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# Indigenous Identity Disputes in Democratic Bangladesh

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## Abstract

Bangladesh is being led by the monolithic nationalism and identity. Though some fundamental political shifts have taken place in the state, and the indigenous identity has been struggling with broken promises. Indigenous peoples are living with denial of their human rights and identity. In fact, diverse issues have been pertaining with this issue. The national policy documents of Bangladesh use different terms to identify the indigenous peoples and the indigenous peoples of Bangladesh have been struggling for the recognition as “indigenous peoples” or “adivasi”, yet it has been continuously denied by the state. A dominant assimilationalist approach is revealed by the nationalistic history of Bangladesh. Thus, the monolithic formation of nation state, hegemonic cultural perceptions of national identity and trends to undermining the identity are revealed out in this voyage. But the demand for indigenous identity endorses with translational activism, that has power to penetrate local experiences.

## Forwarding words

The trend of policies and position of the state has been increasing leading monolithic identity of the state. The Bengali nationalism<sup>1</sup> was core theme of the nation-building scheme and the rise of the nation-state in Bangladesh means to make in-depth empirical observation itself. Though, policies of the state challenges indigenous identity and preserve mono-cultural identity of the state. In this context, the rights of indigenous peoples have been deteriorating since long and recognition of their identity has reminded as a large sensitive legitimate political concern in Bangladesh. Nevertheless, the state promises have been kept through some development schemes such as signing Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) peace accord, formulation of ministry and land commission, adaptation of small ethnic group cultural institute act and initiative for projects etc. But continuous denial of indigenous identity that there are “no indigenous peoples” represents hegemonic and dominant characteristics of the state. The observation of the state activities raise some questions like what are the reflective forces that worked behind the denial? And why jumble of terms are contesting indigenous identity? And why state makes fundamental political shift? Therefore, related to the questions I briefly discuss here the state of affairs of indigenous peoples, issue of indigeneity, nationalism and political shift of Bangladesh and

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1 In 1971 the emergence of an independent state of Bangladesh was being led by the Bengali linguistic nationalism and the growth of the nationalism was connected with twentieth century's anti-colonial movement which led the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and break-up of Pakistan too. The Bengali nationalism is enclosed with the notion of secularism, democracy, autonomy and self determination.

at the end of the article I make an argument for future analytical research. Thus, the article aims to focus at some observation related to the questions. Insofar as the article relies deeply on secondary information and quantitative analysis, it sketches my own experiences and observations as well; those I also verify with relevant information. Endorsing the state activities the article moves forward but at the same time numerous activisms happen from different organizations of indigenous peoples, development organizations, media, academia and activists; those are not addressed in this voyage. The implication of democracy can be observed as diverse and different way by viewing indigenous activism and for comprehensive supplementation need to be added ethnographic approach towards everyday indigenous life.

### **Backdrop of the status**

Bangladesh is characterized as economically disadvantage country where mass populations are living with poverty. But general conditions of indigenous peoples are dire and difficult in comparison to rest of the mainstream Bengali people who are living with poverty. Particularly, in northern part or plain land indigenous people's general rights condition including health, education, and employment are more worst then CHT indigenous peoples (Roy: 2012, p-1). In Bangladesh indigenous peoples are living with denial of human rights and identity.<sup>2</sup> Non-recognition of customary rights by the new form of the nation-state dispossessed indigenous people's rights over land. Nevertheless, harassments, physical threats, false cases use to grab indigenous land. As a result, they are dispossessed from land either by using law or by force. The national document of the National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction - (NSAPR-II) acknowledges the status as "some of the 'hardcore poor' of Bangladesh are found among the indigenous communities. Indigenous communities face discrimination and are subject to extortion by land grabbers. The level of social self-awareness among them is in many cases very low. Many suffer from ill-health, bad nutritional conditions and lack of safe drinking water and sanitary toilets" (NSAPR II: 2008, p.143). Thus, it could be simplified that they are deprived from basic humanitarian life and the state has failed to provide entitlements of the peoples. The denial of rights, land grabbing and dire development initiatives have ruined the indigenous lives.

