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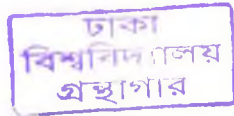
M. Phil Thesis Paper
Life and Living of Santal Women of Dinajpur

Submitted By:

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Session-2004-2005

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Declaration

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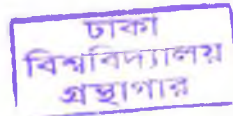
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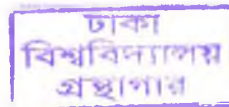
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Proposition

Background of the study

Objectives of the study

Scope and importance of the study

Rationale of the study

The Area under Study

Research Methodology

Theoretical frame work

Literature review

Limitation of the study

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

Proposition:

Bangladesh is predominately rural and it is inhabited by many ethnic communities. Although the Bengalis are the most numerous ethnic group of Bangladesh; a large number of other ethnic groups or communities live here. It is a country of many ethnic people and many cultures. Bangladesh is, therefore, a pluralistic society and it has a pluralistic culture.

Many of the ethnic groups are 'adibasis' or indigenous people. Some of the ethnic groups are very small and marginal in size (Dalton 1973, Ali 1998). Some of the groups live in isolation in the hilly areas or in the peripheral zones.

A large number of ethnic groups live in the Northern part of Bangladesh, although Bengalis are in a majority there. Among them, Santal is one of the most important and main ethnic community. They have their own script and they have a long tradition of cultural heritage.

They don't have a long history of living in the North Bengal. Santal migrated from the santal pargona of India to the Northern part of Bangladesh after Santal revolution of 1855 under the British colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent. When 30,000 Santals are believed to have been killed (Hasdak 2002:107-11), it is beyond doubt that many of the Santals were dispersed into distant lands and geographically isolated territories.

Many of them even crossed the river Ganges and ended up in the East, now present day Bangladesh. Many think that the early Santals came to North Bengal in search of job opportunities, especially when the railway tracks were under construction during the British rule in the second half of the 19th century (Anwar 1984, Hossain and Siddiquee 1984, Siddiquee 1998).

This may be one of the reasons that most Santals in Bangladesh are settled on both sides of the railway lines from North to South. Santal have their self distinct culture which is different from other culture. Over the time santal were integrated with the majority Bengali population.

Santal women are playing an important role in the socio-economic life, division of labour, family planning and cultural way of life. The participation rates of Santal women in the economic activities are higher than the Bengali women.

The Santal women have a strong position in their society. They have a legendary heroic role in 'Tevaga' 'Shadhikar' and Tonka' Movement' (Pussetto Fr. Luigi 2008: 2).

NGO's and Missionaries have been influencing the way of life of Santal women in many ways. They are playing an important role to change the norms and values, participation in social and political activities, education, religious festivals, marriage system and traditional values.

Background of the Study:

Bangladesh is a country of about fifty-five thousand square miles. It has ethnic minorities with their distinct ways of life. These ethnic minorities are scattered groups, often living in hilly areas on peripheral zones of Bangladesh.

Indigenous people have their own language. They also are having certain essential and unique characteristics which confer upon us the strong passion of belonging to a people, who have an identity in ourselves and should be thus regarded by others.

Many of these groups have more or less preserved their sense of a separate social and cultural identity as far as their customs and regulations are concerned. Since 1891, these ethnic groups have been enumerated in different Census Reports as people having a tribal form of religion (1891), animists (1901), tribal animists or tribal religion (1911), hill and forest tribe (1921), primitive tribe (1931), tribe (1941) and scheduled tribe (1951, 1961, 1971). According to the 1971 Census, the Scheduled Tribes population in India was 38,015,162 or 6.9% of the total population.

There seems to be at least fifty-eight such groups that exist in the country (COMDECA-1995) as shown in table-1.

Table-1

Tribal People, Areas they live in and their numerical strength in Bangladesh (estimate-1995).

No.	Tribal Identity	Places they are found	Numerical strength	Remark
1	Chakma	Ctg. Hill Tracts, ctg., Cox Bazar	3000,000	Widely known and most influential tribe in Banglaesh Govt. Estimate is 239, 419(1991)
2	Tripura Including Rieng	Khagracharai, Bandorban, Rangamati, Ctg. Dt, Sylhet, Comilla,	85,000	Govt. estimate is .61,129 (1991)

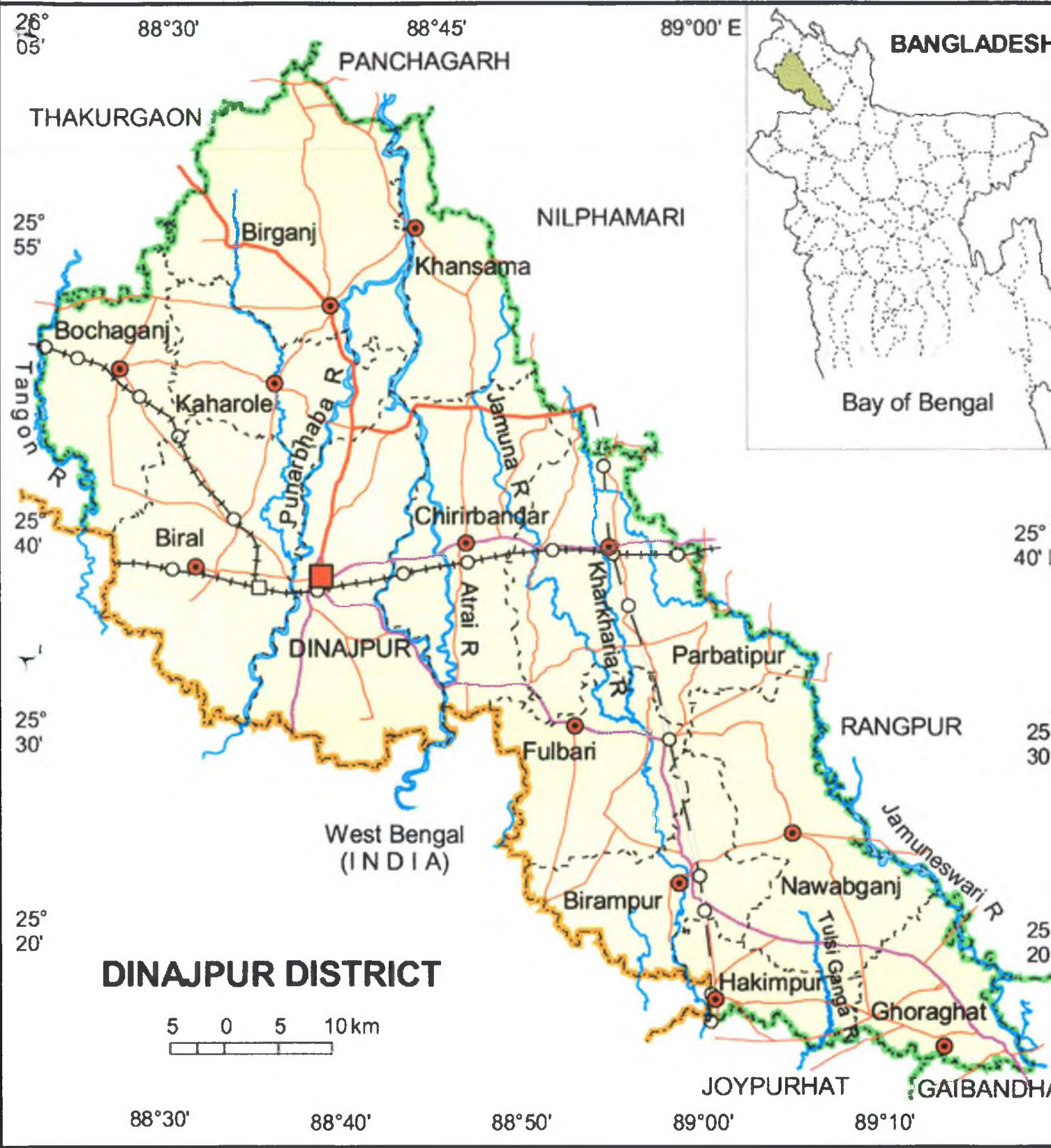
		Chandpur.		
3	Marma	Ctg. Hill Tracts, Cox Bazar.	170,000	Govt. estimate is 1,42, 334 (1991)
4	Bom	Bandarban	8,000	Govt. estimate is 6,978 (1991)
5	Usui	Ctg. Hill tracts	7,292	Govt. estimate is 5,232 (1991)
6	Chak	Bandarban	2,196	Govt. estimate is 2.000 (1991)
7	Khumi	Bandarban	2,000	Govt estimate is 1,241 (1991)
8	Kheang	Rangamati, Bandarban	5,000	Govt. estimate is 1,950 (1991)
9	Lushai	Rangamati, Bandarban	1,000	Govt estimate is 622 (1991)
10	Mro	Rangamati, Bandarban	30,000	Govt estimate is 22,041
11	Pangkho	Rangamiti, Bandarban	3,604	Govt. estimate is 3,227
12	Tanchangya	Rangamati, Bandarban	20,000	Claim to be real chakma
13	Pakhain	Patuakhali, Bargauna, Cox's Bazar, Bandarban	35,000	They claim their numerical strength to be 150,000
14	Garo	Greater Mymensingh	1000,000	Some claim their number to be not less that 120,000 with in the last few years there has been a big influx of garo in Dhaka city one Survey puts it to 3,000.
15	Santal	Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Gaibandha, Thakurgaon, Panchagar, Nator and Sylhet tea	165,000	Santal is the most influential tribe in North western in Bangladesh some estimate their number to be 2000,000.

