



Mapping BRAC Development Activities Relating To Indigenous Peoples

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Forward

BRAC's integrated development programme in cooperation with all BRAC programmes has collated the organisation's development activities relating to indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. This publication aims to delineate BRAC development activities on indigenous issues for dissemination and referral use within and outside of BRAC. This initiative, promoting BRAC's notion of inclusive development, is a remarkable reference of how the programmes reach even to the most marginalised communities in the society.

Human rights of indigenous peoples have now been well enshrined in many national and international laws and institutions. At the international level, United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2000), United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), and Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) can be cited as examples. Bangladesh is signatory to many of the instruments including ILO Convention No. 107. References in Bangladesh are also witnessed in some laws and national policies, including the constitution of Bangladesh. The constitution stipulates that the state shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities. Although, these provisions failed to mention the terminology 'indigenous peoples', the measures should be seen as a 'way forward' to further the indigenous issues into more programmatic and budgetary outcomes.

Empirical researches have repeatedly found the social discrimination, economic exploitation, and deprivation of political rights of indigenous peoples comparatively in a more grievous condition than others. Unexceptionally, this marginalised condition of indigenous peoples is visible in Bangladesh. Such a situation calls for a proactive approach that combines 'affirmative actions' at the policy level in the spirit of human rights and action-oriented interventions by the state and non-state actors with active participation of indigenous peoples.

The book presents some insightful snapshots about the historical discrimination against indigenous peoples, approaches to identify them, disproportionate development condition at policy and practical level, and some implicative entry points to address the challenges. However, the main thrust of the book is the stocktaking of BRAC activities reaching to indigenous peoples in different sectoral areas including social, economic, human rights, education, health, and adaptation to climate change.

I hope the book will serve as an important reference for relevant planning at BRAC and also for the larger public, civil society organisations and other policy actors.

Mushtaque Chowdhury, PhD
Executive Director
BRAC

Preface

BRAC is a development organisation dedicated to the alleviation of poverty by empowering the poor to realise their potential and bring about positive changes in their own lives. BRAC programmes covering wide range of sectoral areas have activities relating to indigenous peoples. While stalktaking BRAC's development activities relating to indigenous peoples is the main objective of the book, the publication has also drawn a background discussion on indigenous issues from development and human rights perspectives with a view to linking the effort to the broader domain of development discourse.

The opportunity of publishing this book has been from a project, 'integrated development programme on plain land indigenous peoples in Bangladesh' being implemented by BRAC's integrated development programme. The project aims to empower indigenous peoples through improved livelihood opportunities, leadership and cultural practices, and advocacy supports in an integrated development approach. This book is an initiative as part of the advocacy supports targeting the strategic stakeholders especially at national level.

The publication has necessarily involved all BRAC programmes. We are thankful to all the directors and the focal persons from the respective programmes who have spontaneously cooperated to make this publication possible. We acknowledge the contribution of the two experts, Mr. Sanjeeb Drong and Mr. Kirty Nishan Chakma who have reviewed the draft with their constructive insights and valuable comments. The effort will be successful when it will be referred and used within and beyond BRAC contributing for the development of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.

Anna Minj

James Ward Khakshi

Acronym

ALRD	:	Association for Land Reform and Development
CBO	:	Community-based organisation
CHTDF	:	Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Facilities
CIDA	:	Canadian International Development Agency
DANIDA	:	Danish International Development Agency
DESA	:	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DFAT	:	Australian government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DFID	:	Department for International Development
ECOSOC	:	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EEC	:	BRAC Education for Ethnic Children
EMRIP	:	Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
ESP	:	BRAC Education Support Programme
FYP	:	Fifth Year Plan
HRC	:	Human Rights Council
IEC	:	Information, Education and Communication
ILO	:	International Labour Organization
IMNCS	:	Improving maternal, newborn and child survival
IWGIA	:	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
JICA	:	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MIS	:	Management Information System
MJF	:	Manusher Jonno Foundation
NORAD	:	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OHCHR	:	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PEDP-II	:	Primary Education Development Programme
RED	:	BRAC's research and evaluation division
SAD	:	State Acquisition and Bengal Tenancy Act
SEHD	:	Society for Environment and Human Development
SIDA	:	Swedish International Development Authority
SRRIP	:	Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples
TB	:	Tuberculosis
UNDIP	:	United Nations Decade for Indigenous Peoples
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRIP	:	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNFPA	:	United Nations Fund for Population Action
UNHRC	:	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	:	United Nations Children's Fund
UNO	:	United Nations Organisation
UP	:	Union parishad (union council)
VGD	:	Vulnerable Group Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

Like many other countries in the world, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh continue to be disproportionately represented in the poorest and most vulnerable sections of the society. Following the National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction II (NSAPR-II), the present sixth five-year plan (FYP) among other government and non-government policies and publications has identified the development challenges of indigenous peoples and provisioned some target areas of intervention to address them. Some of the development challenges of indigenous peoples stated in the above mentioned strategy papers of the government include suffering from ethnic prejudice, social discrimination, extortion by land grabbers, low level of social awareness, bad nutritional conditions, living in remote areas, difficulties for schooling, lack of comprehensive understanding of their problems and ethnically disaggregated data, lack of relevant objectives in mainstream policies of the government, and partial operationalisation of land disputes resolution commission in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). In this situation, their 'development with their ethnic and cultural identity' has often been tougher or even impossible. While the condition and position of their socioeconomic and political situation are still far from being good, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are thriving to change the situation. Policy implication of government, strategic priority of development agencies and focused programmes of NGOs such as BRAC, can substantially contribute in bringing positive changes in their lives, livelihood, and culture. BRAC is globally recognised for its extensive and successful development intervention for the poor in the society. The mapping of BRAC's activities on indigenous peoples' issues aims to identify the existing development activities of BRAC's programmes relating to indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.

Human rights of indigenous peoples

Human rights of indigenous peoples have now been well enshrined in many national and international laws. In recognition of the historical discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples for centuries, the UN has adopted many policies and programmatic initiatives which are positively affecting its member states around the world. Despite some blemish in terms of legal phrasing and political consensus, Bangladesh has recently stipulated to address the disadvantaged situation of indigenous peoples in some of its national policies, such as the National Women Development Policy (NWDP), National Education Policy, the sixth five year plan, and more. The 15th amendment of the constitution of Bangladesh states that the state shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects, and communities.

Despite the policy implications, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh disproportionately remain among the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in the country. Kapaeeng Foundation in its Human Rights Report 2011 (Barman and Neo 2012) on Indigenous Peoples in Bangladesh observes: "The indigenous peoples of Bangladesh remain among the most persecuted of all minorities, facing discrimination not only on the basis of their religion and ethnicity, but also because of their indigenous identity and their socioeconomic status."

Economic exploitation and land grabbing in particular continue unabated. The situation in areas like the North Bengal and CHT is so vulnerable that stopping the land grabbing can no longer ensure the minimum livelihood opportunity for them unless indigenous peoples regain their lost lands from the illegal occupants. **Alternative livelihood through off-land activities is not an option for them as the indigenous communities often have a very low education rate. In the case of higher education, this ratio is even lower. This vulnerability of life and livelihood is further aggravated when issues of human rights violation and health hazards become a constant reality in their daily life.** In such situations, some development agencies and non-profit organisations try to address the struggling socioeconomic and human rights condition of indigenous peoples. However, the interventions are often limited in scope and sectoral coverage against the needs, integrated outcome and sustainability perspectives of their development.

Mapping of BRAC's activities on indigenous peoples' issues

BRAC, one of the largest development organisations in the world, has been globally recognised as a changemaker of the socioeconomic condition of the poor towards their empowerment and development. Some of the priorities of BRAC are to focus on women' development and grassroots empowerment, health and education, empowering farmers, inclusive financial services, and self-sustaining solutions. Inclusiveness as one of BRAC values (others are innovation, integrity and effectiveness) denotes engaging, supporting and recognising the value of all members of the society regardless of race, religion, gender, nationality, ethnicity, age, physical or mental ability, socioeconomic status and geography. These priorities are necessarily linked to the vision and mission statements of BRAC. BRAC's vision is "a world free from all forms of exploitation and discrimination where everyone has the opportunity to realise their potential". Its mission is to "empower people and communities in situations of poverty, illiteracy, disease and social injustice". Indigenous peoples as target group of BRAC programmes are rightly within and along the thematic priorities of BRAC's development philosophy. As the most marginalised in the society, indigenous peoples are especially in need of all sectoral interventions of BRAC.



Figure 1: BRAC's comprehensive approach to poverty

Figure 1 shows a well-designed programmatic presentation of BRAC to reduce poverty, become resilient against natural odds, capacitate for human potential, and empower people for sustainable development. The forty two years long history of BRAC working with and for the poorest section of the society has evolved through extensive knowledge of the unique needs of the poorest, appropriate programme strategies to address them, and the best practices to upscale those strategies. Freeing the people living in marginalised condition from exploitation and discrimination is the visionary development strategy of BRAC. This requires an integrated approach through a wide range of development programmes; and BRAC is doing it in Bangladesh and has already upscaled many of its programmes in 11 other countries in the world.

Chapter 2: Indigenous peoples as development discourse

The rationale for BRAC's engagement with indigenous issues is grounded in BRAC's mandated areas of development work as well as the development needs of indigenous peoples. Different programmes of BRAC already have different focus to work on indigenous peoples' issues and the area they live in. BRAC's experience on indigenous issues and its current structure all over the country have great potentials for developing an effective interface to play a leading role on the issue. While strategising its own development objectives, BRAC contributes in attaining the national policy commitments such as MDGs through its focused programmes on more vulnerable section of the people, such as the ultra poor and indigenous peoples. But because of the large scale operation of BRAC and individual programmatic focus on its sectoral interventions, it is not always clear who is doing what on the indigenous peoples' issues. Along with the relevant backdrop of international and national context, because of the conceptual and operational necessity of BRAC, it becomes imperative to map the involvement of BRAC on indigenous peoples' issues throughout its wide range of programmatic components.

The mapping aims to collate and delineate the BRAC programmes' development activities relating to indigenous peoples so that the activities are disseminated and apposite for easy learning and referral use within and outside of BRAC. The mapping also aims to work as a common reference within BRAC about indigenous issues from development perspective. The first two chapters of the mapping attempts to draw a background discussion on indigenous issues from development, human rights and policy contexts at the national and international levels so that the effort can be linked to the broader domain of development discourse. The third chapter is extensively on BRAC activities relating to indigenous peoples. The last chapter provides a broader implication of entry points where interventions by the state, society, development agencies and BRAC are relevant.

The scope of the book is limited within BRAC's activities in Bangladesh and it does not include BRAC enterprise, BRAC Bank and Aarong. The persons responsible for the relevant BRAC programmes have been involved to describe the programmes' activities, strategy, scope and focused area on indigenous peoples' issues. The data collection methods for the programmes have been explained in their respective chapter three. All the reports have then been compiled to finalise the publication. This effort is not about the mapping of indigenous peoples in terms of their ethnographic presentation or geographical location but it is to identify and compile the BRAC activities related to indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. It is relevant to refer that prior this, a study named, "Small Ethnic Groups of Bangladesh: A Mapping Exercise" was published on indigenous issues by BRAC (Rafi 2006). The study took an inventory of all the small ethnic groups including their precise location and some key development parameters. However this book is different from the Rafi 2006 considering its objectives and contents.

The development discourse around indigenous peoples' issues often requires contextual clarification in terms of human rights and development concepts which otherwise may arise as contending questions in practice. There are some common questions recurrently posed by sceptics when indigenous issues become a development discourse. The first question in this regard is about the justification of why indigenous peoples require particular (affirmative) attention in development and human rights arena? If so, then who are they supposed to be? What are the United Nations and other states around the world doing? How their conditions are in Bangladesh in terms of human rights standards and development realities and what should be done according to existing normative standard and practical needs? This chapter briefly explores the questions in the context of Bangladesh and beyond.