In Bangladesh around 3 million indigenous peoples live in 45 different ethnic groups<sup>3</sup>; they are mainly concentrated in south-eastern, north-western, north-central and north-eastern regions of the country. These regions include the CHT, Sylhet division, Rajshahi division, Mymensingh, Netrokona and Patuakhali districts. But there is no agreement about the number of indigenous peoples and groups. The NSAPR II of the Government of Bangladesh states that there are about two million indigenous people in Bangladesh, among them 1.6 million live in plain land ((NSAPR II: 2008, p.142). The CHT Regional Council Act of 1998 (Act 12 of 1998) recognizes 11 types of group people living in CHT; on the other hand, East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 (Act XXVIII of 1950) identifies 21 "aboriginal castes and tribes" living in plain land districts. Disagreement is prevailing not only about the groups of number but also about the names and categorizations of same group of people. Same group of people known by different names and categorizations, those create hostile situation regarding indigenous identity. The recent remarkable news is

<sup>2</sup> In general condition of human rights of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh is far from good; <http://www.lawyersjurists.com/resource/articles-and-assignment/general-human-rights-condition-indigenous-peoples-bangladesh-good-illustrate-explain-2/> ; Accessed on 11 February, 2014

<sup>3</sup> Bangladesh; <http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Activitiesbyregion/Asia/SouthAsia/Bangladesh/lang--en/index.htm> ; Accessed on 10 February, 2014

that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs ordered all deputy commissioners to make list of indigenous peoples (as government term “small ethnic group”). After getting information from respective districts the Ministry accomplished the data and found that in Bangladesh 255 types of indigenous communities exist. But “small ethnic group cultural institutions act 2010” mentioned that 27 different “small ethnic groups” live in Bangladesh<sup>4</sup>. The status reveals absence of minimum knowledge on indigenous issue for conducting survey. In fact, diverse issues have been pertaining the indigenous identity.

### **Jumble of terms to identify indigenous peoples**

The notion of indigeneity articulated and associated with global institutions and the United Nations (UN) designated the tribal people of the world as “indigenous people.” but to identify indigenous peoples some other terms have also been used such as “cultural minorities,” “ethnic minorities,” “indigenous cultural communities,” “tribals,” “scheduled tribes,” “natives, and “aboriginals. Accepted or preferred terms and definitions vary country by country, by academic discipline, and even by the usage of groups concerned (ADB: 1998: p. 1). In Bangladesh varieties of terms are used to identify indigenous peoples instead of giving them reorganization as “indigenous” or “adivasi”<sup>5</sup>. The Bengali word “adivasi” refers indigenous peoples; but most of the national documents in Bangladesh considered them as “tribal”, “small national minorities,” “ethnic groups,” and “communities”. In Bengali the term “upjati” it being used which refers to English expression as “sub-nation” (akin words to the “tribe” or “tribal” in English). The term “upjati” devalues indigenous national, social and cultural identity. In social stratification the word designates lower social ranking. Documents of Bangladesh Government has preferred to recognize the Bengali term as “upajati” and rejected the word “adivasi”. In government discourse a recent transformation has also been found to identify indigenous peoples that is *Khudro Nritattik Jonogosthi* (refers to ethnic minorities) and there is a strong reservation for using the word “adivasi”<sup>6</sup>.

But in last two decades preference is increasing for using the Bengali term “adivasi” in media, academia and development discourse which is alike to the English “indigenous people.” On the contrary, some government documents have used “indigenous” term as well such as the National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction - (NSAPR-II, 2009-11), the National Educational Policy (2010) and the Sixth Five Year Plan (2011-16); however, the fiftieth amendment of constitution (2011) denied the “indigenous” term. Despite the fact that, from CHT the term “jumma” (refers swidden cultivators) has been promoted but in intellectual discussion tables “pahari” or “hill people” also are used and the term “adivasi” largely refers to plain land indigenous peoples. In this context, which term is politically and historically appropriate, that is widespread political debate. However, for advancing indigenous rights “the local references to globalised notions and modes of argumentation need to be seen as reciprocal with increased global attention being paid to concerns of indigenous people in worldwide, in South Asia and in Bangladesh” (Gerharz: 2013, p.2). Particularly, the critical aspect of conventional and colonial approaches compels “tribal” identity but global rise of indigenous discourse significantly relates to local

4 In country 155 ethnic groups? Daily Prothom Alo, 26 October, 2012 source: <http://archive.prothom-alo.com/detail/news/300942> , Accessed on 04 February, 2014

5 The word “Adivasi” is most commonly used to identify heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups, whose love to claim them as “adivasi.” The word refers “indigenous”.