		Garden.		
16	Oraon	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Pabna, Sirajgonj, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Sylhet, Tea Garden.	7,500	Some feel oroaon population in Bangladesh is 120,000.
17	Hajong	Greater Mymensingh, Sunamgonj of Sylhet	9,500	
18	Banai	Greater Mymensingh	2,000	
19	Monipuri	Greater Sylhet and	45,000	Most advance among the
	including Vishnuprya	Dhaka		tribals, they do not want to be calling aboriginal.
20	Kashia and Jaintia	Greater sight	26,000	Jaintias are Bangali oriented
21	Munda	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and sight.	25,000	
22	Paharia	Greater Rashahhi, Dinajpur, Bogra, Pabna and Kustia.	10,916	
23	Dalu	Greater Mymnesingh	2,000	
24	Mahatto (Kurmi)	Dnajpur, Sirajgonj, Pabna, Bogra, Joypurhat and Rajshahhi	65,000	
25	Mahali	Greater Rajshahhi, Dinajpur, Bogra	15,000	
26	Singh	Greater Pabna	30,000	

27	Boshak	Greater Pabna	15,000	
28	Sora	Greater Sigh	1,000	
29	Kharea	Greater Sylhet and JOypurhat	5,000	
30	Khondo	Greater Sigh	5,000	
31	Assam (Ahomia)		2,000	
32	Gurkha		1,000	
33	Karmaker	Greater Dinajpur	60,000	
34	Paban	Greater Rajshahhi		
35	Rajooar			
36	Mikhir			
37	Lahar	Greater Rajshahhi Greater Bogra		
38	Turi	Greater Rajshahi and Greater Dinajpur		
39	Bhuimali	Greater Rajshahi		
40	Bhoomij	Greater Rajshahi and Dinajpur		
41	Bhuiy	Greater Rajshahi		
42	Muriar	Greater Raj shai	Number is estimated to more than 65 thausand	(Most of there tribes were found). In survey of greater Rajshahi they may be found in other districts. Their total no may be 65 thousand.
43	Ramdas	Greater Rajshahi		
44	Ker	Greater Rajshahi		
45	Hari	Greater Rajshahi		
46	Khaura	Greater Rajshahi		
47	Teli	Greater Rajshahi		
48	Lora	Greater Rajshahi		
49	Ruthia	Greater Rajshahi		
50	Musor	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur		
51	Raj	Greater Rajshahi, Dinajpur		
52	Pethro	Greater Sigh		
53	Bedia	Sirajgonj		



Map No. 3711 Rev. 2 UNITED NATIONS
January 2004



54	Bakti	Sirajgonj		
55	Bagdi	Kustia and Natore		
56	Kole	Rajshahi		
57	Bura	Rajshahi		
58	Pal	Rajshahi		

Sources- COMDECA census report, SHED publication-1995

The above table reveals the total population of Santals in Bangladesh is above 1, 65,000. The Santals are the second largest ethnic community of Bangladesh and they concentrate in the Barinda region of North Bengal under Rajshahi Division. The following table shows the distribution of santal population who lives in Barind region-

Table-2
District wise total Santal population distribution

Name of District	Numerical strength
Dinajpur	43,196
Rajshahi	86,647
Rangpur	15,534
Bogra	12,389
Pabna	1200
Others	6034
Total	165000

Source Bodla Oran, 1984

Objectives of the study:

The main objectives of this research are to investigate into the life and ring pattern of Santal women of Dinajpur. The specific objectives of the study are-

1. To know the Santals ethnic background and Settlement pattern.
2. To provide an ethnographic account of the changing Santal community in Dinajpur region.
3. To know the way of life of Santal women of Dinajpur.

4. To make an in-depth investigation into the socio-economic life of Santal women involvement.
5. To know about Santal woman and their Daily activities.
6. To know about Santals women's household production and family reproduction.
7. Income generated activities and women's roles.
8. Women's involvement with economic institution.
9. Santals women's kinship role, network and inheritance.
10. Social relationship between Santal women other religious women.
11. Cultural activities and Santal women's participation.
12. Belief, Rituals, superstition and women roles.
13. Women's status and empowerment.

Scope and Importance of the Study:

This is an ethnographic study of Santal's women's life and living pattern. The Santal's of northern Bangladesh is the largest tribal community. But we haven't relevant statistics and authentic data of them, basic information on their present socio-cultural condition. Because little research have been made on the Santal's life style and culture. As the Santal is a large ethnic group, they have variations in their culture. They are also famous for their cultural activities. Many Anthropologists have done many researches on the Santal's but there is not a single research on the Santal women.

So, the research "life and living of Santal women" can be said to be a basic research. Through this research don't have a direct impact on the life of the ethnic people; it may have some indirect importance, in their life.

As different NGO take different plan to develop the way of living of the ethnic people. This research may help them to take a new step.

Rational of the Study:

The study will enlighten the reader about existing cultural pattern of the Santals of Dinajpur. First of all it could create general awareness about condition of Santal women in the context of today and secondly the findings of this study will provide some data-base, information and guidelines to the planners, policy makers, development thinkers and researchers to undertake some integrated programs which will help the maximum welfare of the Santal community of Dinajpur.

Research Methodology

The Area under Study:

There are many ethnic communities dispersedly living in different districts of North Bengal. They are Santals, Oraons, Mundas, Rajbongshi, Pahan etc. The Santals are the Majority group of them. Most of the Santals are live in Rajshahi, Noagaon, Chapainababganj, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Gaibandha, Thakurgaon, Panchaghar, Nator and Sylhet Tea garden. The Santal community migrated here from India, especially from the chotonagpur and they settled in Barinda region in the early 19th century.

I conducted my field work among the Santals in the village named *Parlo* in Ghoraghat Thana under Dinajpur District. The village is located approximately 3 kilometers from Ghoraghat Thana.

However: there are 75 Santal households living at *Parlo* village under Ghoraghat Thana.

Methodology of the Research:

All research has an aim that is why researcher takes different levels of scientific method. Present study is an outcome of a short fieldwork that I conducted in *Parlo* village under Dinajpur district. In social science, however anthropological research is unique. Because of their different research method, like it is informal, intensive, in-depth interview and participant observation. Participant observation is the foundation of Anthropological fieldwork. It is called 'live in' research. Participant observation was my basic research technique. I also did intensive fieldwork. I have also used other methods. But at first I built rapport. How did I use this method and other methods to collect data now I explain here-

In order to do the research perfectly, at first I have to build rapport with the villagers. There were lives different types of people in the village. So my arrival raised many questions among them. The villagers suspected that I was from one of the NGO. For this reason at first I declared my aim and introduced myself to them. Than gradually I introduce with all villagers. Thus I could build rapport will the farmer, day labor, female, young girls and children's. Though they confusion about me, with the passage of time it was removed from mind. In this way I became familiar in their day-to-day life.

I started my task to collect the actual Data. I started observing the women and society. I observed closely their day-to-day life. Rapport building and observation is very important to do an ethnographic research. Thus, building report and made participating in women life style, foods, drinks, dress, different festival arbitrator, economic activities,

political behavior and rituals. I observed the santal women closely and collected the data. Actually participant observation was my basic method and I could use this method for building rapport.

House hold census was conducted as the unit of this study. I took socio-economic census from the selected village. I have visited all house hold and took a household census. Its help me to know the Santals actual living condition and their cultural practices. Above all it helped to build rapport with villagers.

After taking census I have took informal interview for various information about certain matters such as birth, marriage, social organization, death rituals, ethnic identity, daily activities, myth, superstition, economic condition, rituals, women's empowerment, women's status, women's freedom, economic activities etc. I also discussed about their songs, dances and language.

I also do FGD to collect information about related issues like women's socio-economic status, women's importance in the society, women's empowerment, women's activities etc. To apply this method I knew their opinion from their own views. Actually I discussed some important and selected issues on the focus group discussion.

I have taken some cases study and also used 5 key informants- Sri Suvas Mandol Soren- Political personality of the village, Sri Raghunath Murmu- member of the village organization, Sri Dinash Murmu-farmer of the village, Srimoti Aroty Murmu-a construction worker, Srimoti Promela Pauria-a house wife and wage labor, Sri Naresh Baski- *Manjhi Haram* of the Village. They helped me to know their descent line, land ownership, kinship terms, village history, village politics, women role and position in the community.

An organized and well-developed checklist has been used in this study, which included the important indicators related to the study. This helped the research work to be conducted in a more symmetrical and systematic way. To know about Santals women's life and living pattern I also used genealogical method.

I have collected data from the primary as well as secondary sources. Primary sources are the basic sources of this study. The secondary data was collected from difference relevant books, journals, articles; thesis and other documents.

Most of the data were analyzed manually. But in some cases statistical information were analyzed through computer. Both the qualitative and quantitative approaches were applied to analyze the information. The fieldwork for the study was extended for more than a month (from 2 June to July 7, 2009).

Theoretical Frame work

There has been a lot of research about the ethnic people at different times. I will discuss them on “Literature Review”. Different writers described the cultural multiplicity of ethnic people in many ways. These are the theoretical bases of my research work. Previous Researcher have described about the ethnic women and Santal women without imposing attention on their livelihood.

In my research, I, therefore, tried to illustrate a stunning picture of the life style of Santal women. I want to show whether the role of Santal women in their family is important or not. Thus in this research I want to find out how does Santal women act in their day to day activities and how does they take decision about the important factor of their socio-economic life.

