

Tipra Community in Rural Comilla: Their Culture and Social Network

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Abstract

The study was undertaken with the objectives of analyzing the life and culture of Tipra community of Camilla Sadar upazila, Bangladesh. In the collection of data, both qualitative and quantitative method were used. The study revealed that the Tipra community in the locality enjoyed an identical culture as compared to other ethnic groups. The process of urbanization have changed their own identity and social life in line with the global forces. The study suggested more logistic supports as well as cooperation to retain their own culture in a diversified way in the locality.

Key words: Tipra, Community, Ethnicity, Culture, globalization

Introduction

From history immemorial the blending of cultures have occurred in South Asia. These processes still continue not only in South Asia but also in the global world. It is long a tradition of human kind and manifesting deep rooted heritages at local specific character contributed by the people of different origin. Bengal or Bangladesh is also included in that intermingled cultural heritage. Majority of people of Bangladesh belong to Bengali or Bangladeshi that constitute 98 percent of the total population. Alongside, about 13 indigenous ethnic communities live in Bangladesh. Therefore, Bangladesh is a country of multicultural heritage. However, Bengali culture is the main and dominant features of this country. Recently aware of identity of the ethnic communities has created new dimensions at politics in national, regional and globalize world. The indigenous people are likely to preserve their own ethnic identity which are contributing altogether in global culture and civilization.

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Ethnic people of Bangladesh are generally characterized by their own community living. The colonial regime had changed the social stratification of the South Asian people. The partition of South Asian subcontinent had also changed the community lives and brought new challenges for many identity based communities. Apart from these, the livelihood pattern of ethnic people is being changing due to shifting socio-economic perspective of Bangladesh. Gradual linkages of the ethnic people to the wider society of Bangladesh have been occurred due to social inclusion process of development and mobility. Economic and social exchanges are increasing between the Bengali and ethnic people of Bangladesh on span of progress of development processes. The Tripura or Tipra ethnic community is one of the major ethnic communities of Bangladesh. The Tripuris live on the slopes of hills in a group of five to fifty families. Their houses in these areas are built of bamboo or us as it is called in *Kokborok* and raised five to six feet height to save themselves from the dangers of the wild animals.

Now-a-days, major households of this community are living in the plains and erecting houses like the plains people, adopting their methods of cultivation and following them in other aspects of life such as dress, manners and cosmetics. Tripuri women wear a scarp, called *rignai*, which reaches down just below the knee. They weave in their loom a small piece of cloth, which they call *risa*, and they use this small piece of cloth as their best garment. In Bangladesh, the Tipra people are living scatteredly in Chittagong Hill Tracts. However, majority of Tipra people live in Ramgar under Khagrachari Hill District. The Tipra is one of the major ethnic communities of Bangladesh resides in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Comilla and other regions of Bangladesh. The origin of Tipra derives from Tooy-Pra word. Tooy is a Sanskrit word, which means river or water. Pra means meeting place. Therefore, those who live in the meeting place of the river they called as Tooy – Pra, eventually transformed as Tipra (Sattar, 1995).

In Comilla, they live with neighboring Bengali people in plain lands and other ethnic communities in the hill tracts. Due to their relatively small size as compared to other races and ethnic identities, they are at the juncture of process of acculturation where small group of subculture submerging with dominant co-resident's culture at their living patterns. Generally, ethnic communities are culturally consciousness, governed by headman, kin group based social relation and characterized by subsistence economic system. Today, most of the *Hindus of Tripura* and *Bengali Tripuri tribes* are adherents of an *animist-Shaktism, hybrid of Hinduism*. 'Tripura' is the name of a Bengali Hindu form of *Durga*. Bengali Brahmin priests (called *chantais*) are regarded as custodians of *dharma* and occupy an exalted position in Tripura Bengali society. Important gods are *Shiva* and *Tripureshwari* (patron goddess of Tripura and an aspect of Shakti). Several fertility gods are also worshipped, such as *Lam-Pra* (the twin deities of sky and sea), *Mailu-ma* (goddess of corn, identified with Lakshmi), *Khulu-ma* (goddess of the cotton plant) and *Burha-cha* (god of healing). Bengali *Durga Puja*, *Bijoyadosomi*, and the worship of the *Chaturdasah deities* are important festivals. The *Swarshati puja* is celebrated in festive mood at the homesteads of Tipra people. In the all *puja* festivals of the Tipra community, they like to slaughter *pig, buffalo, and hen or rooster*. The Tipra are generally *jum* cultivators and both male and female cultivate *jum* particularly in

Chittagong Hill Tracts. They also grow cotton trees for making thread. Tipra's dress pattern is simple which they generally making at the houses. Ornaments are very popular among the female and male. Headman plays significant role for mitigating the disputes among the Tipra. Tipra called houses as *nok*. Overall Tipra are simple in nature and sources of simplicity are found in their important behavioral manifestation. Beggars or thieves were absent among the Tipra community (Sattar, 1995). Cultural artifacts are alive at *Tipra* communities through social communication and networking .

Objectives of the Study

In Specific term, the objectives of the study are as follows:

- i) To Know cultural practices of Tipra community :
- ii) To identify factors of the occupational changes of Tipra community
- iii) To delineate their living styles, social communication and identity ;
- iv) To suggest ways & means to improve the overall condition.of the Tipra community.

Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in Comilla Sadar Upazila where the people of *Tipra* community live for centuries. The study was based on observation cum interview with the Tipra people which attempted to address the livelihood patterns and social communication process. Thus the variables like livelihood, ethnic culture, social communication and network, changing ethnic communities, adaptations processes and cultural environment were incorporated in the study. All households of *Tipra* community inhabiting in the study area was considered as the sample population of the study.

Key Concepts Used in the Study:

Tipra and Tripura are the same meaning, the former is locally called and latter is original term of identity of the tribal or ethnic community. In this study, *Tipra* and *Tripura* are bore the same meanings. Both are indicating the Tribal community and are also called as *Tripura/Tripuri*. The two approaches i.e culture and social communication were incorporated in the study. *Tipra* is a community having distinct culture. On the other hand, the combination of cultures directly and indirectly touches and altering the social values of *Tipra*, who are small in size and the largescale influences by exogenous socio-cultural elements.

Data Collection and their Analysis

The qualitative methods, that is, in-depth fieldwork, observation, discussions and case study were used for collection of data. The collected data were then narrated by using own judgment of the researchers.

Results and Discussions

Living Styles and Identity of Tipra Community of Comilla Sadar Upazila

Tipra of Comilla Sadar Upazila is practicing dominant Bengali cultural gamut with their own identity. The language of *Bangla* influences very much on their lives due to survival. It helps them to communicate and sharing with the Bengali population. Living at the relatively developed areas of Bangladesh, the *Tipra* of Comilla are enjoying some opportunities like urbanization process and social amenities. On the other hand, spreading out of non-farm activities are also hampering their traditional living styles. Moreover, the demand of high valued agricultural products (cow milk, poultry, fruits and vegetables), rising of land prices, connectivity with the big cities, towns and growth centres providing opportunities for Bengali communities as well as their co-resident Tipra community. However this process of change and communication has forced to eliminating the nature dependent community living of *Tipra* and their environment .

