

**ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORT ON THE SANTALS OF BHOLA,
KAMARKUNDU, HOOGHLY, WEST BENGAL**

THE UNIVERSITY OF BURDWAN

B.SC. SEMESTER - VI, PRACTICAL EXAMINATION

DSE - 4, DISSERTATION

ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT

**WORK DONE UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF DR.
ABHRADIP BANERJEE, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AND DR.
PARAMITA SEN, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF
SINGUR GOVERNMENT GENERAL DEGREE COLLEGE**

ROLL No- 190342000011

REG. No- 201901056809 OF 2019-20

*Forwarded
for Examination
08/06/22*

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Yours faithfully,

Basundhara Ghosh

Semester- VI

Department of Anthropology

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Introduction

In terms of aim, anthropology is quite different from a number of natural science disciplines like Chemistry and Physics which can experiment with different chemical and physical elements. They can dissolve their objects of study, change their form from one state into another, measure them, twist them or bend them.

As we all know, anthropology is a bio-social science which studies humans in totality. It has a number of subfields such as 'biological anthropology', 'social-cultural anthropology', 'archaeological anthropology', and 'linguistic anthropology'. The main concern of social-cultural anthropologists is to develop approaches suitable for understanding the social cultural dimensions of human life. Because of this specific purpose, some of the research methods and techniques in social-cultural anthropology are quite different from these aforementioned branches of natural and biological sciences. As often the subject matters of social cultural anthropologists revolve around human beings and their behaviours, researchers of this particular field could not depend too much upon experimental models or laboratory-based scientific setups. They rather depend upon observational and field-based data, which is the heart and soul of social-cultural anthropology.

Not only that, approach-wise, research in social cultural anthropology is quite different from social sciences like sociology and psychology which also work on human beings. Sociologists, by and large, work in complex societies. They often conduct surveys, use structured interviews, and administer questionnaires. Hence, sociology generally comes under the realm of survey research. Psychologists on the other hand conduct experiments with clients and hence, Psychology is generally included under the realm of clinical research. But, anthropologists being field scientists, learn from their informants. Traditionally, they are known for their work among small-scale societies, and have devised specific methods and techniques for undertaking holistic research.

Fieldwork and Ethnography

Ethnographic fieldwork is how anthropologists gather data. Fieldwork is the process of immersing oneself in as many aspects of the daily cultural lives of people as possible in order to study their behaviors and interactions. Nearly any setting or location can become "the field": a village along the Amazon river, a large corporate office in Tokyo, a small neighborhood café in Seattle, or even a social networking site like Facebook. Fieldwork takes time. Anthropologists enter the field location much like a new-born child. They may have trouble communicating until they have learned the local language. They will likely make mistakes, and locals will find them funny or strange. It can take months or years to begin to accustom themselves to the society or

community within which they will live and learn. In the fieldwork process, anthropologists eventually piece together ideas about kinship, language, religion, politics, and economic systems, which allows them to build a picture of the society.

Ethnography can mean two things in anthropology: a) the qualitative research methods employed during fieldwork b) the written descriptive and interpretive results of that research. The hallmark method of ethnographic field research in anthropology is known as **participant-observation**. This type of data-gathering is when the anthropologist records their experiences and observations while taking part in activities alongside local participants or informants in the field site. Anthropologists also engage in informal conversations, more formal interviews, surveys, or questionnaires, and create photos, sound or video recordings, as well as conduct historical or archival research into correspondence, public records, or reports, depending on their research area. Some anthropologists use quantitative methods when analyzing their research, such as producing statistics based on their findings.

Ethnographic writing differs from other types of academic, historical, journalistic, or travel writing about peoples and places. While ethnographers may also keep a fieldwork diary containing personal notes, ethnography is much more than a recounting of daily events. Ethnography engages with the theoretical foundations of anthropology and is written with cultural contextualization in mind, speaking to anthropology as a discipline as well as furnishing greater understanding of the cultural world that has been explored. The aim of ethnographic writing is to produce work that contributes to, and advances, the comparative interpretation of human cultures and societies.

Santals: A Brief Historic Overview

The Santals form the third largest tribal group in India. Their ancestral homeland is believed to lie in Southeast Asia, where they are associated with the old Champa Kingdom of northern Cambodia. The Santals are thought to have migrated to the Indian subcontinent long before the Aryans entered the Indian subcontinent around 1500 Bc. They most likely reached their homeland, the Chota Nagpur Plateau of east-central India, through Assam and Bengal.

With a population of over 6 million the Santals are surpassed in number only by the Gonds and the Bhils among the tribes of India. The Santal heartland lies on the Chota Nagpur Plateau in Jharkhand, with large Santal populations also found in neighboring areas of West Bengal. This area of concentration extends southwards into the Mayurbhanj District of northeastern Orissa. Migrant communities are found working in the tea plantations of Assam and Tripura. The Santal language, Santali, belongs to the North Mundari Group of languages, itself part of the Austroasiatic Language Family. Writing was introduced by Norwegian missionaries in the late nineteenth century, and so Santali literature uses Roman characters. More Recently, Santali has been written in Devanāgarī.

They assume the existence of a Santal kingdom, a tradition which is supported by the collections of medieval Santal weapons at the Oslo Ethnographic Museum and by the remains of

what may be identified as Santal hill forts from the medieval period. Little else is known of this kingdom to which Santal mythic traditions allude. Moreover, the mythic tradition recalls a war between the Santals and a part-Hindu prince, Mandho Singh, who was born of a Santal mother. Mandho Singh succeeded in recruiting followers among the Santals who followed him to the south of Nagpur, settled there, and became more Hinduized. Early contacts with the British led to the Santal rebellion of 1854-1856, in which some ten thousand Santals were killed. They became an important source of plantation labor, while missionary efforts introduced writing and had some influence on their culture. Only small numbers were actually converted to Christianity. Today, the Santals are among the main sources of support for the Jharkhand "tribalist" movement, in which they collaborate to some extent with other Mundari-speaking groups.

Previous Works on Santals

Research on tribal and indigenous groups has been in fashion within the discipline of anthropology ever since its inception. This trend of studying tribal communities or communities living in exotic locations and trying to understand our past and social evolution has been out of fashion ever since the evolutionary theorists because of their ethnocentric views drew strong criticism. But the necessity and requirement of studying tribal communities was felt by Indian anthropologists and anthropologists working in Indian communities especially after the independence. It was evident that the knowledge gathered through such studies could be utilized for generating policies of welfare and development. Understandably, quite a large number of literatures are available on Santals in the form of books, journal articles and encyclopedic entries. The Santal community has been researched from a wide array of perspectives. Researchers have tried to understand their folk-tales (Bodding, 1927), language (Bodding, 1932-1936), life, love and poetry (William, 1974), and law and justice (William, 1984). Apart from these, researchers have tried to provide ethnographic understanding regarding the Santal community as well (Bouez, 1985; Carrin-Bouez, 1986). Even though the development of Santals who are already quite progressive seem to be out of place, still a lot of research is being carried out on the Santals to understand the social change within their communities.

Objective

This ethnographic study intends to understand i) the demographic profile, ii) economic organization, iii) social organization, iv) material culture, v) political organization, vi) religious ceremonies and festivals of the Santals along with vii) efforts that have been taken for their development.

Methods

This field work has been carried out at Bholā Digipara, near Kamarkundu situated in district of Hooghly, West Bengal under singur police station. Data have been collected from 26 families comprising 106 individuals.

Theoretical perspective of this study can be related to the theory of functionalism. As we wanted to provide an ethnographic understanding regarding economy, society, material culture, political organization, religious ceremonies and festivals of the Santals of Bhola Dighipara and how these aspects are related to one another, functional theory is best suited to explain the phenomena.

For this study we have collected both qualitative and quantitative first-hand information. At the initial stage we have collected numeric information on age, sex, education, occupation, marital status etc. through household survey schedule. Then after the establishment of rapport we have collected qualitative information on principal occupation, family, marriage, life cycle rituals, religious ceremonies and festivals through interviews, case study and observation.

The numeric information which were collected through household survey schedules have been analyzed through simple descriptive statistics in Microsoft excel. A number of tables and charts regarding education, occupation, marital status, family income have been generated through this process. Qualitative information collected through interview, observation, case studies have been coded to generate themes, which were later grouped to form broad categories. Information on these broad categories were then correlated with the numeric information to generate an overall understanding of the Santal community of Bhola Dighipara, Hooghly District of West Bengal.

