as also marriage and death rites. These rites are changing. Though many of the rituals are being followed according to their traditional pattern with some changes .

According to our informants in Briand, all these variations are taking place due to their penury, in as much as their economic situation is gradually changing and so the traditional rituals have to be changed and short shifted, in Barind, we have observed that most of the Rajwar are not in a condition to invest their money and time to show off their respect for the traditional rituals of their life cycle in the four 'rites de passage. These rites are changing according to their socio-economic condition.

Marriage ceremony is, however, performed according to the economic condition of the father of bride and bridegroom and brideprice in cash is finalized accordingly. Generally, a very simple ceremony takes place in this connection. And finally, the death rites have also changed a lot. In Barind, according to our field survey, most of the Rajwar bury their dead bodies in the graveyard, instead of cremating them, because of their economic difficulties. Some may think that it is due to the influence of the prevailing Hindu and Muslim culture. But our observation holds it that the cause is definitely economic and the fire wood becoming scarcer and scarcer due to the withering away of the surrounding jungles in this area. Therefore, even if they could lay their hand on some money, they cannot possibly buy firewood for cremation of the dead body. Rite de passage' according to their traditional pattern, though a slight deviation into the Hinduism.

CHAPTER- VII: RELIGIOUS LIFE

Religion is mandatory and unavoidable subject to human life. The way of life of different nations are built up on the basis of religious activities, beliefs and rituals. Though living in the same territory people led different life styles due to different religious beliefs and rites. Rajwar Hindus and Muslims are living side by side for a long time. Though there occurs Hindu admixers but they do not take fully Hinduism. Their ancient deities like 'karam or dal' deities for the welfare of village, animalism to show respect to a big tree till today are not left by them/ These are regarded as a sign of the aboriginal character. The religion they practice is not free from aboriginal rites.

Festival Circle

The Rajwar have a number of religious, semi religious, agricultural, social and seasonal festivals. It seems as if the heart of indigenous throbs in unison with the advent of these indigenous events, for it is here that they plunge into their primitive herd life to worship the indigenous deities to sing in the advent of the agricultural seasons, to make merry over a bumper crop and to ward off by magical practice the pests that hinder the sweet and event flow of their common life. In this case they do not distinguish much between the Hindu and the indigenous festivals of Bangladesh. In another way, we can say that it is the result of long period of interaction and flexibility of the Hindu religion that many more traits of pristine tribal culture have crept into the matrix of the Rajwar festivals tribal culture have crept into the matrix of the Rajwar festivals.

One is accustomed to see the Rajwar rallies during the worship of Hindu goddess 'Durga', Kali and 'Monosa' and have a version of these festivals of their own. Here a brief picture has been given about the Rajwar typical festivals that have been observed during the fieldwork at Barind. The annual calendar of the Rajwar replete with some important aspects of festivals performed by the Rajwar in Barind. Table (7.01) reflects details of such festivals.

Table 7:1
Deities and festival of Rajwar

Festival	Month of celebration	Purpose
1) Labon Parab or labon festival	1 st day of Agraheyan	Harvest festival
2) Poushna Parab	Poush	Harvest Festival
3) Jatra/Rath Puja/suvo khan puja	Asarh	To have good crop
4) Dal puja	Vadra	For the welfare of the village
5) Goal puja	Kartic or	For the welfare of cow.
6) Sonnasi mela	Chaitra or Baishak	To get relief from various types of problems
7) Durga Puja	According to Hindu period	Religious textual
8) Kali puja	Do.	Do
9) Laxmi puja	Do.	Do
10) Monosa puja	Do.	Do
11) Narayan puja	Usually in Baishakh once a year	Marriage and related ceremony
12) Bishhori puja	Sravan	Religious Festival

source: Field data, 2012

The first four festivals are connected with different stages of cultivation and harvest. The fifth festival or Dal Puja is the main festival of Rajwar. This is for the welfare of the village. Goal Puja is for the goodness of cow. Last seven festivals are of Hindu origin. These were another some festivals of Rajwar, but now these are becoming abolished due to the changing socio-economic condition of the Rajwar and influence of Hindu culture. Now, it appears that the Rajwar festivals are in most of the cases an admixture of local Hindu festivals according to observation. There are some seasonal festivals. These are given below-

Festival	Month of celebration
Hori Puja	Baishakh
Sosthi Puja	Jaistha
Sawni Puja	Sravan
Holy	Falgun
Basnti puja or Chaitali	Chaitra

Suvokhon Puja

This is the first agricultural festival of the Rajwar. It is connected with the sowing of paddy seeds in Ashar (June) after the first monsoon shower. The Rajwar farmers who have their own land or land, before sowing paddy they offer a deity for good starting that is called "suvokhan" or starting ceremony. They arrange a deity that is 'Rath Puja' and make wish that this year they may get a bumper crop by the virtue of blessing good. Let the wind bring rains let rains shower in profusion, as they can harvest good crops.

Thereafter, at afternoon when the labourers come back after their work then they sit for feasts. As the Rajwar are poor, they try their best according to their ability by cooking rice, meat, Luchi, fish, sweets etc. After having meal, all of the laboureres go to their homes.

Labon parab

On the first day of the month of Agrahayan all members of the house eat a dish made of a mixture of rice powder, milk, banana and sweets. They also eat puffed rice, puffed rice and yoghurt. There after they listen to the reading of geeta or *kirtan* singing. At night nine different vegetable curries new rice and a sweet dish made of new rice are served to the relatives and neighbors. Haria or drinks are also served. It's another name is "Nobanno Puja".

Poushna Parab

The festival is celebrated at the close of the month of poush. Varieties of cakes are made of new rice and served to the relatives and neighbors. On this occasion the walls and courtyard of the house are painted with rice paste. It is a harvest related festival.

Dal Puja

Dal puja is very special for the Rajwar. They offer this deity for the welfare of the village. They believe that if they do not arrange this deity that will bring unavoidable problems for all of them. So, every year they must do it.

On the 11th day of the lunar fortnight of the vadra month .The virgin or unmarried Rajwar ladies prepare a basket of offerings at deity with various types of corn seeds like paddy, wheat, barley, masha seeds, pulse, sesame (til) etc. At least 7 types of seeds and 2/3 kg sand are mixed with that seeds. Then the basket is covered with banana leaves and put it on a platform for 7 days. After 7 days there grows new seedlings. During these 7 days, the virgin ladies every day in the morning. After bath and in the evening that is two times of the day water the seeds of the basket. In the mean times, they settle down a twig (branch) of "Karam" tree on the yard and complete the deity. Then they float the basket away the Atrai River beside the village. All the villagers celebrate this festival. At night they eat good foods and drinks. Both male and female take drinks or 'haria' or 'chuan' and jointly make dance and sing. They sing "Karam Sangit" They also call it Jhumur Sangit. Its another name is *karam puja*.

Karam Sangit

Ajre Koromdar ghore duare
kalre koromdar kas nodir parae
Tal gases sheeguler basare
ke bandhil motichur knopara
AAjra koromdar ghore durare
Kalre koromdar kas nodir para.

Free translation

Today this basket is turn about door
Tomorrow will float in the Kas River
The nest of weaver bird is hanging in the palm tree
who make a chignon?
Today this basket is turn about door to door.
Tomorrow will float in the Kas River.

Whole night they drink dance and sing. In the morning they nod with sleep.