The study areas and locations of hamlets

Lalmai Dakhin Kashar is situated at the hillock of Lalmai hill range under the Kalirbazar Union of Adarsha Sadar Upazila in Comilla district. The village is located administratively under the Kalirbazar union of Comilla Sadar Thana. The Tipra tribal inhabitants of the hamlet introduce themselves as Tripura. They have also cultural ties with their communities those live in Indian state of Tripura. There were 15 households found in Lalmai Dhakhin Kashar hamlet, the total population was about 80. The average size of household was 5.33. Majority of them were day or wage laborers - Work as wage laborer at Eit vata (brick filed); jogali (construction work as assistant provider of inputs to the mason). The peasantry at plain land was the relatively new occupation for the Tripura/ Tipra communities although the work in peasantry are mainly sharecropping and agricultural wage laborers. They sell their labor generally at Bengali farm households. Tipra speaks Bengali fluently. At the juncture of the hillock some land own by the Tipra households poses the small holding mainly produces paddy and vegetables. Some engage in small trade, some supply milk to nearby Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) campus. Therefore, milch cow rearing is one of the secondary occupations for them. Cow fattening business is also taking places in the community. They are traditionally depends on natural endowments for their livelihood. Legal ownership had been introduced in land during the British Colonial Period. Prior to that the Tipra community did not thought on the legal rights on land due to customary ownership. The king of Tripura gave rights to land in written form to the subjects or praja. Therefore, now the Tipra enjoys the legal rights.

Due to pattern of careless individual behavior some of Tipra, somehow lost their own land. They called it simply ‘unplanned’ wish or living styles without vision. During the filed visits it was reported that the inhabitants of one hamlet, Jammura, owned 15 kani of land. Their land is situated mainly at hillock. Some households owned small plots of land of cropland at the valley of the hillock or plain land. Tenancy pattern of cultivable

land is practicing sharecropping and mortgage in. Remittances earners of the neighboring Bengali communities offer the cropland for sharecropping and mortgages in.

The major horticultural works of Tipra is orchards which mainly bamboo, jackfruits, different types of potatoes roots etc. The households may produce more fruits like papaya, banana and other fruits and vegetables. Many of early traditions of the community have lost due to lack of practice. a substantial number of Tipra exodus from this land and settled at Tripura state after 1947 partition of the subcontinent. Their exodus has created vacuum for practicing conventional cultural practices in large. The spirit of socialization process on traditional values is somehow lost momentum.

The people of Tipra community are changing themselves in terms of internal and external factors. In recent times the girls of Tipra are attending more the schools which could contribute more to educate the children and community in future. Cow and goats grazes at the top of the hillock and other available grazing spots nearby the hamlets. Suffice to say the amount of grazing land is shrinking now due to in migration of Bengali people and ongoing urbanization process. However, the hamlets of Jammura and Dhakhin Kashar still having hillock grazing land. The domestic pigs of Tipra is cash husbandry. The pigs kept in homestead and fasten rope or chained at the corner of the courtyard of their households.

Tipra's own skill to produce wine is indigenous work that greatly attached with the cultural traditions. However, this locally produce wine attracts some of the Bengali people to collect it. To reduce their hard works and depression or feel relax of the laborers, Tipra drinks home made wine, which largely contrary to neighboring community of Bengali's drink culture.

Producing and drinking liquor are cultural tradition of the Tipra community in the point of heritage and tradition. Traditionally, they continue to produce folk or local liquor which are generally non-available at the open market. High prices of wines in the bars of poush areas in one hand and the low prices of local made wine attracts some portions of people to collect the Tipra made local wine on the other. The modern manufactured wine also not commensurate with their cultural traditions and the taste of the home made wine is different and bears own cultural drink heritage. Laborers get relief from drinking of liquor after their hard works. The ethics of common Bengali Muslim people does not permit to drink liquor in open place. So, there is value loaded life styles difference between the two co- located communities. Obviously Tipra are aware of that and very few households' of Tipra practices to produce wine mainly for own consumption and the little bit market demand interactive to produces the local win. They are under criticized by the other people. Sometimes police harass them.

Financial capital of the inhabitant's hamlet is low to invest elsewhere specially in the agricultural production. Rich of the hamlet distinct due to their service work at formal organizations and having formal education. The hamlet having land consist of 3.5 kani which mainly operated by private levels. Rich family have agricultural crop plot at the pathar (agricultural field). The rest of the hamlet living with *Anon ar Khayon* which

means brings and eat. On the other words, alive from *hand to mouth* this manifests the tough reality of day or wage laborers of Tipra.

The Tipra community of Comilla and their culture and communication networks

The culture and social network, social capital and network communication have been developed through the historical process of Tipra community. It is found that although they losses their language but their cultural practices on marriage, religion still alive.

The historical divisions in inter community relations

To collect information on Tirpa people of Comilla, four locations those are nearly adjoining have been selected for documenting. These areas are actually hamlets, small areas less than 60 households at the cluster of living. Tipra generally belongs to Mongoloid races, which appears visible at the facial and other ethnometrics of the Tipra people.

Living styles

The living style of the community or society denotes their livelihoods, occupational, or similar activities, it also refers to the cultural tradition and heritages those traits passing through the intergenerational mobility. Overall it indicates the complete way of life. On the process of societal change the Tipra also adopt the new process of living. The modernization process however halted some household's levels, due to particular outlooks of those households. The root causes are feeling separate identity and dependent on nature based livelihoods, which may call as laggard. However this also rooted at the social dynamics and historical consequences. The ethnocentrism may mislead the social and cultural system of the Tipra. Tipra is a community having capability to adopting the process of civilization. The activities of the Tipra community in respect of all over the word commensurate with reconstruction or modernization process. Moreover the Tipra/Tripura/Tripuri having own civilization and cultural traditions. Bangladesh posing the mixed races and mixed culture which reflecting the Austirc, Dravidian, Aryan, Mongoloid, Semitic, Nordic cultures. The modernization and disintegration of traditional bound society gradually eroded due to sudden shrinking of population of Tipra in one hand and the process of world cultural penetrations on the other. Despite of much confusion on the history of Tribal people living, the Tipra are very much adaptive and accommodative and shows their ability to quick adopter. In the view of European value loaded development efforts, the contemporary Tipra is not as a whole not lagging behind.

Housing

The housing conditions of Tipra bear the tradition which is climatically commensurate of the areas. That's why, with little bit variation housing tradition of Tipra similar to the houses of Bengali people. Separate kitchen is the unique of the household. The Tipra of Comilla like relatively big courtyard. Boar shed is an additional difference from the adjacent Bengalis communities. Generally the wall of houses mainly constructed by muddy and bamboo and roof was erected by tin and iron material. The door generally made of timber and floor generally made by clay.

Cloths

The Tipra of Comilla has lost their traditional cloths. The Tipra male folk wear shirt, trouser, lungi, panjabi, fotua, and duti. Women wear shari, selowar kamij, maxi. The rigwani is their traditional dress. However the Tipra of Comilla lost the knowledge and skill how to make it.

Furniture and utensil

Furniture generally made of wood, bamboo, and other metals. Utensils of the houses generally made of enamel, plastic, melamine, glass, and ceramic.

Arts, song and dance

Tipra's houses are decorated with naksha (design) of rice mixed color. Some of women are very free to perform dances and sing songs even before the outsiders who visit the locality, even not fill shy to talk with them. Similarly male also like to perform such events. In the span of time Tipra influenced by Hindi cultural expressions which is transmitted through the electronic medias. During the festivals at the Radha Krishna mandir (tample), the songs of spiritual origin performed. Bengalis Hindus are the main organizer of the festivals and they also major part of singers of kirtan at the festivals. The famous kirtan sing perform by a group of singers and they perform korus. The people of Tipra are generally audiences of the kirtan. Some of the mandir helpers sing kirtan. The tuneful kirtan and the religious bayan (interpretations) are one of the major attractions to the devotees and visitors. Mass lunch is offered by the Mandir to the devotees and the visitors. Obviously it involved huge costs, which is shared by the donations from the Hindu community.

Heeling of ill health

The people of Tipra use modern as well as folk medicines. The use of vegetations for heeling is also practiced. The spread of modern medicine was practiced since long but because of poverty the market based medical services was difficult to avail for the Tipra community. In that case, folk medicine worked well but vegetation based folk medicine needed scientific exploration.