Overview of Chapters

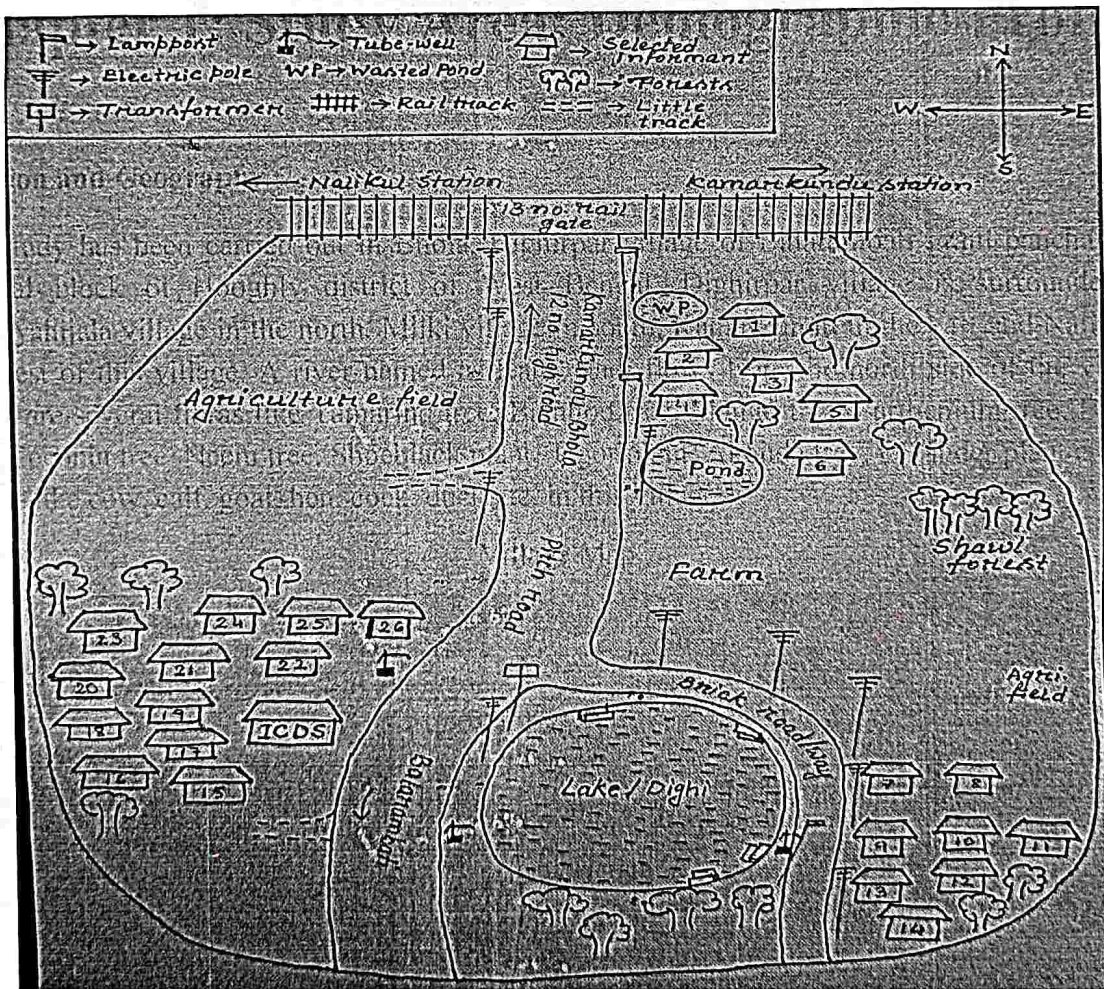
In the first chapter the study depicts the demographic profile of the study area and Santal community living in Bhola Dighipara region in West Bengal. Apart from providing a brief overview regarding the location and geography and infrastructure and facilities available of the study area, the chapter also provides a broad overview regarding age-sex composition, educational and marriage. The second chapter deals with the economic organization. It provides detailed description regarding the earner-dependent ratio, types of occupations along with case study of principal occupation. The third chapter depicts elements of social organization found among the Santal community living in Bhola Dighipara region. It tries to portray the scenario regarding family types, marriage, kinship and life cycle rituals. The fourth chapter deals with the material culture of the Santals of Bhola Dighipara region. It shows their foods and drink, dress and ornaments, tools and implements and musical instruments. The fifth chapter depicts both their traditional and nontraditional political organizations and how these institutional forms are being utilized for maintenance of law and order within their own community. The sixth chapter deals with religious ceremonies and festivals. It shows the types of rituals and customs adopted by the Santals of Bhola Dighipara region apart from their own indigenous ones. The seventh chapter deals with efforts that have been taken for their welfare and development. Lastly, the eighth chapter provides the general observation and conclusion.

Chapter 1: Study Area: Demographic Profile

Location and Geography

The study has been carried out in Bhola, Dighirpar village of Balarambati gram panchayat in Haripal block of Hooghly district of West Bengal. Dighirpar village is surrounded by Madyahijala village in the north, Milki village in south, Kamarkundu in the east and Nalikul in the west of this village. A river named as Kana Nadi flows from the north side of the village. There are several floras like Tamarind tree, Bamboo tree, Mango tree, Parthenium tree, Banana tree, Coconut tree, Neem tree, Shoebblack plant, Tigor plant, Akonda tree, Oleander plant etc. and faunas like cow, calf, goat, hen, cock, duck etc. in this village.

Village Map



Infrastructure

There is a double tracked rail line to enter the village which is along east-west direction. There is agricultural land along the west and south direction. There is a Dighi situated in the middle part of the village. There are two tube wells in this village. A wide pitch road goes along the north-south direction of the village which connects Milki and Dighirpar village with 12No road.

People of this village collect fuel, herbal and medicinal plants from the brush, situated everywhere in the village. The houses of this village are arranged in a cluster way. Most of the people in the village have earthen walls, floors and tile huts. However there are fewer single storied, two storied houses in this village. Houses generally have a separate cooking area. Villagers mostly cook in the earthen furnaces where they use dry stems, straw and dry leaves as fuel. All the houses in this village has a-separate sanitary toilet.

There is one ICDS school in this village. In all (baby, pregnant mother, lactating mother, teacher, helping hand) food is cooked for 14 people. After ICDS, the child of this village gradually goes to Bhola primary school, high schools of Singur, Daluigacha, Beraberi and then college as per their choice. While most of the villagers are involved in agriculture, some are also involve in government jobs. Most of the time people of this village go to local homeopathy doctor, KGD primary health center, Singur hospital for treatment but villagers can also go to other hospitals when required. Villagers cooperate with the health workers (Asha karmi).

Age-Sex Composition

As can be seen from Table 1, number of females among the studied population is much higher, i.e. 57(53.77%) compared to males, i.e. 49 (46%). Undoubtedly this indicates towards their progressive mind-set.

Age Group	Male		Female		Total
	N	%	N	%	
0-14	14	13.21	12	11.32	26
15-29	11	10.38	15	14.15	26
30-44	15	14.15	19	17.92	34
45-59	6	5.66	6	5.66	12
60+	3	2.83	5	4.72	8
Total	49	46.23	57	53.77	106

Table 1: Age-Sex Composition among the Santals of Bhola

But this could be also because the studied sample population is quite miniscule (106 individuals). Therefore, no significant inference can be drawn from that. Table 1 also shows that population is quite young as we see more number of people in the age-groups of '0-14', '15-29' and '30-44', i.e. 26, 26 and 34 respectively. Comparatively the age-groups '45-59' and '60+' has fewer number of people, i.e. 12 and 8 respectively. Table-1 shows the age-sex composition among the studied population. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of male member is 14, i.e. 13.21%; number of female member is 12, i.e. 11.32%. In the age group of 15-29 years, number of male

member is 11, i.e. 10.38%; number of female member is 15, i.e. 14.15%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of male member is 15, i.e. 14.15%; number of female member is 19, i.e. 17.92%. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of male member is 6, i.e. 5.66%, number of female member is 6, i.e. 5.66%. In the age group of 60+ years, number of male member is 3, i.e. 2.83%; number of female member is 5, i.e. 4.72%.

Education

Scenario of education among the Santals of Bhola also indicates the change that this community is going through. The numeric data shows that around 27.36% of the studied population has attained education up to higher secondary and level above that. This includes quite a few graduates and post graduates. But still, 21.70% of them are non-literates mostly from age groups of '30-44', '45-59' and '60+'. This certainly indicates the fact that the tendency of getting higher education has increased among the younger generation.

Age Group	Non-literate		Can Sign		Primary		Secondary		HS & above		Total I
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	3	2.83	2	1.89	0	9.43	1	10.38	0	0.00	26
15-29	1	0.94	1	0.94	1	0.94	5	4.72	8	16.98	26
30-44	7	6.60	6	5.66	5	4.72	7	6.60	9	8.49	34
45-59	8	7.55	2	1.89	1	0.94	0	0.00	1	0.94	12
60+	4	3.77	2	1.89	0	0.00	1	0.94	1	0.94	8
Total	23	21.70	11	12.26	7	16.04	14	22.64	9	27.36	106

Table 2: Educational Status among the total Studied Santals of Bhola

Table-2 shows the age-group-wise scenario among the studied population. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of non-literate is 3, i.e. 2.83 %; number of people who can sign their names are 2, i.e., 1.89%, people getting education up to primary level is 10, i.e. 9.43%, the number of people getting education up to secondary level is 11, i.e. 10.38% and number of people getting education up to higher secondary and above level is 0. In the age group of 15-29 years, the number of non-literate is 1, i.e. 0.94 %; number of people who can sign their names are 1, i.e., 0.94%, number of people getting education up to primary level is 1, i.e., 0.94%, number of people getting education up to secondary level is 5, i.e. 4.72% and number of people getting education up to higher secondary and above level is 8, i.e. 16.98%. In the age group of 30-44 years, the number of non-literate is 7, i.e. 6.60%; number of people who can sign their names are 6, i.e., 5.66%, the number of people getting education up to primary level is 5, i.e. 4.72%, the

number of people getting education up to secondary level is 7, i.e. 6.60% and number of people getting education up to higher secondary and above level is 9, i.e. 8.49%. In the age group of 45-59 years, the number of non-literate is 8, i.e. 7.55%, number of people who can sign their names are 2, i.e., 1.89%, number of people getting education up to primary level is 1, i.e. 0.94%, the number of people getting education up to secondary level is 0, and number of people getting education up to higher secondary and above level is 1, i.e. 0.94. In the age group of 60+ years, the number of non-literate is 4, i.e.3.77 %; number of people who can sign their names are 2, i.e., 1.89%, number of people getting education up to primary level is 0, and secondary and higher secondary and above level is 1, i.e. 0.94%.

Table-3 demonstrates the age-group wise scenario about educational status among Santal males. In the age group 0-14, the number of non-literate is 2, i.e. 1.89%, number of males who can sign is 2, i.e. 1.89%, males getting education up to primary level is 3, i.e. 2.83%, the number of males getting education up to secondary level is 7, i.e. 6.60% and males getting education up to higher secondary and above level is 0. In the age group 15-29 years, number of non-literate is 0, number of males who can sign is 0, the number of males getting education up to primary level is 0, males getting education up to secondary level is 3, i.e. 2.83%, males getting education up to higher secondary or above level is 8, i.e. 7.55%. In the age group 30-44 years, the number of non-literate is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of males who can sign is 2, i.e. 1.89%, males getting education up to primary level is 3, i.e. 2.83%, males getting education up to secondary level is, 5, i.e. 4.72%, number of males getting education up to higher secondary or above level is 4, i.e. 3.77%. In the age group 45-59 years, number of non-literate is 3, i.e. 2.83%, number of males who can sign is 1, i.e. 0.94%, male getting education up to primary level is 1, i.e. 0.94%, males getting education up to secondary level is 0, males getting education up to higher secondary or above is 1, i.e. 0.94%. In the age group of 60+ years, the number of non-literate is 0, number of males who can sign is 1, i.e. 0.94%, males getting education up to primary level is 0, males getting education up to secondary is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of males getting education up to higher secondary or above is 1, i.e. 0.94%.