6 The term ‘Adivasi’ removed from all governmental documents, <http://www.unpo.org/article/13066> , Accessed on 17 February, 2014.



as well. Not only indigenous leaders but Bengali activists and academia have employed themselves for political claim of “indigenous”.

### **Disputed indigenous identity**

The indigenous peoples of Bangladesh have been struggling for the recognition as “indigenous peoples” or “adivasi” from the 90s; but government of Bangladesh has been opposing the demand and imposing state hegemony and monotonic approach that considers as “one nation and one state”. A dominant assimilationalist approach is revealed out by the nationalistic history of Bangladesh and as political legitimate power holder the state is imposing majority’s govern to the minorities. Thus, the monolithic formation of nation state, hegemonic cultural perceptions of national identity and trends to undermining indigeneity is disclosed at this juncture.

Within the time period of 1947-71 Bengali linguistic nationalism was constructed which worked for emergence of the sovereign nation-state of Bangladesh. The time period also is phrased as internal-colonialism; while anti-colonialism movement followed temperament of nationalism. But the notion of nationalism also fragmented indigeneity, ethnic identity and religious liberty of minorities. The nationalism supported majority dogmatism. That means minority is dominated by the majority. After the inception of Bangladesh (1971) some sort of fundamental policies or development models have been adopted by the state that have alienated and marginalized minority people. The construction of the Constitution of Bangladesh (1972)<sup>7</sup> reveals the facts such as the Article 9 has defined Bangalee nationalism as: “the unity and solidarity of the Bangalee nation, which, deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bangalee nationalism.” At the same time Article 23 part II described about “national culture” is “the State shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people, and so to foster and improve the national language, literature and the arts that all sections of the people are afforded the opportunity to contribute towards and to participate in the enrichment of the national culture.” The adaptation of the Bengalee nationalism avoided the existence of minorities’ identity. The Article 28 (4) of part-III affirms “nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens.” But who are the “backward section” it does not clarify. Basically, the statement of “backward section” connotes colonial approach towards people and suspects the notion of imperialism.

The way of construction of nation-state demands submission of minorities to majority nation, and command homogeneity. Not only in Bangladesh the monolithic construction of nation has been observed across the south Asia, observed a clash between assimilationalist and pluralistic perspectives of nationalism and all minority groups protested attempt monolithic construction of nationalism by states (Chatterjee: 2005: 85). Multi-ethnic characteristics of south Asian societies have been pressuring continuously to go beyond monolithic nationalist characteristic and to recognize multi-ethnic identities of minority people. In Bangladesh the nationalism continues and creates two identities of nationhood such as language and religion and in both form majority dominion come into the power, which creates an uneven insecurity for other minorities.

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<sup>7</sup> All the terms and definitions are described in The Constitution of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, [http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/print\\_sections\\_all.php?id=367](http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/print_sections_all.php?id=367), Accessed on 04 February, 2014

The constructions of *Bengali*, *Bangladeshi* and *Bengali* linguistic nationalism deny cultural pluralism and democracy too.

On the other hand, Constitution of Bangladesh 1972 tried to include wider political spectrum and acknowledged four fundamental principles<sup>8</sup> and one was “secularism”, which recognized religious security of other religious minority people in Bangladesh. But after 1975 democratic downfall, military upheaval and promotion of Islamic brand politics changed secular atmosphere and state adopted some basic changes in 1977. accordingly proclamations order No.1 adopted fundamental amendment i.e. instead of “secularism” the state affirmed the fundamental principle as “the principles of absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah”. Mention that starting of constitution in the preamble part added ‘BISMILLAH-AR-RAHMAN-AR-RAHIM’ (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, and the Merciful). Thus, religion designated in politics and continued as an instrument for political purpose. Furthermore, Fifth Amendment of the constitution modified “Bangalee Nationalism” and adopted “Bangladeshi Nationalism”. But affirmation of “Bangladeshi nationalism” did not add additional value to secure the identity of minorities. The both from of nationalism contest each other due to political interest of gaining power. In fact, the “identity formation in Bangladesh is neither instrumental nor primordial, but has instead drawn on a range of complex factors that include ‘Bengali culture’, ‘religion’ and ‘socio-economic modes” (Bhardwaj: 2009-10, p. 3). Moreover, eighth amendment of the constitution (1988) declared “Islam” as state religion. Second phase of military regime (1982-90) capitalized majority’s religious feeling to stay in political power. Consequently Bangladesh shifted disposition from secular state to religious state and state and religion turned into an issue. Thus, indigenous peoples and religious minority discovered them as marginal, alienated and unsecured within the newly constructed state structure of *Islamization*. The inspiration towards Bangladesh liberation i.e. secularism, socialism, democracy and nationalism turned apart and religion, homogenic national identity and democratic devaluation came into political practice.