Goal Puja

This is the worship of cows in the cow sheds. This is locally named as goal puja. This is celebrated along with the Hindu festival associate with the worship of goddess kali. After the day of kali puja this worship is occure for the goodness of cows in the month of “*Kartik*”. Now this tradition is reducing alarmingly because of their socio-economic chainging condition. In the previous days, the families having cows make the arrangement of this warship in the cowshed.

At first the cattle are make bath and then anointed with oil and doused with vermilion. They sing special songs round the cattle. After that a cock is sacrificed into the cow shed. Then their complete the deity with sunned rice, flowers, cake, grass, vermilion, incense sticks, incense vapor etc. During goal puja the household head invites some people near about (8 to 10). Now the sacrificed cock is cooked and these invited people are entertained with the cooked meat, rice, cake and sweets. Thus the worship become complete and they break their fast.

Sonnasi mela

Saint fare, locally this is called "sonnasi mela" This festival is arranged in the last day of Chaitra and the first day of Baisakh. Main purpose of this festival is to get relief from various crisis or acute danger. For this they offer a deity to the old 'siva' to fulfill vow and 'Narayan Puja', 'Horir lut' are also offered in this festival.

Bishhari Puja

This is performed on the last day of the month of sravan. They establish a stage of mud and on that set up a earthen pot containing the image of snake. The members of the households offer deity with milk, banana, vermilion etc. All of the households have to fast until the worship is over.

Durga puja

This is religious festival. This festival conies from Hindu religion. By the influence of Hinduism, they celebrate' this worship. On its ninth day, a goat is sacrificed and after that the inmates of the house is break their fast. There is a Durga temple or Durga mondir in Rajwar Para. But there is no temple in kamar Para. During Durga puja the

Rajwar of Kamar Para joint with the Rajwar Para. In this festival they get festival allowance from government. This allowance is equal to any others groups. In 2011 they get $16 \times 40 = 640$ kg rice for their temple or mondop from government of Bangladesh. 12/13 years ago the Rajwar celebrated their Durga puja combind with Mahishwa (Hindu caste). Rajwar think them higher caste hindu and as they are shedule caste the.

Mahishaws do not allow them to touch the dais and offering food. This attitude of higher caste Hindu makes the Rajwar unhappy and then they jointly take decision to establish a temple in their own village. Thus, near about 8/9 years ago the Rajwar establish the Durga temple in Rajwar Para.

Now they arrange the Durga Puja by their own ability. For this deity, every household of the village contribute to the festival and government also help them. During Durga puja village fair is also set up for 3 days.

Kali Puja

Kalipuja is also influence by Hindu religion. On the month of Falgun-Chaitra they celebrate this worship by sacrificing goat. The temple of *kali* is also set up by the Rajwar in Rajwar Para (Ujirpara). On this day every house hold sacrtifice a chicken.

Narayan Puja/ Narayan Deity

This is performed at every house at least once a year, usually in the month of Baishakh. This deity is also performed at wedding at the house of either the groom or the bride. At the bride's house this is done on the eve of her departure to her husband's house. At the grooms house this is done in the Puja pandal stage of deity before the wedding. A Brahmin is needed in this deity. In during Narayan deity, the head of the household that means who patronize the deity he has to fast.

CHAPTER- VIII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The main aim of this research work is to understand the exclusion in terms of socially and economically, in particular and discrimination against, for their identity, captive situation, and various other regions, come from among both religious and ethnic minority and the majority community. It is an attempt to explore the status of Rajwar in Barind region by analyzing the various human development and other correlated indicators. This study analyses various aspects and issues related to deprivation, marginalization and exclusion of Rajwar so as to acquire insights to a comprehensive understanding of the processes and the dynamics that excluded and the causative of the relative peripheral position of the Rajwar community in Barind. It engages with various dimensions such as demography, gender, occupational patterns, ownership of agricultural land, employment under reservation in the public sector, unemployment, poverty, literacy and education, health status and access to health care facilities, access to civil rights as a citizen of the country.

Chapter-I, began by laying out the problems, research objectives, literature review, methodology, importance and limitations of the study. These chapters also discuss the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. It, addresses the problem of the development of found the Rajwar in Barind region. It described the concepts relate to discrimination and exploitation that lead to the Rajwar' exclusion and marginalisation.). As a consequence, indigenous people continue to be the most impoverished sector among the poor (Uquillas and Rivera 1993). Their plight is characterised by poor health, disease, hunger, malnourishment, illiteracy, restricted access to resources, poor housing, unemployment, and lack of access to basic services such as water, safe toilet, electricity and so forth. (Psacharoulas and Patrions 1994: Durston 1993). The multi-ethnic situation for Barind region of Bangladesh establishes the conditions for the indigenous people to confront the overwhelming majority of Bengali people, who have a very different social and religious orientation. The Rajwar are socially isolated from the wider society and have little access to the mainstream socio-cultural, economic and political spheres of the country. Concepts like social

exclusion, deprivation, multiple marginalizations. Are the main concern of this paper is that we can appreciate the idea of social exclusion by placing it in the broader context of our relatively old problem of inequality. Forms of inequality in Bangladesh are manifested in terms of economic inequality, lack of opportunity and power, and inequality of choice and status. In Barind region, ethnic identities are ranked hierarchically and this conditions minority ethnic groups to impoverishment and lack of freedom.

However, it described about the condition of ethnic communities found in Bangladesh. It says Ethno-linguistically, Bangladesh has a diverse population. The Bengalis are in the majority, while the country has a large number of other ethnic communities with distinct languages, religions, cultures and identities. According to the Population Census Report of Bangladesh (BBS, 2011), the total population of Bangladesh is about 160 million, distributed by religion as Hindu and Muslim (89.52 per cent), Hindu (9.58 per cent), Buddhist (0.46 per cent), Christian (0.27 per cent) and others (0.14 per cent). About 98 per cent of the people of Bangladesh speak Bengali (BBS, 2011).

The number of ethnic communities in 1991 has remained the same in the 2001 Census and the 2011 Census Reports. The Reports analyzing the Census data for 2001 and 2011 have not provided accurate demographics on the ethnic communities, although two decades have passed. Ethnic communities have not been properly presented in the Population Census Reports because of the frequent political changes and attitudes of the Bangladeshi Government (BBS, 2001 and 2011).

On the other hand, The Research and Development Collective (RDC) - an organization for the development of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh- claims there are 75 indigenous ethnic communities (RDC, 2010: 10). These accounts do not provide any substantive statistics regarding the ethnic communities of Bangladesh. For this reason, scholars and development practitioners still have to depend on the population Census Reports of Bangladesh of many statistical information about the size and population of the ethnic communities.

This chapter provides a short cultural profile of the Rajwar with their origin, language, racial type, cause of migration and the settlement in the Barind region of Bangladesh.

Chapter-I also shed light on the relation between social justice and development. It says social justice is closely interlinked with community development or to derive positive social changes. Social justice is a core value for community work and is centered on promoting human rights for everyone in society. The conception of Social justice used and focus upon the collective broader rights for groups such as income, employment, education, healthcare, identity race clan, gender, poverty, discrimination etc. Other issues such as unemployment lack of communication support, political control. Except social justice people are unable to secure livelihoods, lose their income and can fall deeper into poverty and despair. If we fail to establish social justice in every sector of development then it is not possible to step forward and achieve equality without discrimination.