Age Group	Non-literate		Can Sign		Primary		Secondary		HS & above		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	2	1.89	2	1.89	3	2.83	7	6.60	0	0.00	14
15-29	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	2.83	8	7.55	11
30-44	1	0.94	2	1.89	3	2.83	5	4.72	4	3.77	15
45-59	3	2.83	1	0.94	1	0.94	0	0.00	1	0.94	6
60+	0	0.00	1	0.94		0.00	1	0.94	1	0.94	3
Total	6	5.66	6	5.66	7	6.60	6	15.09	4	13.21	49

Table 3: Educational Status among Santals males of Bhola

Table-4 demonstrates the age-group wise scenario about educational status among Santal females. In the age group 0-14 years, the number of non-literate is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of

females who can sign is 0, females getting education up to primary level is 7, i.e. 6.60%, females getting education up to secondary level is 4, i.e. 3.77%, females getting education up to higher secondary or above level is 0. In the age group 15-29 years, number of non-literate is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of females who can sign is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of female getting education up to primary level is 1, i.e. 0.94%, females getting education up to secondary level is 2, i.e. 1.89% and females getting education up to higher secondary or above is 10, i.e. 9.43%. In the age group 30-44 years, non-literate is 6, i.e. 5.66%, the number of females who can sign is 4, i.e. 3.77, females getting education up to primary level is 2, i.e. 1.89%, females getting education up to secondary level is 2, i.e. 1.89%, females getting up to higher secondary or above level is 5, i.e. 4.72%. In the age group 45-59 years, number of non-literate is 5, i.e. 4.72%, number of females who can sign is 1, i.e. 0.94%, female getting education up to primary level is 0, females getting education up to secondary level is 0 and the number female getting education up to higher secondary or above is 0.

Age Group	Non-literate		Can Sign		Primary		Secondary		HS & above		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	1	0.94	0	0.00	7	6.60	4	3.77	0	0.00	12
15-29	1	0.94	1	0.94	1	0.94	2	1.89	10	9.43	15
30-44	6	5.66	4	3.77	2	1.89	2	1.89	5	4.72	19
45-59	5	4.72	1	0.94	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	6
60+	4	3.77	1	0.94	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5
Total	17	16.04	7	6.60	10	9.43	8	7.55	15	14.15	57

Table 4: Educational Status among Santals females of Bhola

In the age group of 60+ years, the number of number of non-literate is 4, i.e. 3.77%, number of females who can sign is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of female getting education up to primary level is 0, number of female getting education up to secondary level 0 and the number of female getting education up to higher secondary and above is 0.



Bhola Anganwadi School

Marital Scenario

Table-5 shows the age group wise scenario among the studied population. In the age group of 0-14 years married, widow, separation level is 0; number of unmarried people is 26, i.e. 24.53%. In the age group of 15-29 years, the number of married people is 3, i.e. 12.26%, number of unmarried people is 3, i.e. 12.26%, widow and separation level is 0.

Age Group	Married		Unmarried		Widow		Separated		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	0	0.00	6	24.53	0	0.00	0	0	26
15-29	3	12.26	3	12.26	0	0.00	0	0	26
30-44	0	28.30	2	1.89	2	1.89	0	0	34
45-59	1	10.38	0	0.00	1	0.94	0	0	12
60+	7	6.60	0	0.00	1	0.94	0	0	8
Total	16	57.55	11	38.68	4	3.77	0	0	106

Table 5: Marital Status among the total Studied Santals of Bhola

In the age group of 30-44 years, the number of married people is 30, i.e. 28.30%, number of unmarried people is 2, i.e. 1.89%, number of widow is 2, i.e. 1.89% and separation level is 0. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of married people is 11, i.e. 10.38%, number of widow is 1, i.e. 0.94% and unmarried and separation level is 0. In the age group of 60+ years, the number of married people is 7, i.e. 6.60%, number of widow is 1 i.e. 0.94%, unmarried and separation level is 0.

Age Group	Married		Unmarried		Widow		Separated		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	0	0.00	4	13.21	0	0.00	0	0	14
15-29	3	2.83	8	7.55	0	0.00	0	0	11
30-44	4	13.21	1	0.94	0	0.00	0	0	15
45-59	6	5.66	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	6
60+	3	2.83	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	3
Total	16	24.53	13	21.70	0	0.00	0	0	49

Table 6: Marital Status among the Santals males of Bhola

Table 6 shows that the marital status among the Santals of male in the studied population of Bhola. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of married male is 0, i.e. 0%; number of unmarried males are 4, i.e. 13.21%; males widow is 0, i.e. 0.00%, number of separated male is 0 i.e.

0.00%. In the age group of 15-29 years, the number of married male is 3, i.e. 2.83%; number of male who are unmarried are 8, i.e., 7.55%, number of male who is widow is 0, i.e., 0.00%, number of separated male is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 30-44 years, the number of married males are 14, i.e. 13.21%; number of male who is unmarried is 1, i.e., 0.94%, and the number of widow male is 0, i.e. 0.00%, number of separated male is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 45-59 years, the number of married males are 6, i.e. 5.66%, number of males who are unmarried are 1, i.e., 0.94% number of male who is widow is 0, i.e., 0.00%, number of separated male is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 60+ years, , number of married males are 3, i.e. 2.83%; number of unmarried male is 0, i.e. 0.00%; males widow is 0, i.e. 0.00%, number of separated male is 0 i.e. 0.00%.

Age Group	Married		Unmarried		Widow		Separated		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
0-14	0	0.00	2	11.32	0	0.00	0	0	12
15-29	0	9.43	5	4.72	0	0.00	0	0	15
30-44	6	15.09	1	0.94	2	1.89	0	0	19
45-59	5	4.72	0	0.00	1	0.94	0	0	6
60+	4	3.77	0	0.00	1	0.94	0	0	5
Total	3	33.02	8	16.98	4	3.77	0	0	57

Table 7: Marital Status among the Santals females of Bhola

Table 7 shows that the marital status among the Santals of female in the studied population of Bhola. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of married female is 0, i.e. 0.00%; number of unmarried females are 12, i.e. 11.32%; females widow is 0, i.e. 0.00%; number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 15-29 years, the number of married female is 10, i.e. 9.43%; number of female who are unmarried are 5 i.e., 4.72%, number of female who is widow is 0, i.e., 0.00%, number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 30-44 years, the number of married females are 16, i.e. 15.09%; number of female who is unmarried is 1, i.e., 0.94%, and the number of widow female is 2; i.e. 1.89% number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00% number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 45-59 years, the number of married females are 5, i.e. 4.72%, number of females who are unmarried are 0, i.e., 0.00% number of female who is widow is 1, i.e., 0.94%, number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 60+ years, , number of married females are 4, i.e. 3.77%; number of unmarried female is 0, i.e. 0.00%; females widow is 1, i.e. 0.94%, number of separated female is 0 i.e. 0.00%.

Chapter 2: Economic Organization

Probably, much like other tribal groups in India, Santals originally were hunters and gatherers, as their near relatives and neighbors, the Birhors, still are. Their knowledge of plants and animals is reflected in their pharmacopoeia. In hunting technology, their past is evidenced by the use of some eighty varieties of traps. Later, their main economic base shifted to slash-and-burn agriculture and husbandry. Today, wet rice is grown in terraced fields; on the plains, irrigation by canals and ditches is used. Several varieties of rice are grown along with some sixteen varieties of millet. Leguminous vegetables, fruit, mustard, groundnut, cotton, and tobacco are important crops. Santals keep cattle, goats, and poultry and are non-vegetarian. Fishing also play important role whenever they have access to rivers and ponds. The economy of the Santals is biased on self-sufficiency and usually revolves around their own consumption, but they sell or barter (in Bihar) goats, poultry, fish, rice and rice beer, millet, groundnut, mustard seed, vegetables, and fruits when a surplus is available.

Research undertaken by the Anthropological Survey of India (AnSI) has pointed to a shift in the socio-economic and cultural life of tribal communities like the Santhals over the past few decades. Santal economy of the village has shifted from agriculture to one of menial work where the issue of migration has become very-important for this transition. Many Santals have migrated to work in plantations, mines, and industries. Those who stayed back in the village now work as daily labourers, rickshaw pullers, gardeners and caretakers at private residences. The women are engaged as maids in the various households in the region as gardeners or domestic servants. A small educated elite section includes politicians, lawyers, doctors, and engineers, while considerable numbers of Santal women work as nurses. Seasonal or temporary migration is particularly important for women, who are working in construction or mining.

Earners and Dependents

Table – 8 shows the earner dependent comparative scenario among the studied population. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of earner is 2, i.e. 1.89%; number of dependent is 24, i.e. 22.64%.

Age Group	Earner		Dependent		Total
	N	%	N	%	
0-14	2	1.89	24	22.64	26
15 to 29	11	10.38	15	14.15	26
30-44	31	29.25	3	2.83	34
45-59	11	10.38	1	0.94	12
60+	3	2.83	5	4.72	8
Total	58	54.72	48	45.28	106

Table 8: Earner dependent comparative scenario among the total studied population

In the age group of 15-29 years, number of earner is 11, i.e. 10.38%; number of dependent is 15, i.e. 14.15%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of earner is 31, i.e. 29.25%; number of dependent is 3, i.e. 2.83%. In the age group of 45-59 years, the number of earner is 11, i.e. 10.38%; number of dependent is 1, i.e. 0.94%. In the age of 60+ years, the number of earner is 3, i.e. 1.89%; the number of dependent is 1, i.e. 0.94%.