Background to forward

More than 400 million indigenous peoples, originated from over 5,000 ethnic groups, live in approximately 90 countries over the world. Of the some 7,000 languages today, it is estimated that 4,000 are spoken by indigenous peoples (DESA 2009). About two-thirds of the world's indigenous peoples, ie 200 million, live in Asia. Their diverse culture, distinct language and different ways of living have enriched the diversity of world culture and the biodiversity of nature. But in terms of development indicators and their position in the society, indigenous peoples had been and still are subjected to social discrimination, economic exploitation, and political oppression for centuries. These extraordinary tainted situations of indigenous peoples was first identified and exposed by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the 1920s. Looking into the conditions of workers around the world, the ILO realised that indigenous peoples were especially exposed to severe forms of exploitation. Increasingly, continued research recognised and suggested that indigenous peoples had a need for special protection in cases where they were expelled from their ancestral lands, discriminated both from social and political perspectives and had become seasonal, migrant, bonded or home-based labourers

(ILO 2009: 173, Cobo 1986, Kenrick and Jerome 2004). To address the situation of indigenous peoples in a holistic and comprehensive manner, ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Populations (Convention No 107) was adopted in 1957, as the first international legal document on indigenous issues. Even though the convention has been upgraded (ILO Convention No 169) and was followed by many other legal, institutional and programmatic implications around the world, the comparative realities of indigenous peoples has not changed much even today. A review by United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) on MDG process and progress of nine countries including Bangladesh (Foley 2010) observes, "The rate of poverty amongst indigenous peoples is reportedly far higher than either national or non-indigenous rates." In fact, indigenous peoples' development (like that of women's development) will always lag behind if their historical realities in terms of sociopolitical discrimination are not recognised, and their backward position in society is not addressed with special attention. Consequently, many of the global development aims such as MDGs would remain unachieved or challenging.

Many of the relevant policies such as UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) have not provided explicit definition of 'who are indigenous peoples?' The deliberate absence of a definition for

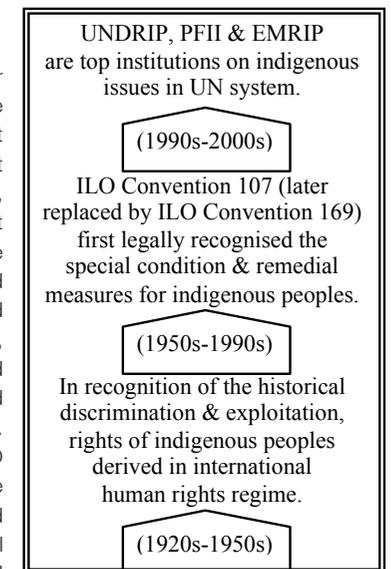


Figure 2: Evolution of Indigenous Issues

'indigenous peoples' is often reasoned with an emerging consensus that a formal definition of the term is neither necessary nor desirable'. Despite these challenges, there are a number of criteria (operational definitions) of identifying indigenous peoples found in some multinational development and banking agencies (see annex 2). Of them, the references of Martinez Cobo (1986) and ILO Convention No 169 deserve special mentions.

Martinez Cobo (1986), UN special rapporteur, in the study on Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples, highlighted some defining criteria for indigenous peoples. According to those criteria, indigenous peoples have historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies; they form non-dominant sectors of the society at present; and in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems, they are determined to transmit their ancestral territories and ethnic identity to future generations. It further added that any individual who identifies himself or herself as indigenous and is accepted by the group or the community as one of its members is to be regarded as an indigenous person.

ILO Convention No 169 provides objective and subjective criteria to identify the peoples concerned. The objective criteria with regard to tribal peoples, include: (a) the populations' relative disadvantage with regard to social, cultural and economic conditions, (b) their status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or special regulations. With regard to indigenous peoples, the objective criteria include: (a) their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries, (b) they still retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. The subjective criterion construes that "self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criteria for determining the groups". This progressive criterion recognises the very importance of the fundamental right of self-identification of an individual to be identified as indigenous or tribal or not at all. It is important to note that "the convention takes an inclusive approach and is equally applicable to both indigenous and tribal peoples" (ILO 2009) even though it provides separate criteria for indigenous and tribal people².

The identifying criteria or elements of indigenous peoples discussed here and beyond can be explained by four broader approaches of how they are defined. Table 1 shows the four defining approaches to indigenous peoples and their respective criteria.

Table: 1. Four defining approaches to indigenous peoples and their respective criteria

Defining approach	Indigenous criteria and sources
Geopolitics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories or parts of them (Cobo 1986) - Descent from the country or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries (ILO Convention No 107 and 169)
Political anthropology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources on these areas (OD 4.20, World Bank) - Their status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special regulations. They retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (ILO Convention No 169) - Indigenous language, often different from the national language (OD 4.20, World Bank) - In accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems, they are determined to transmit their ancestral territories and ethnic identity to future generations (Cobo 1986)

Table: 1. Four defining approaches to indigenous peoples and their respective criteria

Defining approach	Indigenous criteria and sources
Discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In fact, the discourse of indigenous rights itself (eg ILO initiatives) is based on the recognition of the (historical) discrimination, marginalisation, exclusion of indigenous peoples for centuries (ILO 2009, Kenrick et al 2004, Cobo 1986) - They form the non-dominant sections of the society at present (Cobo 1986). - 'Indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonisation and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources...' (UNDRIP)
Self-identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unlike other objective criteria of definition, this is subjective in nature. ILO Convention No 169 stipulates, "Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criteria for determining the groups" - Cobo (1986) writes that any individual who identifies himself or herself as indigenous and is accepted by the group or the community as one of its members is to be regarded as an indigenous person. (also see article 33 UNDRIP, OD 4.20 of World Bank)

The geopolitical approach identifies indigenous peoples in terms of time and territorial history (who lived before whom, where), while the approach of political anthropology highlights the cultural and institutional distinctiveness and their continuity to generations to come. The approach of discrimination emphatically recognises the history of indigenous peoples' discrimination and its inevitable consequences on their present³ and future situations. However, the approach of self-identification should always be a determining criterion in identifying indigenous peoples. *Hence, identifying indigenous peoples based on existing legal criteria is contextually practical but defining them merely by one approach or a single definition may result in unwanted debate on 'who are indigenous people?'*

Following the historical discrimination of indigenous peoples and decades long debates on their rights, the marginalised condition of and special measures for indigenous peoples have been stipulated in international human rights bodies. Especially at the UN level in the light of human rights and development (United Nations 2013). The figure 3 shows the charter-based bodies of the UN which relates to indigenous issues. The UNPFII established in 2000, and the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) established in 2008, are the two apex UN mechanisms to promote and coordinate the indigenous issues around the world⁴.

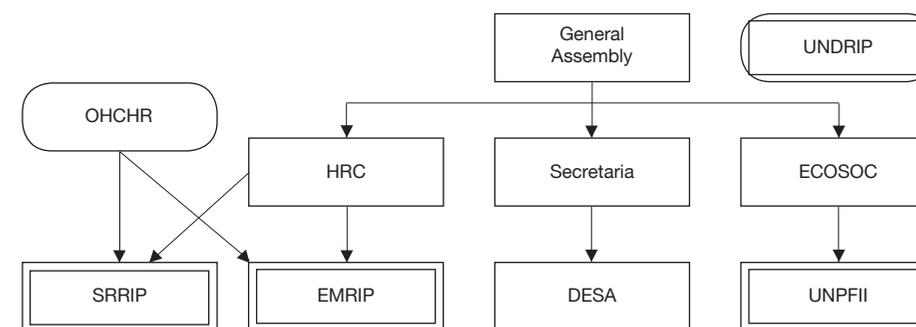


Figure: 3. Indigenous issues in UN system

The UNDRIP adopted in 2007, is the most comprehensive declaration for identifying and recognising the issues of indigenous peoples' rights and development. Before these policies and institutional progress, 1993 was observed as the Declaration of Indigenous Year for Indigenous Peoples. After the first UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004), the second UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2014) started with the theme of 'partnership for action and dignity'. The member states of the United Nations including Bangladesh are, in different forms, trying to respond to these international calls for action and to the thriving voices of indigenous communities within respective state boundary.

Realities in Bangladesh: development policy and practice

Bangladesh is a country of different nations and cultures. Indigenous peoples are the integral part of this cultural and ethnic diversity. Indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are commonly known as 'indigenous peoples' (*adivasi* in Bengali). Whilst considering both the legal and public uses, they are referred with other words as well. The phrases include 'tribes' (*upajati* in Bengali), 'hillpeople' (*pahari* in Bengali), 'jumma', 'aboriginal tribes' and 'indigenous hillmen'. The constitution of Bangladesh uses the terms like tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities. Like the multiple terms to identify them, the absolute number of indigenous peoples and the number of their ethnic groups vary from study to study. The government's population and household census 2011, for example, identified only 27 ethnic groups whose population in total stands at 1,586,141. The government census 2001, did not count them at all. Different NGO sources now claim that there are approximately three million indigenous peoples belonging to more than 54 different indigenous ethnic groups in Bangladesh (Barman and Neo 2011). While their living areas are scattered across the country, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh are often identified as the indigenous peoples of the plain land and indigenous peoples of the hill tracts based on the demographic and geographical background of the two regions they represent⁵.

To understand the realities of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh, it is imperative to review the policies pertinent to their issues. The ratification of ILO Convention No 107 in 1972, by Bangladesh is an important policy reference on indigenous issues. This international convention recognised many of the pressing issues of human rights and development of indigenous peoples, even though its implementation in terms of the government's roles is far from satisfactory (Roy 2009). In case of national policies, the reference of the constitution is categorically the most relevant. The 15th amendment of the constitution (article 23a) of Bangladesh remarkably⁶ stipulates, "The State shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities." Despite some dissidence in concept and expectation, identifying indigenous peoples and their development issues in some laws and national policies have been conspicuous in recent years. Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institution Act 2010 was enacted to incorporate the job conditions and facilities of the officials of seven cultural institutions for small ethnic groups across the country within government rules. National Education Policy 2010 aims, among others, to promote the culture and language of small ethnic groups. In pre-primary and primary level, it promises to take necessary steps for education in mother tongue, indigenous teacher, proper textbook, establishing primary school with residential facilities for indigenous children. National Child Policy and National Women Development Policy (NWDP), both passed in 2011, promise to ensure their right to development and promotion of respective target groups. The NWDP recommends taking special activities for indigenous women. The sixth five-year plan (2011-15) envisions ensuring indigenous peoples' social political and economic rights, ensuring security and fundamental human rights, and preserving their social and cultural identity. They will have access to education, healthcare, food and nutrition. The national plan has committed to implement the CHT accord accordingly.

There are also some laws of pre-independence period of Bangladesh for CHT and plain lands. One such law for plain land indigenous peoples is the State Acquisition and Bengal Tenancy (SAT) Act 1950, which forbids the transfer of lands owned by 'aboriginals' to non-aboriginal persons without the express consent of the government's district officer⁷. The CHT Regulation 1900, only for CHT region, is one of the oldest laws relevant for indigenous peoples of CHT. Among other references are the CHT Development Board Ordinance 1976, the

Hill District Council Acts of 1989, the CHT Regional Council Act of 1998 and the CHT Land Disputes Resolution Commission Act 2001 (Roy 2009 and 2010). These acts in general and the CHT accord in 1997, in particular, has identified the CHT as tribal inhabited area and provisioned special administrative and development strategies to preserve the distinct cultural feature of the region.

Considering these policy references above, one should not hurry through either side of comments without seeing into the policy contents, history, political motives and their implementation. From policy perspectives, some of the unsatisfactory examples are inadequate adherence to stipulations of ILO Convention No. 107, non-implementation of the key provisions for conflict resolution of the CHT accord, perfunctory if not non-enforcement of the State Acquisition and Bengal Tenancy Act (SAT), non-transparency of Special Affairs Division (SAD) block grant process, non-adherence to rules to implementation of education and public service quota (5 per cent), and new policies with ambiguous or blemish contents (CIPO 2013, Barman and Neo 2012 and 2013, Roy 2009). Thus policy negligence in its different forms has largely contributed the never ending discrimination, human rights violation and socio-economically backward conditions of indigenous peoples. Annual report on indigenous issues of Kapaeeng Foundation shows that gross human rights violation including violence against women have increased with time (Barman and Neo 2012). Land grabbing of indigenous peoples constantly remain the most pivotal and serious issue which has many spillover effects on livelihood, labour discrimination, social security, further reinforcing the status as marginalised ethnic minority. Then again, poverty in its diverse manifestation results in more vulnerability to human rights violation, displacement, unwanted urban migration, and cultural extinction. Thus, protection and promotion of indigenous history, language, culture and customs and music require a critical attention (Islam 2012).