Marriage

By customs, mate selection for marriage among the Tipra people preferred to the same community. Male can marry other ethnic community like Hindu. But for female it is preferable to choose groom from the same ethnic communities.

Inheritances of property and gender relations

Inheritance of property is patrilineal. Women generally do not get equal share to the father's property. Division of labor in Tipra is divided into social, and gender. In the gender perspectives, the Tipra women are low access to the outside home work. The separate identity and the security concerns are the hindrances to take duty to the out side.

Livelihoods

Hill agriculture was popular among the people of Tipra. The previous system of hill agriculture that popularly called as jummu or jum was eroded, now they depended on non-peasantry works at various places of labor market. Now, they are mainly day laborers and seek to find suitable day labor works. Among the Tipra, few are service holders. Outside these communities of Comilla, substantial number of Tipra are working at the high positions of government and non government organizations. Sharecropping is the major pattern of peasantry among them. They gathered hill potato (cassava type), bamboo shoots, fruits and animals like sajaru (porcupine), bonroui, etc.

Social stratification

Tipra communities were stratified by income, formal jobs and professions, education, socially linked and network, gender, and behavioral pattern. Urban proximity and growing urbanization has been created opportunities for them. In this respect, the communities divided into urban and non urban situations. The relatively remote areas of urban hamlets are Jammura and Dhakhin Kashar. No distinct pollution and purity found in the hamlets living. New sources of leaderships emerging from the support of civil society's support on adibashi people of Bangladesh, NGO and development activities, network with government administration and media. Cultural component of the Tipra attracts the media to disseminate their culture in the television, and newspapers. Many tourists visit to Tipra hamlets.

Savings habits

Savings habit is popular among the Bengali community of Tipra adjoining areas of the locality. Several samity or society either registered or non registered were exists at the localities due to the program of Comilla model of development. However it is found that, at present the Tipra are less access to the farmer's cooperative system. On the other hand they were formed a samity under the finance of government agencies. Presence of savings societies at the adjoining areas the Tipra also assimilated the process of model of savings. They are now having access to the micro credit along with the overlapping. The nature and magnitude of poverty is different in the ethnic community. The outlooks of the governing classes are important whether particular group or the segment of population included or not at the process of target group development process. Non economic factors of poverty also the bottleneck for Bangladesh development. Only participation can be ensured the elimination of isolation and vulnerability. Individual characteristics as well as family position and family values are important criteria for poverty analysis. Side by side the poverty syndrome among the women are also varied in place to place and community to community. To explore poverty situation among the ethnic communities are more related to the cultural dimension.

Principle norms related to social order and social structure

Living through the social shared life from immemorial of time is practicing in the Tipra community. One elderly but knowledgeable person directs the society or community. He maintains the social order and coordinated with the neighboring communities. To protect

own culture is one of the functions of the community. If any body violets the social order he or she gets warning from the society. Women are given specially care at the community, they are not allowed to marrying the outside community like male from Bengali and other outside communities.

The urbanization process and the changing living styles

The Tipra of these places are now enjoying suburbs facilities and social amenities. The good road communications and positional advantages of the Comilla Sadar Upazilla giving them opportunities to avails some advantages for living like security related jobs at different organization, petty business, getting education, and above all changing life styles. At the growing urbanization period they are also benefited through the increase of land price. The approximate of growth centers and evolving growth center of the living places of Tipra have also changed their attitudes despite their distinct identity . So many visitors and tourists came to see them for which the growth of tourism could be flourished in these areas. The museum and archeological sites which preserved the ancient heritage of old Samatat and ancient buddhist educational civilization adjoining to the Tipra's living places of Comilla Sadar Upazilla. The region where Tipra is settled displays multicultural traits of Bangladesh including the Tipra *adibashi* culture that may attract the tourists more if it offers with package of heritage including proposed community center of Tipra by the Upazilla administration, showing living folk traditions and its changing aspects, archeological sites, museums, Sal forests, hillocks, and living patterns of the people who living here.

Indigenous knowledge

It is earlier mentioned that the people of Tipra have inherently gained the knowledge to make chuak /cholai mod or local win. They also make bamboo materials for household purpose and agricultural/horticultural activities. The other indigenous knowledge as practicing by them are health medicine, rituals at the marriages, birth, death, and other purposes.

The Adaptation Process:

The family pattern of Tipra community has changed in last four decades and nuclear family system is widely practiced in recent times. The male wear western pattern of cloths like trouser and shirts which indicates their attachment with the process of globalization. They are mixing their culture with the other sources of culture like Bengali, Indian, and Western. Their livelihood pattern has also been changed from hill based to the plain land peasantry, providing labor for wage earning generally at the plain land based labor market. The Tipra of these places are conscious about their land rights system. Due to Tripura Maharaja during British India, the Tipra are guaranteed for their land rights. In this case they are different from the other ethnic communities of Bangladesh especially northern districts Santal and others. Their food habit has been also changed and cassava is now an old history for their food habit.

Although slow in process, selection of mate for marriage has also changed. The young boys and girls are showing their interest to select own choice mate for marriage. In comparison to the past, the Tipra people enjoy more access to formal education. The children of Tipra now know more Bengali languages than their mother tongue. The elderly Tipra afraid of losing their own language like Kok-Borok. They lost their relative remoteness due to densely populated by Bengalis as co residences and next door neighbors specially in Shalban Bihar areas. The Dakhin Kashar moderately separated from the Bengali neighbors on the other hand the Jammura notably separated from the Bengalis households. Moreover the Tipra hamlets are not extensively separate from the other community therefore they co share the courtyards, ponds, drinking tube wells, orchards, labor market, educational institutions and so on. They more like to adopt the Hindu religious traits. Organizations from the Government and non-government sources are extended their social development activities among the Tipra community. To getting service delivery they organized different groups as the part of receiving ends. They also organize own identical folk cultural functions on request of the Government officials. Alongside, they are very much interest to invites the local District and Thana officials and other important personalities to attend their cultural program, and festivals. The district and Upazila administrations also have shown their interest to participate Tipra's socio cultural functions and festivals.

Tipra People Living with Hard Works

General masses of the hamlets living with hard labor. One elderly Tipra said we give hard work to the other people's property and stakes which actually benefits the owner of the property or investors or alike comparable – “amra kaj kori operer jami ar itvatai-te, maliker lab beshi amra pai samanna ja diee amader poshai na” (we do works in others land or brickfields, owners gets major but we get little which is not enough for living). Providing hard labor based livelihoods to the outside ethnic community members of Tipra is new phenomenon in compare to the past history of their own. Declining of Tipra people owing to out migration squeezing the old patron client relations or productive reciprocal relations at the community level. On the other words, the moral community that more reciprocal has been broken down. Rising of day or wage laborers termed onner

janna kaj (working in the other property and for other's benefit) is signifies particular socio productive relations that implies stake less situation in one hand and moreover express sort of alienated situation on the other. However, women are discouraged to work outside of the households because of fear of security and feel the stigmatized condition. After hard work throughout the day and at the dawn of night the homemade win drinks attracts the some of workers or laborers Tipra. Home arrangement for that purpose requires community interaction, preparing chuak or cholai mod (home made win), at risk on cultural clashes, by some sections of Bengali communities. Especially gentry and Islamic religious minded Bengalis dose not like such type of drinking habits at the locality. Therefore the new settlers by their size can pressure on Tipra community. Drinking Chuak endow with relief from the tiredness among the hard workers of the Tipra community. To attract the wine the some portion of Bengali settlers came here and demand drinks of wine -the chuak. The process of chuak making having indigenous knowledge and folk traditions. Undoubtedly it is specialty of the Tipra which mixes indigenous intergenerational skills and bearing unique heritage.