Age Group	Earner		Dependent		Total
	N	%	N	%	
0-14	2	1.89	12	11.32	14
15 to 29	5	4.72	6	5.66	11
30-44	14	13.21	1	0.94	15
45-59	6	5.66	0	0.00	6
60+	2	1.89	1	0.94	3
Total	29	27.36	20	18.87	49

Table 9: Earner dependent comparative scenario studied male population

Table – 9 shows the earner dependent comparative scenario among the studied male population. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of earner is 2, i.e. 1.89%; number of dependent is 12, i.e. 11.32%. In the age group of 15-29 years, number of earner is 5, i.e. 4.72%; number of dependent is 6, i.e. 5.66%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of earner is 14, i.e. 13.21%; number of dependent is 1, i.e. 0.94%. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of earner is 6, i.e. 5.66%; number of dependent is 0. In the age group of 60+ years, number of earner is 2, i.e. 1.89%; number of dependent is 1, i.e. 0.94%

Age Group	Earner		Dependent		Total
	N	%	N	%	
0-14	0	0.00	12	11.32	12
15 to 29	6	5.66	9	8.49	15
30-44	17	16.04	2	1.89	19
45-59	5	4.72	1	0.94	6
60+	1	0.94	4	3.77	5
Total	29	27.36	28	26.42	57

Table 10: Earner dependent comparative scenario studied female population

Table – 10 shows the earner dependent comparative scenario among the studied female population. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of earner is 0; number of dependent is 12, i.e. 11.32%. In the age group of 15-29 years, number of earner is 6, i.e. 5.66%; number of dependent is 9, i.e. 8.49%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of earner is 17, i.e. 16.04%; number of dependent is 2, i.e. 1.89%. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of earner is 5, i.e. 4.72%; number of dependent is 1, i.e. 0.94%. In the age group of 60+ years, number of earner is 1, i.e. 0.94%; number of dependent is 4, i.e. 3.77%.

Types of Occupations

The primary occupation of this community is agricultural labour (41.38%) followed by sharecropping (37.93%). The people who are engaged in this type of occupation have no agricultural lands. They cultivate other people's land. Paddy is their main crop which they cultivate throughout the year. Apart from this, Santals of Dighirpar village also cultivate many types of vegetables and crops like lady's finger and sesame during the summer and potato, and mustard during the winter. Muslims live in the village alongside Santals. There is enough comradery and reciprocal relationship among both of these groups. Landless Santals cultivating the land of Muslims is one of the prime examples. The tenure of a contract varies widely. Some people cultivate those lands for many years and there are many who cultivate it only for one year. There are few terms and conditions where all the expenses of cultivation such as buying paddy seeds for cultivating, ploughing the land with tractor, kisan cost etc all costs are his. Instead, he has to give three sacks of paddy from the land he is cultivating to his owner.

Age Group	Agriculture				Service						Professional and Others						Total				
	Sharecropper		Agricultural Labourer		ICDS(cook)		Private Job		Govt. Job		Football Player		Tuition Teacher		Driver			Factory Labour			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%		
0-14	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
15-29	3	5.17	5	8.62	1	1.72	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11
30-44	12	20.69	13	22.41	2	3.45	0	0.0	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	5.1	31
45-59	4	6.90	6	10.34	0	0.00	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.7	2	3.4	0	0.0	11
60+	3	5.17	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3
Total	22	37.93	24	41.38	3	5.17	1	1.7	1	1.7	2	3.4	1	1.7	1	1.7	2	3.4	3	5.1	58

Table 11: Occupational status among the total Santals of Bhola

Table-11 shows the occupational Status among the total Santals of Bhola. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of sharecropper is 0, i.e. 0.00%; number of agricultural labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of ICDS cooker is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 2 i.e. 3.45%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 15-29 years, number of sharecropper is 3, i.e. 5.17%; number of agricultural labourer is 5 i.e. 8.62%; number of ICDS cooker is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of private serviceman is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of sharecropper is 12, i.e. 20.69%; number of agricultural labourer is 13 i.e. 22.41%; number of ICDS cooker is 2 i.e. 3.45%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 3 i.e. 5.17%. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of sharecropper is 4, i.e. 6.90%; number of agricultural labourer is 6 i.e. 10.34%; number of ICDS cooker is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of

15-29	1	1.72	3	5.17	1	1.72	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	2	0	0	0	0.00	6	
30-44	4	6.90	10	17.24	2	3.45	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0	1	1.72	17	
45-59	3	5.17	2	3.45	0	0.00	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	5	
60+	1	1.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	1	
Total	9	15.52	15	25.86	3	5.17	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1.72	29

Table 13: Occupational status among the Santal females of Bhola

Table-13 shows the Occupational Status among the Santal females of Bhola. In the age group of 0-14 years, number of sharecropper is 0, i.e. 0.00%; number of agricultural labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of ICDS cooker is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 15-29 years, number of sharecropper is 1, i.e. 1.72%; number of agricultural labourer is 3 i.e. 5.17%; number of ICDS cooker is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 1 i.e. 1.72%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 30-44 years, number of sharecropper is 4, i.e. 6.90%; number of agricultural labourer is 10 i.e. 17.24%; number of ICDS cooker is 2 i.e. 3.45%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 1 i.e. 1.72%. In the age group of 45-59 years, number of sharecropper is 3, i.e. 5.17%; number of agricultural labourer is 2 i.e. 3.45%; number of ICDS cooker is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%. In the age group of 60+ years, number of sharecropper is 1, i.e. 1.72%; number of agricultural labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of ICDS cooker is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of private serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of government serviceman is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of football player is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of tuition teacher is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of driver is 0 i.e. 0.00%; number of factory labourer is 0 i.e. 0.00%.

Case study- 1

Informant name- Aduri Hembram

Age- 39

Sex- Female

Aduri Hembram is one of the members of this Santal community. Her husband is Kalipada Hembram. They have two sons. Their names are Subhankar Hembram and Dipankar Hembram.

They are both studying now. The youngest son studied at Gopalnagar High school in the 7th grade and the eldest son in the 8th grade at Rishra Vidyapith Boys. Kalipada babu studied up to 4th class but Aduri devi could not study that way. However, she wants her sons to study well up to Higher Secondary, despite their family's poverty, another shortcoming and not to do any other work.

She or her husband's job is to make a living by working as a day labourer. They have no land of their own or they do not cultivate land on lease. They usually work on the land around their house. Although their house is also next to land. The lands belong to Muslim families living a short distance from their neighbourhood and some Hindu families living across the 13th no rail gate. They do nothing but day laborers. Even if they get a job outside of their area of residence, they are not willing to go there. Only when the landowners call for their work of the surrounding land, they go. In particular, Aduri devi is especially frustrated because their house is a bit long away from the main road. So, not all landowners are always seen with them. As a result, they get less work than others. However, it should be noted here that they are not interested in going outside for work, even if they get more money because they are reluctant to work heavy and long distances away from their home. Rather, they are comforted by the way the day goes.

She basically does weeding before the cultivation. According to her, the rest of the work in the field like making seed beds, fertilizing, watering, even cutting paddy etc. is almost all the work of boys. These also apply to all crops. Now the work of the rail track is going from single line to double line in Kamarkundu, they are not willing to go there even if they are called to work from there. On the contrary, they are saying that they will never be called because it is a contractual job, that work is done by bringing in other people and they do not want to do that heavy work, even if they get relatively more money than their other jobs on a daily basis.

Usually they go to work in the field while cultivating three types of paddy (Aaush, Aman, Boro) and two types of potato (Jyoti, Chandramukhi). The rest of the time, if someone calls them to cultivate a little bit of vegetables such-as-potato, she does. They also do occasional planting of paddy seedlings and planting of potatoes in the field. They do not know where the potato or rice seeds come from. Potatoes are cut from the owner's house and these works are done by the people of their house because if those are done with the help of labourers, it becomes a matter of paying wages. While working as day labourers in the field, they are allowed to eat their tiffin like- rice-husk ('Muri'), potato-curry or boiled potato around 10:00-10:30 am in the morning. The landowner offers this food. They work from seven in the morning to two and a half in the afternoon. They get one hundred fifty rupees as their daily income during paddy cultivation and two hundred or two hundred fifty rupees during potato cultivation. They have shovels and sickles to cultivate.

They do not have any such bank account or bank book but they have job cards. They only got rice from ration, moreover they did not get any other opportunity. Due to lack of their birth and

any other certificate, some Government schemes like 'Laxmir Bhandar', 'Swastha-sathi' did not work. They do not have any birth certificate from the very beginning. Therefore, they did not look for 'Duare Sorkar Prokolpo' and even after searching, the work did not go ahead due to lack of accurate information. The walls of their house were smashed by terrible storms but they did not get any Government favour like that. They repaired it themselves. The tube-well near their house is damaged and they or all the people in the neighbourhood have more or less difficulty. To solve that water problem, they arranged a water pump in their house. Since they have only one mud house, they have built a two-room house. But almost all of them were helped by her brothers. Her brother's condition is comparatively good and they also have some land of their own. This is how she spends her days with her family.

Case study- 2

Informant name- Bholanath Saren

Age- 42

Sex- Male

Bholanath Saren is a member of the Bhola-Dighirpar Santal community. He lives with his wife and two sons and daughter. His wife is Laxmi Saren. She works at a factory. Their son and daughter are studying at Daulatpur Doluigacha Bharotiyo V. High School. Their son is in seventh grade and their daughter is in fifth grade. They go to school by cycle every day. He usually does sharecropping. He cultivates on the lands of the Muslims, surrounded by their house. However, the lands belong to both Hindus and Muslims. He leases the land, then cultivates season wise.

For potato cultivation, he buys potato seeds from the store from kamarkundu, Nalikul or uses the seeded potatoes that were left in the store earlier. They bring the seed potatoes through the van and the van driver does not take so much money as they are acquaintances. Again they took one or a couple of potato sacks of bicycles. One sack of potato seed contains 50 kg of potato seed. One sack of potato seed costs 2000-4000 rupees. Its price varies from year to year. As in the previous year the price was 4000 to 5000 rupees. In this year the price of 'Chandramukhi' potato seeds was 3000 rupees and jyoti potato seeds cost 1500-2000 rupees. The seed potatoes are taken out of the sack and spread in their backyard. In the winter season the santals of this village usually cultivate potatoes namely 'Jyoti' and 'Chandramukhi'.

Each potato seed contains nodes ('alur chokh'). New plants are formed from those nodes. After buying the seeds, the Portion where the nodes are growing only those portions are being cut off into pieces. Each piece has one or two nodes ('alur chokh'). Those pieces are cut in such a way that it does not dry out when plants are in the ground.