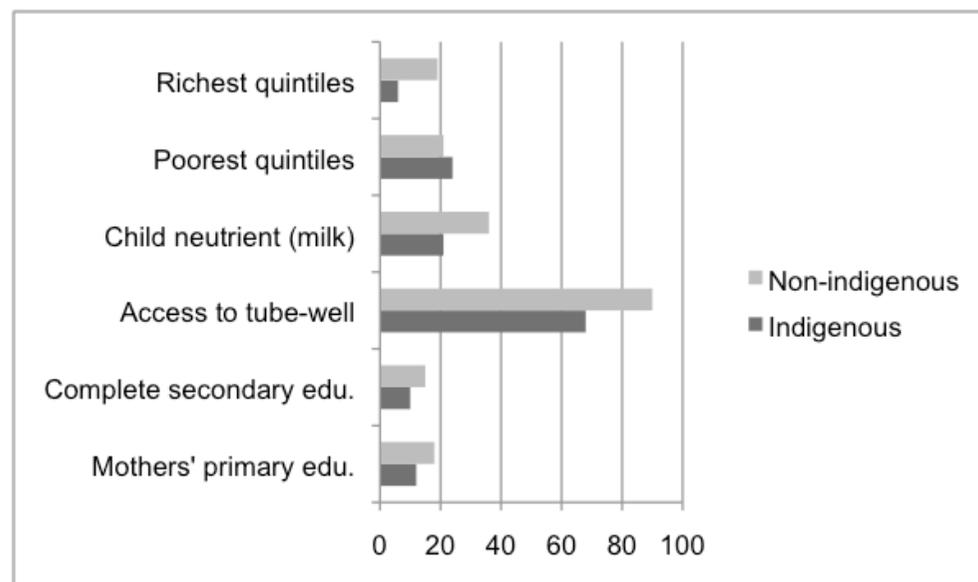
In terms of development indicators such as human rights (Barman and Neo 2012 and 2013), land, livelihood and poverty (Barkat et al 2008), provision of government services (Netz Bangladesh 2011), and other socioeconomic conditions (Barakat et al 2009, Hossain and Firdous 2012, Foley 2010), indigenous peoples are more deprived of their entitlements and are thus, extremely vulnerable to poverty and other social ills. Just like the empirical data of international meta comparisons which shows indigenous peoples' lag behind stance (Foley 2010), Hossain and Firdous (2012) have put forth some socioeconomic indicators which attests that indigenous peoples also in Bangladesh are more deprived than non-indigenous peoples (figure 3).

Figure 3, taken from Hossain and Firdous (2012), shows the comparative low level of schooling of indigenous mothers and children which results in lower human capital in the long run. Only 68 per cent indigenous households, compared to 90 per cent of their counterpart, have access to tube wells. This implies higher probability of health issues in terms of safe drinking water. Another implication of possible health trouble is found from the fewer consumption of nutrient (milk) by indigenous children. 36 per cent of non-indigenous children received milk in fifteen days prior the survey, compared to 21 per cent of indigenous children. While 24 per cent of the indigenous peoples were in the poorest quintile, only 21 per cent of the non-indigenous households were in the poorest quintile. The situation gets more distressing as only 6 per cent of indigenous households were in the richest wealth index quintiles against 19 per cent of non-indigenous households in the same category (figure 3).

The findings of a baseline survey by BRAC's research and evaluation division (RED) reconfirms the marginalised condition of indigenous peoples in four sub-districts in Naogaon and Joypurhat districts. The table 2 shows some important indicators from the survey.

Figure 3: Development indicators' comparison between indigenous and non-indigenous

Source: Hossain and Firdous 2012



The survey by RED (Islam and Sharin 2013) shows that the average annual income and expenditure of indigenous households were BDT 78,046 and BDT 87,779 respectively, which were much lower than the national figure (income: BDT 115,776, expenditure: BDT 115,344) found in the Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2011 (BBS 2011). Adult literacy rate of the four sub-districts is 47.75 per cent against the national rate 59.07 per cent (BBS 2011). The primary school enrolment rate of children, aged 6-10 years, was 83.85 per cent while the national figure is 93.4 per cent (BBS 2011). Only 30.2 per cent of households had sanitary latrine in comparison to the national sanitation coverage rate of 62.3 per cent (BBS 2011).

A recent editorial of a national daily newspaper observes this disproportionate vulnerability of indigenous peoples, "Following land disputes, different crime incidents including killing, happen in all other places across country, but it is more appalling in case of indigenous peoples. Hence they need special protective measures; law enforcement agencies should provide special attention. But reality is contrary. Nothing but because of their indigenous identity, they are more vulnerable; as indigenous they are comparatively more victim of unwanted attacks and protective measures by the state are minimal. This condition is really disheartening and thoroughly unacceptable" (Editorial of the Prothom Alo, 23 January 2013). These comments echo the overall marginalised situation – political, social, economic and cultural – of the various indigenous groups in the country which has witnessed little change over the past years and decades.

Table 2: Comparative development indicators of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples

Source: Islam and Sharin 2013

Development indicator	Indigenous peoples (BRAC survey 2012)	National figures (BBS 2011)
Annual household income	BDT 78,046	BDT 115,776
Annual household expenditure	BDT 87,779	BDT 115,344
Adult literacy	47.75%	59.07%
Primary school enrollment	83.85%	93.4%
Sanitation coverage	30.2%	62.3%

In response to the apparent discrimination and deprivation against them, indigenous peoples in Bangladesh and beyond are raising their voice. Nonetheless, an inequitable and inadequate representation in identifying and prioritising their development needs in a more participatory way remain a concern. Re-amendment of Bangladesh's constitution to include the term 'indigenous peoples', proper implementation of CHT accord, forming a separate ministry and a land commission for indigenous peoples of plain land, retrieving ownership of lands and stopping land grabbing, taking special measures for human rights protection and socioeconomic and cultural development are some of the current pressing demands of indigenous peoples' organisations in Bangladesh (Drong 2012, Barman and Neo 2013). To stipulate these demands in policy perspective, a parliamentary caucus on the rights of indigenous peoples, which was formed in 2010, is proposing a guiding act for indigenous rights in Bangladesh. Some progressive section of civil society and media are now more responsive to the needs and causes of indigenous issues. While some NGOs and civil society segments are supportive to human rights, culture and development concerns of indigenous peoples, the political orientation of government about indigenous issues is often neither transparent in process, nor programmatically predictable. Entry points against these challenges require refreshed attention (see chapter four).

Chapter 3: BRAC's development activities on indigenous issues

BRAC, along with its general focus on working for marginalised section of the society, has particular activities and projects on indigenous issues too. This chapter has been drawn from the programmatic reports on their activities relating to indigenous peoples' issues. To meet the mapping objectives and maintain a descriptive similarity of all activities or projects or programmes, two common guiding questions have been followed in preparing the respective reports of relevant BRAC programmes: the first question is about BRAC's activities relating to indigenous peoples, such as number of activity units, its aim, approach and strategy. The second question relates to indigenous members, their number, ethnicity and geographic location. The chapter at the end observes the common trends and analytical findings of the activities reported here.

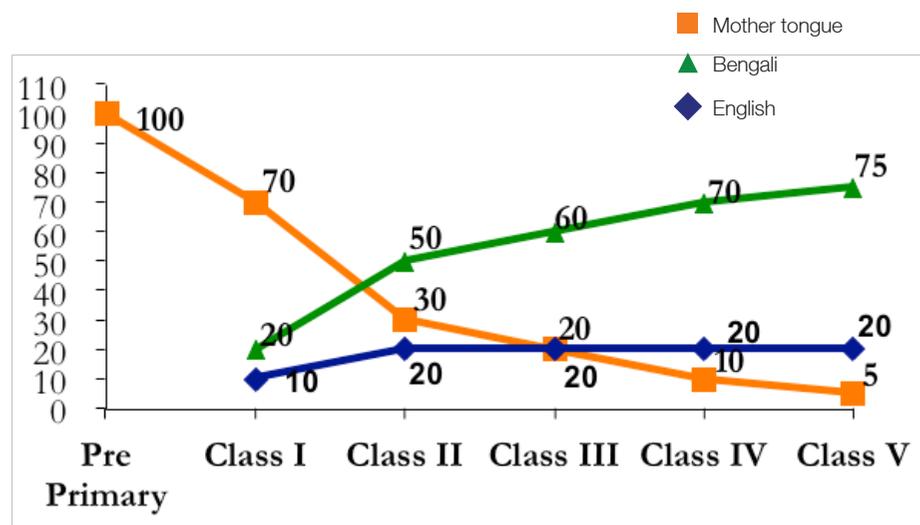
BRAC's programmes on indigenous issues

The mapping covers all relevant programmes of BRAC which have activities directly or indirectly related to indigenous issues. Based on the study objective and two guiding questions above, activities of each BRAC programme have been discussed separately.

Education programme⁸

BRAC Education Programme has built the largest secular private education system in the world, with over 700,000 students worldwide enrolled in BRAC primary schools. BEP through its carefully developed pre-primary and primary schools provide free education to children who are left out of formal school system and, in particular, reach children who are from extremely poor families or indigenous ethnic minorities, living in remote areas or have special needs. To support students in secondary and higher education, other activities include Adolescent Development Programme (ADP), Social and Financial Education for Adolescent (SoFEA), Medhabikash Uddyok, Chhatrabandhu, Gonokendros. Working with partner organizations, BEP also offers guidance and technical support to local NGOs to help schools replicate successful primary education model in hard to reach areas, like CHT. The language progression model of BEP at different classes shown at the figure below is largely followed even by other organisations.

Figure 4: The language progression model of BRAC



BEP maintains indigenous disaggregated data inbuilt within its MIS. Recently it has been well decided to disaggregate all information of indigenous beneficiaries in all BEP components.

Thousands of indigenous children have been educated in BRAC schools all over the country. The table 3 sums 166,444 indigenous students being served in different forms of 4,076 schools or Gonokendros with the teachership of 3,891 indigenous teachers among others. BRAC Ethnic Pre-primary Schools (BPPS) operate 90 schools each managed with an indigenous teacher. They teach more than two thousand indigenous children. The schools especially for indigenous students are established to enable children to introduce with new environment and facilitate them to cope with existing pre-primary curriculum with their mother tongue. Starting in 2001, Education for Ethnic Children (EEC) component now operates 2,286 primary schools accommodating 58,613 indigenous students of which 33,099 students are female. Under Education Support Programme (ESP), 427 schools each taught by one teacher accommodate more than 10,000 indigenous children for their primary education¹². In case of ADP, 13,922 indigenous adolescents are members of 486 Kishori clubs. They are benefited through adolescent Clubs (Kishori Kendro), adolescent peer organised network (APON/Life Skill based Education), livelihood training courses and communication, awareness and advocacy for them. Post-primary basic and continuing education (PACE) aims to continue BRAC support at post-primary level. 49,545 indigenous students receive education through PACE supported 601 rural secondary schools taught by 317 indigenous teachers among others. Multi-purpose Community Learning Centres (Gonokendros) on the other hand, are community libraries and open to adults, children and students for reading, learning and training¹³. 15,963 male and 14,620 female indigenous peoples take these educational and livelihood services from 186 Gonokendros. Here more than half of the 186 Gonokendros are run by indigenous librarians.

Table 3: Indigenous peoples in BEP activities

Names of activity	No of schools/ kishori club	No of teacher	Indigenous students' no		Geographic coverage
			Boys	Girls	
Ethnic Pre-primary School (BPPS)	90	90	1,096	1,101	Indigenous concentrated area is CHT
BRAC Ethnic Primary School (EEC)	2,286	2,385 ¹⁰	25,514	33,099	24 districts mostly concentrated in Rangamati, Dinajpur, Khagrachari, Naogaon and Rajshahi
ESP Ethnic Primary	427	427	5,407	6,177	Indigenous concentrated area is CHT
ADP: Kishori Club	486	486	695	13,227	Concentrated districts are Moulvibazar, Khagrachari, Naogaon, Rangamati and Rajshahi
PACE (School)	601	317	34,680	14,865	27 districts mostly concentrated in Rangamati, Bandarban, Khagrachari, Dinajpur, Moulvibazar, Naogaon
PACE (Gonokendra)	186 ¹¹	186	15,963	14,620	Concentrated in CHT districts, Moulvibazar, Mymensingh and Dinajpur
Total	4,076	3,891	83,355	83,089	
			166,444		

Human rights and legal aid services¹⁴

BRAC's human rights and legal aid services (HRLS) provide vulnerable individuals with the means to protect themselves from exploitation and discrimination at home and within their communities. The programme includes legal education, legal aid and support services to help poor people have fair and equal access to justice. Human rights and legal education, free legal aid services and mobilising communities for action at different levels are the three main pillars of HRLS' comprehensive approach to rights and justice delivery system. The barefoot lawyers (ain shikhha shebika), legal aid volunteers (odhikar shebis), 517 legal aid clinics across Bangladesh, employed staff lawyers are the main implementing agents among communities. The legal aid clinics serves as 'one-stop' service centres for justice seeking clients while the barefoot lawyers are the frontline facilitators in reaching the rural poor and are usually the first port of call for a survivors of abuse.