Chapter-II deals with brief description of nomenclature of Rajwar, agencies of their changes in case of social organizations, racial type, language and linguistic family, dialects, songs etc. That is this chapter described the cultural profile of the Rajwar.

The Rajwar are a pretty numerous tribe, most of whom are settled in Nawade but some are scattered throughout these districts and I have no doubt are of the same tribe with the Rachewars or Rajawars, mentioned in my account of Mysore (Vol.3.P-435). Although in that country they pretended to be of the kshatriya tribe and have adopted the rules of Hindu purity, here they very reverse in the case, they can't eat beef and everything that shocks Hindu decorum. Color Dalton states," the Rajwar appear to connect the selves with the Bhuiyas; but this is only in Bihar. The Rajwar in Sarguja and the adjoining states are peaceably disposed cultivations, who declare themselves to be fallen kshatriyas, they do not however, conform to Hindu. Customs and they are skilled in a dance called *Chailo*, which is of Dravidian origin. The Rajwar of Bengal admits that they are the descendants of mixed unions between kurmis and kols. They are looked upon as very impure by the Hindus, who will not take water from their hands.

The Rajwar are popular for their rigid and rebellious nature and due to their rebellious characteristics, they were immensely found to be involved in the incidents of dacoits and loot during the early 19th century in the areas of southern Bihar, Even today, their image among the upper east of the region is that of rebellious and unlawful and the term Rajwar is used as synonyms for those persons, who have rigid and rebellious nature among both upper and lower castes. In Bangladesh they (Rajwar) are cultivating caste working in other landowner's farms. They work as agricultural labors. In Bangladesh, Rajwar are represented as socially and culturally distinct from the wider Bengali society although they are entangled with the people of the wider Bengali society and also with other ethnic minorities. Some scholars state that the Rajwar migrated from different parts of India and settled in Barind during the period of the British Colonial Government (1765-1947). In the past, agriculture was the main economic activity of the Rajwar. They along with other ethnic minorities settled in the region as forest dwellers during the British period. Many of them were also engaged in menial work at the railway stations and as workers on tea estates in the region. They were also engaged in clearing the jungles in the region, and practising agriculture. They cultivated the land as the tenants of local *zamindars* (tax collectors/intermediaries) of the then British India Government (Gaynprakash,1990). Over time, socio-political factors have changed their economic situation. The partition of Bengal in 1947 caused remarkable changes in the economic life of the Rajwar due to communal rivalry among peoples. The abolition of the *zmiindary* (land taxation) system in 1951 deprived many Rajwar and other ethnic minorities of tenure rights to the land that they had under contracts with the local *zamindan*,.However, the loss of these tenancy contracts did not have much effect on their livelihood as they still had access to sharecropping arrangements (Bleie, 1987: 29). Some Rajwar also had their own land. They managed their livelihood by depending on agricultural products and remained self-sufficient by cultivating their own land or by engaging as sharecroppers. Bleie (1987) states that pauperisation and economic differentiation took place in the society toward the end of the 1950s when land owners expanded the labour market in the region, fixing the daily labour to the price of one kilogram of rice (the staple crop). This wage fixation meant that if an agricultural labourer worked in the field of a landed peasant, the labourer's daily wage would be calculated according to the price of one kilogram of rice (Bleie, 1987: 29). . At present, almost all Rajwar are landless. Thus, they are unable to grow their own food, but instead have to earn

wages selling their physical labour to rich Bengali peasants in order to purchase their food. The Rajwar are, thus, dependent on the wider Bengali Hindu and Muslim society for their subsistence.

Besides this due to other issues like admixture of Hinduism, influence of modernization and wider society played a vital role behind the changing process of Rajwar' social organizations.

The Rajwar live side by side with the general population though the Rajwar hamlets are separately clustered, they cannot be said to be isolated from the rest of the world. So the orthodox Rajwar society has been changing pattern of social environment of the wider society, like Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and organization on the life style. Identity, food culture rituals, succession poem of etc of this people. Islam has practically no remarkable effect on them. Children introduced them with modern knowledge. These Christian missionaries education. The Rajwar children and introduced them with modern knowledge. These Christian missionaries helped them in many ways. During independent was in 1971 some Rajwar family of Barind took shelter at Christian missionaries. Beside these, some Ethnic people like Rajwar, Rajwar etc women work in their missionaries handicraft work shop. Book, pen and other education related instruments are given by missionaries time to time to the school going children. So the indirect result of the education activities can easily be seen from the changed effect among the Rajwar. But this is not so influential like Rajwar. Rajwar of Barind determine that they will not give up their religion at any cost but their awakened is very much influence by these missionaries.

The influence of the Hindus living nearby saturates their idioms of thought and phrases of expression. In their rural settlement one can find the Rajwar joining to worship of the Hindu gods and goddesses like Durga, Kali, Mahadeva or Shiva and just as the Hindus. They salute these deities. The entire tribe dance and amuse themselves during these ceremonies. In case of marriage the influence of Hindu culture falls a very strong impact on Rajwar original marriage system. According to the Rajwar of Ujirpur village. Now marriage we cannot imagine without dowry.

Dowry is not originate from their own culture their own culture permitted bride price. But now dowry is compulsory by the influence of Hindu. Succession process or system is also influences by Hinduism. Previously Rajwar had communal right on assets. They use their land or forest area communally. But day by day the situation was. Changed and now there develop private property owner system. In case of ownership of land, the system allows only male member. That is also impact of the influence of Hinduism.

The evidence from study area suggests that occupational segregation and lack of human capital attainment has direct implications for local labour market conditions. The Rajwar of the study locale do not have specialised skills and productive characteristics besides their traditional agricultural knowledge. They have been deprived of their traditional possession of land, they are forced to sell their labour in the production sector controlled by the Bengali majority— then, as the supply of labour in these sectors increases, wages fall.

About Rajwar racial type .H.R Risely states in the ethnographic glossary of his book. “The Tribe and castes of Bengal” published in 1891, Rajwar as Dravidian. Colonel Dalton states, “the Rajwar appear based on the accounts of sir li by pandit G.L. Palhak, superintend-Risely and Colonel Dalton declared themselves to be fallen *kshatriyas* but they do not conform to hindu customs and are skilled in chailo dance which is of Dravidian origin. On the other hand the Rajwar of Bengal admit that they are the descendants of mixed unions between kurmis and kols.

In Bangladesh, *Sadri* is Rajwar’s mother tongue. Besides this Bengli is also their primary language. *Sadri*, is a branch of the Prakrit language and is regarded as a sister language of Oriya, Bengali and Mainhilli. It belongs to the family of Indo European, Indo Iranian, Indo Aryan, Eastern gourp, Bihar, and Sadri. This Language follows Devnagri writing system, Speakers of Sadri also use Hindi, Oriya and Bengali.

Chapter-III describe the historical background of Barind tract, a introduction of Naogaon district, location of study area, demographic features, process of government, non-government and missionaries’ help.