In 1991 Bangladesh shifted political return into formal democracy. In this context the declaration of the United Nation on the International Year of the World Indigenous Peoples (IYWIP) in 1993 and announcement of the first International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004) provided aspiration to demand official recognition for indigenous distinct identity. But government of Bangladesh declined to support official observance of the IYWIP and stated that there are “no indigenous peoples”. During that time opposition political party Awami League opposed government position and former opposition leader and present Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina sent a message of the solidarity with the indigenous of Bangladesh. But in the duration of the Awami League (1996-2001 and 2008-2013) regime indigenous peoples saw replicated history of broken promises, which Awami League committed as opposition party. While some progresses occurred to indigenous development such as the National Adivasi Coordination Committee (NACC-1997) formed, the CHT Peace Accord (1997) signed, the Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracts emerged (1998) and amendment of the CHT Land Dispute Resolution Commission Act (2001) approved and Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institute Act- 2010 adopted. But the development of negotiation did not agree the term “indigenous” (Tripura: 2013).

This is to be mentioned that; the election manifesto of current ruling party Bangladesh Awami League acknowledges “indigenous” term in their election manifesto (2008) and paragraph 18 of the states as follows: “all laws and other arrangements discretionary to minorities, indigenous people and ethnic groups will be repealed. Special privileges will be made available in education institu-

8 The four fundamental principles were secularism, socialism, democracy and nationalism.

tions for religious minorities and indigenous people.”<sup>9</sup> That means Bangladesh Awami League has officially acknowledged the presence of “indigenous” people in Bangladesh. But, during their regime, the same political authority has denied the identity as “indigenous” by adaptation of fifteenth amendment of the Constitution. It’s a paradox of political reality; it could be summarized as “voting politics” that marginalized all type of minorities. That’s why the “recognition of indigenous peoples” is a critical political concern between the state and indigenous peoples of Bangladesh.

Thus, the last four decades history of politics and policies of the state have been consequently contradicting indigenous identity. Bangladesh follows some policies of isolation and one nation based national structure those disputed indigenous identity. Constitution of Bangladesh identified Bengali as the “national culture and the national language” (1972), then politics shifted toward “Bangladeshi nationalism” (1977), and adopted Islam” as state religion (1988). The shifting history of nationalism and process of islamization in all the approaches evaded the existence of minorities. Government of Bangladesh again adopted 15<sup>th</sup> amendment of the Constitution in 2011, which again officially denied indigenous identities. The fifteenth amendment identified them as tribal,” small national minorities,” ethnic groups,” and communities” where indigenous peoples have repeated demand for constitutional recognition as “indigenous” or “adivasi”. The mono-cultural, monolingual and mono-religious orientation of Bangladesh Constitution prevented it from being inclusive with regard to “Adivasis” identities (Roy, Hossain and Guhathakurta: 2007, p.11). As a result, the indigenous lives fell down in identity crisis.

On the other hand, the legal and political principle of human rights connects with nation-state and links with international human rights instruments. Moreover, nation-state has political legitimacy to sign treaty, contact with various level of global governance and authority to negotiate with international institutions. That’s why, a way of “complex connectivity”<sup>10</sup> proceeds outside and inside of nation-state and “as a consequence of globalization, the state is nested into a complex global actor” (Gerharz: 2013, p.3). As part of “complex connectivity” Bangladesh ratified the core human rights treaties such as ICCPR, ICESCR, ICERD, CEDAW, ICC Rome Statute and ILO Convention 107<sup>11</sup>; so government has obligation to follow the international norms. But the irony is that, Bangladesh government is one of the few in the world who has officially denied the existence of indigenous peoples within its boundary. By doing this, a hegemonic and dominate position of the nation-state has come into political debate and fragmented indigenous notion of life.