Indigenous peoples are unevenly among the most disadvantaged and marginalised in society and thus are likely to have little or no access to fair legal representation. With this apprehension, HRLS keeps indigenous disaggregated data in its MIS. This separate reference is maintained from September 2010. The information used here is the cumulative number of all indigenous members. Table 4 above delineates that 10,113 indigenous peoples have been served by HRLS programme across Bangladesh during 2010-2012. The service recipients have been grouped into three categories, specially targeted ultra poor (STUP), other targeted ultra poor (OTUP) and general. Nine indigenous clients are from STUP and the rest are from general category. These indigenous clients have been enlisted because they might have received legal assistance or counsel from HRLS, or participated in human rights and legal education (HRLS) curriculum course or attended in any of the workshops and meetings arranged by HRLS.

Table 4: Indigenous peoples in HRLS activities

Names of activity/ Poor	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
STUP	-	9		
OTUP	-	0		
General	-	10,104		
Total		-	-	
		10,113		

Community empowerment programme¹⁵

The community empowerment programme (CEP) designed around rights based framework, uses social accountability tools to mobilise services and resources for poor. CEP mobilises around 700,000 poor women through 12,000 rural community based organisations (CBOs) called polli shomaj. In an effort to make the service providers more responsive and socially accountable, CEP on the other hand, has some coordinated activities with local government¹⁶. In between these two-prone activities, its two cross-cutting components are addressing violence against women and promoting access to information through community mobilisation, 367 popular theatre groups and a community radio. With its motto, "translating awareness into action," CEP aims to empower the poor, particularly women, so that they can claim their entitlement and play a more active role in public life. Even though, CEP does not have a specific component or project focusing on indigenous issues, it follows some proactive considerations regarding indigenous members.

CEP has indigenous disaggregated data in its MIS system. It updates the number of indigenous polli shomaj and their members on a regular basis. There are two indigenous polli shomaj group types: one are those where all members are indigenous peoples (14) and the other includes a mix of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (69).

Table 5: Indigenous peoples in CEP activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Polli shomaj	83	1,684		Habiganj, Naogaon, Dinajpur, Joypurhat, Tangail, Sherpur, Mymensingh and Thakurgaon
Popular theatre teams (all members are indigenous)	4	29	12	Guragari, Tanor in Rajshahi; Mahadevpur in Naogaon and Haluaghat in Mymensingh district
Total		-	-	
		1,724		

Many CEP staff working in indigenous concentrated areas have received training on indigenous issues so that they are aware of the common issues and can act responsively. Table 5 presents the number of polli shomaj, which have indigenous members and the number of popular theatre groups of which all members are from indigenous communities. There are 83 polli shomaj, with a total number of 1,684 indigenous members. All members of 14 (out of total 83) polli shomaj are of indigenous ethnicity while the rest consist of both indigenous and non-indigenous members. The members directly benefit from regular polli shomaj activities. They receive services and resources from local service providers including local governments, take part in local power structures such as school committees, and take part in collective action for social welfare and against violence against women. Indigenous polli shomajs are more concentrated in Hobigonj, Naogaon, Dinajpur, Joypurhat, Tangail, Sherpur, Mymensingh and Thakurgaon district. Of the four indigenous popular theatre teams, two are in Rajshahi, one in Naogaon, and one in Mymensingh district. Forty indigenous artisans (28 men and 12 women) perform shows raising awareness about issues of socio-economic importance. The common issues portrayed include child marriage, dowry, good governance, education, health, poverty, and the right to information. As the target audience of these shows, indigenous peoples are able to become more aware of important developmental issues.

Targeting the ultra poor¹⁷

BRAC's targeting the ultra poor (TUP) programme follows up through a process of 'protection, prevention and promotion.' Realising the heterogeneity even among the ultra poor, the target population of this programme has been divided into three, addressing their contextual needs. The specially targeted ultra poor (STUP) includes those living in chronic extreme poverty, while the second group of beneficiaries targets addressing climate change-related destitution (ACCD). The third group or the other targeted ultra poor (OTUP) is very poor, but comparatively better-off. The grant-plus-credit approach serves the clients of the OTUP programme while the grant-based approach serves the clients of the STUP and ACCD. BRAC's TUP programme has reached several ultra poor households including indigenous peoples in 40 out of 64 districts in Bangladesh.

Table 6: Indigenous peoples in TUP activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
STUP	-	3,866		Concentrated districts are Naogaon, Sirajganj, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Chapainawabganj, Thakurgaon, Netrokona.
OTUP	-	136		Dinajpur, Thakurgaon, Rajshahi, Gaibandha, Netrokona.
Total		-	-	
		4,002		

TUP does not have indigenous disaggregated data about indigenous beneficiaries. The primary data for this mapping purpose has been collected from multiple sources and the information covers the time-range of 2002 to 2012. In some cases where indigenous villages or paras are easily identifiable, information could be collected without difficulty. Some information has been collected from a survey on indigenous beneficiaries conducted by TUP. When members graduate from STUP, ACCD and OTUP, they are referred to as members of mainstream microfinance programme. In this case, information has been collected from microfinance groups (village organisations), ie, from the microfinance programme.

During the time between 2002 and 2012, BRAC TUP served 4,002 indigenous peoples from 16 different districts across Bangladesh (Table 5). Of the total, the number of STUP members is 3,866. The districts with most STUP beneficiaries are Naogaon (1,753), Sirajganj (381), Rajshahi, Rangpur, Chapainababganj, Thakurgaon, and Netrokona. Under the STUP scheme, members are provided with grants through asset transfers, life skills and technical training, health services and a flexible savings scheme. The number of indigenous OTUP members is 136 and their locations are Dinajpur, Thakurgaon, Rajshahi, Gaibanda and Netrokona (Table 6). Unlike indigenous STUP, this OTUP group does not receive assets as grants. Following the grant-plus-credit approach, this particular group is given small flexible microloans, some inputs and other strategic cooperation. After two years, STUP, ACCD and OTUP members graduate out of this programme and are able to access the mainstream BRAC Microfinance programme as well as other microfinance organisations.

Health, nutrition and population programme¹⁸

Since 1972, BRAC's health, nutrition and population programme (HNPP) has been a leader in developing and implementing innovative, effective strategies to reduce morbidity and mortality in Bangladesh. HNPP mobilises local talent and external resources to create sustainable and accessible healthcare for disadvantaged communities. HNPP achieves its goals by promoting a broad concept of health as the basis for human development and for an acceptable quality of life. HNPP's wide network is encouraged to pursue the five action areas or strategies of health promotion; establishing healthy public policy, creating supporting environment for health, empowering communities, developing personal skills, and reorienting health services. Essential health care (EHC) forms the core of HNPP's combining preventive, promotive, basic curative and referral care, aimed at improving the health of poor people especially women and children. The EHC programme is supported by a large volume of frontline community health workers, who provide a cost-effective bridge between the communities they serve and the formal health systems¹⁹. Based on the foundational contents of EHC, important components of HNPP includes the maternal, neonatal and child health programme (MNCH)²⁰, tuberculosis control programme, malaria control programme, Vision Bangladesh, and reducing vulnerability to and controlling infectious and common diseases.

MIS for HNPP does not have a separate column for indigenous members. The data used here has been directly collected from sources in the field and programme documents. Frontline staff or officers have collected the primary information from the field only for this mapping purpose.

Through its different components HNPP serves 3,434,386 indigenous peoples. However, the same beneficiary might have been counted several times, because multiple entries better demonstrates the number of services rather than the exact number of those receiving services. The main activities of the essential health care (EHC) programme include: health education, nutrition and hygiene behaviour; water and sanitation; family planning through non-clinical contraceptive and referral for clinical ones; mobilisation of children and pregnant

Table 7: Indigenous Peoples in HNPP Activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Essential health care (EHC)	-	1,329,480		126 sub-districts across Bangladesh
EHC services for ultra poor	-	1,602		50 sub-districts across Bangladesh
Tuberculosis control programme	-	446,605	418,668	All sub-districts of Chittagong
Malaria control programme	-	923134		All sub-districts of Chittagong; Sreemangal and Komolganj sub-district of Moulvibazar district
Vision Bangladesh	-	220,746		27 sub-districts in 4 districts under Sylhet division
IMNCS (rural)	-	94151		Mymensingh, Rangpur, Gabindaganj and Lalmonirhat
Total		-	-	
		3,434,386		

women for essential vaccination; pregnancy-related care, safe delivery and referral in obstetric emergencies; community-based management of diarrheal diseases; acute respiratory infection (ARI); basic curative services and malaria; early recognition, diagnosis and supervision of treatment of TB and malaria; domiciliary supply of micronutrient supplements for under five children; education, screening and referral for prevalent non-communicable diseases; screening for presbyopia and cataracts, and arrangement for treatment. More than one million indigenous peoples are benefited by these services. Under the TB control programme in Chittagong, about 900,000 indigenous peoples receive services. Here the main activities are raising awareness among the community, identifying symptomatic cases of TB, ensuring directly observed treatment (DOT) and following up of TB patient.

Under the malaria control programme, more than 900,000 indigenous peoples receive health services. Major activities include: malaria diagnosis using rapid diagnostic test (RDT) and treatment of malaria cases through CHWs at peoples' doorsteps; distribution of long lasting insecticidal nets (LLINs) and treatment of ordinary bed nets with insecticide and community mobilisation; creating awareness among the community through orientation, workshops, health forums, popular theatre, short films, school quizzes, radio broadcasting and using different communication (IEC) materials. Vision Bangladesh project serves more than 200,000 indigenous peoples and its main activities are community mobilisation through household visits and forums, meeting with district and sub-district officials, and screening patient camps for cataract patients. The IMNCS-rural project (Improving maternal, newborn and child survival) strategically aims to change behavioural approaches towards healthy practices in terms of reproductive health, caring for newborns and under five children and mobilising communities for preventive and promotive care. More than 90,000 indigenous peoples receive these services.

Microfinance programme²²

BRAC Microfinance provides a range of financial services to the poor, broadening the scope of financial inclusion of those not served by the conventional banking system. Through its holistic approach to poverty alleviation, BRAC sees microfinance as one of many tools that works together to address the various causes of poverty. Through its 'credit-plus' approach, microfinance works to strengthen the enterprises that the borrowers invest in, giving them access to quality supplies, training and support in marketing their products to reduce vulnerability in market failures. Programme components include microloans (dabi), microenterprise loans (progoti) and a ladder of opportunity, which includes grant-based programmes and a specialised microloan scheme for adolescent girls.

BRAC Microfinance does not have indigenous disaggregated data. For this mapping purpose, primary data has been collected about indigenous beneficiaries who are members of dabi or progoti loan schemes.

Table 8: Indigenous peoples in MF activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Dabi clients	-	20,173		The concentrated districts are Rangamati, Shreemongal, Naogaon, Chittagong, Dinajpur, Tangail, and Sirajganj
Progati clients	-	307		The clients are from Chittagong (rural), Cox's Bazar, Shreemongal and Sylhet
Total		-	-	
		4,002		

There are now 20,173 indigenous clients under dabi. The most concentrated districts of indigenous dabi clients are Rangamati (4,306), Shreemongal (1,923), Naogaon, Chittagong, Dinajpur, Tangail, and Sirajganj. Dabi loans range from USD 100-1,000 and are given exclusively to individual women who are served by village organisations (VO). The VO serves as an informal guarantor through creating collective motivation to ensure timely repayment. Borrowers repay weekly or monthly instalments and deposit savings during the regular VO meetings. These loans are generally used for small operations in poultry, livestock, fruit and vegetable cultivation, handicrafts or rural trade. Table 8 also shows that 307 indigenous clients received microenterprise loans (progoti). The indigenous clients are found in the districts of Chittagong (rural), Cox's Bazar, Shreemongal, Sylhet, Rajshahi, Chapainababganj Sirajganj, Modhupur and Naogaon. The maximum number of indigenous progoti clients (142) is from Chittagong's rural areas. Progoti loans, which range from USD 1,000-10,000, are given to both male and female entrepreneurs to support and help expand existing small enterprises, which are too small to qualify for credit from mainstream banks. Borrowers generally use these loans to finance shops and small scale manufacturing activities.