The soil has to be prepared before planting the potato seeds. The soil for potato cultivation should not be too muddy or dusty. It wants loose, clean soil for cultivation. First the land is ploughed with a tractor and they plough with the tractor until soil is crumbling. Small tractors called as 'Power-tiller' cost 5-6 rupees per minute to plough the land and big tractors take 20 rupees per minute. After the plough of the land, fertilizer is given to the land. Bio-fertilizer and urea are given as fertilizer. They also use GROMOR ULTRA N: P: K 10:26:26 (Nitrogen, Phosphorus, K Potassium) for fresh growth of plants but in a small quantity. A sack of fertilizer contains around 50 kg fertilizer. 20-25 kg fertilizer is given in one 'Bigha' of land. Thus the land is prepared for cultivation. This process is also known as 'Patt'.

Then some line is drawn evenly on the ground with a hand-drawn machine or spade and potato seeds are planted along that line. Potato seed planting is done in November. Potato seeds are sowed on dry soil. After the potato seeds are planted in the ground, the soil is given on it with the help of a spade. Water is given to the land 10 days after planting of potato seeds. Even after the potato plant has grown, the soil is given to the potato plant with a spade. After seeing the moisture of the soil, water is given to the land. Pesticides are given to potatoes to protect them from various pests and disease. 'Tarzan' is applied as a pesticide. It is 100 ml in liquid form. It is given to the plants when they are growing-up.

Then after about three month potatoes are dug up from soil with the help of a spade. Then the potatoes are piled up in the ground. The potatoes are packed in sacks. Now the sacks are taken to the cold storage by van. Generally, they keep those sacks at Nalikul cold storage. Here also a sack contains around 50 kg potatoes. Bonds have to be made to keep potatoes in the store. Bonds are priced around 84-85 rupees. At least 10 packets of potatoes can be kept in each bond. Then they can keep more than that. However, since they are sharecroppers, if they have 7-8 sacks of potatoes in 'Bigha', then they have to give 3 sacks to the land owner and the rest is for them. They store the rest of the potato for food and sell it when they need money.

In addition to farming all year around, he works for MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005) project, also known as 100 days work; as a tube-well mechanic; labor of constructions etc. However, his income from it is negligible. He has an account at 'Paschim Banga Gramin Bank' and 'Punjab National Bank'.

Chapter 3: Social Organization

Family

Family is the smallest social unit. Generally, Santal families are patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal in nature. Father is the head of the family and he manages all the family affairs. After marriage, the son stays with his wife and parents in a joint family. Sometimes, if there is more than one brother, the one of the sons stays separate from his father. To accommodate for shortage of space or to avoid conflict, he generally establishes a new house with his wife and forms a nuclear family. After marriage the daughter goes to her husband's house. However in the case of any special circumstance or problem she can stay at her father's house alone or with her husband. Family structure invariably becomes nuclear as the earning married male members migrate to another location in search of livelihood activities. And those who have clung on to their traditional occupation of settled agriculture tend to show a higher proportion of joint and extended families consisting of parents and their married sons and grandchildren.

Marriage

Marriage ('*Bapla*') is one of the most significant events within Santal society. For marriage, some customary rules and regulations are followed. In Santal marriage, there is no restriction of age. The bride may be younger, older or of equal to the age of the bridegroom. Amongst different types of marriage, marriage by negotiations ('*Sangebariyat*') is the most common practice in the Santal community. Clan exogamy and group endogamy is also a common practice among them. Violation to this rule is usually severely punished by the community at times which results in excommunication of the party involved in such as. The girl who gets married cannot participate in any purificatory work of the house, does not even touch utensils, does not take bath from the local lake or pond of village and if the walls of the house where she lives are broken, then no one else in the house will do the work of remaking those walls. These she will have to endure until death. This kind of punishment is also known as '*Bitlaha*'. However, there are cases of exceptions as well. Nowadays the younger generation tends to break this rule more often than not. The punishment therefore has changed to another form. The boy and girl apologize to everyone in front of the villagers and try to stay together in the village. Therefore, in front of some kin members, a special ritual is observed where one of the relatives of the groom's family has to adopt the bride as their own. In the case of divorce, they go to court for the case. However, if the case is settled, the child stays with the father. If the child is too young, then the baby stays with his/her mother until the baby grows up. At this time the cost is sent by the father to the baby's mother.

Kinship

Kin members among the Santals can be classified into two groups. Affinal kins, those who are related by marriage and the consanguineal kins, who related by blood. Both the kin groups participate in all socio-religious functions of the kindred. But the line of inheritance is patrilineal

where property right is generally passed on from a father to his son to his son. The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous clans, called '*paris*'. Below is the table describing the role of each such clans within their society. Each clan is divided into sub-clans 'Khut'.

Clans	Roles
<i>Murmu</i>	Brahmin
<i>Mandi</i>	Jamindar
<i>Kisku</i>	Senapati
<i>Saren</i>	Sipahi
<i>Hembram</i>	Fauzi

Marriage between sub-clans is strictly prohibited. In Santal society, because of being patriarchal in nature the bride stays with her husband after marriage along with her brother-in-law, father-in-law and mother-in-law. May be due to this, a form of avoidance has also been reported among them. For example, the brother's wife cannot untie her hair in front of the elder brother-in-law, but they do not cover their head with a veil. Instead of this, the maternal uncle of the husband cannot be touched by the nephew's wife. In front of the father-in-law, mother-in-law, the bride cannot talk with a raised voice etc.

Life-cycle Rituals

Birth

During pregnancy, pregnant women do not cut fruit, do not cross the rope, do not kill any animal or insect, and do not see the eclipse of the moon and sun. There is a ritual called '*sadh*', which is observed on the 7th month of pregnancy, where pregnant women are offered 7 types of fruits. Cases of child-birth at home have gone down considerably. At present the family members of the pregnant women take them to nearby hospitals for the delivery. Besides, health-care professionals like *Asha-Karmis* plays an important role in this regard. Pregnant mothers take medicines, injections at their instruction and go for check-ups regularly. After the child-birth, the mother and baby come back to her father-in-law's house. There the mother along with her baby stays in a separate room. A pollution period of 3 or 8 or 21 days is observed. During this pollution period, the mother does not leave the room. She goes out of the room with her baby only to see the sunlight. She doesn't even touch the cooking utensils used by the other members and does not go around the cow house. Moreover, the mother and the baby are prohibited from entering the place of worship. This ritual is known as '*atur*'. On the last day of '*atur*', mother and baby take a good bath with soap in presence of all the invitees (relatives and '*moral*'). After that, a family member takes mother and child to bathe in the river 'Ganges. After which the baby, mother and her husband wear the new clothes brought by the father-in-law (wife's father). After that, '*moral*' and '*agundar*' cut the baby's hair in a very little quantity for 3 times. Then '*morals*' pray to '*maramburu*' and '*jaheraio*' for the good health of the new-born by offering them water and '*panchui*'. Then the mother of the new-born also prays to '*maramburu*' and

'*jaheraio*' with water and vermilion in the village's bathing ghat for her baby's health. Then the mother of the newborn and all the other invitees take home-made heavy foods brought by maternal grandparents. After one month, the mother of the newborn goes to her father's house with her baby. The first feeding of rice ceremony or *anyaprasan* for both boy and girl child is observed in the 7th month from the day of birth. Baby's maternal uncle feeds the baby first rice. Here also relatives and family members are invited. The menu of that day includes rice, curry, meat, curd and sweets. Another ritual called 'bhujna' is observed depending upon one's financial capacity. On that day, 'moral' of the village takes the child in his lap (if the baby is above 10 years, then 'moral' holds his/her right hand) and shouts in front of the villagers and declares the name of the child. On this day rice, meat, soft drinks, sweets, 'panchui' are provided for the invited guests. This ritual is locally known as '*chotiore moremaha*'. Without this ceremony, marriage will not take place. There is no traditional ritual of birthday celebration in the santal community. But nowadays, parents celebrate their baby's birthday with cakes, candles, balloons, sweets etc.

Marriage

For marriage, the groom's family members send the marriage proposal to the bride's family through a matchmaker ('*Ghatak*'). On the first day, the elderly members of the groom's family go to see the prospective bride. On that day, when the groom's family members come to the bride's house, the mother of the bride greets them with a bell metal water pot ('*Kasaghatai*') filled with water. Upon seeing the prospective bride, the groom's family members go out of the house and discuss among themselves. If they like the prospective bride they re-enters the house and takes water and food. This norm remains the same for family members of the bride. On that day both parties fix the date of the blessing ceremony which is called '*aashirvad*'.

On the day of 'Ashirvad', groom's family members goes to prospective bride's house with some gifts like sari, silver bangle, ring and money etc. In the same way bride's family members goes to the groom's house. The sari brought from the boy's house is worn by the girl. Then the boy's father gives 21 rupees as a bride price to the girl's father. Similarly, when the brides' family members come, the boy puts on the clothes bought for him from the bride's house. Then the elderly members of the bride's house makes the boy sit on their lap. Normally the menu of that day is sweets, soft drinks, along with their traditional liquor '*panchui*' '*hanriya*' '*mahuya*' which is a must. The date of marriage becomes fixed on that day.

Before the marriage, like the Bengali, they also have a tradition of '*aiburo bhat*', a feeding ceremony of both the bride and groom in their own house as bachelors. After that, the village head (*moral*) ties 3-4 knots in white yarn. Then the yarn is dipped in turmeric water and painted yellow. After that a wrap is made on a shawl leaf with yellow yarn, turf grass and a special type white colored rice called '*alo-chal*'. With the wrap (called '*takechal*') one goes to invite for a marriage ceremony. The wrapper is taken back from the invitee after invite. In this way one by one invited. Wrap is left at the house of the last invitee.

For wedding ceremony, 3-4 days ago local decorators prepare the pandal at the place of marriage. On the morning of the day of wedding, the sister-in-law ('*Boudi*') or bride's brother's wife wears a red fringed white sari and cooks '*Arhar dal khichuri*' in a new earthen pot. Then the bride eats the '*Khichuri*' after wearing the same sari. This ritual is locally known as '*Bahuhilit*'.