The aboriginal Tipra make local wine. This cultural habit which giving them living energy. On the scarcity of land and still land based economic activities has created the clash among the residences. Criticizing wine taking which social stigma for the majority people of the areas. Not understanding the different culture is prevailing there which indicates the weakness of multicultural patterns of Bangladesh. On the other hand excessive addiction to land, money, along with even simple form of addiction to drugs and wines treated as ethical problems, the former also convey another form of corruption process of the society that too hampers the real development of the country. Clash of culture and values irrespective of class, creed, gender, ethnicity displays in various forms in Bangladesh due to power relations, ethnic based superiority complex, scarcity of resources and the direct impact of the global process.. The Tripura collectivity is dispersed and perhaps lately showing their existentiality on ethno feelings. On the other hand the Bengali community is the mainstream people of the Bengal regions by adopting the western education in early. The adaptability of Bengalis on other culture is profound features in the past and even in the present. The mixed nation produces the coordination of different ideologies. The ideology of animism, charbak, joino, Buddha, bainab, Sufism, boul and other. In this process the Bengali language enriched by many sources. The mixed nation produces its languages through the Aryan influences on the alphabetic traditions.. The racial identity played here important role in inter social relations in terms of distance maintaining and keeping own living by intra relations.

Other important social facts on Tipra community of the hamlets

According to the opinions of the 'alphabets' the Tipra community of Daudkandi and the Chadpur lost the 'alphabet' and the cultural heritage. The Dakhin Kashar village of Lalmai now rearing the boars and pork's. The Kirtan is practicing and performs on the occasion on festivals like puja specially the srwatshati puja at the evening. Alike Hindu religions on exception on when they practicing the pig rearing, which indicating the lower caste at the Hindu religion. That is the potential division among the inter relations with the Hindu community. On the other hand the neighboring Bengali community

accepts the business of boar rearing, they thought if we export frog why not pig or boar. In addition if we rearing the crocodiles at a district why not pigs

The Tipra and the Bengali communities also influenced by the army and cantonment administration. By expansion of cantonment and security measures at the 2nd world war and the time to time following strategic points, , the Tipra displaced hillock tops house dwellings and slightly down towards the lower portion of the hillock. The gradual expansion of military and border security installations and the firing range one of the reason for slow down the easiest road connection to the hill top Mandir and the locality of the hillocks at Dhakhin Kashar and its adjoining locality of the Tipra which consists of Bengalis. The seasonal and trial or mohora of army in the locality has created the expanding relations with the people. By the disciplined life and organized behavior of the Army the people of the locality know how much beneficial such type of disciplined life in practical life. The Tipra Bajar- that bears the old traditions of their market networks. It also indicates the spread market among the Tipra community. The process of globalization touches the people who have some sort of connectivity even at the colonial periods.

The Mandir of Radha Krishna of Hindu community and their traditional way of life influence the Tipra people . The religion is the symbol of unity which they valued and bonded with the Hindu community those live here in the growth center and the villages. It has been observed that all of the regions are now on the process of changing rural urban relations in the verge of growing urbanization and linkages with the global centers by exporting laborers for remittances earnings. A little bit clashes of cultural practices and values are also prevailed in the locality in spite of global influence here on the issue of wine making and drinking by Tipra. It is reported that even police harassed them in the face of allegation to the wine bearing. Due to demand, some of Tipra may produce wine for the other people. Differentiation of cultures in Bangladesh have also attracted the people in the locality. Their hardship of lives and consequently drop out in education is the general events for the community.. The tourists came here to see them, some of them purchase local wine in covert ways. The heritage of making wine like haria of santal as traditional practices was mentioned in several times and it is the distinct cultural traits as well as the skill of the community.

Hamlet of Salban Bihar

Duration of settlement at the Salban Bihar's adjoining areas iihar by the some of Tipra households has passed 36 years. They termed themselves as adibashi of the Lalmai regions, and settled Salban due to acquired of land by the. They purchased the land with the compensate money. What does mean Adibashi? The Tipra mean it the old inhabitants. The term adibashi denotes early settlers that are original in nature and had entitlement to the land possessions. Who came first it means they must be countable in development process. But the number is the factors, which happened at the Australian aboriginals. Australian Australoyed aboriginal gradually on the process of distinct.. The adjoining of Salban Bihar is now pulling the people from different areas to settle here. Therefore, the process of urbanization is the key social socio-economic phenomenon of these localities.

The Tipra community also on the way to changes their social relations in two spaces - own community level, and neighboring level. Government sponsored organizational support also extended the assistance to them. NGOs also working in the community. The availability of micro credit has been expanded at the Salban hamlets. It indicates the wider opportunities for repayment the micro credit. Multiplicity of micro credit also found in the place.

Table 1: Socio-economic profile of Salban hamlet

Number of Families	No. of Male	No. of Female	Education scenario	What are they doing now
26	28 Majority belongs to upto 45 years old. Above 50 + of age number is 9.	32 no. of Elderly female (Above 50+) is 5.	Children now attending the schools. Majority complete primary education	Day laboring is the major source of income. Most creditable matters is that 3 girls now HSC student And one is a student of

Source: field work (2017)

Land ownership patterns and impact of urbanization

Total amount of land of Salban is 5.5 *kani*. These land uses as home and homestead land, therefore, the cultivable land is nil at Salban hamlet. So that they (Salban hamlet) are not distinctly peasants in compare to the other hamlets (especially Jammura and Dakhin Kashar). They mainly work in the services and labor based works. On the other hand, living at the edge of the town offer them opportunities to work at the town. The number of commuter is increasing in recent past. Developing town is going on the locality, due to approximate of Comilla town, and other training and, lastly the establishment of Comilla University boost up the process of urbanization at the locality. The whole locality now under the *Pouroshaba* (municipality areas). The people of the locality including the Tipra passing through the new lives on urban environment. The ownership of land is the crucial for getting direct and immediate benefit from the urbanization, because of the land prices are mounting on. Some Tripura has no land; they live in others land to survive. The land losing syndrome is occurring due to pressure of urbanization, demographic changes at the households. On the other hand the out migration and service oriented migration is the cause to minimize the pressure on the land. Pull factors in migration are the major cause for changing demographic scenario at the Salban areas. **Income**

While day laboring is the major source of income among the Tipra community, the per day labor wage was Tk. 150 in peak seasons and 120 in the lean seasons at the areas (in the year of 2007).

Socialization process

Socialize of own culture is practicing in the Tipra community. Fostering ethics like obeying the parents and respectfully maintaining the kin relations are some of their code of life. The family and community people valued the good advices and distinctions of good and bad elements of the society. How to behave and poses good things also some teaching. They also teach the love and teach the children and respect the elderly. How to minimize own interest at the competitive world also teach as practical knowledge for survival. The living mechanism also respectful for the neighbors and their sentiments.

The sources of water

Hand tube well water is widely used for purposes of drinking, cooking, bathing and washing. No. of ponds are declining fast due to demand of housing and infrastructure at the locality. The hand tube well is supplied by the government funded project of *Upajati Kallayan Samity* (Tribal Welfare Society).

1.11 The organization participation :

Micro credit and the *adibashi* organization

The *Upajati Kallayan Samity*(Tribal Welfare Society) provide loan from its seed money for the welfare of the Tipra people. The organization has been formed to get the assistance from the delivery system of the government. Simultaneously some NGOs also operating their micro credit at the different households.. The source of micro credit is many. A single borrower can borrow multiple sources of micro credit. The open market of the micro credit operation is going on.