Integrated development programme (IDP)²³

Integrated development programme (IDP) originated from BRAC's comprehensive approach to poverty reduction and was initiated through BRAC's 2011-2015 strategy, which strongly argues that poverty reduction of disadvantaged populations living in geographically remote areas requires special attention to achieve many of the MDGs. Accordingly the first three areas of interest of IDP are chars (riverine islands) in Noakhali, haors (wetlands) in Sunamganj, and monga regions of North Bengal inhabited by indigenous peoples. The three year-long project named Integrated development programme for indigenous peoples of plain lands in Bangladesh, is being implemented in Noagaon, Joypurhat and Dinajpur districts.

Table 9: Indigenous peoples in IDP activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
IGA and skill development training (batch)	250	3125	3125	Pachbibi in Joypurhat, Patnitala and Mohadebpur in Naogaon, Nawabganj in Dinajpur
Education (need-based)	-	4,875	4,875	
Health (need-based)	-	600	600	
Community mobilisation and capacity building (court yard meeting, CBO, cultural festival)	8500 ²⁵	20,000	20,000	
Training on leadership and confidence building	250	3125	3125	
Addressing human rights violation and rehabilitation	-	385	385	
Advocacy and networking (advocacy meeting, org support)	80	1,000	1,000	
Total	9,180	33,110	33,110	
		66,200 ²⁶		

IDP has its MIS system with disaggregated data about indigenous members. However, the statistical information provided is based mainly on project documents and the numbers refer to the entire target population or activity units between 2012 and 2015 in four sub-districts under three districts.

With an integrated development approach the project aims to empower indigenous peoples through improved livelihood opportunities, promoting indigenous culture, building leadership capacity and advocacy for indigenous peoples' issues among the wider community, service providers, and the government. Even though livelihood support is the main priority, the project covers several development issues under its six different components such as livelihood, education, health, mobilisation and organisational capacity building, addressing human rights violations and advocacy and networking. Through these different coordinated activities, promoting leadership capacity of indigenous community leaders, women and youth through their community organisations has been identified as main development strategy of the project. Table 9 below delineates the different activity components and their numerical scope.

The whole indigenous population in the intervened area is only 40,000 and many of them should be benefited by the project multiple times. The project expects that because of its multi-pronged approach, the same population would receive more than one service causing synergic outcomes. Among them, 6250 indigenous peoples will receive vocational training on skill development and income-generating activities (IGA). More 6250 indigenous peoples will receive training on community leadership and confidence building. Needs-based support will be provided for their education (9750) and health (1,200). 770 victims of human rights violation incidents will be supported. Through 80 programmatic events about advocacy and networking, around 2,000 indigenous peoples will be reached. The project envisions reaching all indigenous population (40,000) in the project area through community mobilisation activities such as courtyard meetings, supporting community-based organisations, youth conference and promoting indigenous culture and festivals. Moreover many non-indigenous peoples at local, sub-district and national level will be sensitised and supportive to indigenous issues.

Advocacy for social change²⁷

Advocacy for social change influence the policymakers and access providers as well as the individuals, communities, organisations and civil society to contribute in bringing about changes in the life of poor and marginalised people. Advocacy strides to highlight BRAC's interventions for poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor through participation, interaction and mobilisation (PIM) process. BRAC's advocacy programme has been implementing social communication and media mobilisation activities including policy advocacy on ultra poverty, TB and malaria, and communication for development (C4D) in 53 districts around the country to change individual and group behaviour and raise voice in favour of the marginalised. It has thus directly reached about 10 million people. The current important projects are "ultra poverty" project and C4D project.

Table 10: Indigenous peoples in advocacy for social change activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Access to resource and services by ultra poor (old age allowance and VGD, etc)	-	1,567		Khulna and Naogaon districts
Social and behavioural change for child and adolescent	-	17,800		Pekuam Ukhia and Teknaf in Cox's Bazar
Total		-	-	
		4,002		

Total 19,367 indigenous peoples in 21 sub-districts of five districts have attended and been benefited from different activities of advocacy for social change. 1,567 indigenous peoples have received the services from ultra poor project. The project on ultra poor aims to sensitise and create awareness among the community about the ultra poor, their entitlement and the necessity to increase their access to the resources and services. Other 17,800 indigenous peoples on the other hand, have been benefited from the C4D project. The C4D aims to engage communities for social and behavioural change for improved child caring practices and to engender new social norms that will result in better protection of adolescents in Cox's Bazar .

Gender justice and diversity²⁹

Gender justice and diversity (GJD) facilitates BRAC to enable a gender responsive working environment at the institutional level though various policy approaches (eg Gender Policy, Sexual Harassment Elimination Policy); at the same time, aims to ensure an equal gender relation and women's empowerment at both household and community levels through a range of development actions. It also targets the state machineries influencing the

Table 11: Indigenous peoples in GJD activities

Names of activity (major)	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
	M	F	
Selection, formation and functioning of different gender cadres (eg gender justice educator, volunteer youth educator and gender culture change volunteer) and community-based groups (eg SAMPRITI, VAW committee) Conduction of training and its follow up Organise workshop, dialogue, campaign etc	Approximately 8,575 (Garo and Hajong in Dhubaora)	Approximately 27,740 (Santa'1 in Niamatpur)	Dhubaora in Netrokona and Niamatpur in Naogaon district
Total	-	-	
	36,315		

relevant state policy in favour of women's rights through carrying out advocacy and lobby. Within BRAC, it facilitates institutional capacity and practices for mainstreaming gender equality within different programmes and departments. At communities, currently GJD is implementing several programmes including MEJNIN and POSITION. GJD does not have any indigenous peoples disaggregated data. GJD maintains a database that is sourced to relevant primary and secondary data required for its various programmes and projects management. The POSITION programme of GJD covers a number of indigenous peoples located in Niamatpur and Dhobaura sub-district.

The above table shows that about 36,315 indigenous peoples in two sub-districts are involved in different activities of the POSITION intervention. The activities mostly include capacity building and raising awareness towards community mobilisation and collective actions in favour of women's rights. Through engaging in the activities as well as the programme they, mostly women, are expected to increase their capacity to influence decisions affecting their lives and wellbeing; also working together (with men) to reduce violence against women. Thus, the programme aims to contribute to the realisation of their rights and equality in line with BRAC's vision and mission.

Agriculture and food security programme ³⁰

BRAC's agriculture and food security programme (AFSP) works with governments to ensure food security. It builds systems of production, distribution and marketing of quality seeds at fair prices, conducts research to develop better varieties and practices for the agricultural sector, offers credit support to poor farmers, and promotes environmentally sustainable practices of farming techniques and proven technologies. BRAC's value-chain approach to agricultural development stands as a successful example which is now being replicated in other developing countries. The two main components of AFSP are agriculture extension activities, and improving the farming of farmers.

Table 12: Indigenous peoples in AFSP activities

Names of activity	No of VOs/ SFG	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Indigenous members of VOs of BCUP	67	656		Respective sub-districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Naogaon, Joypurhat, Sherpur and Habiganj
Indigenous members of SFG of NCDP	30	215		Respective sub-districts of Joypurhat, Naogaon, Rajshahi, Pabna, Dinajpur, Bogura and Dinajpur
Indigenous members of SFG of SCDP	8	50		Godagari sub-district of Rajshahi and Birampur sub-district of Dinajpur districts.
Total	105	921		

AFSP does not maintain indigenous disaggregated data. However, information was collected to contribute this mapping initiative of BRAC. Thus indigenous members have been found in three sub-components of AFSP namely barga chashi unnayan prokolpo (BCUP), north-west crop diversification project (NCDP) and second crop diversification project (SCDP). Table 12 shows the number of VOs or small farmer's groups (SFGs) and their indigenous members in different districts reached by AFSP. A total of 921 indigenous members under 105 VOs and SFGs directly receive assistance from of BCUP, NCDP and SCDP under AFSP. BCUP provide credits and other technical supports to the sharecroppers and tenant farmers who have 33 to 200 decimal cultivable land of their own and rented. VO-centred project operation, 'credit plus' approach and customised loan facilities for agricultural farming have made BCUP model distinctive over other agricultural credit operation models. BCUP is committed to provide credit and other technical services to sharecroppers at remote and hard-to-reach areas. However, due to geographical barriers BCUP still has not able to intervene at CHT areas where most of the indigenous peoples reside. But BCUP component is serving the indigenous communities at Barind Tract and few other areas of the country. In 27 sub-districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Naogaon, Joypurhat, Sherpur and Habiganj districts, BCUP so far has organised 67 VO's and provided service to 656 indigenous farmers. Under NCDP and SCDP, farmers are provided with credits especially for different kinds of 23 high-value crops and they receive technical supports from Department of Agriculture Extension (DAE). These two projects are benefitting 215 indigenous farmers under NCDP and 50 indigenous farmers under SCDP.

Water, sanitation and hygiene ³¹

Wash, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) programme is aimed at achieving the seventh MDG of reducing the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by half. The programme, which has reached over 38 million people, provides sustainable and integrated WASH services in rural and isolated areas, breaking the cycle of contamination caused by unsanitary latrines, contaminated water and unsafe hygiene practices. The core of the programme is the village WASH committee (VWC) with representation from all stakeholder groups. Programme components include water, sanitation, hygiene, school sanitation and hygiene education.

Table 13: Indigenous peoples in WASH activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Water, sanitation, hygiene, latrine at schools.	-	810,526		Some concentrated districts are Rajshahi, Naogaon, Dinajpur, Moulvibazar, Sylhet, Habiganj, Chittagong, Chpaina-wabganj.
Total		-	-	
		810,526		

WASH still does not maintain indigenous disaggregated data. Since WASH follows community approach for its programme implementation, it considers all inhabitants of its intervened sub-district as its programme participant. The estimation of indigenous members has been made by adding together all indigenous inhabitants living in the WASH-intervened areas. WASH works in 248 sub-districts under 53 districts of which, indigenous members are found in 174 sub-districts under 44 districts. Estimated ³² around 810,526 indigenous peoples receive WASH services under its different components. Under water component, water safely plant, installing deep tube wells, water quality tests are some activities. Creating demand for and providing sanitary latrine, latrine construction materials, interest-free loans to local entrepreneurs are some activities under sanitation component. Through practical approaches, good hygiene practices are promoted based on hydrogeological conditions, culture and existing practices. In WASH working area, supports are provided to install separate latrines for girls at secondary schools in particular.

Disaster, environment and climate change ³³

In a country, which increasingly faces natural hazards, BRAC's DECC programme is working to make communities resilient to the impacts of natural calamities. Enhancing communities' capacity to respond to natural disasters, building disaster resilient habitats, and providing financial and technical support for innovative livelihood strategies are some core activities of DECC. In all training and capacity building activities, women are the prime focus.

Table 14: Indigenous peoples in DECC activities

Names of activity	No. of activity units	No. of indigenous		Geographic coverage
		M	F	
Disaster training for teacher	10	250		In Chittagong, Rangamati, Bandarban, Khagrachari and Cox's Bazar
Disaster training for student	250	7500		
Total		-	-	
		7,750		

DECC does not have indigenous disaggregated data. Therefore, even if some indigenous peoples might have participated or been benefited by DECC activities, all information could not be collected. The only involvement here possible to mention is the awareness building training on disaster management for indigenous school teachers. In 2012, 250 indigenous teachers from 250 schools under the education support programme (ESP) of BEP received one day training on disaster management. Each teacher then trained more 30 students from their respective school. Thus a total of 250 indigenous teachers and 7500 indigenous students have received training on disaster management (table 14). The teachers have also discussed the issue at parents-teachers meetings. The training participants were from Chittagong, Rangamati, Bandarban, Khagrachari and Cox's Bazar.