Literature Review

Although a good number of studies were done on the ethnic communities living in the Indian part of the Northern borders of Bangladesh, but nearly nothing was done on those living in Bangladesh part. However, the following attempt would be make to discuss some of the research findings about Santal community as well as other ethnic communities.

- Dr. Ali, Ahsan gives detailed information of an ethnic community of Barinda tract in his book-“*The Santals of Bangladesh*”-1998. The Focus of Dr. Ali's study was on the social change among the Santals living in northern part of Bangladesh. He collected in-depth information from four Santals villages. The Santals constitute a major tribal community and they are changing their tradition day by day. That's why, any attempt to understand their society and culture without reference to the larger society, would mean approaching the reality from a wrong angle.

Authors also explain Santals origin and physical traits. Racially they are proto-Australoid and they speak Austria or Mundari language. History tells that they had to migrate from one place to other in search of land and shelter. In Bangladesh, they also faced trouble condition from time to time, through riot, war and cultural shakiness. In this incident they faced poverty and cultural timidity etc.

Researcher's observation articulated that, Santal now seem to make is to choose either Christian affinity or maintains close social relation with Hindu rather than Muslim. In fact, from his observation it can be said that the Santal are maintaining to closer socio-cultural and political relations with the low-caste. Santal Traditional religion is braking now. Some are keeping traditional religion and some are continue Christianity. Actually Christianity impacted highly on their culture and they also influenced by urbanization.

Thus, the Santal in Barinda were exposed to many external situation which had to be buttressed with rationalistic approach from his study we get some information about Santal and their socio-economic and political change.

- Hossain Kazi Tobarak, *The Santals of Bangladesh: An Ethnic Minority in Transition* (2000). In this book author have attempted to discuss the changing pattern of culture and traditions among the Santals of Bangladesh. It is pragmatic that the longstanding traditions and culture of the Santals are undergoing changes due to the intervention of exterior forces, such as Christianization, education, market infiltration, interaction with mainstream population. This paper discusses how these forces are working for the disintegration and transformation of the distinct archaic ethnic culture of the Santals.

In Bangladesh, there are numbers of tribal populations such as, Chakma, Marma, Rakhaine, Murang, Khasi, Garo, Santal, Oraon, Munda, Malpahari. More than 20 tribal groups with their distinct culture and traditions are found in Bangladesh. The major bulk of the tribal populations are concentrated 3 in areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sylhet, Mymensing, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. Author emphasized that they all are changing, because of difference development strategies.

Especially the Santals are one of the oldest tribal populations in Bangladesh. They are largely concentrated in the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. During British period they migrated to different areas including Bangladesh in search of employment, such as agricultural laborers, laborers for installing railway tracks, laborers for clearing forest and reclamation of agricultural land. Zamindars to their advantages used to employ them as laborers in the agriculture and agriculture related activities. This ethnic group was originally hunters and gatherers and used to live in hill forests of middle-eastern India. But over time due to increase of population, deforestation and scarcity of wild animals and birds, they had to move out to different areas, mainly plain land areas, for their livelihood. Santals are known as one of the oldest ethnic groups of South Asia.

Basically author explains their origin and developments.

- Dr. Ali Ahsan & Hasan Safie, *Entitlement and Deprivation: Selected case of Discrimination in Bangladesh* (2005). On the book the Author's explores the process of making social boundaries and human categorizations, enforcing separation implanted with a same of operation designed strategically to establish distinctions, difference and discriminations in the context of Bangladesh.

The world, resources distribute unequally and its generate deprivation. Author's emphasized that to develop policies to promote equal distribution of land, properly, especially women, socially disabled people, minority ethnic communities, religious and occupational group. This book helps us to understand the mental and material roots of discrimination prevailing in Bangladesh. Authors tried to show the discriminations and oppressive process may operate at regional national levels and produce multitude consequence for the local people.

- Joanna Pafaff-Czarneck, Darini raja Singhhan Senanayake, Ashis Nandy and Edmund Terence Gomez, *Ethnic Futures: the state and identify politics in Asia* (1999) - This book deals with ethnicity and political identify .Around the world nations are being torn apart or segmented into ethnic enclaves by process glossed as ethnic conflict. The south and South-East Asian region, where cultural conflict and co-existence, borrowing and inheritance are old phenomenon, has been no exception to his global trend. Rather cross border flows of people (immigrants, refugees and tourists), cultural forms (media, development and human rights discourses) and capital (via structural adjustments and trade liberalization) are increasingly being perceived as threats to local cultures and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Asian nations and their values.

Simultaneously, there has been a delicate ethnicization of politics in many countries in the region. The case studies in this book look breathe explanatory glosses of ethnic conflict to explore how modern nation-state building has invented collective identities and confrontational ethnic politics in selected countries in this region. These selected countries are Nepal, Srilanka and Malaysia.

Rather, the authors of this volume show how modern state building and consolidation of national borders in the post colonial period have consolidation and invented new forms of collective identity. Now globalization have interpolated with local hierarchies in the

malign of conflicts culture, power and control of the post colonial state in most South I South-East Asian nations.

In South and South-East Asian countries the ethnicization of the state came about through processes-

- First- British colonial policies that forced the magic of members.
- Second- colonial state centralization which resulted in the redefinition of relations between the centers and the regions and between the Hindu, Malay and other's countries.

These processes of ethnic boundaries are reacting difference was some as are follows-

1. The hierarchical ranking of population groups interims of numbers-a process which affects people's political and economic chances.
2. Inequitable language policies.
3. The silencing of peoples, histories and hence threatening peoples identities by portraying them as inferior.
4. Ethnocentrism or assessing people's cultures in reference and in opposition to the cultural elements displayed by the dominant groups.

South and South-East Asian four countries have different ethnic background. This volume is really a good book to understand ethnicity and segmentation.

- Sattar, Abdus (2nd ed-2000) "*Aronney Jonopodey*"- This book deals with indigenous ties of the territory of Bangladesh. Almost every hilly recluse of the area is the home of some prehistoric tribe or its offshoots. The data is solely based on the other's personal observations during the course of extensive journeys among the different tribal localities of the area which he made for over a decade thus acquiring a first hand knowledge about the lives and manner of living peoples.

Among the fifteen tribes deals in this book like Santal, Munda, Chakma, Monipure, Muj, Rajbongshi, Orao, Khumi, Hajog, Tipra etc. Their cultural diversity is mainly focused on this book.

These are "The Santal" : A good portrayal is given of the Santal's story of creation, migrations, rebellion, geographical distribution, social organization, marriage Laws, suppression, kinship terms, spirits, religious beliefs, festivals, magic, agriculture, dress, tattoo, food, drinks, inheritance, dances, language, death, rituals, education and the belief of their after life. It also contains a number of songs in Santali in Bangla translations.

- Bag, Dhanapati (1987), "*In the Midst of Santals*" - The Santals are widely spread in the northern and eastern part of India. They cannot be called nomads. Yet they can leave their hearth and home any day. They often migrate individually too and they are forced to do. This by the demands of employment. Even today their condition has hardly changed.

Writer try to find out Santals living in closed proximity to Hindu or Muslim village. The Santals were however never eager to gain small favors bestowed by Hindus in miserly and humiliating manner. Yet they have always participated religious and social festivals of Hindu made them more colorful and lively with dances and music of their own.

Among all the people of the world conservatism has acted as armors for self-protection. The manifestation of both conservatism and liberalism among the Santals has been possible perhaps due to the element of freedom of their culture.

The people whom the author has studied in this book were the Santals living in the Bolpur Santiniketan area. *Adivasi 'Santals'* who are living close ties and do they still seen to be strange and their ways of life apparel stereos even today. Writer tries to investigate the causes of their mystery and Isolation.

- Jalil, Abdul (1995) – "*Bangladesher Santal Shamaj & Shannskriti*" deals with tribal language. Almost every tribal people speak two languages. In their society and family they speak their mother language. But in need of livelihood and education they also learn Bengali.

Through they are small in number; they have originality in their culture. They are the most prehistoric people of this sub-continent. They felt arrogant and I they considered themselves as the most prehistoric and original people of Bangladesh. The writer, in his research, tried to elaborate their day to day life.

- Singha, Ramkanta – "*Ethnic People of Bangladesh*" (2002- end ed.). The writer discussed the origin and development of the Santals from an emotional view. He said that these ethnic people of Bangladesh have a sad story behind their colorful out look. In spite of this, they are upholding their heritage, which is going on century after century.

In this book author discussed about the origin of Santal's which has a fascinating myths about their creation. He also said about the physical traits and the habitat of Santals. Their religion, rules, dress, literature, marriage, values, economy, sports, education, health care, funeral etc also discussed here.

- Pussetto L. (2000) *Santals of Bangladesh* –In this book author explain Santals race, origin and language of Bangladesh .The Santals are animist people . Author also explained their houses, villages, roads , sacred grove and Social structure of the village.

According to author opinions the santal language is munda language of the kherwar group that belongs to the munda-mon-kmer or austro-Asian subfamily, belonging to the family of the austro-asiatic languages. But also on this there are different opinions. The Santals acknowledge belonging to the group kherwar, to which, besides the Santals, belong the Mundas, the Mahalis, the Birhors, the Bhils, the Kurkus, the Hos, the Kharias, the Korawas and other small ethnic groups.