Table 2: Some of social functions of Tipra

Social events	<i>Puja</i> , rituals on birth, child born and death and others
Marriage	Intra community preferable
Major religious functions	Puja – <i>Durga</i> , <i>Swarshati</i> and <i>Radha Krishna mandir</i> festival.
Funeral	Burn the body at the <i>shashan</i> which combined of Hindu religion rituals.
Socialize rituals	Try to preserve own cultural rituals
Attitudes towards romance	Liberal
Inter community functions	Seek decision making on crucial matter through the peoples representatives or knowledgably <i>salishkar</i> (mediator) from outside the community. Major community matters tried to solve within the community members. Sharing the development activities with the neighbors. Tolerance shows to abstain perform of <i>dhol</i> and songs during <i>ajan</i> and <i>namaj</i> during the festivals of <i>swarashati puja</i> .

Source: Field work (2017)

The *swarshati puja* indicates that, their interest towards the education. The awareness on education has been increased. Education is the great upper mobility factor, although sustain in formal education is hard for majority family of the community. Therefore, they continue to children education at their level best. Expansion of urban facilities offer the increase number of schools and colleges at the locality. Generally they do not go to the *madrasha*. On the other hand *madrasha* do not inclusion non Muslim student.

Relations with Bengalis :

Social Relations and Contact of Languages

Good social relations between the both ethnic communities are prevailing – the majority Bengali identity and the small number of Tipra ethnic community. The Tipra of Bangladesh is belonging to Bangladeshi nationality. The small community of Tipra is on transition with the process of acculturation, diffusion. The semi pidgin trends seen at the Tipra communities. Pidgin means mix of languages, although they try to maintain their own language at the family and kin relations those belongs to the same community. The Bengali is important for communicate to the neighborhoods, and larger society of Bangladesh. The educated Bangladeshi Tipra knows three languages as follows: own Tipra at family and kin groups; Bengali at the societal level, and English. Some of knows some Hindi language due to media impact and contact with the Tripura communities in the Tripura state of India. They generally feel their marginal position of own culture while the overwhelming majority Bengali population.

Preferences of songs

The children and the young more adoptive to the Bengali songs. The next generations' choices are more globalized rather than the taboo based choice or own full own cultural boundaries. Obviously it is happening due to their few numbers and separate settlement under the growing urban influences.

Folk entertainment and *chuak*

Chuack: it is mentioned earlier that, *Chuack* one kind of local product wine, produced by Tipra household, as a part of their cultural symbol. The *chuack* it made of *chuang thui* this cultural symbol practices to drink together *chuck*, which reduces the tiredness of the industrious people of Tipra. The *chuak* drink together irrespective of elderly and younger male and female. Sometimes the terrorist forced to collect wine, with demand some of Tipra also sell the *chuak*. Gradually, the Tipra are found that there is demand of local wine among the Bengali people. The production of wine is restricted, and use of wine is prohibited under Islamic values.

The Hill potatoes are very much match with food habit of Tipra Community. This variety is now rare while the forest cover has declined due to settlement and establishing other important installations. In this way the wild animals also are on the process of extinction. The newly formed *Adibashi kallyan Samity* leaders think on how to extend the sources of income. How to become self-reliant? The educated Tipra think them yet to receive the knowledge of development.

The micro credit is not sufficient for them but it also helps generating some economic activities. Rearing a boar or pig 'beast' or goat is getting popular. In a long term, plant a timber-valued tree will give benefit. Trees are gradually creating the resources. It is observed that, in general Tipra households have fewer plantations in that case of Bengali Community. If a tree plant on the occasion of baby born therefore that tree will be resourced one day and that tree will be provided financial benefit the baby's education and marriage. Above all these development message is not working properly it is found that some sort of inertia prevailing mentionable number of Tipra households.

According to an educated Tipra, cleverness is important for living at the competitive and relative hostile conditions of the society. Competitions in everywhere. It is observed that accomplished training enhance cleverness. Cleverness is desirable in the present living styles for surviving. The credit what they got must investment in such which making profit, otherwise repayment generally will not possible.

Bamboo Selling

Bamboo is representing the cultural symbols of the Tipra. Bamboo shoots used as delicious curry for the meals. Selling bamboo is the coping mechanism to bad period of family life. Availability of bamboo depends on the ownership and access to the hillock tops natural resources, which is becoming very much competitive and invent of market forces. Therefore, market forces benefits those who have the ownership and entrepreneurship quality.

Hamlet of Jammura

Jammura is the high hillock areas relatively separate settlement situated at Lalmia hillock range of Comilla district. In Bengali *Jam* means black berry and *Mura* mean high land. *Mura* is popular term for mentioning settlement and important installation. *Kotila Mura*, *Itakhola Mura* is some popularly known area where Buddhists civilizations of the late ancient Bengal were found. These areas are characterized by high, hilly, Pleistocene soils, cultural civilization, livelihood, and above all way of life. Civilization and way of life manifestations unveiled by the archeological digging and its systematic exhibit at the sites of archeology and Moynamoti museum. As a locality Jammura situated under the 9 no. Bijoypur Union. About 14 families live in the hillock hamlets, and only 2 families live in the downside plain land of the hillock. There are 90 people live in the Jammura Tipra Hamlet. The community named themselves as Tripura Upazati.

Table 3: Population distribution of the Jammura hamlet

Age groups	F e m a l e members	M a l e members	E d u c a t i o n a l statuses	M a j o r w o r k s Performed by them
Up to 15 years	10	17	Girls and boys go to schools	Student
Up to 45 years	23	23	Only 2 male passed SSC exam.	<i>Badla</i> (day laborers) brickfield labors <i>bandak</i> (mortgage in) based vegetable cultivate. Two families have peasantry. Services also found (2 persons)
UP to 54 years	12	12	S o m e h a v e primary level (in average class 3) of education	<i>T u k t a k k a j</i> (miscellaneous works which convenient for them), light works for
Above 60 years	-	-	-	-

Source: filed work (2017)

Generally women are not working at the outside of the homestead areas; they collect water and fuel energy from the near homestead areas. Hillock and downside of the hillock flora and fauna are the source of fuel energy. Once these orchards and forest belonged to common property now property transferred to individual property due to increase of population, along with scarcity of land. The privatization on common property loosing the common access and leads to scarcity of fuel energy also. The house consists of one roof of *akchala* generally made of thatch/paddy straw and tin. Some of Tipra families have faced and also are facing land dispute trouble with non-tribal families. Tipra felt they are easily cheated and misguided. The young and capable males are working of the

brick filed at winter and at the spring seasons they usually sell bamboo. There's other activities are to sell labor for earth cutting digging and tree cutting. The total land of the hamlet is 33 *kani*, which mainly consists of homestead and orchards; two families have the cultivable land. Generally Tipra rent in land from the neighbor Bengali people usually they grows vegetable there. Female and male of the hamlet also grows vegetables of the homestead areas. Wood and fallen leaf uses as firewood for cooking and boiling water.

Sources of water

Once the inhabitants uses '*Jarna*' or stream water. Gradually those streams were dried up. The Tipra were bathed and cleaned dishes with stream (*nala*) water. Nala means water preservation with water follow. The tribal community gradually faced the water crisis, due to dry up the streams. Such little canals stream was transformed into walk ways. Only rainy season canal with water follows is visible for temporary time. Because of obstacles to water follow during rainy season the water logging the areas and create some damage of homestead areas, orchard and even house at the downside houses of the hillocks.

Table 4: The Sociability of the hamlet

Marriage	Use musical instrument, specially <i>dol</i>
Religious functions	<i>Durga Puza, Swarshati Puza, and Kali Puza</i>
Funeral rituals	After death Son shave head hair in 1 st day; After 13 days of death <i>shraddo</i> (a meal sharing based get together) is arranged.
Birth of a child	Generally born in home, going medical is a recent phenomenon.
Mate selection	Own mate selection is now practice more than arranged marriage. Although the mates seek permission from the parents. The consent of guardians is desirable.