Learning division ³⁴

BRAC Learning Division (BLD) is responsible for augmenting the capacity and professionalism of BRAC staff and programme participants through a wide range of needs-based human development and management training, and also contributing to other government and development organisations, working in Bangladesh and abroad (Asia, South Africa and North America). BLD facilitates a learning environment where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, nurture new and expansive patterns of thinking, set free their collective aspirations and know how to learn as a team. It executes training and learning programmes through 20 residential learning centres, known as BLC (BRAC Learning Centre). BLCs have the capacity of accommodating approximately 3,000 participants per day in different parts of the country with modest amenities.

BLD in 2000, conducted some preliminary training needs assessments (TNA) for different target groups ie staff of different components of BEP, paraprofessional teachers and the respective community. The findings showed most indigenous communities are incidentally trapped in social underdevelopment including lack of social awareness, unwillingness to send their children to school and economic vulnerability. The children of indigenous minorities were less likely to be enrolled in schools than those of majority Bengalis. Because, school's environment such as decoration, (non-indigenous) language, untrained teachers, and educational books and materials for children were not friendly to indigenous students. Those were rather exotic to their culture. This situation led to high dropouts of indigenous children. Since then, BLD started its training courses in view of three philosophical pillars that aimed to enhance the capacity of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. The pillars are social-capital development, leadership development and sustainable development ³⁵. Consequently, BLD started to provide training to BRAC staff on 'participatory rural appraisal (PRA)' for building rapport and identifying the target indigenous groups. Moreover,

'Social awareness and raising education' courses are provided to indigenous community leaders and parents so that they become aware of their rights and support the initiatives to establish schools for indigenous children there.

Simultaneously, BRAC had recruited both Bengali and indigenous teachers and staff, who received training on 'designing the curriculum for ethnic schools', training of trainers (ToT), and teachers' training, etc. BLD also provided mentorship training to five promising students from each secondary school in indigenous-concentrated region with a view to creating local leaders. The pedagogy management course, teachers' training, quarterly refreshers' training and other training modules were revised regularly and followed 15 per cent lecture, 40 per cent demonstration and role-playing and 45 per cent mobile plenary, world cafe and practice methods according to the needs of indigenous teachers and staff. Since 2007, BLD has been concentrating more on providing ToT and the human development and management training for staff. BLD also provides yearlong training on leadership development for indigenous managers of other organisations like World Vision Bangladesh, CAMPE, CARE. By providing training support, it is expected that the indigenous peoples and their communities reached by BRAC will ultimately be able to realise their

Human resource division ³⁶

BRAC's human resource division (HRD) is a strategic partner to BRAC's multifaceted programmes that establishes current trends of HR management and practices adopting a qualitative and strategic approach in managing its workforce. The driving forces of HRD are procedural justice, transparency, equality, respect for diversity, free from discrimination and recognition of potentials, which will eventually reap long-term advantages for the organisation.

BRAC Human Resources Policies and Procedures (HRPP) refer to indigenous staff in BRAC in its clause 1.03 (5). The clause stipulates that during the recruitment process, "An affirmative orientation would be given in case of appointment of women, indigenous peoples and differently-abled groups (DAG)." HRD follows this clause during all recruitment. However, HRD does not have indigenous disaggregated data.

Migration programme ³⁷

The long queue of applicants for overseas employment and the proliferation of recruitment agencies in Bangladesh reflect the growing significance of labour migration and the apparent internationalisation of labour markets. With this relevance in background, the objective of BRAC's migration programme is to facilitate safe and ethical migration through communication, social mobilisation, and skill enhancement of the potentials and returnee migrants for better wages and reintegration after return. Six migration facilitation centres in six divisions of the country, with Dhaka having central focus, have initiated different social mobilisation activities, social and legal support, and skill enhancement training. The programme has its intervention in 17 districts, (42 sub-districts, 252 unions and 2268 wards) of Bangladesh.

As the programme is not yet covering the entire country with its activities, an insignificant number of indigenous peoples are reached by the programme. According to the last updated data only 20 women and five men (25 total) have been involved with one of the activities of the programme which took place at Mithapokur of Rangpur.

Some observations

BRAC's programmes aligned with all important development sectors are found involved with diverse activities on indigenous issues. It covers development sectors from social and legal empowerment at community level to advocacy at national level, and social utilities eg education and health to economic supports eg microfinance. Just like the diverse sectoral interventions, the large number of indigenous peoples reached by BRAC is also important to refer. Since some indigenous members receive assistance from more than one programme, so the risk of double counting makes it difficult to gather the absolute number of indigenous participants. However, the numbers of some individual BRAC programmes are important to mention as the numbers are significant. This includes BEP's 154,398 students in 3,762 schools/ libraries, HNPP's 1,329,480 service recipients under EHC, IDP's 40,000 indigenous recipients, GJD's 30,000

indigenous inhabitants of target area, microfinance programme's 20,480 indigenous clients, WASH's 810,526 service recipients and DECC's 7750 training recipients, HRLS' 10,113 indigenous clients and TUP's 4,002 indigenous ultra poor. Even though some numbers are cumulative, some are about the existing members only and others denote the planned target population during a project period, they all clearly explicate that BRAC with its multi-sectoral interventions largely contributes to socioeconomic and human rights improvement of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.

The geographic coverage of BRAC activities on indigenous issues is scattered across Bangladesh. Particular concentration has been found in the regions of CHT, North Bengal, greater Sylhet and Mymensingh. When intervened areas are scattered, coverage of indigenous ethnic groups served by BRAC programmes are many. Some mostly covered indigenous ethnic groups seem to be Santal, Oraon, Rajbongshi, Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Garo among others.

Despite larger coverage by many BRAC programmes, only BEP and IDP have tailored projects or programme especially for indigenous peoples. BEP started its project on education for indigenous children in 2001. Now its components exclusively for indigenous students are Ethnic Pre-primary School (BPPS), BRAC Ethnic Primary School (EEC) and ESP Ethnic Primary. IDP started a three years long project on the indigenous people of plain land in 2012. The project aims to empower indigenous peoples through improved livelihood opportunities, leadership and cultural practices, and advocacy supports in an integrated development approach. So except BEP and IDP, indigenous peoples have been reached by BRAC programmes either because they are within the defined criteria of target group eg ultra poor and/or simply because they live in the project area. Depending on the project's mandate, they are direct or indirect members of BRAC's programmes. But in most cases, they are not served because of their indigenous identity characterised by national and international criteria of development and human rights standards.

Only BEP, IDP, HRLS and CEP have indigenous disaggregated data inbuilt in their MIS. In all other cases, data were collected only for this mapping purpose from the primary sources in the field and/ or programme documents. This again shows that BRAC's activities on indigenous issues in terms of geographic, numerical, development sectors and ethnic groups coverage are very remarkable, but there are still many opportunities to improve and to be proactive in planning and implementation strategies ³⁸.

Chapter 4: Entry points for development of indigenous peoples

The 1990s is significant for Bangladesh for its political transition from military regime to democratic political system. The decade is equally important for indigenous peoples in Bangladesh because of some national and international events. Indigenous peoples from CHT and plain lands in 1993 together for the first time celebrated the first United Nations Year of Indigenous Peoples. The CHT accord between the government of Bangladesh and the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti (JSS) was signed in 1997. The years next experienced a speedy and conspicuous discourse on indigenous issues in Bangladesh. Increased communication between indigenous peoples of plain lands and CHT, programmatic intervention of development agencies, progressive role of some indigenous and civil society personalities and the booming number of print and electronic media were main factors behind this momentum. The prolonged results of these movements are some legal references and increased awareness both among Bengali and indigenous peoples creating more entry points to further push the agenda of indigenous issues. The last chapter endeavours to provide broader outlines of entry points for the development of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh. While the first part of this chapter is based on an analytical implication of role playing by the state and society, the second part is on the possible role of development agencies in general and BRAC in specific.

Indigenous peoples, the state and society

UNDRIP stipulates that the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples "will enhance harmonious and cooperative relations between the state and indigenous peoples based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith". This, on the other hand, indicates the strategic importance of the roles of the states in promoting the rights of indigenous peoples at society. The examples even by some states in Asia such as Philippine Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) 1997, are available which have created further doorways to pursue ³⁹. But the states then again, are inevitably embedded into the society as a whole. So the policy and legal implication primarily at government level and mass awareness primarily at society level are important pre-determinants of how the condition of indigenous peoples would be in a given situation. The table 15 below shows some indicative entry points from the viewpoints of the state and society and for broader discussion only (not for BRAC alone).

Governance, policy and advocacy	Social solidarity and social protection	Human resource, land and livelihood
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness and capacity of government officials and institutions on indigenous issues. Representation at local and national level public institutions. - Advocacy for detailed operational plan, implementation and review of existing and new policies such as constitutional recognition, CHT accord, adoption of new policies where applicable, SAD funding and national budget, 6th five-year plan, sectoral policies and international commitments (eg relevant ILO Conventions). - Network and advocacy with policy actors, media, civil society, and development agencies. - Comprehensive ethnographic study and disaggregated data to identify indigenous peoples, their numbers and development issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness among and solidarity between both indigenous peoples and Bengali about indigenous rights. - Promote human rights-based approach to the development of indigenous peoples. - Protection mechanism including law enforcement agency to check human rights violations of indigenous peoples. - Indigenous culture relating to traditional festival, religious practices, clothing, occupation, territory, installation, and institutions be protected and promoted. Based on self-identification, promote the notion, 'development with identity'. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure health security and provide education including education in mother tongue. Support the indigenous young for higher education by means of subsidies, stipends and scholarships. - Capacity building of indigenous CBOs, traditional social institutions, and other representative organisations. - Leadership and life skills of indigenous women, men and youth are enhanced. - Land rights and tenurial security of the indigenous peoples are strengthened and recognition of their customary land rights. - Livelihood security of the indigenous communities is strengthened through land and off-land opportunities.

Participation into the policy process and using advocacy tools at administration are more linked to the state affairs. Awareness and capacity building of government officials and institutions; operationalisation of existing policies with monitoring and review mechanism; increased networking and advocacy with media, civil society, and development agencies; ensuring representation at local and national level public institutions; comprehensive ethnographic study are some entry points here.

However, the effectiveness and implementation of the policies and laws largely depend on the level of awareness and capacity of indigenous peoples and cooperation of diverse actors. Although discriminatory attitudes towards indigenous peoples in society are still widespread, a number of support networks involving both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples have grown in Bangladesh. Even though, the number and activities of such networks are quite limited, they can be built on. For this, creating leaders from among indigenous peoples and their organisations in the form of empowerment should be an in-built strategy of development interventions. Social protection measures including protection and promotion of indigenous rights, ensuring accessible and affordable justice will create confidence among them. Simultaneously, the sectoral services such as education, health and land and livelihood security should be ensured to break the cycle of poverty they are fettered within for generations. Protection and promotion of indigenous culture as cross-cutting agenda should be well considered in development programmes.

Priority of development agencies and BRAC

Development agencies such as national and international NGOs, bilateral donors, international financial institutions have different programmes and strategic preference on indigenous issues in Bangladesh. Even though in most cases, their supports are not solely on indigenous issues, indigenous peoples receive their services being among other target groups. Some remarkable national NGOs among others directly or through partner NGOs work on indigenous issues are MJF (human rights, primary education), ALRD (land rights), SEHD (environment and indigenous rights). Some international NGOs among others relevant to mention are Caritas (integrated development programme), OXFAM International (on rights, development and disaster management), ActionAID (rights, development), IWGIA (indigenous rights) and Tebtebba Foundation (indigenous rights) ⁴⁰. UNDP being supported by a donor consortium implements a programme in CHT named CHT Development Facility (CHTDF). Among the leading bilateral development agencies supporting projects on indigenous issues are the EC, JBIC, DFID, NORAD, SIDA, CIDA, DANIDA and DFAD. Among international financial institutions, ADB supports CHTDF programme and PEDP-II. Some of them have specific policy and strategy framework on indigenous peoples for their international development operations (annex 4).

Each BRAC programme specialises in a different development sector and works to alleviate the socioeconomic condition of and empower people living in poverty, especially women. This inclusive and integrated development approach of BRAC has rendered the responsibility for and given ample opportunity of working on indigenous issues. Chapter 2 has well reviewed the indigenous issues from historical (discrimination), human rights and development perspectives and purposively highlighted why the issue could draw and should get affirmative attention in policy and programmatic initiatives. Chapter 3 has presented how BRAC responds to the needs of indigenous peoples. Based on the reviews of earlier chapters, some areas within BRAC may be identified to mainstream the indigenous issues in BRAC policies (as is found in BRAC HRD policy) and programmes (as is found in BEP and IDP among others).