The settings has been discussed in this chapter. The Barind tract is locally known as Barindra bhumi overlaps Bangladesh 70% and India 30%. Barind Tract largest Pleistocene physiographic unit of the Bengal basin, covering an area of about 7,770 sq km. It has long been recognized as a unit of old alluvium, which differs from the surrounding floodplains. In Bangla, it is spelled and pronounced as Varendra Bhumi. Geographically this unit lies roughly between latitudes 24'20'N and 25'35'N and longitudes 88'20'E and 89'30'E .In Bangladesh the tract covers 2.1 million acres of land, spread over five old districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna district of old Rajshahi Division.(Ali.Ahsan,1998).Rapid population growth along with modifications of the landforms of the Barind Tract has been degrading the biophysical environment of this region. The climatic condition in this region has changed. There is very little rainfall and the weather remains hot by the daytime but becomes cooler by late night. Since rainwater is the main source of groundwater recharge in this area, the climatic change that disfavours abundant precipitation has adversely affected the groundwater recharge system. The withdrawal of more groundwater than its recharge causes the successive lowering of the groundwater table of the Barind region. This phenomena have eventually been greatly affecting the environmental parameters and if it persists the environment of the Barind Tract will become rather unfavourable for habitation in the near future. Besides lowering of the water table another noticeable change is the decrease in forest area. According to some reports from the British colonial times about 42% area of this Tract was covered by forests in early 19th century. Statistical reports of the land survey since 1849 showed that forests covered about 55% of the Barind lands. But by 1974, about 70% land of the region had been changed into cultivable land. The Barind almost became an arid region due to massive deforestation.

Patnitala Thana has 11 unions or words. 297 mouzas and 292 villages. Among these unions Najipur is one of them. It is a matter of great regret that we did not find the name of Rajwar as ethnic group in the list of indigenous people of Noagaon in governments' Website .But we found these two villages at Naogaon district where the Rajwar lives. The Rajwar lives in 3 para under these two villages. Ujirpur village belongs two paras. Between these two one is situated at the last phase of the villages beside the river named Rajwarpara. Middle of the village is called moddho para and

29 Rajwar households' lives there. Another para situated in Fohimpur village. Its name is kamar para or karmokar para.

A systematic development programme is being run by the Christian missionaries from many years and recently government and Non government Organizations are also working to uplift the life of the poor Rajwar of Barind.

Chapter-IV sheds the light on the economic life of the Rajwar. An attempt has been made in this chapter to give an account of the economy of the Rajwar of Barind on the basis of data collected from the study area. The data presented here will reveal the general patterns and trends of their economic life.

Economics may briefly be described as the study of the broad aspects of human activities concerning the utilization of resources and the organization whereby they are brought into relation with human wants. It has sometimes been said that the simple societies have no economic organization worth the name but the study of any society, however simple, will show that the resources of a people are in a systematic way regarded as the means to an end. And this economic organization is fundamental to their life, their system of government, their technology and their other institutions. The Ramjournals of Barind prefer to engage themselves as agricultural day labourers because of illiteracy they are not able to involve themselves with jobs. But now this picture is changing. Because the new generation is becoming educated. They are getting interested about jobs. But there is a problem that the Rajwar thought they are scheduled caste and the higher caste (Hindu) and wider Hindu and Muslim society do not feel good to give them honorable jobs. They thought that higher caste niggled them and feel comfortable to keep them away. So they are suffering one kind of inferior complex and created a sense of isolation from wider society. But an exception example is also found.

This chapter briefly describes about their occupation, land holding, earnings, expenditure, return from field, process and causes of debt, ownership of land, wage, daily routine, economic exclusion, poverty and financial discrimination etc.

Consequence of Land losses and Social Exclusion is described in this chapter. During British rule (1765-1947). The Rajwar were exploited by these British intermediaries,

who collected taxes or revenues, compelling them to pay tribute to the, then, government of India (the British East India Company). From Chotanagpur, the Rajwar were taken by the British India Government, as part of their administrative policies, to be resettled in the then East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) and other parts of the country. This Rajwar resettlement in Barind is understood as forced migration because of the British India Government's capitalist expansion, which has contributed to the changing economic situation of Rajwar. The Rajwar were self-sufficient, in relation to their livelihood and economy, after settlement in the former East Bengal (Barind/Bangladesh) region of British India (1765-1947). As Bleie (2005) describes, when the ethnic communities including the Rajwar, Rajwar, Mundas, and others settled in north-western Bangladesh (Barind), the region was full of forests and jungles. This forested region contained sufficient resources to provide for the livelihoods and economies of these ethnic communities, who practised hunting and gathering as a supplement to agriculture as their main subsistence. However, the age-old experience of settling in jungle environments and the skills of ethnic communities conflicted with the jungle clearing and agricultural practices of the Bengalis in Barind.

The British India colonisers, observing these skills of the ethnic communities, used them ruthlessly in large-scale commercial expansion, which affected the livelihoods of these communities. The ethnic communities were appointed to cut timber for railway construction and to convert forests into agricultural land. As a result, the forests and jungles disappeared and there was a shift from a mixed forest-farm economy to a rice-farming production system, which Rajwar had to practise along with Bengalis. These changes have affected the ecological balance in Barind and the livelihoods and economies of the ethnic communities (Bleie, 2005: 249).

The Rajwar lived in the dense forest of the country. The British colonisers along with their local intermediaries, the *zamindars*, motivated the Rajwar to clear jungle forests to practise agriculture. The British declared that if the Rajwar cleared the dense forest and practised agriculture, the government would offer them the ownership of those lands free of taxes and for revenues. But the British failed to adhere to their promise and the Rajwar did not get land ownership rights. The Rajwar, however, remained the

tenants of local *zamindars*. Nevertheless, they were relatively self-sufficient as tenants or sharecroppers having a direct relationship to local *zamindars*.

Another form of economic inequalities is describe in this Chapter that is the financial discrimination behind their extreme poverty. Remaining outside of government monetary regulations, moneylenders, traders, pawnbrokers, friends and family members are important sources of finance in rural Bangladesh, to the extent that they are playing a decisive role in determining the fate of the indigenous people. This involves a level of exploitation through complex contractual obligations inherent in money-lending. The indigenous people, being in a vulnerable position, have traditionally, received financial services exclusively from the informal networks of moneylenders (mostly Bengali people). Mortgaging land against loans (cash or kind) with high interest almost invariably ends up in land dispossession of indigenous people. Loan repayment along with high cumulative interest becomes nearly impossible for the indigenous households, and additionally, these people are highly susceptible to secondary exploitation of their illiteracy -all of which leads to further impoverishment.

The effective functioning of financial intermediaries should play a strategic role in capital formation that will in time be beneficial for income generation and contribute to poverty alleviation. This paper argues, however, that even if all the general conditions remain favourable the socially constructed barriers of exclusion will significantly prevent the Rajwar people using flow of scarce financial resources for investments of higher returns.

Chapter-V deals with the Rajwar' Socio-political life. It also describes the process of social exclusion and the transformation of their traditional social and political organizations. Social organization is based on sediment experiences the ancestors and own lived experiences .Social organization is the network of relations existing among individuals and groups in a society. In it mutual relations, obligation ,dements of ideal behaviors, anticipated behavior are all included. The Rajwar is a group have their identity and in language and physical features they differ from one another however. The social organization of the Rajwar is considered as a functional aspect of the units of which association.

The villages under study, several clans are found that are named according to the 'totem'. Clan and totem Relationship is described in this chapter. There are twelve clans among Rajwar. These are Nag, Karhor, Sankh, Agnis, Dumbor, chil, Duar or kacchap, Kashap, Murgish, Kathal, Singh, Modhu gollok. Clan and totem are very important fact for them because these reflect their social identity, regulates and conditions their social life and action pattern in various ways.