Sources: field work(2017

Relation with neighboring Bengalis

In many spaces Bengali and Tipra maintains social, economic, and cultural relations. The Bengalis generally the land owner so that Tipra rent in land from the Bengali's land owner. The Tipra also depends on Bengali people on getting works of wages.

The Bengali and Tipra males' drinks tea at tea stalls. They also work together at the working place like brickfield, agricultural field and other wage work situations. Gossip is popular recreation among the people irrespective of Bengali and Tipra. They also maintain some reciprocal relations in the community life. The hamlet of Jammura maintains interrelations community life in the area on economic and social.

The *gormil* or difference of opinions, clashes of interests, land disputes, create pressure on mind are some problems which are facing Tipra inhabitants. Due to their lower

position of the economic hierarchy they also live with tense life. The tension arises how to live, what will be eaten, how to get food and work. Generally they do not find good solutions for these matters.

The access to micro credit

About 13 households out of 16 households (81%) of Jammura are the members of the Grameen Bank. Grameen Bank borrowers spread irrespective of Bengali and Tipra people. A person of Tipra Community remarks “ avoiding loan is beneficial, because of we are so poor & `ababi` (poor) only 6 month I can do work; I fill ill many days; although I get not work in many days; so how can I repay the loan.” It has been reported that many households are facing traceable with repayment. Even they not able to continue the loan. The staff of the micro credit hassle the borrowers if they not get the *kishti* or weekly repayment of installment.

Tripura people who live in Comilla Sadar (South), Jammura, Shalban, Dhakhin Kashar, are more access to micro credit. Radakrishna Mondir dwellers mainly devotee and depend on charity from affluent neighbors.

Table 5: Total population of the community at Comilla Sadar (South)

Age group (years)	Distribution of population by sex		Total
	Male	Female	
0 – 5	4	1	5
6 – 10	11	7	18
11- 15	19	3	22
16 – 20	7	1	8
21 – 25	5	2	7
26 – 30	2	-	2
31 – 35	8	5	13
36 – 40	4	3	7
41 – 45	12	7	19
45 – 50	6	5	11
51 – 55	3	3	6
56 – 60	4	3	7
61 – 65	5	4	9
66 – 70	3	2	5
70-120	2	-	2
Total	93	44	141

Sources: survey and field work (2017)

The Tipra community has more male than the female. During the field visit it is reported by the key informants that “female girl born less in recent times.” It may have some scientific causes. The economic ages consists of 11 to 65 years those contribute more for the economy.

Table 6: Number of households in different hamlets

Jammura	20
Shalban Bihar	34
Dhakhin Kashar	26
Rada Krishna Mondir	5
BARD campus	1

Source: Field work (2017)

The table 6 depicts that majority of the households situated at Shalban Bihar. This place is more congested than others. The original living can be found at Jammura and Dhakhin Kashar areas. The separateness of living are visible here.

Table 7: Educational status of Tipra people

The level of education	Situation
Illiterate	-
Literate of able to signature own name	100%
Primary passed	70%
Secondary School Certificate passed	18%
Higher Secondary Certificate passed	7%
Graduate passed	4%
Post graduate	-

Source: field work, (2017)

Traditionally the Tipra people are educated and cultured. Due to their insolvency the level of education is not higher. However the Tipra children are attending the schools and parents shown the enthusiasm to send their children to the school.

Table 8: Major occupation of the Tipra households

Type of occupation	Situation
Services	One third of the community population
Day laborers	Three fourth of the community population
Business	One third of the community population
Transport laborers	Nil
Sharecroppers	One fourth of the community population

Source: field work, (2017)

Day labouring is the major occupational sources of Tipra. So that they live mainly on from hand to mouth. At the fringe of living at the towns and city the Tipra more enter into the service.

Mobility chart

Tipra are mainly are working at the Lalmai hill areas. They works at different organizations of Lalmai areas. They visiting relatives houses of Chandpur, Doudkandi, and Tripura state of India. There is relations with their cultural roots. The desire to contact more with Indian Tripura is felt need.

Table 9: Totality of the hamlets

No. of households	84
No. of population	150
Average household	1.78

Source: field work, (2017)

The Notion of Tribe, Ethnicity, *adibashi* among the Tipra of Comilla

The present Tipra of Comilla is not totally tribe. They lost their horticultural and pastoral sociopolitical organization. On the other hand they adopted the peasantry and non and off farm livelihoods. Spread of education also expanded the new forms of occupation such as service-oriented occupations. Therefore Tipra is now ethnic identity but absorbed the occupational diversification rather than horticulture and pastoralism. Adopting the peasantry, sharecropping, day laboring, wage laboring, small trades and other services. The old pattern of horticulture is declining and new form of horticulture has been introduced due to agricultural globalization. The huge competition on limited land impacts on the previous living on horticulture however reduces it, the personal and organized efforts to own the hillock land has changed the livelihood pattern. The women

movement to hill gradually shrinks due to ownership problems. The Tipra also on pauperization process so that they loss their traditional occupation depend on hillock cultivation. On the other hand they have also at edge of new occupation due to expanding urbanization of the locality. At the living at the fringe of city life the Tipra found some of jobs that halted their further pauperization. They are in poverty trap but having several opportunity due to expanding urban rural linkages. The Tipra of India and the state of Tripura passing through the several dimensional lives. The Indian government expanded several target group approaches for downtrodden classes and the Tribes. Under the schedule tribe target approach, the *adibashi kallayan samity* also plays significant role to distributive justice among the Tipra of Trippura state of Indian union.

Despite of overall cultural homogenization in , Bangladesh also displays some of significant heterogeneity.. Bangladesh represents mixed culture of Bengalis, and other ethnic communities those live in Bangladesh. Cultural diffusions through global process are also shaping the Bangladesh culture. Therefore Bangladesh culture represents the mixed culture that contributed by Bengalis ethnic identities, religions, livelihood cultural traditions and so on. Bengalis religions or believes are: Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Animist, Jainism, Sikhism, Atheist, *charbak* (the secular form of world outlook which formed at the ancient India) and other believers contributed the Bengalis cultural traditions. Side by side the tribal culture also enriches the Bangladeshi culture. The mixes of culture still if going on and particularly at the era of cultural globalization.

The Tripura of Comilla termed them as *adibashi*. Adibashi means first settler in the region. First settlers mean first usurers of natural resources like land and water bodies. On the view of Bengali settlers they also live here from immemorial of time. The formation of the plain land of the Comilla embedded in their folk oral history. The age of history of Bengali ethnic population spanned more than five thousand years. The debate of *adibashi* therefore obscure in nature and fact remains in the oral history, folk traditions, nature of occupation, livelihood patterns, and migration experiences and so on. According to anthropological point of view adibashi refers to the specific form of living condition of the group of ethnic people those having cultural identity, social control through band or headman etc. Tipra of Comilla therefore holds several identities which are given below:

- Citizen identity – Bangladeshi
- Racial identity – Mongoloid
- Religious identity – *Sanatan dharma* of Tripura tribal
- Tribal identity – declining trends due to shrinks the horticulture and adopt the market based pastoral
- Ethnic identity – on the process of Tipra identity with other Tipra of own country and outside country which may called as cultural affinity
- Settlement identity – claim as *adibashi* at the hillocks.