9 Election Manifesto of Bangladesh Awami League-2008, [http://192.217.104.133/-bolalbd/albd3/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=177&Itemid=113](http://192.217.104.133/-bolalbd/albd3/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=177&Itemid=113)

Accessed on 15 February, 2014

10 To describe cultural globalization Jhon Tamlinson includes thematic ideas such as “complex connectivity”, in relation with the “deterritorialization” and “cosmopolitanism”. He relates the connectivity with “proximity” and “the ‘proximity’ comes from the networking of social relations across the tracts of time-space, causing distant events and powers to penetrate local experiences.” Then he relates the “connectivity” into “global unicity” where it implies a certain “unicity”. He refers the world is becoming one place. He agrees with Roland Robertson idea of “compression of the world as a whole into a single place”, it relates in different order of human life. The connectivity reaches into localities, transforms local experiences; it also confronts peoples but bound together in single global frame.

11 Bangladesh has ratified the treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in 2000, the International Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in 1998, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) in 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1984, the International Criminal Court of Rome Statute in 2010 and Bangladesh also ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO)’s Indigenous and Tribal Population Convention, No. 107 in 1972.

## Recent statement on indigenous identity

In Bangladesh various debates and discussions have been found on the idea of indigeneity. However, to discuss about the term “indigenous” in political debate, I can place here some recent statements from the government’s part. In different diplomats discussions from government part over and over again has been dissenting the demand such as in the discussion related to CHT Peace Accord with foreign diplomats and UN agencies Bangladeshi former foreign minister Dipu Moni commented that as per historical documents tribal people of CHT did not exist before 16<sup>th</sup> century, that’s why the tribal living in CHT are “ethnic minorities” not “indigenous.” When special rapporteur of UN presented study report on “Status of implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord of 1997”, in that session Iqbal Ahmed, first secretary of the Bangladesh Mission in New York said - “Bangladesh does not have any indigenous population,” and he suggested for not wasting time for politically concocted issues rather than giving dedication to millions of indigenous peoples across the world. Moreover, in the closing session of two-days national conference on “land, forest and culture of indigenous peoples”, the Law Minister Barrster Shafiue Ahmed as chief denies the demand and analyzes them as they are “tribal” people, not “indigenous”<sup>12</sup> in light of the International Labor Organization (ILO) convention no 169.

On the other hand, when non-governmental development organizations arranged reception program for the indigenous elected local people’s representatives “the constitution recognition of indigenous peoples” also was major discussion issue in the program and Chairman of National Human Rights Commission was part of the discussion and as a chief guest of the reception ceremony the minister of information and telecommunication commented ‘he will formulate a draft of “indigenous peoples rights act” and submit it to the government’<sup>13</sup>. So from the state a fraction found between the ministers speeches. The issue of “constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples” makes contentious situation between indigenous peoples, activists, and a group of academia and in government part too. Around the year 2011 dissented opinion was found from government part which created more insubstantial situation towards identity of “indigenous” and “ethnic minorities” or “tribal” issue.

One of the released letter from the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MoLGED) on 11 March, 2012 generated an arguable circumstance for the indigenous peoples of Bangladesh. The letter states that recently passed “Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institute Act 2009,” amendment of the constitution (15<sup>th</sup> amendment) termed them as “small ethnic group” and different statement from government part with foreign diplomats’ state - “in Bangladesh there are tribal people, not indigenous peoples.” In this regard references of MoLGED issued letter to stop celebration of “international day of the world’s indigenous peoples” on 9 August, issued by MoLGED Deputy Secretary and circulated to all deputy commissions (authority of district), Upzila executive offices (authority of sub-district) and to all Union Parishad (bottom level administrative unit of

12 The following links would support to read government statement about indigenous identity: Ethnic minority, not indigenous, the Daily Star, 27 July, 2011, Source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=195963>, Accessed on 10 February 2014

No indigenous people in Bangladesh! Govt official tells UN, the Daily Star, May 28, 2011 source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=187527>; Accessed 10 February 2014

Indigenous issue draws arguments, the Daily Star, August 8, 2011, source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=197739>; Accessed on 10 February 2014

13 Recognise indigenous people, speakers urge govt, the Daily Star, 11 August, 2011, source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=198079>; Accessed on 10 February 2014

the country)<sup>14</sup> can be provided. The letter obligated celebration of the day and propagated that there are “no indigenous peoples”. Different organizations from indigenous peoples, development organizations, academia and activists protested against the issued letter. That’s why in 2012 the observation of the “international day of the world’s indigenous peoples” was a big challenge for the indigenous peoples of Bangladesh. Most of indigenous activism surrounded to address the issue.