Besides clan distribution, we can see a picture of Rajwar family pattern, kinship, terminologies, traditional political organization, judicial system etc. This chapter describes the causes of changes among their traditional social organizations and state discriminations that lead them culturally excluded also. Gender discrimination towards Rajwar women, lack of access to Social security activities, inequalities in case of access to government political institutions, formation of identity are briefly described here.

They are discriminated at national and local levels and are seen as a 'backward section' of the population, due to their traditional beliefs, and customs. They have not been recognized by the state as 'indigenous people' of the country. They are treated as minorities among the majority in Bangladesh. Article 14 of the Bangladesh Constitution does not say anything about them and has not classified them as citizens of Bangladesh on any ground; "Rather it declared that all the citizens of Bangladesh are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. It is over conviction that the State deprive of any group of people inhabited in this land their social status and legacy of historical development," (Rahman, 2000). The Rajwar people are deprived in all grounds of their traditional life. Socially, they are discriminated against and ignored by the by the mainstream people. The political circumstances affecting the Rajwar merge from the combined treatment of the State and the Bengali people.

The major problem that Rajwar women face is the denial of their customary land rights. Furthermore, the Rajwar women however, have the added burden of discrimination due to their gender. The poor land scarcity of the indigenous communities as a whole is even worse for indigenous women, as they have fewer rights to land than indigenous men under customary right system.

Despite their socio-economic and political marginalization, Rajwar women play a primary role in production, especially in the subsistence-oriented agricultural communities. The impact of globalisation on indigenous women is far reaching. Physical displacement from their ancestral territories and production base has led to economic and cultural dislocation. Many policies on women are aimed at the atypical cases of discrimination faced by ethnic Bengali women in the plains regions. Since the social, cultural and economic context are so different, many of these laws and policies are not appropriate for preventing discrimination against indigenous women. The inadequacies of these policies are however seldom recognised in the national discourses on women's rights, which are dominated by concerns for Bengali-speaking Hindu and Muslim women more than that of minority groups (Farhana 2001). To conclude this section, Bangladeshi women, whether rural or urban, traditional or modern, from the majority community or minorities, live in a social system that sanctifies subordination and the continuance of the inferior status of women. The above-depicted situation of women highlights the need for a development strategy that effectively integrates women into the development process by recognizing their political, social and economic needs.

The Rajwar faces political discrimination to select the union parishad representative from their own community because of lack of man power and poverty. They are less in number compare to majority Bengali people and this majority do not vote them. Last year Monoranjon Rajwar were nominated for election from Rajwar para but he failed. According to him it is not possible to elect without money. We are poor day labour. Wealthy people will elect. According to Konika Rajwar of 22 years old,.....last year during election we supported Mukti kormokar as our women word commissioner but due to corruption Bany (muslim) was elected. They think they are excluded and deprived.

Identity is not only inherited but reproduced and contested in relation to socio-economic conditions. This understanding of identity also helps guide my discussion on Rajwar identity formation. In this regard, I describe the socio-cultural practices through which Rajwar represent their identity in this chapter.

As the Rajwar have stopped practising many aspects of their socio-cultural life, partly as a result of their economic situation and their religious conversion, I discuss only those common socio-cultural practices that they continue to practise today. The Rajwar' common socio-cultural practices inform their primordial attachments and their identity in a changing socio-economic context. Thus, I also provide a short description of the socio-economic context of Rajwar identity formation addressing the specific issues that Rajwar face/experience in their relationships with the local wider Bengali Hindu and Muslim society.

Chapter-VI described the life cycle of the Rajwar. Different stages of their life from birth to death and related ceremonies and taboos are described here. Rituals related to puberty was not found the study area. According to this chapter, the life cycle is the full circle of events when an individual has to face variety of unknown situations which may create some anxiety, stress and strain. These situations are to be tackled by the individual through some rituals, rites and ceremonies in order to integrate himself in the society. The important milestones in the life cycle of a man are birth, puberty, marriage and death. The Rajwar also consider these as the turning points of great consequence in their lives, which should be properly gone through. There are various ceremonies associated with these different phases of a Rajwar life like at the time of pregnancy, birth, puberty, marriage and death through these various kinds of rituals an individual can overcome social stress and tension and stabilise him/her self with his/her surroundings.

Circumstanced as they are, the Rajwar of Barind have been reduced to the position of landless labourers and its shadow is haunting their changing traditional rituals, like birth rites or *janam chatir*, as also marriage and death rites. These rites are changing. Though many of the rituals are being followed according to their tradition pattern with some minor and, at times, major variations, changes are apparent.

In Barind, all these variations are taking place due to their penury, inasmuch as their economic situation is gradually giving away and so the traditional rituals have to be changed and short shifted, in Barind, we have observed that most of the Rajwar are not in a condition to invest their money and time to show off their respect for the

traditional rituals of their life cycle in the four 'rites de passage. These rites are changing according to their socio-economic condition.

Marriage ceremony is, however, performed according to the economic condition of the father of bride and bridegroom and brideprice in cash is finalized accordingly. Generally, a very simple ceremony takes place in this connection. And finally, the death rites have also changed a lot. In Barind, according to our field survey, most of the Rajwar bury their dead bodies in the graveyard, instead of cremating them, because of their economic difficulties. Some may think that it is due to the influence of the prevailing Hindu and Muslim culture. But our observation holds it that the cause is definitely economic and the fire wood becoming scarcer and scarcer due to the withering away of the surrounding jungles in this area. Therefore, even if they could lay their hand on some money, they cannot possibly buy firewood for cremation of the dead body. Rite de passage' according to their traditional pattern, though a slight deviation into the Hinduism.

Chapter-VII focuses the Rajwar' religious life including different deities, rituals and festivals. Religion is mandatory and unavailable subject to human life. The way of life of different nations are build up on the basis of religious activities beliefs and rituals. Though living in the same territory people led different life style due to different religious believers and rites. Rajwar, Hindus, and Muslim s are living side by side of a long time .Thought there occur Hindu admixer but they do not take fully Hinduism. Their ancient deities like '*karam or dal*' deities for the welfare of village, animalism to show respect to a big tree till today are not leave by them/ These regarded as a sign of the aboriginal character. The religion they practice is not free from aboriginal rites.

The Rajwar have a number of religious, semi religious, agricultural, social and seasonal festivals. It seems as if the heart of indigenou throbs in unison with the advent of these indigenou events, for it is here that they plunge into their primitive herd life to worship the indigenou deities to sing in the advent of the agricultural seasons, to make merry over a bumper crop and to ward off by over a bumper crop and to ward off by magical practice the pests that hinder the sweet and event flow of their common life. In this case they do not distinguish much between the Hindu and

the indigenous festivals of Bangladesh. In another way, we can say that it is the result of long period of interaction and flexibility of the Hindu religion that many more traits of pristine tribal culture have crept into the matrix of the Rajwar festivals. One is accustomed to see the Rajwar rallies during the worship of Hindu goddess 'Durga', Kali and 'Monosa' and have a version of these festivals of their own. Here a brief picture has been given about the Rajwar typical festivals that have been observed during the fieldwork at Barind. The annual calendar of the Rajwar is replete with some important aspects of festivals performed by the Rajwar in Barind.