Awareness and capacity building of BRAC staff on indigenous issues is an important entry point for BRAC. Both the senior staff at strategic position and direct implementers at field level should be trained on the socioeconomic, human rights, historical and political dynamics of indigenous peoples and their development issues. Knowing indigenous issues with professional care will enhance the effectiveness of programme intervention. CEP and BEP for example have trained their staff working on indigenous concentrated areas or working in indigenous related components.

Indigenous disaggregated data in MIS of BRAC programmes would be a good way forward to understand the disproportionate vulnerability of indigenous peoples in society, their human rights, and development needs. This will make BRAC programmes understand indigenous issues with enhanced expertise and take initiatives with tailored intervention. Even though only four BRAC programmes (BEP, IDP, HRLS and CEP) have indigenous disaggregated data in their MIS, many other programmes are thinking to do so.

When BRAC policies are in affirmative notion towards indigenous issues, BRAC staff are capacitated and BRAC programmes have indigenous disaggregated data, it will provide more opportunities to mobilise external funding on this issue. BRAC can utilise this opportunity more successfully making lasting impact on the issue. Any deliberate effort of BRAC on indigenous issue will not only fulfil its organisational values such as inclusiveness but also fulfil its immediate strategy for 2012-2015, which aims to reach more disadvantaged communities like indigenous peoples. Following BEP's long experience in education sector for indigenous children, IDP's project on indigenous peoples is expected to be a good learning for BRAC to further involve in indigenous issues, taking consideration of many strategic and integrated perspectives such as human rights, livelihood and socio-political development sectors.

The mapping effort, in conclusion, not only has delineated BRAC activities across its programmes on indigenous issues but has also drawn a background of the issue in terms of human rights insights and development discourse. Historical discrimination and exploitation, lack of social protection, land grabbing and subsequent poverty are among others, some thematic development challenges of indigenous peoples. Indigenous culture representing their ethnic identity and way of living is a cross-cutting issue of these development challenges. **Realising the backdrop of the thematic and cross-cutting development challenges, mainstreaming indigenous issues spearheaded by policy implication, awareness raising and promoting capacity and leadership through mobilisation, education and poverty reduction including their land and livelihood security are some strategic entry points for the development of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.** However, any intervention by development agencies, government organisations or by indigenous peoples themselves should well consider the development challenges of indigenous peoples and their solutions in indigenous eyes and in the spirit of human rights (not merely welfare or poverty approach). BRAC being the most competent and successful development organisation and having a relevant development vision is in a good position to contribute on indigenous issues in Bangladesh and beyond. Mainstreaming BRAC's policies and programmes, building awareness and capacity of its staff, maintaining indigenous disaggregated data and mobilising necessary funds on the issue might be some entry points for BRAC.

Annexes

Annex-1: Indigenous peoples at a glance

More than 400 million indigenous peoples originated from over 5,000 ethnic groups and live in some 90 countries across the world. More than 50 indigenous ethnic nations in Bangladesh speak in 35 languages. The table below shows three references about indigenous ethnic nations in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Adivasi Forum (‘Solidarity’ by BAF in 2005)	Small Ethnic Group Act (Passed in 2010 by the parliament)	Raja 2009
Asam, Bawm, Banai, Bediya, Bhumi, Bagdi, Chakma, Chak, Dalu, Garo, Gurkha, Hajong, Khasi, Kharia, Kiang, Khumi, Koch, Kole, Karmakar, Khatriya Barman, Khondo, Lusai, Marma, Mro, Monipuri, Mahato, Munda, Malo, Mahali, Muriyar, Musohor, Oraon, Pangkhu, Paharia, Pahan, Patro, Rakhaing, Rajuar, Rai, Rajbongshi, Santal, Shing, Turi, Tangchangya, Tripura.	Barman, Bawm, Chak, Chakma, Dalu, Garo, Hajong, Khasia, Khumi, Khyang, Koch, Kole, Lushai, Malpahari, Manipuri, Marma, Mong, Mro, Munda, Oraon, Pahari, Pankhua, Rakhain, Santal, Tangchangya, Tripura, Ushai/Usui.	Assam, Bagdi, Banai, Bediay, Bhuiya, Bhumi, Bhumi, Bom, Brong, Buna, Chak, Chakma, Dalu, Garo, Gond, Gurkha, Hadi, Hajong, Ho, Horizon, Karmakar, Khando, Kharia, Kharwar, Khasi, Khatriya Barman, Khumi, Khyang, Koch, Kole, Kora, Lushai, Maches, Mahali, Mahato, Malo, Mal, Paharia, Marma, Monipuri, Mro, Munda, Muriyar, Musohor, Oraon, Pahan, Paharia, Pangkhua, Patro, Rai, Rajbongshi, Rajuar, Rakhaing, Santal, Sauria, Paharia, Shing, Tangchangya, Tripura, Turi, Urua.

Annex-2: Some operational definitions of indigenous peoples

There are some operational definitions of indigenous peoples commonly used by the writers. The bases of the definitions are often founded on some defining criteria, rather than any concreteness. Some of them are as follows:

José Martínez Cobo: José Martínez Cobo, special rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in his study, Problem of discrimination against indigenous populations (1986) wrote, “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those, which having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.”

The definition further adds that any individual who identifies himself or herself as indigenous and is accepted by the group or community as one of its members is to be regarded as an indigenous person.

ILO Convention No 169: ILO Convention No 169 (1989), which replaced ILO Convention No 107 (1957), does not strictly define who indigenous and tribal peoples are but rather describes the peoples it aims to protect. “This convention applies to: (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other section of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs

or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country; or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of recent state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.” The same article (1.2) stipulates self-identification as indigenous peoples or tribal as a fundamental criterion of the group.

In its Operational Directive 4.20, the World Bank views that no single definition can capture the diversity of indigenous peoples. However identifying few characteristics, World Bank tries to single out indigenous peoples:

- A close attachment to ancestral territories and to the natural resources on these areas;
- Self-identification by others as members of a distinct cultural group and indigenous language, often different from the national language;
- Presence of customary social and political institutions;
- Primarily subsistence-oriented production.

Annex-3: Laws/policies/institution relating to indigenous peoples

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh: The 15th amendment (2011) of the constitution of Bangladesh stipulates, “The state shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects and communities.”

The State Acquisition and Bengal Tenancy Act, 1950: The act forbids the transfer of lands owned by ‘aboriginals’ to non-aboriginal persons without the express consent of the government’s district officer. The indigenous names mentioned under this act are Sonthals, [Banais] Bhuiyas, Bhumijes, Dalus, Garos, Gonds, Hadis, Hajangs, Hos, Kharias, Kharwars, Kochs (Dhaka Division), Koras, Maghs (Bakerganj District), Mal and Sauria Paharias, Maches, Mundas, Mundais, Oraons and Turis.

The National Education Policy, 2010: National Education Policy 2010, aims, among others, to promote the culture and language of small ethnic groups. In pre-primary and primary level, it requires to take necessary steps for education in mother tongue, indigenous teacher and proper textbook for indigenous children. In indigenous inhabited areas, establishing primary school with residential facilities for indigenous teacher and students has been promised in the policy.

The National Women Development Policy, 2011: National Women Development Policy (NWDP) promises to ensure the respective rights of indigenous peoples for their development and promotion . It was also emphasised that they sustain their respective tradition and culture during promotion. The NWDP further recommends taking special activities for indigenous women.

Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institution Act 2010: Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institution Act was enacted to incorporate the job conditions and facilities of the officials of seven cultural institutions for small ethnic groups across the country within government rules. It mentions (only) 27 ethnic groups bypassing the names of many other indigenous nations.

The sixth five-year plan (2011-15): The policy plans to ensure indigenous peoples’ social, political, and economic rights; security; and fundamental human rights; and preserve their social and cultural identity. They will ensure access to education, healthcare, food and nutrition. It also promised to implement the CHT accord 1997 accordingly.

Institutions relating to the CHT: There are some acts particularly relevant for CHT. Some of them are the CHT Regulation 1900, the CHT Development Board Ordinance 1976, the Hill District Council Acts of 1989, the CHT Regional Council Act 1998, and the CHT Land Disputes Resolution Commission Act 2001 (Roy 2009 and 2010). These acts in general and the CHT accord in 1997, in particular, has identified the CHT as tribal inhabited area and

stipulated special administrative and development strategies to preserve the distinct cultural feature of the region. There is a Ministry for Chittagong Hill Tracts Affairs in which some posts and mandates are particularly for indigenous peoples. **The ILO Convention No 107, 1957:** ILO Convention No 107 in 1957, has first recognised the necessity of special measures for preserving the rights and development of indigenous peoples. Bangladesh ratified the ILO Convention No. 107 in 1972, which in general, recognised many of the pressing issues of human rights and development of indigenous peoples.

ILO Convention 107 has been later replaced by ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples 1989 (Convention No. 169). The latter dismissed the assimilationist and paternalistic approach of the former and added some points as paradigm shift. Some of the new points are the importance of self-identification, recognition and protection of the cultural and other specificities of indigenous peoples, and ensuring participation of indigenous peoples regarding their rights and development. It is strongly recommended that Bangladesh ratifies the progressive ILO Convention 169 (in place ILO Convention 107).

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007: The UNDRIP is the most comprehensive declaration for identifying and recognising the issues of indigenous peoples’ rights and development. It sets out the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples, as well as their rights to culture, identity, language, employment, health, education and other issues. It prohibits discrimination against indigenous peoples, and promotes their full and effective participation in all matters that concern them and their right to remain distinct and to pursue their own visions of economic and social development.

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) 2000: The UNPFII is the United Nation’s central coordinating body for matters relating to the concerns and rights of the world’s indigenous peoples. The forum is an advisory body that reports to the UN’s Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); however, it performs an advisory function in relation to other branches of the United Nations system. The six mandated areas of the PFII are socioeconomic development, education, culture, environment, health and human rights.

Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP): The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (EMRIP) was established by the Human Rights Council, the UN’s main human rights body, in 2007, under Resolution 6/36 as a subsidiary body of the council. The Expert Mechanism provides the Human Rights Council with thematic advice, in the form of studies and research, on the rights of indigenous peoples as directed by the council. The Expert Mechanism may also suggest proposals to the council for its consideration and approval.

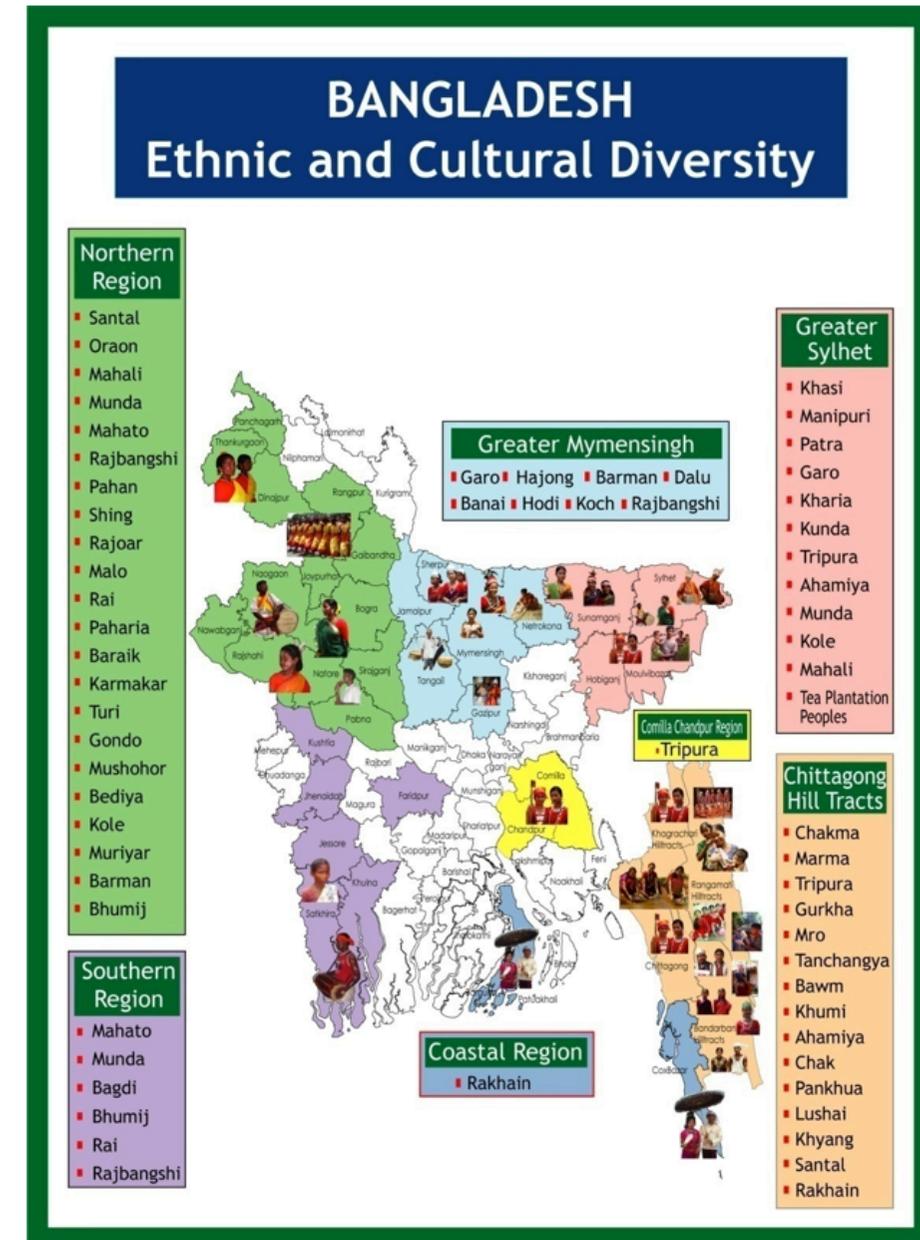
The Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005–2015): The second decade of UN International Decade of the World’s Indigenous People (2005-2015) started with the theme of ‘Partnership for action and dignity’. The decade aims to fulfil the five objectives relating to promoting non-discrimination and inclusion, full and effective participation in decision making, re-define development policy from a vision of social equality, adopt targeted policies with emphasis on special groups (women, children and youth), develop strong monitoring mechanisms and enhance accountability at all levels to protect the rights of indigenous peoples.