The Tipra of Comilla maintains social and cultural contacts with the Tripura state’s Tipra or Tripura communities. The tribal character still prevails in the contact people and areas of that. The hill based horticulture and pastoral still in there. So they adopt and mixed two

forms of livelihood patterns. Marriage ties is the impotent ties among them. Bangladesh situation is more market oriented rather situation of those areas. The Tipra of Comilla is not more communicate with the Chittagong Hill Tracts Tipra. The causes are long distance and less social ties. But feeling for cultural affinity is found. Some of Tipra students of hill tracts those admitted at the different colleges of Comilla visit these hamlets occasionally. Some of leading personalities of Tipra community of Hill Tracts also visited these hamlets in recent times. What is the binding force to staying in Bangladesh? According to the views of leaders of Tipra community of Comilla described that the patriotism, the nostalgias on birthplaces are the major causes for staying in Bangladesh. On the other hand in Indian Tripura state offers some target oriented development and service delivery mechanisms such as loan for *Tripura Adibashi Kallayn* (Tripura Aboriginal Welfare). According to their opinion the health facilities also better in Tripura. The employment guarantee scheme also operating in Tripura state. On the other hand Tipra of Comilla feels more access to the job by Tribal quota in Bangladesh. They also observed that the majority

Mobility charts of Tipra

Table 10: Mobility Patterns

Various forms of mobility	Patterns
Horizontal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Seasonal migration ■ Marital ties with the same community ■ Attend religious festivals ■ Stay at same occupation through inter generational mobility
Vertical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Downward due to loss of land and traditional horticulture ■ Down ward due to lack of education and not access to education ■ Downward due to lack of physical and financial capital ■ Upward due to earn capability to join the labor market and service market ■ Upward for new generation due to their access to education ■ Upward due to social development specially credit and assistants.
Intergenerational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Huge change has been occurred due to switching the horticulture to the peasantry and other occupations.
Intra generational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Day laborers more changes their earning methods and feel deprivation (form of universal laborers alienation).

Sources: field work, (2017)

The differentiations of Tipra community of Comilla are found at occupations, education, intensity of cultural and social contacts, ownership of natural resources, access to formal organizations. It is found individualism is developed among them. The suspicion also found, which may relate with inter ethnic value differences. The micro credit is not popular among the Dakhin Kashar hamlets and Jammura hamlets. The burden of repayment and the psychological pressures are the reason to avoid the micro credit.

Once Tipra not interested to mixes mud or clay of the peasants works and engage themselves *jum* cultivation. Now they adopt the pesantry and join at the wage labour market – these are the major change in their lives due to historical process of Nation States in one hand and the demographical downwards of Tripura after 1947 and rapid increases of the non Tipra population at the locality.

The Tipra was not totally tribal in the past. The market also penetrated at that community in the process of human lives interplays with colonial and capitalism processes. The market of Tippera of Comilla indicated that how market developed among them on the basis of their livelihoods and other exchange oriented activities at the past especially colonial period.

New Roles of Tipra (Tripura)

Recently they joined in trust-oriented services – in present they performs good security personnel at government and autonomous organizations. Women and girls particularly work in family boundaries. Work as a maidservant at Bengali homestead also found (although one case in number).

The *shalish* (conflict resolution) mechanism, in some cases invites the Bengali *shalishker* (conflict mediator). Bengali language cemented at their lives both in Bangladesh and Tripura state of India. Tipra's fluncey in Bangla indicates that they are Bengalis. Only racial identity and some cultural traits including food habits differentiate them from the Bengali communities. Marriage with the Bengalis and other factors indicating that their racial uniqueness also in transition.

Structural Transformation

The differentiations of social system of Tipra based on land ownership, education, good social network and style of life and pattern of responsiveness to the development and the market forces. The process of pauperization halted by the wage based hard labor, milch cow rearing, rearing of pigs, on the other hand building links through the tribal societies associations, participation in the labor market, acquiring skill and own capability, using business opportunities. The decision making process of the Tipra shift to the those persons of the own community who thought overall development of the four hamlets.

Relationship among four hamlets: viewpoint from exchange network

Tipra community of Comilla Sadar Thana Consists of three major hamlets and one portion of that mainly adjoining with Rada Krishna Mandir, which is service providers of *mandir* in terms of *Sabayet* (chief spiritual personality of the Temple or *mandir*) functions, assistants to *Sabayet* and *mandir* maintenances. The *mandir* adjoining settlement situated of the top of the hillock and very near to Dhakhin Gasha.

Relationships of these hamlets occurred in marriage, ceremonial functions, consulting and decision making. The *puza* of Radha- Krishna Mandir great opportunities to meet together and interaction each other. At the *puza* festival, the participation of *puzari* (*puza* performers) come form different parts of Bangladesh, even occasionally outside of

Bangladesh. Especially from Indian states West Bengal and Tripura. The *Puzari* from India has decreased drastically in recent pasts. The Hindu Zamindar who donate and built this mandir long ago some times came to the mandir at the past. So, the Radha- Krishna Mandir open up avenues of extended relations with other tipra communities, Bengali – Hindu communities. Festivals are great opportunities for assembles together and share views, happiness and sorrows. The death birth related rituals also accelerate the interactions among the hamlets inhabitants.

Exchange

Tipra people’s downward situations provoke unequal exchange with the resources riches persons of the overall community. Downgrade exchanges mean the sustaining poverty. The historical causes are other matters to fall in downward position of Tipra people. The Tipra passing through several historical evidences like band and tribal life, own monarchy, colonial, post colonial and Bangladesh periods of time spans. The constitution of Bangladesh is the safe guard for ethnic people – the question is the implementation.

Chart of Relationships

Table 11: Relationship Charts

Family	Social	Livelihood	Market	State
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family and kins relations. Intergenerational and socialization and Symbol based (language) relations. Consanguine Marital relations Fictions and story telling of own 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Bari</i> and Inter <i>Bari</i> relations Inter Para and Neighborhood relations Inter communities relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peasantry and Peasant relations’ own community’s gathering Inter community’s relations on gathering on participation in natural endowments. Labor market and ‘Sardari’ system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labor production marketing. Service seekers of health education Dowry but it has market mechanism. 	Citizen Approval to cross the border to meet own community members. State protection

Source: field work,(2017)

Coping Mechanisms

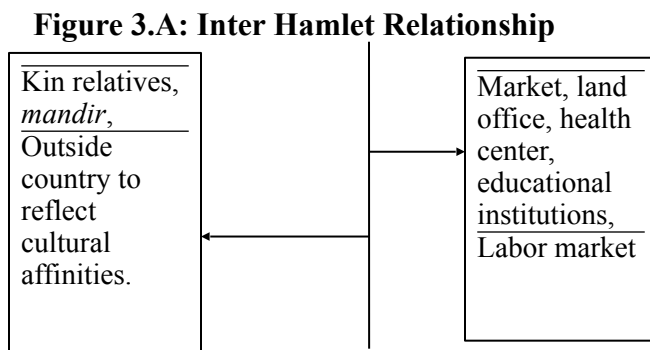
Migration is the simple way to coping livelihood mechanism of the Tipra community. The social networks of the cross border is the beneficial for them at the disaster times. Traditional social caring and guardianships for sharing the adverse situations are practicing at the family or community crisis. Still some of health problems meet up with

the vegetation heeling method. Elderly people of the community bearing the knowledge on nature based medicine and give advices and medicines.

Inter hamlets relations on development matters

Ethnic based community development along with other initiatives or micro credit programs is shaping their dyadic relations. They are assembling for getting loans and monitored by supervised credit mechanisms. To get the development assistances like ring slab latrines and tube well under the Tribal Development Fund of Government they showed their performances by organizational activities. Tribal Development Fund has created more interactions with the hamlets inhabitants. The leaders of the Tribal Welfare Monindra Tripura and Nokul Tripura maintains relations with the Boloram Tripura and Sanjib Tripura and others in different hamlets. Monindra mentioned that the inhabitants of the hamlets are generally simple in living and majority of them are not ‘clever’ or not aware of the reality.