Before the admixture of Hinduism, they believe in animism. They worship nature. For example, *Karam* is the greatest festival to them. According to the traditional belief, once the community was attacked by the enemy, then they fled to the deep forest and took refuge under the *karam* tree. As the tree saved them from their enemies, they worship the tree.

Conclusion

This research work addresses the problems of the development of the Rajwar found in Barind region. It identifies some practices to counteract the processes of discrimination and exploitation that lead to their exclusion and marginalisation. This problem will be looked at in terms of the cultural contrasts that are employed to organise and form identity, social stigma, exclusion and interaction (Barth 1994). Evidence from Study Area suggests that the clustering and hierarchic arrangement of ethnic identities construct social barriers that prevent indigenous people like Rajwar connecting with the wider social networks. This research work emphasise the significance of socio cultural factors in advising necessary and appropriate strategies to bring about more inclusive social outcomes for peoples (Aguirre Beltran 1973; Albo 1996). As a consequence, indigenous people continue to be the most impoverished sector among the poor (Uquillas and Rivera 1993). Their plight is characterised by poor health, disease, hunger, malnourishment, and illiteracy, restricted access to resources, poor housing, unemployment, and lack of access to basic services such as water, safe latrine, electricity and so forth.

People are excluded not just because they are currently without a job or income, but because they have little prospect for the future even though they have the same productive endowments as those who excluded them. The main concern of this research is that we can appreciate the idea of social exclusion by placing it in the broader context of our relatively old problem of inequality. Forms of inequality in Bangladesh are manifested in terms of economic inequality, lack of opportunity and power, and inequality of choice and status. In Barind region, ethnic identities are ranked hierarchically and this conditions minority ethnic groups to impoverishment and lack of freedom.

The Barind Tract of Northwest Bangladesh, an area covering over two million acres characterised by high elevation and poor vegetation, is the home of the ethnic per use. The main limitation for human adaptation here is water; the region has the lowest average annual rainfall in Bangladesh and few irrigation opportunities (Rashid 1991:13). In addition, deforestation has resulted in serious ecological damage, further limiting land use options.

There is also a strong correlation between Rajwar identity and lack of access to schooling. Lower schooling levels lead to lower retention rates, lower earnings, and ultimately higher level of poverty. Schooling and education can provide flexibility in making choices and devising strategies to enter the occupational sector. The positive relationship between education and earnings is consistent with the human capital approach, in that schooling contributes to individual productivity, which in turn leads to higher individual earnings. The earning advantage of the more educated relative to the less educated is important as the earning advantage of the less educated declines as the minimum qualifications for given jobs rise over time (Schultz 1961; Mincer 1974; Becker 1975). To overcome these institutional constraints, affirmative action programs and sanctions against discriminatory behaviour are required to enable Rajwar to enter the education system on the same footing as the majority of the community.

The evidence from Barind of Bangladesh suggests that occupational segregation and lack of human capital attainment has direct implications for local labour market conditions. The Rajwar of the study locale do not have specialised skills and productive characteristics besides their traditional agricultural knowledge. But because they have been deprived of their traditional possession of land, they are forced to sell their labour in the production sector controlled by the Bengali majority— then, as the supply of labour in these sectors increases, wages fall. Compounding the problem, mechanisation has diminished the demand for manual labour to mainly seasonal requirements—land preparation, planting, and harvesting. Eventually, the overcrowding of the Rajwar labourers forces them to migrate for temporary seasonal employment over a region of 100 kilometres from their home villages.

Social values concerning leisure, entertainment and alcohol consumption significantly affect the Rajwar labourers' preferences to remain active in the labour market. In economic terms, their marginal preference for labour is affected by the opportunity cost of time, particularly for social activities. The underlying assumptions of 'internal colonialism' (Hechter 1975) may be relevant concerning the hegemonic relations between the dominant Bengalis and dominated Rajwar in Northwest Bangladesh. There are two distinct linkages between these two ethnic categories. First are the

labour linkages, whereby the Rajwar are the suppliers of labourers for the production sector operated by the Bengalis. In this sector, a dual system operates in which there are conditions of bonded labour, dual occupational structures, and dual wage scales, with the relatively free and higher rewarding occupations (service and tertiary sector) being reserved for the Bengali majority. The second linkage is that Rajwar play the role of a reserve labour force, to be exploited seasonally for lower wages. Poverty, a lower standard of living, lower expectations and ignorance of labour laws condition them to adapt to such a situation. These conditions affect the functioning of labour markets in the study area and produce segmentation in the local labour market. In short, Rajwar receive lower earnings and have a higher incidence of poverty as a consequence of being 'imprisoned' in the low-productivity and low-return sector of the economy. One solutions of the problem might be to provide credit and other financial services.

Financial intermediaries and market situations The Barind Multipurpose Development Board, government institution, has operated since the 1970s to develop rural infrastructure, including roads, electrification, afforestation, large-scale irrigation, and ponds and canals to regulate the water system. This infrastructure, along with modern agricultural technologies, has introduced a wider range of options for the local producers. This in turn has led to a sharp increase in the price of land, which has dispossessed Rajwar of their traditional lands. This agricultural intensification in Barind attracted Bengalis from more densely populated places to settle in an area of low population density inhabited mainly by the Rajwar. The Rajwar and Bengalis hold drastically different concepts of land. The ethnic conceive land not as property to be exchanged in the market, but as Mother Earth (Nieuwkoop and Uquillas 2000), while the Bengalis value land solely as a commodity. In addition, it is common for the Rajwar land to be appropriated by the Bengalis both through the Bengalis' manipulation of administrative processes and ignorance of the Rajwar relationship with the land. This competition for resources between unevenly distributed populations (Bengalis as the absolute majority and ethnic as demographic minority) and populations with different value systems regarding land has several implications for the rural economy. One of these is the demand for rural financial services. Credit for Rajwar Rajwar households demand savings as well as credit, so financial institutions are needed to enable smooth and low cost transactions and allocate

resources between savers and investors. households require credit for production, consumption, and finally to meet the need for income security and insurance. For the poor Rajwar households of the study area, the credit needs for production and consumption cannot be clearly distinguished as their production and consumption preferences are intertwined. Financial services therefore need to offer savings schemes as well as credit at low cost, without collateral or restrictions on the use of funds—that is, credit that can be used for high priority consumption needs (food, health, medicine, school fees, etc.)—and the process needs to be quick and un-bureaucratic.

In Barind of Bangladesh, credit for consumption is an important component of the financial needs of Rajwar households. The Rajwar households have multiple coping strategies when their food security is at risk: they can reduce consumption, sell assets, or seek support from their relatives and friends. Typically, the Rajwar households have limited scope for this beyond reducing consumption since they do not have many assets to sell or resources to support each other. Therefore they have a large need for financial intermediaries and their services. Considering that Northwest Bangladesh has among the lowest annual rainfall averages in the country (Rashid 1991), the features of Rajwar food insecurity and the resulting need for financial services can be understood.

This brings us to the issue of risk and insurance. The sources of risk in Rajwar households are many, and the timing and intensity of risk and its impact on income are severe. The absence of formal insurance schemes direct these people to pursue a range of strategies of self-insurance. For example, they save in the form of cash, deposits, food or other assets; they diversify production structure,⁸ cropping patterns and income sources; and they build networks of social relationships and mobilise social capital. However, the selfinsurance mechanisms are inadequate in intense and extended risk situations. Ensuring potential future access to credit, not the actual borrowing, serves as an important insurance substitute. Thus, their potential access to financial services enables them to transfer part of their risk to the financial market.