The Santals are animist people. Between the Santals it is very important the cult of the spirits, although if they do not exclude the Supreme Being. In the cult of the spirits it is included, but not confused, the cult for the corpses and particularly for the Ancestors; however it is not evident and very present in daily life, as it is between the Oraons.

Santals are endogamy people, because they cannot be married outside their tribe, but they are exogamic as clan, because they cannot be married between the same clan, that in santal is called *Paris*. According to Bodding they make two exceptions, not always accepted, on the marriage between individuals of the same clan, but not between the same sub-clan. Personally I don't know cases of this kind.

In the social life of the Santals the feasts have a great importance: they are the alive expression of the religious feeling of the community, characterized from the fear for the spirits, and at the same time the demonstration of that deep desire of joy that is an integral part of the santal nature, and it is particularly expressed in the song and in the dance. The Santals don't give any space to individualisms, it is really during the feasts that the individual realizes himself in the community, because he can show his dowries and his abilities of performer, dancer, chorister, minstrel, guest, hunter, archer and, at times, also of peacemaker. It is during the feasts that he can throw the bases of his future social role in the life of the community.

- Rauf, Jahan Ara Bangladeshi *Adibashi* (2004), She discussed the origin of all tribes like- Santal, Orao, Munda etc. She also discussed the great movement of Santal's known as "Santal movement" Alfred Soren, who was the most popular leader of the Santals village, gave lead to their outrage to kept their originality and to claim about their rights.

- Drong, Sanjib – “*Adibashi Maye*” (1997), He is an ethnic writer, who is now famous for his writing in this age, pointed out some important matters, which are over looked by the government and general people of Bangladesh.

In his book he is starting with the history of tribal girl. He kept some questions to the civil society. He asked why the colorful traditional life of the indigenous people is going to be extended.

The writer showed his disappointments about the features of the original people in the textbooks, which had written by the Bengalis. He said that it should be written by the indigenous people otherwise it might mislead the people providing wrong information. He pointed out the question that whether the simple life style of the tribal girl is going to be abolished or not. Is the civilization leading to decay of their life? That’s why writer know his question to the readers and civil society.

- Sattar, Abdus “*Aronney Sanskriti*” (1977), deals with the tribes of Bangladesh. In his book he presented the culture of some tribal people, namely Santals, Oraos, Rajbongshi, Garos, Chakmas, Muripuris, Mags, Murangsand and Tipras. His data were based on personal observation and private studies. He discussed all tribal’s way of life, their religions, their social norms and conversions but only in base outlines.

Tribal Religion & culture is very colorful. They celebrate their festival and play sacrifice. Drawing Tattoos has very important rules in Santals and other tribal society. It seems that modern art has a root in the archaic Art. Religion and Beliefs are true basis of the ethnic life style and culture. Writer explains their culture what was he saw.

- Marandy Joseph - *Evangelization of the Santals in Bangladesh* (2000), He is a Santal writer, he write about his culture, tradition, day to day life and their recent changes. Exactly when the Santals landed in the territory of present Bangladesh, is not precisely known. Some believe that the Kherwars reached the land of Bengal immediately after the first clashes with the invading Aryan tribes (2500 B.C.). With every probability the Santals landed in Bangladesh with their actual ethnic identity at a much later date. The Santals scattered throughout Bengal at the time of the Muslim invasion of this region during the last decades of the 12th century or at the beginning of the 13th century.

Author explained their regicidal changes that were happen in different times for different causes. The task of evangelization among the Santals is not proselytism, or bringing new converts for the extension of the Church, or multiplying the Christian population, but, the task here would be to make the Santal society a progressive community without cutting them off from their tribal roots. The Santals must know both the strengths and weaknesses of their culture. The Gospel must be brought to the Santals to challenge and to transform them from within like the yeast and the salt,

so that the Santals in Bangladesh may promote communion and integral human development in the process of being evangelized where "all the people are united in the way God wants them to be united" (Vatican II 1975:n.42).

- Mukherjea, Charulal- *The Santals* (1962) discussed about Santals genesis, migration, population, economic life, kinship, politics, Religion, Magic, witch craft, sexual life, Rituals, festivals, Folklore and changing civilization etc.
- Dr. Sen, Suchibrata, *The Santals of Jungle Mahals (An agrarian history)*, The present work is about the impact of the changing agrarian conditions in a tribal area known as the Jungle Mahals on a particular tribal group the Santals. It is almost a short of care study is a given geographical compass.
- Ali, Mehrab- *Dinajpurer adibashi* (1980), explains difference types of tribal communities' life and tradition who are living in Dinajpur Region. How are they celebrates their culture and adjust with other culture it's also explain here.
- Chakma, Sugut- *Bangladesher Upo-Jati & Adibashider Samj Sanskriti & Achar Bebohar (2000 2nded)*, deals with his own culture. She is a ethnic writer & person. That why she know it perfectly and she also writes on her book heartily. She explains Adibashi Society, social life, Norms, values, custom, change, relation with other culture etc.
- Burling, Robins- *The strong women of Mudhupure* (1997) , It is about minority people of Bangladesh who are coping with the all the insistent pressures of the Modern world Author's deals in the book with Garos who have lived in Mudhupure in Bangladesh and their Migration, life style, women's roles and importance in the society.
- Kim Seung , Kim Amy, Ahmad Sayed, and Sangma Mridul- *The Santali Cluster in Bangladesh: A Sociolinguistic Survey(2010)*, This paper reports on sociolinguistic research conducted among speakers of five Austro Asiatic language varieties in northwest Bangladesh: Koda, Kol, Mahali, Mundari, and Santali.

These are collectively referred to as the Santali Cluster because Santali is the most populous and developed language among these five varieties. Linguistic variation within and across these varieties, long-term viability of each variety, and attitudes of speakers towards their own and other language varieties were investigated. The degree of intelligibility in Santali by speakers of the other varieties and the bilingual ability in Bangla of speakers from each variety were also studied. This research was carried out from November 2004 through January 2005 through the use of word lists, questionnaires, a Bangla Sentence Repetition Test, and stories recorded in Santali, Mundari, and Mahali.

- Murmu Fr. Marcus, *The Santals: their traditions and institutions in Bangladesh* (2008), In this book author explain Santals colorful life and traditions. The Santals are known as one of the oldest and largest indigenous communities in the northwestern belt of Bangladesh. They have been living in the pristine natural surroundings of the area for thousands of years. They might be described as children of nature who are nurtured and reared by its bounty. Santals are largely seen in the northern districts of Dinajpur, Naogaon, Thakurgaon, Panchagar, etc.

The Santals are of ebony color with little growth by way of beard, are generally of stocky build and capable of undertaking hard labor. Physically the Santals are not prepossessing. The face is round and softly contoured; the cheekbones moderately prominent; eyes full and straight, nose broad and depressed, mouth large and lips full, hair straight, black and coarse. They are long-headed and of medium height.

Santal women, especially young girls, are by nature very beauty-conscious. Santal women wear ornaments on their hands, feet, nose, ears and neck and also wear peculiarly shaped ornaments on their ankles. They fix flowers on their heads and hair-buns, and make themselves graceful with simple ornaments. Like their simple, plain and carefree way of life, their dress is also very simple. Santal dresses are called panchi, panchatat and matha. The Santal women wear coarse homespun cotton sarees of bright colours that barely reach their knees, while the upper end is flung over the shoulders. Santal men and women wear tattoos on their bodies.

Many Santals today are being driven away to cities in search of livelihood. Hard-working, honest, illiterate and poor, the Santals sell their labor in exchange for sustenance. In the land which originally belonged to them, they live unwanted, uncared for. But the Santals are fully conscious of their heritage. Goaded into it they can burst out in revolt, as they did in 1855 during the British rule.

Thirty thousand Santals joined in that revolt and the British law could hardly curb them. The Santals fought with bows and arrows while the government forces used firearms. Ten thousand Santals were killed but in the end the British had to abolish slavery of the Santals and to establish a separate administrative area for them - the Santal Pargana. The Santals of Bangladesh consider themselves to be Bengalis. As they wrote in an issue of the Santal language periodical 'Hariar Sakam' or 'Sabujpatra' in 1375 (Bangla): "The Santali is the oldest language of the Bengal. So we got many information about santals colorful culture from this book.

this is all books from where have gotten many informations and make a theoritical framwork.

Limitations

Within the limited time, it was not possible for me to collect all the materials about their culture in details. Because, to observe and to in their festival-cycle, life cycle, Rituals and so on, 4 weeks were quite insufficient.

Due to the time limit, it was really difficult to remove cultural-shock and to assimilate fully with target groups. As an outsider it was very difficult to learn their language in four weeks. Besides, it was very difficult to collect reliable information's from their point of view. Despite these limitations, this study will undoubtedly provide some further insights on Santal communities and Santal women's life of the Barinda tract.

CHAPTER TWO

Socio-economic profile of the study area

Topography of Barind region

The setting of the study area

Geographical position

Social setting

History of the name of the village Parlo

Population

Household structure

Education

Major occupation

Religious institution

Hygienic condition

Health and treatment

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

This is a study on the Santal ethnic community living in the Barinda region of greater Dinajpur district of Northern Bangladesh. In this chapter I presented the physical environment of Barinda tract and the research is about local of the ethnic community. Topography and descriptions of Barinda regions maximum information are collected from Banglapedia-district info- Rajshahi.