### Future research prospects

It has become clear that recognition of indigenous identity has been struggling in Bangladesh. To acknowledge the notion of indigenesness and the idea of indigeneity need to be added to the “application of ideas”<sup>15</sup> and the notion of “complex connectivity.” The accompany of the “tranlocalization” of indigeneity and intensification of networking in regard to the application of indigenous peoples require to be included in future research projects whereas global rise of indigenous discourse significantly relates to local.

Looking into the issue of indigenesness we could not simplify the human rights movements of the indigenous peoples. The issue of indigeneity relates strategic adaptation of indigenesness. The demands and discourses are related into indigeneity, which enforce by transnational activisms and penetrate local experiences. To highlight the indigenous activisms it could be made another focus on indigenous networking how it is situated in different translocal spaces. In indigenous studies indigeneity narrates as revitalization and resistance over and over again (Brecher, Costello; and Smith: 2000, Lauderdale: 2008, Felon and Muguía: 2008). The resistance is also denoted as “grassroots globalization” or “globalization from below”, where growing concern about “grassroots globalization” is understood as a particular, contemporary and configuration between capital and nation state. In this course, the resistances are considered in state system as primary interrogator to demand rights, while indigenous identity is a transnational or global agenda as well. Indigenous peoples have built political networks for ensuring pro-indigenous developments with multi-literal agencies, other governmental and non-governmental institutions. In Bangladesh, demanding recognition for indigenous identity, indigenous resistances deal with the state and look for probabilities for institutional solutions. For example resistance against the Phulbari Coal Mining Project<sup>16</sup> is one of most localized form of the indigenous resistance that can be understood as cautious concentration of global process.

On the other hand, the meanings of identity, ethnicity, indigeneity and nationality have also been observed in divergent way. Felon and Hall (2008)

14 To know about the details of the letter and to read the issued letter from MoLGED readers can follow the links: <http://chtnewsupdate.blogspot.de/2012/08/celebration-of-indigenous-day-in.html> and [http://www.lgbd.org/cms\\_what-makes-the-bangladesh-local-government-engineering-department-%28lged%29-so-effective?\\_5\\_4](http://www.lgbd.org/cms_what-makes-the-bangladesh-local-government-engineering-department-%28lged%29-so-effective?_5_4), Accessed 12 February, 2014

15 Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) explore the concept on “travel of ideas” for building organizational change and the “application of ideas” takes place through act of communication and the movement of ideas involve with both time and space. The authors critic about the metaphors of the universals/particulars and macro/micro debates and the sense of ideas are interconnecting localized time/space; the notion of time/space they have termed as “translocal”, which introduced the notion of localized time/space and globalized time/space. In this context local and global is form of continuum.

16 The Phulbari mining project is an open-pit coal mine project in the north-western part of Bangladesh. Global Coal Management Resources (GCM) has financed the project with collaboration of the government of Bangladesh. The project would be destroyed around 23 sq. miles of land, 80 percent of which is fertile farmland. It would be physically displaced as many as 220,000 people, those are mostly farming and indigenous household. The grassroots resistances have protested the project.

demonstrate across the world indigenous peoples struggling for rights and identity and the struggle occurring against 'capitalist domination and social repression by dominant societies in control of modern state' (2008: p. 1880). Though the resistances protested by the states but revitalization welcomed as part of global development in indigenous lives (Tambs: 2007). The revitalization is found in indigenous lives with multiple directions. Particularly, the epoch of the society is now living in the age of rapid change and exchange, where everything - people, ideas, capital, culture, products, information, technology move beyond political and cultural boundary. The concepts of pluralistic society, ideas of diversity, culture and capital exchange, mounting democratization and participation, rise of mass consciousness - all are continuum booming part of global consciousness and interconnected by translocal activism. Therefore, it needs to be situated to discover the discourses of development and immense diverse integrity of indigenous resistances those tied with national and international networks like the Cultural Survivor, the International Working Group of Indigenous Affairs, the Center for Indigenous Studies and the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, those who are advocating for indigenous peoples (Halle and Fenelon: 2005, p. 100). Particularly different type of national and global development projects, policies and treaties entered in indigenous lives by state mechanism; where state, transnational institutions and indigenous lives contended each other.

Finally, in this concern, it is needed to cautiously examine paradoxical complexity between nation-state and transnational institutions and monolithic construction of nationalism where indigenous rights and identity both are contested with the forces; those realities are found in the Bengali/Bangaldeshi nationalistic state of Bangladesh.

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