Justice underpins efforts to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. Access to social justice help to give marginalized communities the tools they need to improve their tenure security which has been shown to lead to more productive investment. Similarly the ability to access and enforce regulatory framework helps to determine whether contracts and labor and environmental standards are respected in practice.

Access to justice helps translate legal guarantees of gender equality into real improvements in the daily lives of women. Access to justice have included support to women in handling domestic violence sharing in benefits, retaining control over loans taken out in their name and accessing inheritance to which they are entitled or property upon divorce.

Access to social justice can assist communities to secure rights over common land, giving them more control over their livelihoods and greater incentive to preserve their environment and identity.

The government pursues credits and financial services to the rural areas of Barind of Bangladesh through formal institutions like Krishi Bank and others that follow a supply-lending approach. This approach, injecting cheap and subsidised funds from government and other external sources into rural areas for predetermined productive purposes has a simple rationale: credit is used to enhance the productive capacity of the borrower; it will increase future income, which will allow the borrower to pay interest and repay the loan. The problem is that it fails to reach the poor people (Ahmad 1983, and see Adams 1984 for an international perspective), especially ethnic.

Remaining outside of government monetary regulations, moneylenders, traders, pawnbrokers, friends and family members are important sources of finance in Northwest Bangladesh, to the extent that they are playing a decisive role in determining the fate of the Rajwar people. This involves a level of exploitation through complex contractual obligations inherent in money-lending. The Rajwar, being in a vulnerable position, have traditionally received financial services exclusively from the informal networks of moneylenders (mostly Bengali people). Mortgaging land against loans (cash or kind) with high interest almost invariably ends

up in land dispossession for the Rajwar. Loan repayment along with high cumulative interest becomes nearly impossible for the ethnic households, and additionally, these people are highly susceptible to secondary exploitation of their illiteracy—all of which leads to further impoverishment.

We are finally beginning a long overdue discussion about developing powerful tools that must be put to use in efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination. Research unfolded significant incidences of violations of human right to freedom from any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on gender, race, ethnic origin, language religion, political or other opinion, age, or any other status, which has impaired the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Rajwar. However, this is not the conclusion of this research; rather that to take steps to develop affirmative action plan for counteraction discriminatory processes producing impoverishments.

We need to develop policies to promote equal opportunities for every to ensure that women, socially disabled people, minority ethnic communities, minority religious communities, minority occupational communities and all the citizens of the country have equal access to our government services. It is clear from indicators such as those relating to employment, education, health and crime that significant discriminatory processes exist between communities and that many of the country's residents are excluded from a reasonable quality of life. The research finding says that some of our people have less chance of benefiting from education or securing a job; their health is poorer; their life expectancy lower and they are more likely to be victims of crime and anti-social behavior than the members of some other communities. We need to develop strategies considering the theme of inclusion underlying the fact that access (or lack of) to wealth and opportunity is directly related to the degree of deprivation experienced and ensure their social justice and development.

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Appendix-1
Semi-structured questionnaire of the study
Social Justice and development of Rajwar in Barind region

Acquaintance of the study area.

Para :
 Village :
 Union :
 Thana :
 District:

Identify of the informant:

Name of the informant:

Age :
 Gender :
 Lineage clan :
 Education :
 Occupation :
 Marital status :
 Religion :
 Income :
 Expenditure :

Identify of the house –hold member:

Name of HH	Name of other member	Relation With HH	Age	Clan	Gender	Education	Occupation	Marital Status	Info me	Expenditure
	1									
	2									
	3									
	4									
	5									

Information about settlements:

1. Do you live in your own home?
2. How many houses do you have?
3. Do you have your own land?

Yes/No

If yes, then- the quantity is-

4. Do you have the water supply in your own home?

Yes / No.

If yes what kind of is it?

- Tube well
- Others
- River

5. Is there any toilet It your home?

Yes/No

If yes then:-

- Healthy
- Unhealthy

Information about land owning:

1. Do you have your own land?

Yes/No

If yes, then- How much?

6. Do you use Khas Land?

Yes/No

If yes, then – the quantity is.....

7. Do you have agricultural land?

Yes/No

If yes, then – how much?

8. Do you have any land under share- cropping?

Yes/No

If yes, then – how much?

9. Do you give any land under share- cropping?

Yes/No

If yes, then – how much?

10. Do you mortgage any land to other?

Yes/No

If yes, then – how much and why?

Description of another assets of yours family:

Name of assets	Quantity	Value
(1) Live stock		
(2) Jewelry		
(3) Crop		
(4) Furniture		
(5) Trees		
(6) Others		

Economic information:

1. What is your main occupation?
2. Do you have any secondary occupation?

Yes/No

If yes then- What?

3. Does your income fulfill your family needs?

Yes/No

If no then – what do you do?

Causes of Loan:

- Dowry
- Marriage or death ceremony.
- Health care.
- To repay loan.

Information about Loan

Occupation	Source of income	Monthly Income	Monthly expenditure	loan taken	source of loan	Duration of loan	% of loan	type of the nature of loan

Information about social condition:

4. How many lineage group or clan live in the Para?
5. For how many generation are they living here?
6. What are the main issues of their conflict?
7. How they solve their social problems?

Information about natural hazards:

How many times the dweller have to face natural hazards yearly?

- Flood
 - Drought
1. What are the flooding seasons?
 2. What are the draught seasons?
 3. During flood where your family shift?
 4. By what do you shift?
 5. What things mainly flood destroy?
 6. What diseases spread among the dwellers after flood?
 7. During flood how his /her earning hampered?

Information about the technique of a adaptation with the natural environmental hazards

1. After flood or erosion how they try to recover their loss?
2. During natural hazards do you-take a loan in high interest?
yes/No

If yes then from where?

3. Do you lend money?
Yes/No

If yes, then from whom/ where?

4. Do you sell your crop?
Yes/No
5. Do you Sell Your live stock?
Yes/No
6. Sell your Furniture?
Yes/No
7. Sell your trees?
Yes/No
8. Do you sell your Jewelry?
Yes/No

If Yes, Then do you think you get a proper value?

9. If no then how much lack from market value?
10. Did anyone take the chance of your vulnerable position?
11. During natural hazards how they help each other?

Information about occupation

1. What is your main occupation ?
2. What is your present occupation?
3. What is your previous occupation?
4. Do you involved with more than one occupation?
Yes/No

If yes, then what are the name of those occupation?

- A
- B
- C
- D

Information about healthcare

1. What kind of diseases generally they face?
2. For health care, where they choose to go?
 - Community clinic
 - Sadar hospital
 - Private clinic
 - Local Healer?
 - Others
3. How much they make charge for treatment?
4. For mother care and childcare where they prefer to go?
5. Do the representative of government give service about family planning or birth control?
6. What kind of service they ensure?

Information about the Union Parishad

1. Do you get the facilities of VGD?
2. Do you get the Facilities VGF?
3. Do you get the Facilities card of widow allowance?
4. Do you get the Facilities card of old allowing?
5. Do you get the Facilities card of disable allowance?
6. Do you get any other Facilities of union parishad? Like.....
 - Relief goods?
 - Sanitation products.
 - Tube-well.
 - Festival allowance?