Topography of Barinda Region

Nomenclature:

Barinda is a Persian word. It means elevated land or hills. Since this land is the most elevated in greater Rajshahi district, it may be assumed that this name was derived for this reason. On the other hand, there is a belief in Indian mythology that “Indra”, The God of the rains; gives order on 'bar' lout the orders of ‘Indra’. There would be no rain on this vast land hard red soil. So, 'bar' and 'Indra' were combined to give the name ‘Brindra’.

Location:

The Barind tract comprises one fourth of the land area of the greater Rajshahi district, of which 2600 sq. km. are elevate undulating lands. This type of undulating dry hard soil can be seen in Godagrain and Tanore in Rajshahi district; Nachole, Gomostapur in Nawabgonj district and Niamatpur, Porsha, Shapahar, Mohadevpur, Patnitola and a part of Dhamoirhat in Naogan district.

Climate:

The Barind tract lies in the driest part of country. The mean annual rainfall is only 1285 mm at Godagari in the South and 1402 mm at Nithpur in the North. The ‘Kharif’ (summer) growing period lasts from 80 to 210 days and the ‘Rabi’ (winter) growing period from 115 to 140 days. The maximum rainfall (more than 200 mm per month occurs between June and September.) Temperatures in the Barind tract are also most extreme for Bangladesh. The minimum ‘Rabi’ temperature occurs in February and the maximum pre-kharif temperature (above 40°C) prevail May.

Geology:

According to the geological structure it is possible to distinguish three different parts of Barind tract. One of those parts covers the most northern area limited from the west and north by Indian border. These sediments deposited within this area consist of predominantly clay and silt with addition of very fine sands. Eastern and central part of Barind tract includes more sandy deposit that means thickness of clay and salty sediments, predominantly smaller reaching (in case of upper clay) at most 140 feet round the Gomostapur. There might be possible to distinguish low permeable water bearing layer in this part. The third part of this tract covers the most south-west zone which belongs to Ganges valley. This part includes predominantly sandy deposits with medium and coarse sand having 10-200+ feet thickness.

Hydrology:

The Barind tract is drained by an intricate network of rather narrow, usually stream less valleys. The atria, little river Jamuna collect most of the drainage water in the east and the river Mahananda and Padma in the west. According to the hydro geological conditions, the Barind tract may be divided into two parts. The First main part covers the middle section of this tract that includes thanas as: Porsha, eastern part of Gomostapur, western part of Niamatpur, Nachole and Nawabgonj. This tract of Barind tract belongs to Barind pliestocene area. The second part of this tract includes the recent sediment that extends towards east and south from Barind Pleistocene area as well towards the west from Mahananda river. This part includes thanas like Patnitala, Mahadevpur and eastern portion on Niamatpur, Manda, Mohonpur, south east portion of Tanore, and eastern part of Godagari.

Resources:

Water resources in the area are poor as there in no perennial river system. Surface water resources are ponds, channel, drainage channels (Kharies) and only a few low lying areas.

Environmental Hazards:

The tract is less affected by a natural calamity like flood, cyclone, tidal waves, salinity etc. However, tract experience frequent drought and have started showing signs of desertification. The area is considered as a logically fragile zone with extreme low vegetative cover the soil is very low in organic matter and devoid of minerals. It is alleged that increased ground water abstraction has reduced ground water availability for irrigation.



GHORAGHAT UPAZILA

1 0 1 2 km

NAWABGANJ
(Dinajpur)

PIRGANJ
(Rangpur)

PALASHBARI

PANCHBIBI

GOBINDAGANJ

GHORAGHAT

Shah Suja
Mosque

Dakshin
Joydebpur

Various environmental concerns in respect of Barind tract are grouped under the following environmental issues:

- 🌳 Large scale deforestation.
- 🌳 Large scale groundwater abstraction resulting in increasing uncertainty in the availability of irrigation water.
- 🌳 Loss of wildlife.
- 🌳 Degradation of a large number of ponds.
- 🌳 Degradation of soil due to loss of fertility, particularly organic matter and nutrient.
- 🌳 Removal of agricultural residue.

Village Setting

The present chapter deals with geophysical and social setting of the village under study. This will not only enable us to understand the structural realities, but also provides insight into the process of the metamorphosis. That is affecting the santal tribe in Bangladesh (Ali Ahsan-1998-50).

Research Area:

The present study is based on intensive fieldwork conducted in 'Parlo' village in Osmanpur union of Ghoraghat Thana in the district of Dinajpur.

Geographical position:

Geographical position of the village *Parlo* is 88° (east) - 89° (west) longitude and 25° (north)- 26° (south) latitude. It is 3 k.m. far from Ghoraghat thana. The area of the village is 2½ k.m.

Social setting of study Area:

The modes of the communication with the Ghoraghat Thana are bus, van sometimes bullock cart etc. But to go the village under study, I need 40 2.5 k.m. across the Dinajpur-Hilly highway by van from Ghoraghat Thana. Then I had to travel about ½ k. m. towards south direction.