This same ritual is also observed in groom's house and groom wears 'Dhoti' at this time. Then negotiator (*ghatak*) brings oil, turmeric and sarce from the groom's house to bride's house. Then bride wears that sari and get a makeup with a garland of belly flower and her parents first give her 'haldi'. The wife of 'moral' of the bride's village conducts the total 'haldi ceremony' or 'tetre kuri. Moral' also remains present there. Then bride's brother's wife gives a 'kajalaati' to the bride. A bell metaled water pot ('Kasaghatai') with full of water is kept on the floor inside the house. Bride's sister-in-law and the two unmarried girl walk around the water pot for three times with the bride and three times outside of the house in the same way. Sometimes, a new pond is renovated for bathing the girl (although, it is optional). This ritual is locally known as 'sasana sunu'. It is pertinent to be noted that before reaching the girl's home, the groom has to bath in the pond which was renovated for the bride. Moreover, at this time the old women sing songs like- "*Achure Bihure Sengelre Tithi*".

The marriage is consummated with the witness of the Sun, Moon & Fire ('Agni'). In the evening the bride is adorned with a red sari, silver or gold jewellery and a garland of belly flower. Then the guests, bride's friends come and give her gifts. The groom along with their family members and relatives comes to bride's house around 12 o'clock at night for marriage. Before marriage the groom also follows those certain rituals whichever have been observed in the case of bride. He holds a 'janti' in his hand same as bride holds 'kajalaati'. The groom first marries mango tree with a garland and yarn before marriage and then is cut a branch from that tree. The groom brings that branch, an umbrella from his house at the time of coming to the bride's house. When the groom goes out to get married, the groom's mother sings a song "*Dhotiinambabudarhiinam / okamchalababurajan bajan*". The groom and his family members sit on a mat, away from the bride's house. The moral of the bride's village is to greet the groom's party with a large size of bell metal water pot ('Kasagharai') full of water and fire of straw. This ritual is locally termed as 'Jamaiseterkanaybokla'. After that the groom and groom party are welcomed by the mother, aunt of the bride. A bell metal plate is garnished with 'poha', sweets and water as 'barandala'. Then the sisters' of the bride make jokes/fun with the groom. They help the groom to change his dress and shave his hair and beard. Then groom wears new 'Dhoti'. The groom's party brings a yellow sari, wooden basket or large dish for the bride. That sari is tied with the basket or dish. The bride sits on it. Then the brothers' of the bride picks up the basket and then the groom party puts the groom on their shoulder. Then the bride and groom rotate in a circle. 'Ghatak' also walks around with the bride and groom with a bell metal water pot ('Kasaghatai') full of water in a yellow 'Bire'. Then the mixture of the rice 'Alo' and 'Arhar dal', brought from the boy's house, is given to the girl. They both three times sprinkled some amount from there and the mango branch brought from the groom's house, was divided into two part and the bride and groom sprinkled water towards both of themselves for three times. After that the groom takes the shawl leaf wrapped vermillion and puts it for three times on the forehead of the bride. This ritual is known as 'Bahasa'. At this time the top of the sickle or 'Venda' stem was set on fire. The groom wears an iron 'Noah' to the bride. After that the bride gets down from the basket and the groom gets down from the shoulder. Then a new mat lay at the place of weeding. The Bride, groom, groom's sister's husband, 'Lumtik' stand under an umbrella. Then the bride's mother welcomes the groom by touching comb, oil in his hair and vermillion in his both ear. Then she welcomes the bride by touching oil, comb in her hair and vermillion on her forehead and 'noah'. Then the bride and groom eat 'Arhar dal khichuri', prepared in the morning. The farewell ceremony of the bride conducts in the evening. Before farewell bride's sisters dance and sing with 'Dhamsa' and 'Madol'. This ritual is local known as 'Dang ene'. At this time women sing

"Hopenmoikojamaikan/ Naiparomgadaparam". When bride- groom returns, it is night. The bride and groom are seated and greeted at groom's house in the same way as bride's house. Then the mother and aunt of the groom welcome the bride and groom with 'Barandala' which is prepared with sweets, water, 'Poha' etc. At this time sisters of the groom make joke with the bride and the villagers of the groom sing "Rasiatorimadankoenekana/ Akayhopperakagukedek". Then the sisters of the groom take the bride and groom to take a bath in the pond of the groom's village. Then first the bride washes the groom's vermilion of ear and then the groom washes the bride's vermilion of forehead. Then they bath with the earthen pot. At that time sisters of the groom mystic that pot for making fun. After that, the pot is dipped in water by the bride and groom. After returning from the pond, the bride serves rice to everyone. This ritual is known as 'Bouvat'. In the evening the bride and groom come to the groom's house with a dish, bowl, 'Ghati' of bell metal. In return the groom party gives a cow to the bride. When the bride's brother goes to touch the cow, then the groom's sisters sprinkle 'Haldi' water on him.

Next day, the bride- groom comes back to the bride's house and stays for one day. Son-in-law, bride's father and mother fast on this day. After taking a bath, my son-in-law chopped a goat with an axe in front of villagers. After that only the male member of the bride's ancestry can eat that cooked meat. After 'Ashirvad' the girl cannot enter the worshipping place of her own house because her surname is going to be changed. According to this Santal community, 'Chandu bunga' prepares the bond between every couple.

Death

Usually Santals cremate the deceased in a specific place or crematorium. Before that, the dead body is bathed at home, the teeth are brushed, and then taken to the crematorium in a cot. If the dead person is a man then his wife's bangles are attached with his dead body. Until the son of the deceased person comes back from Damodar everyone restrains themselves from cooking. The eldest son of the deceased sets fire to a pile or performs the ritual of *mukhagni*. After the cremation, the burnt bones and ashes are taken to river Damodar where they are offered to the holy water. A ritual is performed along with this where the son of the deceased dives twice in Damodar, brings some three mud pieces and keeps them on the river bank. After that he will worship for three times with turmeric, incense, banana leaf, oil-turmeric and local alcohol. This puja can be performed by his own son or his family members. After using one thing the person doing this ritual washes his hand and then performs another for puja. After completing the puja he has to put soil, turmeric, mahul in his head and bathe at Damodar. After completing his bath he shaves his head sitting on the river bank. This ritual is called "*Naiteo Chalao Kana*". After all of this, the son returns home wearing the dhoti towel given to him by his uncle's family. Then he buys earthen pots, sweets, and *murki* on the way home. Before entering home his three different sisters will wash his feet with oil and water. In return he gives all that sweets and *murki* to his sisters and other relatives. Other relatives complete the same process like the son of the deceased in the village's pond. Pollution period is observed for one week where only boiled rice and boiled potato is eaten by the family members. They are also prohibited from visiting any happy occasion and places of worship. The family members also follow other restrictions like combing hair, wearing shoes etc. After all of this, the son invites his relatives and others for the 'Shraddha' ceremony. On the day of Shraddha, the son will dedicate water in the village pond

and worship the Lord "Marangburu" and "Jaher Ayo" for the peace of his deceased father's soul. On the day of Shraddha, family members of the dead man's in-laws provides a big size goat, rice and spices for cooking. Relative brings chicken and cloths for the son of the deceased. The *moral* performs a puja in front of 'Marangburu' and 'Jaher Aayo' with all chickens and goats. Besides, a kisen will be honoured with a dhoti, towel, t-shirt, some rice and 100 rupees. After all of these, the cooked meal which include chicken, mutton and *khichuri* is served to all the invitees.

Case study- 3

Informant name- Aduri Hembram

Age- 39

Sex- Female

Birth rites: When women of the Santal community of Bholadighirpar area become pregnant, both she and her husband follow some certain rules. Then she is placed in a very comfortable environment which is good for both mother and baby. The pregnant women cannot go outside alone. Neither she nor her husband can go to any funerals. Even if the pregnant lady weeps when someone dies, then it is considered as an ominous hint. It is forbidden to sit or comb her hair in the backyard in the evening. At that time it was also forbidden for her husband to touch any dead person or to kill any animal.

In fact, these restrictions are imposed only to protect both the baby and the mother from all kinds of evil influences. Except for some hard work, a pregnant woman does all types of simple and easy work. There is a ritual of baby showers ('Sadh') of pregnant women. This usually happens in odd months. People can do it within 3 months, within 5 months, can do it within 7 months or in 9 months after her pregnancy. This ritual is being held in which odd month, during the programme, all those odd numbers of fruits have to be given to the pregnant woman. In the day before, when the baby comes forward at birth, people used to be called the traditional midwife ('Mukhi') for delivering the child. But now-a-days, most people prefer hospitals for more safety for both the child and the mother. Before delivery, the pregnant woman cooperates with health staff, takes injections, medicines and checks up regularly.

After the child birth, the mother is considered ritually impure, according to their ancient norms. The mother and baby remain secluded in the lying-in the bed on the floor to a particular side of the house till the purificatory rites are performed. This time period is called 'Atur'.

During this period she is not allowed to enter into the kitchen or to touch anybody. The purificatory ceremony (called, 'Janam Chhatiar') takes place on the odd no of days like, 7th, 9th, 11th or 15th no of days that means the last day of 'Atur', after the birth of the child. On that day, both the baby and its mother's nail-cutting ceremony and the naming ceremony (called, 'Nyutum') are performed. Those works are done by the presence of 'Napit' and 'Morol' (called, 'Majhi'). 'Napit' (sometime 'Morol') cuts nail and 'Morol' does the other traditional works and worships e.g., call their God 'Marang Buru' and 'Jeheraio' with water and 'Panchui' for good health and well future of the new born baby. Baby's mother thanks God with water when they

take a purificatory bath on the village lake, called 'Ghat'. After that, they wear new clothes and become pure. The father or any elder family member of the baby's mother brings new clothes for her daughter, son-in-law and grandchild. All family members take a purificatory bath on the 'Ghat' and clean clothes and houses. Then the name-giving ceremony is held. 'Majhi' (Morol) takes the child on his lap and with the consent of all the members of the family and village declares a name for the new born baby.

They have also performed the first meal feeding ceremony of the baby which generally happens after six months later. This solid-meal feeding ceremony is named as 'Chhatiarmoremaha'. This ceremony is very optional. If people have affordability, then they celebrate it with their relatives and family members. Otherwise it is not. That means, this celebration totally depends on their economic status. Sometimes, people go to the temple of lord Panchannan which is located at Dasghara, in Burdwan district, for cutting the child's hair and bring it to lord Panchannan for vows. They believe that this place is very sacred and giving hair to the lord means God's blessings will be on the child throughout its lifetime. People can do it after one year. Children eat rice from their maternal uncle. New clothes, utensils like dishes, glasses, bowls comes from the maternal uncle's house for the child. The general menu of that is rice, meat, sweet, 'Panchui' or other soft drinks. However, if any child does not have any maternal uncle then 'Majhi' ('Morol') feeds them as a maternal uncle. Without those ceremonies marriage will not take place. Thus they followed birth related rituals in their community.