After the shocks of the partition (1947) of British India and historical proceedings of out migration from Comilla, the Tipra are now try to revive themselves by preserving and express their culture. They gate also more supports form Government administrations, civil society NGOs, micro credit organizations and neighboring people. The possible problem lies in the land disputes in the process of increase of population and on process of urbanization.



Source: field work,(2017)

Table 12 The declining traditions of Tipra of Comilla

	Past Trends (65 years ago)	Present Trends	Special features
<i>Biju</i> (farewell to year and welcoming new)	Community Network based	Hamlet based know each other's programs of <i>biju</i>	Salban hamlet more organized capacity to quick performance of <i>biju</i>
Flame Candle at <i>Mondir</i>	Community participation	The <i>Mondir</i> located at remote and isolated areas	Dakhin Gacha hamlet near to the <i>mondir</i>
Wear for own cloths	Own tradition	Lost tradition due to lack of community training	Chittagong Hill Tracts (Rangamati, Khagrashori, Bandarban) traditions treated as symbols
Folk dance	Own Character	Mixed with modern dance	Influence of media (film)

At the process of historical consequences, Tipra community sustain and reshaping their cultural symbols. Their spiritual belief exists only their oral traditional and at the organization's of communities shared Mondir. The out migration causes rapid fading of traditional practices of their own. The community revival comes from several sources like global civil society's awareness; own community's oral based cultural tradition, local support form administration and civil society. Influences of peace accords of 1997 in Chittagong also provides some beneficial for them.

The Festivals

Tipra observe 'Biju Utshab' at the last tow days and opining day of the new years of Bangla calendar year. Tipra called it *Boishabi*'. In general at the first day of the *Boishabi* festival the Tipra bathes domestic animals. They flame the candle at the holy places like Mondir. In second day of the festival they clean the home and homestead with water. They wear own made clothes at the festivals. At the last day they bath the elderly persons of the community and seek *ashirbad* (blessing) from them. However in the field study periods the researchers found very few elderly people at the community. Tipra uses the flower at the festivals. They also dance during festivals. The folk dance called *Goya* performed by them at that occasion. Recently Tipra welfare society of Comilla organized Biju utshab at Salban Bihar hamlet. The district administration promise to assist to construction of community cum cultural hall for them to flourish the Tipra culture. The *Sarwshati Puza* another significant festival for the young students of the Tipra community.

Suggestions and Concluding Remarks

On the basis of the preceding writings, suggestions and conclusion of the study are drawn for further improvements. While Tipra is one of the largest ethnic communities in Bangladesh, one portion, tiny in size as compared to the total community of Tipra lives at hillocks and its valleys in Comilla Sadar Upazila. This portion of Tipra community bear the mongoloid race but at present they were on the process of mixing by marital ties. Majority of the inhabitants were wage laborers. Few were working at the service sector. About 12 percent households reared the boar or pigs. The Tipra had no written form of language. They were on the process of acculturation, which mainly influenced by the neighboring Bengali language and culture. They follow the *sanatan* Hindu religion, although distinct cast differentiation was not found among them. They have fond of song and dance, which may attracts the tourists. They had skill to make local wine (chuak) that

they drink for reducing the tiredness. Such cultural practice creates the cultural value clash with the sections of Bengali people. *Biju utshab*, *Sarwarshati puja*, annual function at *Radha-Krishna mandir* were some of cultural and religious events of the community. They had social networks with inter hamlets, occupational *sardary* system, neighboring Bengali communities, micro credit operations and so on related livelihood and educational purposes. Watching television was popular among the Tipra community. Listening record songs and also watching video another aspect of their entertainment. the subscription of newspaper very irregular and occasional based.

With acculturation on the way, the dominant Bengali inhabitants and the process of urbanization and struggle in livelihood process shaping their cultural lives. Neighboring culture that is Bengali culture actively influences the communication and cultural processes of the community. The significant change is that the Tipra gradually losing their language. The young Tipra speaks good Bengali language. The community as such leaving with distinctive characteristics. Once they live hillocks and the edge of the hillocks with geographical isolation but now due to increase of Bengali population and settlement of Bengali population at the edge of the hillocks that creates the opportunities for mixing culture and ideas. Tipra have no distinction caste system practicing although they have social differentiations on the basis of occupation and power exercises. Largely the community of Tipra is on transition. The Tipra of Comilla have more physical mobility. It bears the costs and energy. They also visit and make relations with outside country Tipra of Tripura state of India also. They enjoy the get together and feel human energy with relatives, friends, and like minded people.

The network of modern world characterizes by global flavors which articulated by the civil society also play their role in Tipra community. The Tipra of Comilla therefore keen to express their existence elsewhere the country especially at the Hill Tracks regions of Bangladesh. However, the Tipra still preserved their cultural identities in the line of social network. Their social net works in many folds- within communities and with dominant cultural manifestations of Bengalis and also outside the country – the Tipra community of the Tripura state of India. No sharp caste system was not found at the community while the community differentiated with the class, status and power relations. These social facts not only remains in the own community of Tipra as well as spreading on comparison and manifesting Bengali population also. It is truth the identity is the post modern manifestation strongly prevails in the Tipra community where they are like to revive and displays struggle with the dominant culture – at the process of acculturation.

In respect of class, they are overwhelming downtrodden people, mainly depends on wage laboring. The process of formal educating is going on among the new generation. However it has limit due to financial incapability and living struggles in different seasons. They are lagging behind on quota system for tribal people's government jobs. At these perspectives, the Tipra community is on the process of dynamisms on different dimensions. Passing out the tribal characters and go towards market based production and livelihoods are major features of the study communities. A tiny cultural gap also developed among the hamlets, the remote hamlets are lagging behind on that process. The basic amenities and living standards should be upgraded for all Tipra people. The number

of the Tipra of Comilla districts so less, which is not able to create the significant pressure making to the authority. It is true only the racial appearances and the local languages at the familial levels still alive. On the process of globalization the Tipra people were not only altering them but also contributing their labor and energy for nation building. They desire to live with their cultural symbols. On the other hand, they are on the process of Bangladesh Government's inclusive development process. Despite of such inclusiveness, they struggled hard for their access to higher education. The poor condition of the living and morbidity are some of the features which should be addressed. By and large, they are on the process of change. The most important thing is that they possess substantial homestead land so that on the process of urbanization which growing fast at the locality might be benefited them by increase of land price which needs the capacity of secured the land possession and enjoys the other opportunities of the growing town. The Tipra loves their motherland specially the birth place. Therefore these hamlets are very much valuable for them. The Tipra of Comilla need the recognition of Tribal identify through documents from government. The inclusive process of government should be widened in respect of legal, economic, social and cultural irrespective of Hill Tracks and non hill tracks, plain land and hillocks ethnic communities.

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URL_ID=23549&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23549&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

Annexure i

Glossary

Kashar: adjacent to the hill areas.
shraddo :(a meal sharing based get together
gormil :difference of opinions
ababi: (poor)
kishti : weekly repayment of installment
Mura : high land areas
Mandir: Temple
bari : houses
jogali: construction work as assistant provider of inputs to the mason
kirtan: Hindu religious song based on folk elements.
bayan: analysis and explanations of the religious matters.
Radha Krishna: Hindu sacred love matters.
jummu : the inhabitants of shift cultivators
bonroui
sajaru :porcupine
samity: cooperative society
Kok-Borok: the language of Tipra community
chuak or *chulai mod* : (home made win)
shashan: funeral place
kani: unit of land measurement, generally 96 decimal make 1 *kani*.
Jarna: stream water
Dol: instrument for music
Jum: shifting hill agriculture.
Sebakari : service provider
Sebayat: temple chief priest