BASE MAP THANA GHORAGHAT ZILA DINAJPUR

THANA NAWABGANJ

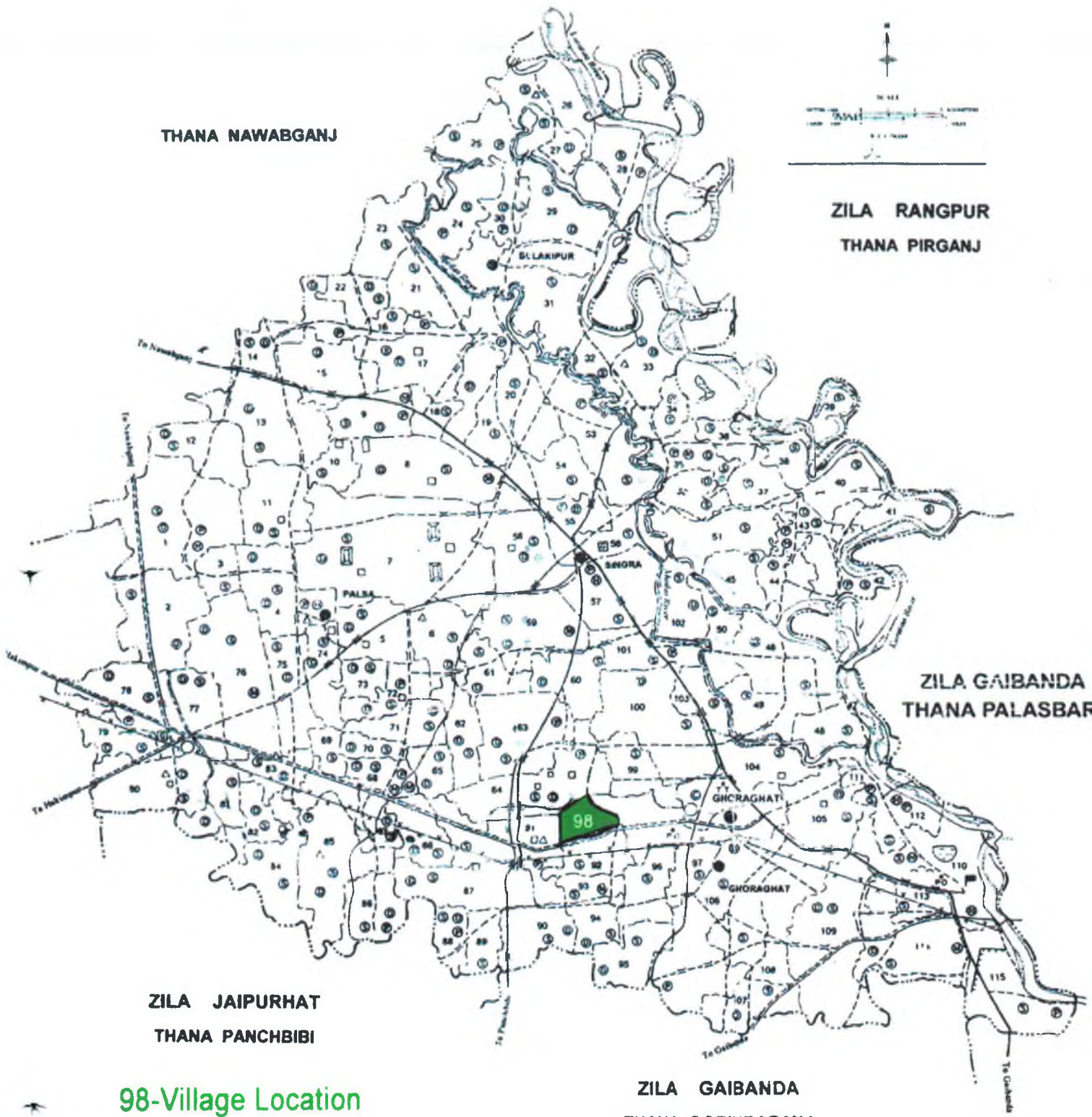
ZILA RANGPUR
THANA PIRGANJ

ZILA GAIBANDA
THANA PALASBAR

ZILA JAIPURHAT
THANA PANCHBIBI

ZILA GAIBANDA
THANA GOBINDAGANJ

98-Village Location

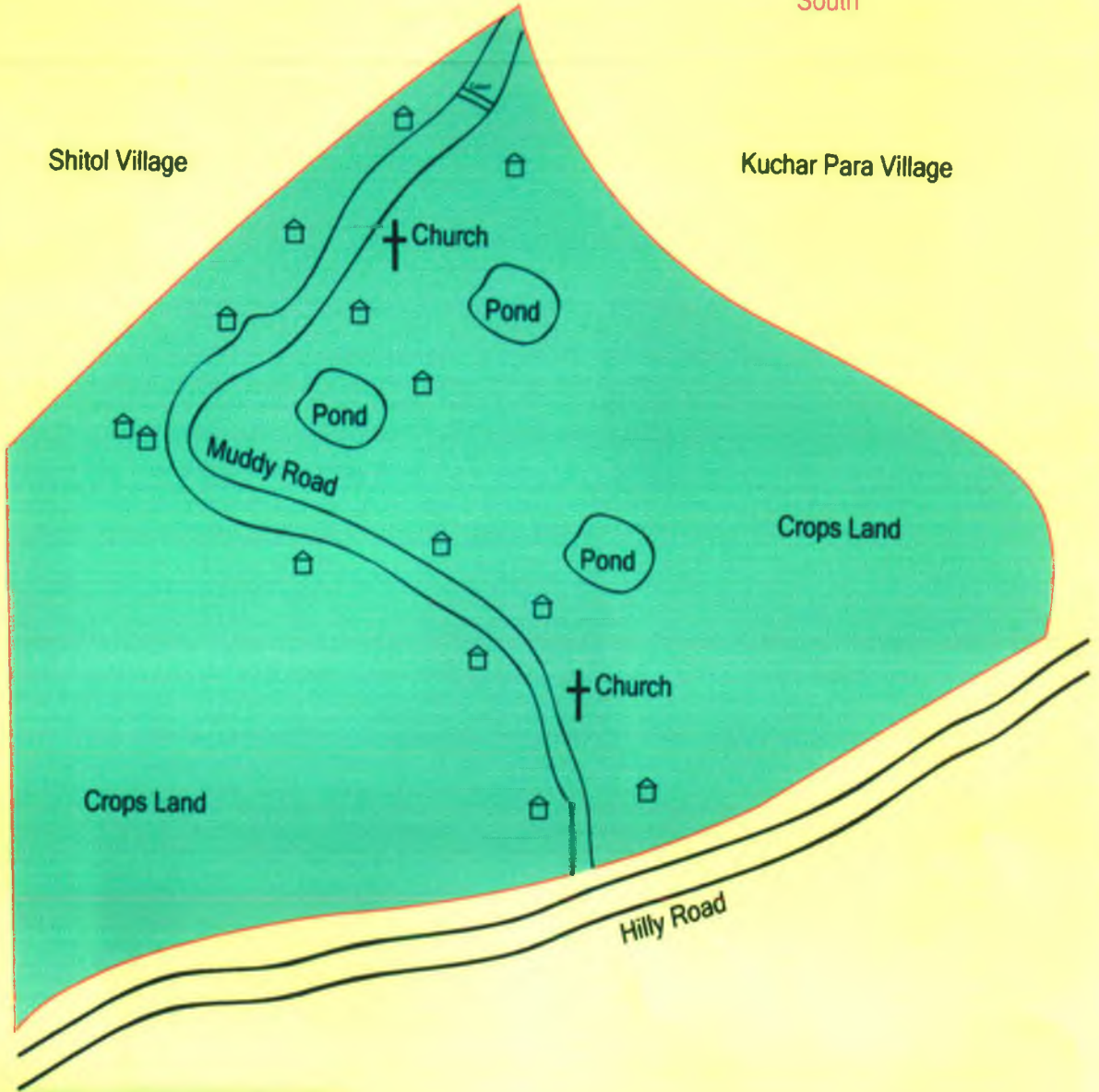


Parlo Village



Shitol Village

Kuchar Para Village



Indicators

- Household 
- Church 
- Pond 
- Road 

Patshau Village

Santal habitats are at the beginning of the village *Parlo*. But there is a Muslim household in the middle of the village and some Hindu houses at the end of the village and 99% Santal families are Christians. There is only one family which is upholding their traditional religion.

The village is divided into two Hamlets (*para*)-

1. East Hamlet (*para*)
2. West Hamlet (*para*)

There are two churches in the village. One is in the east Hamlet which is Church of God. The other church in the west Hamlet is known as the "Church of Christ". There is a missionary school in the east Hamlet. The Christian Santals of the village go to their respective churches. That means every one enlisted in the churches should go to their respective churches. Some people go to the other village as they do not belong to these two churches.

Many children of the village go to the primary school of the other village. Some of them go to Dinajpur and Joypurhat Residential Missionary School. There is no secondary school or college in this locality. That's why they have to go to Osmanpur or Ghoraghat.

Pasta is on the northern side of this village and the southern side is *shitol* village and the western side is *kucher para*. Beside the village there are two rivers "Mohila" and Karotoa. Every year a village fair is arranged by the villagers at the bank of the Karotoa River. They also arrange a bath festival in this *Ghat*. The '*Ghat*' is known as '*Wrishi Ghat*'. There is also a temple for the Hindus. But in the fair people of all religions come to visit.

History of the name of village *Parlo*:

There is a long history behind the name of *Parlo*. Once upon a time there was a river beside the village, which does not exist any more now. At that time many sailing ships trafficked through the river. One day a sailing ship drowned in the water. The villagers named the village *Parlo* according to the drowned sailing ship. Thus the name *Parlo* became popular and the village is known as *Parlo*.

After 1971, the river dried up and the people started cultivation in the river. At that time a villager dug a pond in the dried up river and got many parts of the drowned sailing ship.

There parts were the evidence of the drowned sailing ship from which the village was named.

Population:

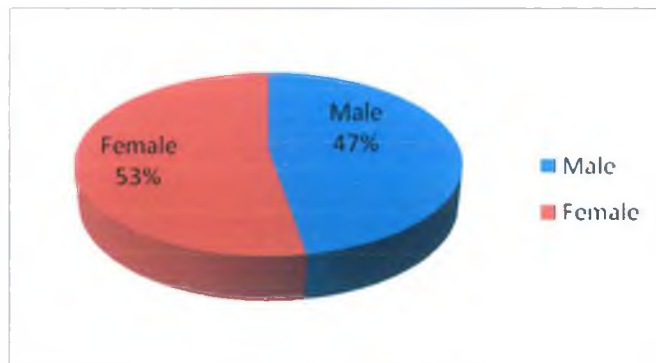
The santal village under study contains a total population of 340 and 75 household. Out of the total population 161 are male and 179 are female. The ratio of male and female is 6.7. The table 3 and graph -1 shows the santal population composition of the study village.

Table-3
Total Population composition

Male	%	Female	%	Total	No. of household
161	47.35	179	52.65	340	75

Sources: Field work in Ghoraghat Dinajpur.

Graph-1
Population composition of the study area



Sources: Field work in Ghoraghat Dinajpur.

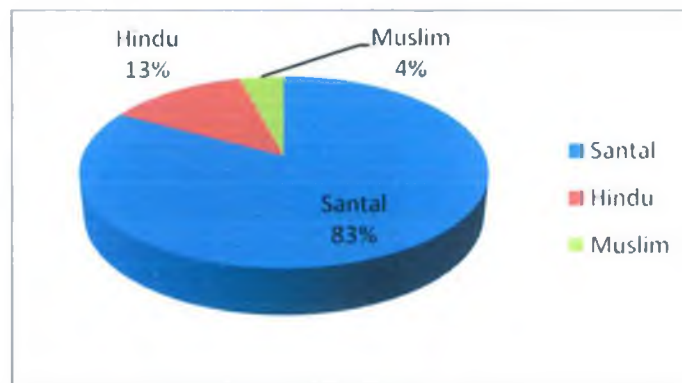
In *Parlo* village there are 282 santals, 44 Hindus and 14 Muslims are live here. Table-4 and graph-2 shows the population according to religion.

Table – 4
Population according to religion

Community	Populating	%
Santal	282	82.94%
Hindu	44	12.94%
Muslim	14	4.12
Total	340	100%

Sources: Field work in Ghoraghat Dinajpur.

Graph-2
Population according to religion



Sources: Field work in Ghoraghat Dinajpur.

Household structure:

Generally the santal village is formed by a cluster of house. The numbers of household are 75. Most of the houses are made up of clay and Tin. Some affluent families have the brick build houses. Every house is neat and lean. Santal women clean their house on different ceremonial occasions with Cow dung and water. Every santal house is different from other houses. Women make design on the wall with mixture of coal, cow dung and red soil. They also use tin and straw over the wall to make shadow, boundary wall has a gate which is used for the entrance.

Every santal house has a balcony and neat and a clean small courtyard. Some house has flower trees. Traditionally religious some santal house 'Tulsi than' in the year and they prayed regularly. But converted Santals went to the churches every Sunday.

Education:

The village education is increasing mainly for missionary schools. There is a church beside the village named "Maria Mission" which was established in the year 1930. This indicates that the village has a long tradition of missionaries. But the missionaries influenced the people of *Parlo* village from 1950. Missionaries changed their religion but it has a positive impact on their education. The rate of education proved it.

This village has a missionary school. There were some other missionary schools in the near village. Many student of this village also study in Dinajpur, Joypurhat and Dhaka.