Death rites: There are also many rituals if somebody dies and they follow those certain norms as well as. In their society after the death of a person, the kin members are invited and attend funerals specifically. The deceased person will be laid to the lobby of the house. People from the neighbourhood, relatives all come to see with flowers. If a person dies, the other family members or relatives will not be able to take the food cooked in that house. The people of the neighbourhood cook and serve food to the relatives of that house. Before the funeral service, the deceased is given a toothpick and a bath. New clothes are put on the body, decorated with flowers and sandalwood. Basil leaves are given over the eyes of the dead person. If someone's husband dies, then his wife, if she puts on their traditional bangles (called, 'Sankha', 'Pola', 'Noah'), should be removed from the woman's hand and kept with the dead person. They take the footprint of the dead person to leave some existence of the deceased in his/her own home.

When the corpse is taken away, a bamboo tree is cut and made into a cot. Family members (only men) and some relatives (only men) carried the cot with the body on their shoulders. If the people of the house are outstations, then when they return, the funeral works are done. People go to the 'Jamalpur Ghat' for cremation. Very few people do cremation at their surrounding area and all the rest work on the 'Ghat'. The bone ash is collected of the deceased and, kept inside an earthen pot and floated in the Damodar River. They also bury the corpse, though it happens very rarely. But we can say that both burial and cremation are in vogue in their society. Men go to cremate the corpse, on the way back they consume their traditional drink named, 'Hanriya' or 'Panchui' and cook chicken in a new earthen container. After that, no one else in the house of the deceased will be able to intake non-veg-food until the death ritual.

The purificatory death ritual, 'Shraddha' (called, 'Vadan') is performed within the odd no of days as, 3rd or 7th no of days because the Santals believe that the spirit of the dead remains in the house and may cause harm to family members and villagers until the death rituals are performed.

The family members cannot use combs, oils, shampoos, soaps etc all kinds of luxurious things until the purificatory death rituals. The 'Morol' ('majhi') named Budhilal Murmu and the 'Napit' named Manik Mandi both must be present in this work. 'Morol' or sometimes 'Napit' cut nails and hair of the households of the dead person. The family members of the dead person put on new dresses which are given by relatives. 'Morol' does the worship and household sacrifice food for the ancestors, which is known by another name, 'Pind daan'. On the same day, they invite their relatives and some people from the neighbourhood to eat. Thus all the Santal people of this area follow those certain death rites one generation to another generation.

Chapter 4: Material Culture

Utensils and Furniture

They used to use earthenware and they buy those things from a place called Baliguri near Loknath and also from Nalikul. From there they used to buy dishes, glasses, jugs and bowls. Now instead of using earthenware, they use steel and aluminium utensils, they also have some bronze utensils and they use these bronze utensils occasionally. Once earthenware is broken then they have to buy another new one so now they don't use those earthenware but many of those dishes are kept in their house. About 10-12 years have passed since they don't use earthenware. Only a few people still use these earthenware. Earlier jugs were used for storing water but now water is kept in buckets and water is picked up in glasses for the purpose of drinking. Bottles are rarely used. They use spoons to just put sugar in tea. They use both gas and an oven for cooking. They cook one meal in gas and another one in the oven.

They use wooden beds. They hardly use any type of chair. They use mats for sitting on the ground which are made of palm leaves and which they make themselves. Most of the time they keep their clothes in the rack and they also have small-almirah. Some houses have their separate rooms where they worship. Most of the family hang their picture of their god/goddesses on the wall of their room and they show incense to these pictures regularly.

Foods and Drink

Everyday food items that are consumed by the Santals of Bhola region are very common. They eat rice and puffed rice (*muri*), which is a very common food among their Bengali Hindu neighbours. They also eat fish, meat, eggs, snails etc. They eat chicken more than red-meat. Besides, many people also eat turtles and pork. During any ceremony or marriage or festival they make *Pachui* or *Haria* (a common drink made with rice)

Dress and Ornaments

During any wedding ceremony or festival or function women wear *saree* in various styles and men wear *Dhoti-Panjabi*. In daily life women wear normal *saree* and men wear *lungi* and *genji* when they stay in the house and work in the fields. When men go outside for any work they wear pants and a half-sleeve-shirt and also wear a half-sleeve-*genji*.

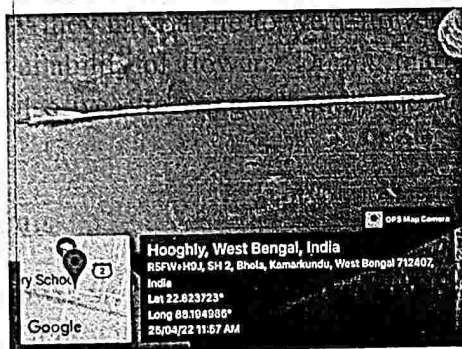
There is no specific jewelry to wear in their daily life but women generally wear a flat iron bangle (*noya*) that is given at the time of wedding. It was made from forge. The bride has to wear these *noya* since the marriage. After marriage, many women wear *Shaka-Pola* and many people have rights to not wear 'Sankha-Pola'. Those who have rite to wear 'Sankha-Pola', they wear these things made by pure conch but when they go to field for agricultural work they wear 'Sankha-Pola' which is made with plastic and they are cheap. But when they attend any marriage

ceremony or function or festival they wear their pure 'Sankha-Pola'. During any ceremony women also wear city gold jewelry and also wear Mol, Nupur on anklets. Usually most of them wear silver jewelry and those who have money to make gold jewelry they wear gold jewelry. During any ceremony they have a rite to wear flowers on hair. They put flowers on their heads depending on the availability of flowers. During marriage there is a rite to wear the nose ring 'Noth' and women also wear toe-ring('Chutki') and nose-pin. The nose pin is usually made of gold.

Tools and Implements

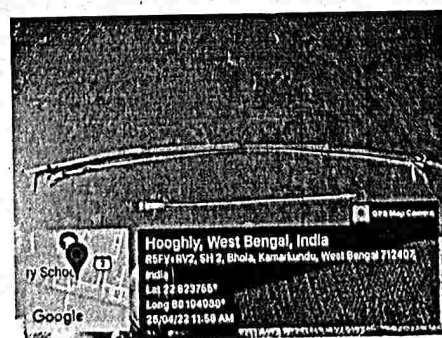
They use spades, plows, sickles for agricultural work. They have these things in their house. They used to hunt before with an arrow, bow, spear etc. They don't hunt now, but those things are still kept in their house.

Arrow (sar) : It is also prepared with a special type of bamboo, named as 'Talda'. Top part of the arrow is made with iron. Lower part of the arrow is garnished with colorful feathers. Both bow and arrow are used in ceremonial hunting.



Pictures of arrow

Bow : It has two parts, one is 'Firchau' and another is 'aa'. 'Firchau' is prepared with a special type of bamboo, which is known as Talda and rope and 'aa' is prepared with bamboo also.



A picture of arrow and bow

Musical Instruments - During the ceremony there is a tradition of playing Dhamsa, Madol. Those who have their own instruments they bring to the ceremony and many people hire these instruments from outside. The men play these instruments and women dance with the music.

Dhamsa (tamak) : Main structure of dhamsa is prepared with wood. Top most part and ropes (which are arranged side by-side around the wooden body) prepared with the skin of buffalo. Two wooden sticks are used with 'tamak' at the of play.

Madol (Tumda) : It is also a musical instrument. Two separate sounds come from the two separate sides of madol. The two circled ends are made with clay. It is played by hand. The rows, which are arranged around the structure of madol, are prepared with buffalo skin of buffalo.

Sarpa- Sarpa is a musical instrument, which is used by the female at the time of 'Surhai' (Kali puja). It is prepared with the wood of the 'chatim' tree. Its main bar is surrounded by 2 pieces of wood like '+' sign. Each of the four small pieces has 3 pieces of wood and 1 'ghungur' attached to each of them. It is played to the beat of a dance by pulling bundles of 12 ropes from four parts at once, as 1 from each 'ghungur'.

Chapter 5: Political Organization

We have learned about the political organization of Bhola and its variants i.e., the most prevalent traditional former local organization and the non-traditional administrative organization from the headman of the village namely, Khudilal Murmu (Pseudonym), 63 years old.

He was the foreman or in local terms, '*Moral*' of the village, Bhola, for 8 years. Although he was born here, his grandfather was born in West Midnapore district. They have been here for three generations. They are commonly known as hereditary sharecroppers. In other words, they usually produce crops by borrowing the land from the owner.

In local terms, the headman is known as *Moral*; the assistant headman is known as *Jag Majhi* and the secretary is called *Gored*.

Disputes are mainly about family matters. It can be between the members of a family and can also be between a few families. Moreover, theft, robbery, getting married in another caste, land disputes etc are some of the major problems faced by the people here.

In the presence of all the villagers, the local leaders usually call the *Moral* and arrange a judicial meeting on specific faults. It is known as *Salishi Sava* (Arbitration Meeting). This meeting is held mainly in two places – (1) in *Moral's* home or in a nearby club; (2) at an *Angamwadi* School. Or sometimes it is done in an empty field or on a farm or in a large calm building of someone's house. In this arbitration meeting, according to the opinion of almost all the villagers and at the direction of *Moral*, the punishment of the guilty or the accused person(s) is decided.

There are some forms in the Adjudication pattern, i.e. -

- Case-1** If someone steals something, he/she usually has to pay three times the fine or has to feed all the villagers at least once.
- Case-2** If a boy marries a girl of different caste or from somewhere far away, then in that case the married woman will be ostracized or will simply be unchurched.
- Case-3** That married woman is considered untouchable due to which the wife is deprived from the public tubewells, ponds, ghats etc and mainly from worship, rituals & all other religious ceremonies.

The time-range for boycotting the married lady (previously discussed) from the particular society depends entirely on the level of certain guilt. Some may take a week, while others may take a month or more. Further, there is also a possibility of atonement for a relatively large defect i.e., called '*Gaunti*' in the local language.