Annex-4: Policies of international organisations on indigenous peoples

Many international development agencies including those of United Nations and financial institutions have specific policy or strategy framework on indigenous peoples. Here is a list of them.

- **UNIPP** (United Nations' Indigenous Peoples' Partnership) brings together the ILO, OHCHR, UNDP, UNFPA and UNICEF in a partnership with indigenous peoples, governments and other stakeholders to facilitate implementation of international standards on indigenous peoples, in particular the UNDRIP and the ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ILO Convention No. 169). UNIPP has its collective strategy and Strategic Framework 2011-2015 relating to indigenous peoples.
- **The World Bank (WB)**, in 2005, approved a revised policy on Indigenous Peoples. The updated policy, as reflected in the Revised Operational Policy on Indigenous Peoples (OP) and the Revised Bank Procedure on Indigenous Peoples (OB). OP/BP 4.10 applies to all investment projects for which a project concept review took place on or after 1 July, 2005.
- **European Union (EU)** in 1998, adopted the 'Council Resolution on Indigenous Peoples within the Framework of the Development Cooperation of the Community and Members States', which provides the main guidelines for support to indigenous peoples.
- **Asian Development Bank (ADB)**'s Policy on Indigenous Peoples was adopted in 1998. Moreover ADB's Operations Manual from 2003, describes ADB policy and procedures in addressing indigenous peoples issues in ADB projects.
- **The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)** in 2003, adopted the report entitled "Report of the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities" published in 2005. The report is used as a conceptual framework by the African Commission in the promotion and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples in Africa.
- **Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)**'s policy on indigenous peoples is entitled 'Strategy for Indigenous Development'.
- **United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)** and Indigenous Peoples: A Policy of Engagement is an overview of UNDP's policy and engagement with indigenous peoples based on its mandate from the Charter of the United Nations.
- **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)**'s relevance to indigenous peoples is the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted in 2001. It also contains main lines of an action plan for the implementation of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.
- **The World Conservation Union (IUCN)**'s policy agenda for indigenous peoples and conservation is very broad and the unit's work is guided by the resolutions of the World Conservation Congress (WCC). Policy development in these areas is guided by specific international agreements, IGO's and UN agencies. In particular, the unit's work in these areas is guided by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).
- **Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA)** in 1994, formulated its first strategy on indigenous peoples. From 2000-2001, it was reviewed by a team of indigenous experts. In 2004, a revised version of the Strategy for Danish Support to Indigenous Peoples was adopted. This strategy aims at integrating the concern for indigenous peoples at all levels of Denmark's foreign policy and development cooperation, and raise indigenous issues through policy dialogue with partner countries. In mid 2007, the Danish Government made public a new discussion paper on priorities for the Danish cooperation with Africa 2007-2011.
- **The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD)**'s policy on indigenous peoples is entitled 'Guidelines for Norway's Efforts to Strengthen Support for Indigenous Peoples in Development Cooperation'.

Annex-5: Map of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh



Source: Kapaeeng Foundation and Oxfam

Endnote

1. The main causes of this deliberate absence are that the diversity of indigenous peoples cannot easily be captured in a universal definition (ILO 2009). Even if a definition is given, the concreteness of the definition will inevitably be either over or under inclusive, making sense in some society but not in others (DESA 2009). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Minorities, for example, also does not include a formal definition of minorities. But some concepts which differ between indigenous peoples and other ethnic minorities are collective rights, self-determination, self-identification, and attachment to land and territory.
2. Current regime of international human rights law (eg ILO Convention 169, UNDRIP) does not distinguish between 'tribal' and 'indigenous' peoples and all, without distinction, are regarded as 'indigenous peoples' in case of entitling rights. So when Bangladesh constitution refers to the presence of 'tribes', it legally refers to the rights and thus presence of indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.
3. "The convention (ILO 169) thereby focuses on the present situation of indigenous and tribal peoples, although the historical continuity and territorial connection are important elements in the identification of indigenous peoples" (ILO 2009: 10).
4. The UNPFII works on the development issues of indigenous peoples such as their economic and social development, education, culture, environment, health and human rights while the EMRIP studies and recommends only on human rights issues of indigenous peoples. Special rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples (SRIP) often in collaboration with UNPFII and EMRIP examines ways and means of overcoming existing obstacles to the full and effective protection of the rights of indigenous peoples.
5. The most concentration of indigenous peoples such as Chakma, Marma, Tripura is in CHT in the south-east region while the Rakhaine and Santal live in the south-western region of the country. In the Eastern hilly regions of Sylhet and Moulvibazar districts, Khasi, Monipuri and Garos are in larger number while Garos, Dalu and Banai live in the mid-north region of Mymensingh, Tangail and Netrokona districts. Another concentration of indigenous peoples living for centuries in Bangladesh is in the north-western districts of the country. Santal, Oraon, Mahato and Munda are some of them.
6. Even though the indigenous peoples are not happy with this constitutional reference as it did not use the term 'indigenous peoples', this for optimists might be a step-forward in policy perspective. Moreover, both the 'tribal' and 'indigenous peoples', without distinction, are entitled to all the same rights (see ILO 2009, ILO Convention No 169). So when the constitution refers to the term 'tribes', it intuitively recognises the existence of indigenous peoples. Hence, the denial of the existence of indigenous peoples is more of a political debate than a legal one.
7. Some provisions being in practice for long in post-independence period are the Special Affairs Division Block Fund under the Prime Minister's Office and quota for indigenous peoples at educational and government institutions.
8. This report has been prepared by Education for Ethnic Children (EEC) unit of BEP.
9. Medhabikash udyog is a scholarship programme for bright students from disadvantaged background, chhatrabandhu is a volunteer tutor programme initiated which offers tuition support to poor students who cannot afford private tuition. Gonokendras are multi-purpose community learning centres or library.
10. Teachers are more in number than schools, because in some cases, a school has 2 teachers.
11. It denotes number of library.
12. EEC runs two types of indigenous schools: (1). Mother tongue-based multilingual education using indigenous scripts and, (2). Mother tongue-based multilingual education using indigenous oral instruction.
13. Gonokendras are established with BRAC and community financing. They contain at least 1,000 books, popular magazines and daily newspapers, and are usually managed by locally recruited women librarians. In cooperation with government, they also provide IT and other training in a range of trades.
14. This report has been prepared by Ishita Islam and Sadhan Kumar Nandi of HRLS.
15. This report has been prepared by Kazi Nazrul Fattah and Intaz Ali of CEP.
16. The main activities of this supply side intervention include training for local government officials, advocacy at sub-district level, strengthening UP committees, promoting open budgeting, ward shobha, citizen charter and community engagement.
17. This report has been prepared by Razina Haque of TUP.
18. This report has been prepared by Raisul Haque, Morseda Chowdhury, Shamsun Naher, Sohely Rahman of HNPP.
19. Shasthya shebikas (95,623) and shashthya kormis (10,008) are frontline community health workers.
20. Maternal, neonatal and child health programme (MNCH) is divided into two components: 'manoshi', MNCH (Urban), which currently works in city slums and IMNCS (MNCH Rural) which currently works in 10 defined districts.
21. Community health workers (CHW), namely, shasthya shebika, newborn health worker, shasthya kormi and community skilled birth attendant (CSBA) are the frontline workers catering to family planning, pregnancy care, newborn and under-five child care at door steps.
22. This report has been prepared by AKM Sazzad Hossain and Chowdhury Abdullah-Al-Baki of BRAC Microfinance Programme.
23. This report has been prepared by Salah Uddin and Alberikos Khalko of IDP.
24. Monga (seasonal famine) is cyclical food insecurity phenomena in North Bengal in Bangladesh between the time of transplantation and harvesting.
25. Out of this total number, number of courtyard meeting events is 8232 taking place in every village during the three years period of the project.
26. Even though total population is 40,000 only, the same population will be benefited multiple times making this number 66,220.
27. This report has been prepared by Rezvina Parvin and Sk. Mojibul Huq of Advocacy for Social Change.
28. Definition of the problem: Knowledge gaps and inappropriate child care practices result in child morbidity and mortality and harmful social norms result in detrimental effects on the development of children and mitigate against the fulfillment of their survival, development and protection rights.
29. This report has been prepared by Mohammed Kamruzzaman of GJD.
30. This report has been prepared by Sudhir Chandra Nath, Md. Taslim Reza, Hafeez Monzurul Azim and Ayesha Akter of AFSP.
31. The report of BRAC WASH programme has been prepared by Rezaul Karim.
32. The numbers of indigenous households of each sub-district have been collected from Rafi 2005. The household numbers then have been multiplied by the average household size of the respective district according to the population and housing census 2011. So the number of indigenous population of a sub-district = (number of indigenous households of that sub-district X average household size of that district).
33. The report of DECC programme has been prepared by Bodiuzzaman Miah.
34. The reports have been prepared Nurun Nahar of BRAC Learning Division. Hrishikesh Baidya and Roxana Rabbani of HRD.
35. Social-capital development category includes social awareness and raising education course for the indigenous community leaders and parents, participatory rural appraisal (PRA), social and emotional learning for indigenous staff, idea sharing workshop with NGO leaders from indigenous background towards building network, etc. Leadership development category on the other hand, encompasses leadership for advancing development (LEAD) course (yearlong) for indigenous managers in BRAC, World Vision Bangladesh and other organisations, operation management course, capacity development course for community leaders, mentoring training for the students of secondary schools, etc. Sustainable development category at last covers basic teachers' training' for indigenous schools (BRAC and other organisations' school), subject-based courses for teachers, pedagogy management course for BRAC staff who are managing indigenous education programme, etc.
36. This report has been prepared by BRAC HRD.
37. This report has been prepared by Nakib Rajib Ahmed of BRAC's migration programme.
38. It is relevant to mention that the sixth five-year plan (2011-2015) of the government has planned to ensure detailed information on indigenous population with ethnic disaggregation.
39. Asia is the abode of two-thirds of the world's indigenous peoples. Some examples of how Asian states are referring and treating indigenous peoples are: 'Indigenous cultural communities/indigenous peoples' by Philippine Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) 1997; 'indigenous nationalities' by Nepal's constitutional and laws. Nepal has ratified ILO Convention No 169. Indian constitution refers as 'scheduled tribes'; while China officially calls 'ethnic minorities'.
40. For a summary of development agencies' involvement in indigenous issues in Bangladesh, see Roy 2010.

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