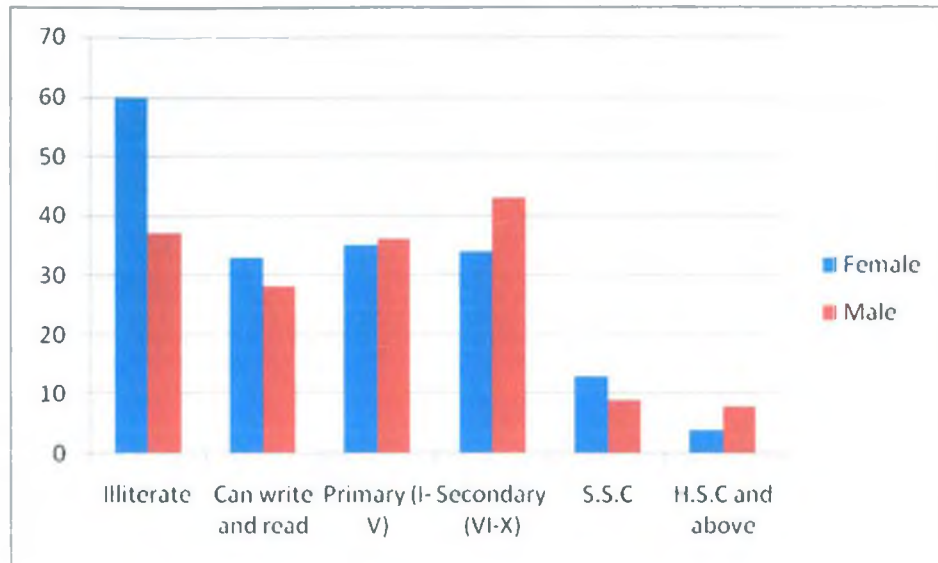
There was a strong thing that the man belongs to a certain missionary he will not go to other missionary. Missionaries provide many amenities and facilities to increase its membership. Such as Santals Christian student needed to pay 100 as the hostel charge in the residential missionary school, where people of others religion needed to pay 4 times higher. Table 5 and graph -3 shows the literacy rate of the *Parlo* village

Table 5
Literacy level of *Parlo* village

Criteria	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Illiterate	60	17.65	37	10.88	97	28.53
Can write and read	33	9.71	28	08.24	61	17.94
Primary (I-V)	35	10.29	36	10.59	71	20.88
Secondary (VI-X)	34	10	43	12.64	77	22.65
S.S.C	13	03.82	09	02.64	22	6.47
H.S.C and above	04	1.18	08	02.35	12	3.53
Total	179	52.65	161	47.35	340	100

Sources: Field work in *Parlo* village.

Graph -3
Gender base literacy level



Sources: Field work in *Parlo* village.

So, it's clear that the rate of literacy *Parlo* is not bad. It's increasing day by day.

Major occupation:

Cultivation is the main occupation of the villagers. There are also some people of their occupations. Some people are landless farmers. They have gone for wage laboring to neighboring farmers' fields, those who were mostly from Muslim communities. There is also rickshaw puller and school teacher and other occupation.

Women also had taken part in the cultivation. Even they have departed to other village as hired laborers like male. Through the women work with the man in the field evenly, there were some discrimination in the wage rate. The difference of wage rate, which varies in gender or season, had been depicted in the chart-

They described the low wage of the women because of their late arrival at the work and not to do heavy work. The women complete their household chores and then go to the field. So they get low wage. Tables- 6 & 7 shows the distribution of major occupation and wage rate in the village.

Table-6
Major occupation

Major occupation	No. of household
Agriculture	
a. Day labor	32
b. Sharecropper	15
c. Land owner	5
Van puller	5
Teacher	4
Mechanic	5
Church related job	4
Other occupation (small trader/job)	5
Total	75

Sources: Field work in “*Parlo*” in Dinajpur.

Table-7
Wage Rate

Gender	Peak season	Off season
Male	90-150 tk.	70-90 tk.
Female	70-100 tk.	50-70 tk.

Source: Fieldwork in ‘*Parlo*’ in Dinajpur.

Local Market:

The villagers usually do their shopping at local Market in Osmanpur. They do their weekly shopping on Wednesday. Through there was a daily market, where Santal male and female have gone to the market at evening. Some time they also go to the Ranigonj market which is 6 k. m. away from the village *Parlo*.

Religious Institutions:

These santal villagers were converted. There were two churches. The first church established in 1995. But the villagers started to convert from the 1970's decade. Basically the conversion started in nearer place in Pakistan period. There was a single family who still kept their age-old tradition Hindu Religion. They had profound faith on their religion. They said, "*A sheep can't become a goat*". Still they were interested about their imaginative religion. So no one could influence them to convert to other religion. The Hindus worship on their own temple. As they have no temple in the village. They have gone to the temple of other village and also worship at their own home. Their worship was *Duraga, Kali, Monsa, Sun, Ganga* and many other Gods and goddesses.

There is differentiation of the Christian Santal of the village. They belonged in different churches. The Muslim of the village have gone to the mosque of a nearby village. The converted Santals have gone to their respective church on Sunday. Among the 340 people of the village numbers of santal were 282, Muslims are 14 and Hindus are 44. Tables-8 shows the population according to their religion.

Table - 8
Population composition by religion

Types of religion	Size of population	
Santal-		
a. Traditional Santal	12	3.52%
b. Catholic Santal	57	16.76%
c. Protestant Santal	17	5%
d. Methodist Santal	11	3.24%
e. Churches of God	97	28.53%
f. Churches of Christ	59	17.35%
g. 7 days Advantage	5	1.47%
h. Talitha koumi	24	7.06%
Hindu	24	7.06%
Converted Hindu	20	5.88%
Muslim	14	4.12.36%
Total	340	100%

Sources: Fieldwork in '*Parlo*' in Dinajpur.

Hygienic Condition:

There were 42 tube-wells in the village from where the villagers can take drinking water. There were several ponds in the village. The villager's bath, wash cloths and utensils in the ponds. Most of people of the village use sanitary latrine. Table 9 shows the condition of sanitation of the village.

Table-9
Sanitation

Types of sanitation	No. of H. H.
Proper Sanitation	6
Middle Sanitation	53
No Sanitation	16
Total	75

Sources: Fieldwork in "*Parlo*" in Dinajpur.

Health and Treatment:

For the treatment, the Santals usually go to the local health centers. They also go to the Mission Hospitals. Because mission Hospitals give them treatment free of cost. But all missionaries' hospital is far from the village. That's why most of villagers for their general diseases they go to 'Kabiraj' (Medicine man) of the locality. The 'Kabiraj' apply various kinds of herbs and roots to cure their diseases. Their dependency on 'Kabiraj' for treatment of diseases is mainly due to their age old traditional faith in magic.

In the study village people are really struggle minded are fighting against socio-economic problem and try to establish themselves. This is the socio economic scenario of the study area.

CHAPTER THREE

Background of the settlement pattern of the Santals

Ethnic and racial background

Ethnic background and migration

Physical Traits

Language

Dress pattern

Ornaments

Food habit and nutritional situation

Drink

Non-Material culture

Song

Dances

CHAPTER-3

BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF THE SANTAL'S

Ethnic and Racial Background:

Any people as a group has got its own culture; specially ,every native people's has got its own culture, and the tribes as a whole in any geographical region have got a specific culture that difference from the culture of the general mass people in that region or country. Thus, in Bangladesh Santal's culture is considerably different from the general culture of the country. The Santals has a distinct ethnicity, a separate way of life and a unique value system. Now I discuss about Santal's culture and their origin.

The name santal according to skrefsrud (1887) is a corruption of the word '*saontar*'. This was adopted by the sandals when they lived in the area around *saont* now known as *silda pargana* in Medinipur District of west Bengal. (Cited in Murmu. M, 2004).

Chatterjee (1943) agree with by Bhowmick (1980). The term "santal" has been derived from the word *samantapal* or 'border guard', while they integrated with the larger Hindu society.

In their language *hor* means 'man' and '*hor hopen*' means the children of man (Marandy.J, 2006:2). There is a mythical story which is belonging among them about the origin of man and the creation of the universe. The santal myth of the origin of man and how the twelve clans came about has been recorded by different authors.

There is a belief among the Santal society about creation of world. They believe that primitive world was filled with only water and God had the problem in creating the land, where man can live. The land is normally considered opposite to water. He created all amphibian animals that can operate both land and water; therefore, he created seven animals -crab, crocodile, alligator, eel, Pawn, earthworm and tortoise.

For creating land, God invited the kings of all these animals to solve help him out. Every one was coming one by one; they all had not got any success. Lastly, earthworm came and succeeded to create land. It is said that the King of earthworm after seven days and seven nights ate the bottom of water and excreted in on the back of tortoise that is swimming at the top. The tortoise anchored himself on the both side firmly and brought up the earth and thus earth was shaped. That is why there is a belief among Santals that earthquakes are result of movement of tortoise. In other words, when tortoise moves or

shakes, earthquakes occur in earth. Santal myth about the creation of world is substantially different from myth associated with creation of world among the other indigenous peoples of India and in many sense it is unique that it ascribe the creation of earth with the help of amphibian animals, specially the earthworm and tortoise. This is all about the story of creation of earth (Archer 1974:25-26).

There is another interesting myth about creation of human beings. Again here, this myth is substantially different from the many similar myths that are prevalent among the other peoples. Unlike others, Santal myth is more associated with natures, animals. Although, Santal do not strictly believe that they have descended from Animals, however, they assume that there is some connection between animal and human being. It reflects many other Santal beliefs and myth.

According to the myth, God created two heavenly birds - Has and Hasil-out of his hair. Then these two birds started flying in the sky. These bird could survive early state of earth, where all earth was covered with water, as they could mediate the opposite elements heaven and earth. It is believed that they flew below the sun and above the earth thus making the contact between the both worlds.