0Information about legal aid

1. How do you settle your dispute?
Through
- local court
 - court
2. Do you ever go to police station?
Yes/No

3. Did police help you?

Yes/No

Information about the help cooperative office

1. Do you get any service from cooperative office?

Yes/No

If yes then What kind of service?

- Training
- Loan
- Mercenary help
- others

Information about service of agriculture office

1. Do you get any service from upozilla Agriculture office?

Yes/No

If yes then what kind of service-

- Loan
- Allowance
- Training
- Others

Information about job opportunity

2. How many people are doing any job of this para?

3. Do you want to get a job?

Yes/No

If yes then what kind of job do you prefer?

4. What are the barriers in case of getting job?

Information about harassments

1. Do you face any kind of harassment?

Yes/No

If yes then What kind of harassment you faced?

- Social harassment?
- Political harassment?
- By Influential figure?

- Wider society?
- Oral Harassment?
- Others.

Information About women's condition and family violence

2. What kind of family violence occurs?
3. Causes of family violence?

In case of taking decision, does women have any right?

Yes/No

If yes then in what sectors the can take decisions?

- Controlling economic issue
- In case of family planning
- Leadership
- Getting wage

What are the discrimination towards women?

Appindix-2

Household Census

রাজোয়াড় সম্প্রদার সম্পর্কিত তথ্য

গ্রামের নাম:

ইউনিয়ন

থানা:

উপজেলা:

জেলা:

ক্রমিক নং	পরিবারের সদস্যের নাম	পদবী	লিঙ্গ	বয়স	পেশা	ধর্ম	শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা	বৈবাহিক অবস্থা	মোট ঘরের সংখ্যা	কয় প্রজন্মের বাস	জমির পরিমান (বিঘায়)			বসতবাড়ীর ধরন			মাসির আয়	মাসিক ব্যয়	সঞ্চয়
											ভাটা বাড়ী	ধানী জমি	অন্যান্য	নিজস্ব	খাস	অন্যান্য			

ঋণ সম্পর্কিত তথ্য: হ্যাঁ/না			খাবার পানির উৎস	পায়খানার ধরণ	চিকিৎসা গ্রহণের ধরণ	স্বাস্থ্যসেবা	কোথায় (জিও/ এনজিও)	শিক্ষা সহায়তা	পশু সম্পদ অফিস হতে প্রাপ্ত সেবা সমূহ: হ্যাঁ/না	যুব উন্নয়ন অফিস হতে প্রাপ্ত সেবা সমূহ: হ্যাঁ/না	কৃষি অফিস হতে প্রাপ্ত সেবা
ঋণের উৎস	ঋণের মেয়াদ	টাকার পরিমাণ				ক. প্রজনন স্বাস্থ্য সেবা খ. শিশু স্বাস্থ্য সেবা গ. অন্যান্য	ক. কমিউনিটি ক্লিনিক খ. বেসরকারি হাসপাতাল গ. অন্যান্য	ক. সরকারি খ. বেসরকারি	ক. ঋণ খ. চিকিৎসা গ. টীকা ঘ. অন্যান্য	ক. ঋণ খ. প্রশিক্ষণ খ. প্রশিক্ষণ গ. অন্যান্য	ক. ঋণ খ. প্রশিক্ষণ গ. ভর্তুকী ঘ. অন্যান্য

সমবায় অফিস হতে প্রাপ্ত সেবা (হ্যাঁ/না)	থানা হতে প্রাপ্ত সেবা (হ্যাঁ/না)	আইনের সহায়তা	তথ্যসেবার ধরন	চাকুরীর সুযোগ	ইউনিয়ন পরিষদ থেকে প্রাপ্ত সুযোগ সুবিধা (হ্যাঁ/না)		হয়রানির ধরন (হ্যাঁ/না)	পারিবারিক নির্যাতন	নারীর অবস্থা
ক. প্রশিক্ষণ খ. ঋণ গ. যান্ত্রিক সহযোগিতা ঘ. অন্যান্য	ক. থানায় গিয়েছেন কি না (হ্যাঁ/না) খ. পুলিশ সহযোগিতা করেছে কি না (হ্যাঁ/না) গ. যাওয়ার কারণ: ➤ নারী নির্যাতন ➤ জমিজমা সংক্রান্ত জটিলতা ➤ রাস্তাঘাট নিয়ে উদ্ভূত সমস্যা ➤ অন্যান্য	ক. উপজেলা পর্যায়েঃ খ. গ্রাম্য আদালতের মাধ্যমে গ. আদালতের মাধ্যমে			ক. VGD খ. VGF গ. বিধবা ঘ. বয়স্ক ভাতা ঙ. প্রতিবন্ধী ভাতা চ. অন্যান্য	অন্যান্য চাল ডাল শেনিটেশন টিউবয়েল উৎসব অনুদান অন্যান্য	➤ সামাজিক ➤ রাজনৈতিক ➤ প্রবাবশালী ব্যক্তি কর্তৃক ➤ বৃহত্তর সমাজ ➤ মৌখিক নির্যাতন ➤ পেশি শক্তি দ্বারা নির্যাতন ➤ ভীতি প্রদর্শন ➤ অন্যান্য	ধরণঃ কারণঃ	সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণেঃ আর্থিক নিয়ন্ত্রনেঃ বাচা নেওয়ার ক্ষেত্রেঃ পরিবার পরিকল্পনার ক্ষেত্রেঃ মজুরী পাওয়ার ক্ষেত্রে : নেতৃত্ব দানেঃ অন্যান্য :

Appendix 3:

Guideline of Focus Group Discussions

I have discussed/addressed the following issues with research participants in focus group discussions:

1. Migration, settlement and language
2. Religious festivals, ceremonies and life-cycle events
3. Family patterns, marriage, kinship and clan
4. Customary organisation
5. Education, occupation and division of labour
6. Income, expenditure, savings and debt
7. Housing, health, medicinal practices and sanitation
8. Agriculture, land and causes of land loss
9. One acute problem traced by the participants in life
10. Changes in festivals, ceremonies and life-cycle events
11. Changes in customary organisation and marriage processes
12. Interactions and relationships with the Bengali Hindu and Muslim s
13. Interrelations with the Hindus and other minority communities
14. NGOs' activities and Christian missionaries in the region
15. Government support and local structures to solve the problem
16. Homogenous community organisation and people in the region
17. Self-determination, comments and suggestions for solving problems



Figure-12: Map of Patnitala Upazila, Naogaon



Figure-13: Joint Family of Rajwar



Figure-14: Cultivation of *Kuchia* (Govt. initiative to create the alternative income source of Rajwar)



Figure-15: Rajwar Widow



Figure-16: Old Rajwar spending their leaser time



Figure-17: Temple of Kali in Rajwar para



Figure-18: Atrai River



Figure-19: Brick Field of Katabari bazar towards Rajwar para



Figure-20: Paddy Store (Gola)



Figure-21: Katabari High School



Figure-22: Way to Kamar para



Figure-23: Livestock of kamarpara



Figure-24: Construction of Building of Rajwar para



Figure-25: Pond (common asset) used by Rajwar



Figure-26: Rajwar Old Man



Figure-27: Katabari Community Clinic



Figure-28: Rajwar are Workign in the paddy field