According to their surnames, the social class structure has been noticed among the people of the village. Those are as follows –

Murmu (hold the superior position in the village hierarchy)

Mandi (act like *Zamindar* of *Hindu* caste system)

Kisku (act like the leader of the Soldiers)

Saren (act like the Soldier)

Hembram (occupied the bottom/lower-most position of the village hierarchy)

Chapter 6: Religious Ceremonies and Festivals

There are two types of religion present in the Santal community. One is 'Sari' and the other is 'Sarna'. The villagers of this village are all followers of 'Sari dharam'. The meaning of 'Sari' is truth. The followers of Sadhu Chand Murmu are known as 'Sarifauiower'.

There are some rituals and festivals of this santal community –

Sakrat (Paush parvana): It is celebrated on the day of paush parvana. It was held in the 'pub math' adjacent to the village at the initiative of 'moral'. On this day an archery competition is held and this is an example of ceremonial hunting. Along with local MLA, many other people gather in that field. Various food stalls are arranged there. Men wear 'dhoti' and turban. Women wear 'saree', silver jewelry and use flowers on their hair. Santali 'enech'(dance) and Santali 'seneng'(song) are performed here by the santals with 'tamak'(dhamsa) and 'tumda'(madol). A song of 'sakrat' is- "Taharita nanatarna taharitare na na na je ho/ Satelatar machichitan chidahiliho kheda jaroida".

Baha puja- It is held at the end of the month of 'chaitra'. At this time, when the shawl flower blooms, Baha is worshipped. The meaning of 'baha' is flower. In this festival various types of flowers are required like palash, Simul, mahua, shawl etc. In this festival santals worshipped 'maramburu' and 'jaheraio' with these flowers, chickens and 'panchui'. A song of 'baha' festival is- "Maramburu chepekiday matkomrasa/jaheraio chepekiday ichebaha".

Surhai(kali puja)- It is held in the month of 'kartik'. There is no figure to worship. Santals worship their dead ancestors, maramburu, jaheraio as god and goddess. In this festival santal people wear new clothes. Son-in-law and his family are invited due to this purpose. Male member of the house remembers his dead ancestors inside of the house and his wife remembers her dead ancestors outside of the house. On this special day 'panchui' is served in a new earthen pot. The earthen walls of the santals' are repainted with colors at this time. A song of 'Surhai' is- "Kulhi kulhi ted daina/akay dainay daray kan".

Apart from these, another festival is 'dangra khunto' where 'dangra' means cow and 'khunto' means festival. But it has stopped in this village due to a shortage of space.

A brief table about ritual and religious of Bhola-Dighirpar village is below:

Month	Name of the festivals	Name of the God/Goddess	Proficient	Purpose	Participants
1. Baisakh (April-May)	Charak	God Shiv	No proficient required(do worship at their home)	To keep peace, happiness, wealth, blessings of God in the family.	All villagers
2. Jaisthya (May-June)	Manasa puja	Goddess Manasa	Proficient required(do worship at sacred place like, 'Manasa-Tala', 'Shitala-Tala')	To keep safe their family from any danger	All villagers
3. Ashad (June-July)	Ambubachi	Worship of all Goddesses	No proficient required	At this time all the face of goddesses are covered by a clean cloth	All villagers
4. Kartik (October-November)	Kali puja('Surhai')	Goddess Kali(No idol is worshipped)	No proficient required	At this time the daughter and daughter-in-law are called and they are entertained	All villagers
5. Poush (December-January)	Makar - Sankranti ('Sakrat')	Do worship of their House-God	No proficient required	To celebrate 'Poush-Parvan'	All villagers with outsiders
6. Chaitra (March-April)	Baha puja	Marangburu (as God Shiv) and Jeherainyo (as Goddess Parvati)	Proficient required(Do worship at a sacred place)	To offer water, 'Panchui', those who have died.	All villagers

Chapter 7: Efforts of Development

Roads and communication - Bhola-dighipar is a village with thirty families on both sides of the straight pitch road, made in 2016, that goes south from 12th no road at Kamarkundu-Bhola bus stand to Balarambati. Everyone knows this village as Bhola-dighipar because of a lake next to the pitch road, towards the south of the village. There are two roads on both sides of the lake. The road on the right, leading to Balarambati is covered by pitch and paved, as mentioned earlier. The other road on the left is a brick road. This road is not only built with bricks but also a narrow way. This way is usually used by people on foot and nothing but bicycles, motorbikes and vans. All kinds of vehicles pass through the pitch road. Also all the people here go to Kamarkundu station to get a train for work and to go somewhere nearby, they take auto or Toto from the Bhola-Kamarkundu bus stand. They used to travel by bus but now that the bus service has stopped, they use Toto, auto. Every home in this village has mobile phone availability and uses mobile phones for communication. Among them, many have smartphones and many have keypad phones. In fact, smartphones are more commonly seen in the hands of the new generations because they have had to rely on smartphones for two years as their schools and colleges have been closed. Besides with the help of smartphones they can keep up to date with the outside world.

Electricity - This whole village is divided into two Panchayats. The village to the South of the railway line belongs to Balarambati Panchayat and the village to the North belongs to Kamarkundu Panchayat. The Bhola-dighirpar area belongs to the Balarambati Panchayat. Electric service started here about 40-50 years ago. Everyone has access to electricity at home. There are also lights and fans. Some people can even afford television. There are around 12 electric poles and lamp posts in each place. Even if the electricity went out, the electric service there is quite good, so the work is done quickly.

Water - There are a total of 3 tube-wells in this whole area. A tube-well on the left side of the lake ('Dighi') which has been damaged for a long time and to the right side of the lake are 2 tube-wells that run perfectly. In fact, no one is interested in repairing the tube-well on the left. Actually, most of their needs are fulfilled from the lake, so there is less desire to repair the tube-well. Several homes have taken advantage of their own pumps but those who do not have a pump, they use the water of the lake to do their daily work. Before tube-wells, people used the water of this lake as their only source of drinking water. Now people take baths in the water of this lake, wash their dishes, wash their clothes, bathe their cattle and so on. If they drink or cook, use tube-well. Those tube-walls are accessed by Gram Panchayat.

Employment generation - The primary livelihood of this village is agriculture. Many of them are sharecroppers and many of them agricultural labour. Apart from this, when the MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005) or 100 days work scheme

starts from the Government, many people also participate in that work. They work for a 100 days work scheme in their village and its surrounding area. They also get Rs 150 – Rs 200 as daily for this work.

Welfare schemes ~ Many of the houses here have been provided toilets by Government projects and many have received help from the “Indira Awas Yojna” to build houses. They also consume the benefit of “Laxmir Bhandar” or “Swasthya Saathi”. However, some of them are deprived of this opportunity due to illiteracy or lack of adequate documentation. Similarly, they have ration card, job cards. Through this they get raw food like wheat, rice etc. but it is to be noted that some people are not at all satisfied with it. Therefore, the younger girls’ are now get facilities of “Kanyashree”, “Rupashree”, “Sabuj-Saathi” etc from the State Government.

Health & Hygiene ~ Health and hygiene are also an important part of the Santal community life. If any of the people here are in sudden danger or sick, they are rushed to Singur Rural Hospital. When his/her condition becomes critical, he/she is later shifted to Serampore Walsh Super Speciality Hospital. Thus, they get medical benefits. In case of any such common fever, most of the time people go to the local homeopathy doctor, Mustafir health centre, KGD primary health centre etc. pregnant mothers consume medicines, injections and check-up from the health staff and cooperate with them. Even after the birth of a baby, the mother and the baby are kept healthy and clean. There are also some certain rules for girls during menarche. After the completion of period they wash their clothes and take a purificatory bath to maintain hygiene.

Before, when there was no toilet, everyone would go to a distant field or to the railway line in the dark, at the risk of their lives. Now, of course, houses or toilets are being built through Government schemes. Yet, very few people still have their old habits. Some people have built their own toilets without any Government approval. Although toilets have been built with the help of Government schemes, in some families the toilets are not fully ready to use. Then they made that toilet useful for themselves. Thus they access health and hygiene in their daily life.

Sewage System ~ In this village, now that everyone has a toilet in their house, everyone has access to drainage and soap chamber. Some drains are made by the Government and some drains are made by the people themselves. This is how their development went on till now.

Chapter 8: General Observation and Conclusion

This field work has been carried out at Bhola Digipara, near Kamarkundu situated in district of Hooghly. Data for this ethnographic study collected from using various method where we have collected numeric information on age, sex, education, occupation, marital status etc. through household survey schedule. Then we have collected qualitative information on principal occupation, family, marriage, life cycle rituals, religious ceremonies and festivals through interviews, case study and observation. In the first chapter the study depicts the demographic profile of the study area and Santal community living in Bhola Digipara region in West Bengal. Apart from providing a brief overview regarding the location and geography and infrastructure and facilities available of the study area, the chapter also provides a broad overview regarding age-sex composition, educational and marriage. The second chapter deals with the economic organization. It provides detailed description regarding the earner-dependent ratio, types of occupations along with case study of principal occupation. The third chapter depicts elements of social organization found among the Santal community living in Bhola Dighipara region. It tries to portray the scenario regarding family types, marriage, kinship and life cycle rituals. The fourth chapter deals with the material culture of the Santals of Bhola Dighipara region. It shows their foods and drink, dress and ornaments, tools and implements and musical instruments. The fifth chapter depicts both their traditional and nontraditional political organizations and how these institutional forms are being utilized for maintenance of law and order within their own community. The sixth chapter deals with religious ceremonies and festivals. It shows the types of rituals and customs adopted by the Santals of Bhola Dighipara region apart from their own indigenous ones. The seventh chapter deals with efforts that have been taken for their welfare and development.

Here we have done the Fieldwork for about 10 days and have been experiencing a lot of problems. For the first few days we have faced many difficulties , many people did not speak to us in the way, and some people are afraid of us. It is a very common thing in fieldwork and it is known as 'Culture Shock' in Anthropological Fieldwork. Many people have driven out, closed the door on our 'face' and many have felt hesitated to speak on Sensitive Matter. But again, there were a lot of people who had been very good with us, they talked with us very well and cooperated with us for our work. From this we get some characters of the fieldwork:

1. Rapport establishment is very important.
2. Fieldwork is very time consuming.

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