After flying several days, they built the nest on the earth and laid the eggs. They are cosmic eggs, out of which two creatures; human male and human female are born - *Pilchu Haram* and *pilchu Burhi*. Both these myths creation of world and mankind refer the birds and animal as ancestors. Thus Santal concept of life begins with animals. Therefore, clans' names are after the name of animals.

After creation of earth, *Pilchu Haram* and *Pilchu Burhi* gave birth to seven sons and seven daughters. In later stage they married among themselves thus forming seven exogamous clans. With the passage of time, five more groups were formed. A total 12 clans is found among the Santals. They are *Hansdak'*, *Murmu*, *Hembrom*, *Soren*, *Kisku*, *Tudu*, *Marndi*, *Baske*, *Besra*, *Chonre*, *Puria* and *Bede*. An affiliation or sacred contact is believed to link these clans and their respective totems (Pussetto, Fr. Luigi, 2008:5).

Therefore, each of the names of clans is derived from either from the plants or animals species. There is a belief that is prevalent among the Santals that totems have some connection with the deeds or birth of ancestors of the clans. *Hansdak'* clan members claim to be of the highest status as they have derived from the name of their clan from first ancestors.

The term *has* designates wild goose while *dak'* in Santali means water. This clan is, therefore, linked to the original state of world and first ancestors. It is the most senior among the all clans of the Santals since it is related to myth of creation. Moreover, swan or goose is not just animal. It builds nest on earth, walks on earth and flies on sky.

Next in order are the *Murmus* who are represented by the *Nilgai* or the antelope. According to the myth of genesis of these clans, it is said that ancestors of this clan

hunted the first the antelope as animal and in other words, it is this animal which was first sacrificed by Santals. Since this time, Santals started hunting and eating of animals and subsequently become fond of hunting and eating of flesh.

The antelope being purely a land animal is responsible for the destruction of Santals among the Santals as opposed to swan who combines the four elements and stands for humanity and creation of human beings. The *Hasdak'* and the *Murmu* are the two superior clans of the Santals. As the story goes, *Hasdak'* are given the status of advisors and the *Murmus* are the priest.

The *Kisku* have kingfishers bird as their totem and come third in the hierarchy. They are regarded as kings and are given the Royal status. *Hembrom* are fourth in order and have betel nut as their totem. It is believed that the ancestor of the *Hembrom* clan was born with a betel nut string around his waist. There are also those who believe that their ancestor was actually born under a betel nut tree, which is totally hard and solid.

Marndi are linked with grass or type of weed and are traders. The *Sorens* are soldiers or warriors and are linked to the constellation of stars. The *Tudus* are musicians and have accepted owl as their totem. *Baskes* are cooks and associated stale rice. They have believed to offered stale rice to the Gods and are thus prohibited from eating it. *Bedeas* have sheep as their totem and believed to have no personal own much like the animal they revere.

They are not found in now days and believed to mix with other clans. Lastly are the *Paurias* and *Chonres* who have pigeons and lizard respectively as their totems. It is found that in most of the cases that the only animals the clan members could hunt were made heir totem, which perhaps restricted them endangering the species.

So strong are their feelings towards these totemic species that they respect them as their won clan members. If any of the clan members sees a dead totem, he observes the death rituals. Eating or hunting the totem is prohibited. According to the stories about the restriction of marriages started in the different clans.

The reason lies in the nature of the totems and the elements they are connected with. In first place the marriage is forbidden between the water and land i.e. swan (*Hansdak'*) and antelope (*Murmu*). It is restricted between "lower heaven" and "lower earth" i.e. Kingfisher and weed (*Kisku* and *Marndi*), also "upper heaven"(*Hembrom*) and "upper earth"(*Soren*).

Secondly, marriage is prohibited between three heavenly birds (Owl, hawk and pigeon). The totem also defined some relationship between consumed and consumer. The pigeon that is the prey of the hawk along with the lizard eats Rice and the owl also hunts this lizard.

Therefore, initially the *Chonres* did not marry with *Besras* and *Tudus*. But presently this restriction is no longer followed and the marriages take place between all clan

members. Each of these clans is further divided into several sub-clans; each one upholds a distinctive myth and set of customs that differentiates it from the others, including kinds of food taken, ornaments, worn and worship of the spirits or Gods (*Bongas*).

Even the sacrifices vary during the rituals vary from one sub-clan to another. The names of the sub-clan are derived from plants and animals. Out of the 16 sub-clans that were available in the area, nine trace their origins to certain animals.

For examples, *Chilbinda hansdak'* derived its name from the ancestor who killed an eagle, "*Jihu hansdak*" from *Jihu* or babbler bird. *Sole-Hemborm* does not eat eels as it is believed its ancestor had been saved by it while ferrying flooded river. The *kahu-Besras* are prohibited to kill crows. The totem exercises powerful influence on the habit of the Santals (Pussetto, Fr. Luigi, 2008:3-5).

This mythical story is important to know about the origin of man and the creation of the universe.

The Ethnic Background of Migration:

The Santals has no recorded history. They are living in this area. They migrated here from India. The traditions of the Santals represent them as a race wandering from one land to other.

On the basis of the santal traditions, several theories have been advanced regarding their origin. Efforts have also been made by different scholars to recognize the countries, rivers, forests etc; mentioned. In many instances, localities have been found bearing the traditional names and it has been inferred that it was here that the Santal institutions had their origin.

Since however, there is no supporting evidence from other sources, it has not been possible to offer any definite explanation. Whatever their original habitat might have been, there is no doubt about the middle of the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of British rule in India, Large numbers of Santals were to be found in *chotonagpur*, especially in the districts of *Hazaribagh*, *palamau* ad *singhbhum* and in the neighboring districts of *Medinipur* and *Birbhum*. There and authentic records to prove this. This as early as 1795, Sir John shore spoke about the Santals in *Ramghars* in *Birbhum* district (Murmu M, 2004:7-8).

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Santals who were very expert in clean-up forests and pass them into cultivation, after this event they began to migrate to the *Rajmahal* and this place situated in the north eastern side of chotonagpur plateau.

Two reasons are given for this migration. Towards the end of the eighteen century many of them had sent to chotonagpur Jungles to fresh and there was a considerable influx of population from the infertile uplands which could not support them.

Second, the interdiction of the *zaminadari* settlement by the East India company in 1793 'resulted in a general extension of village' and in the creation of a new set of land-lords. These land lords had begun hire santal laborers to clear the virgin forests in the Rajmahals hilly area, so as to bring more land under cultivation. They enticed them by promising the high wages and rent free farms (Murmu M, 2004:7-8).

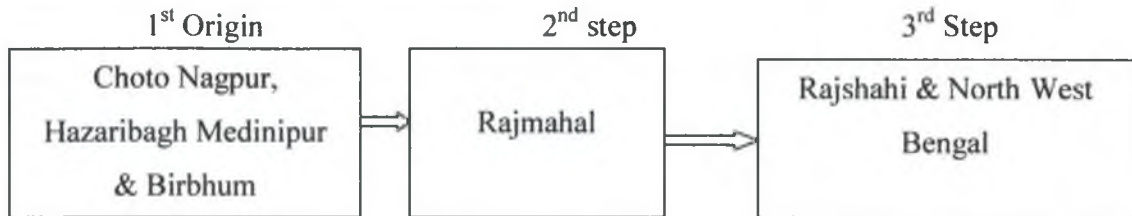
As early as 1872 census, Hunter records 7,076 Adibasis in Rajshahi district among whom 72 were recorded *paharias* and only 5 Santals. He also noted that the colonization by aboriginal tribes was carried on from the Rajmahal. The Hills areas were principally in to the thinly populated forest areas of *Gudagani* and Mundas in the north of Rajshahi District (Murmu M, 2004:7-8).

A large number of them had permanently settled and were employed in agriculture, as laborers in indigo factories or plantation and also as fisherman. Aforementioned to the division of the sub-continent of different independent countries, migration to any region was never a problem. It was than all one country, places like Ialgaol a Ghugumari and Bhagebangola on the Indian side and premtali and Gudagani on the Bangladesh side are familiar to them.

They would cross the Padma river at there places by steamer and sometimes by ordinary boat. Some of their oldest settlements in this part of country are Pathargata, Santasara, Dainagpara and Andharkta in Rajshahi District. They migrated from their place to other parts of North-western Bangladesh. So we can say that is a long history about their migration.

Chart-1

Santal migrations step are given below –



Source- (Murmu M, 2004:7-8)

There is the way of Santals migration. In Bangladesh there's 1st residence is Rajshahi and then they scatters Dinajpur, Nator, Chapainababganj, Pabna, Panchagarh and other districts.

Racial Background & Physical Traits:

As concerns the racial ethnology, there are diverse opinions among the scholars and there is no means of ascertaining which opinion is correct and definite. The complexion of the Santals is dark-brown, rarely very dark, but never like that of the Negroes and often fairly light. Eyes are of medium size and of black colour. Hair is generally coarse, black, and straight.

Individuals may have wavy and frizzy hair, occasionally curly, never, however, like that what is seen in Africa. The nose is generally broad and a little flat. The Santals generally have a scanty beard, little hair on the body and thick lips. Physically, they are sturdy, straight limbed and strong and their height varies much but as a rule, it is a little less than the Aryans (Murmu M, 2004:5).

The Santals have their own language known as *Santali* which belongs to the Munda family of languages. Peter W. Schmidt has classified the Mundari language as sub-family of the Austro-Asiatic language group. As the Santals belong to the Munda family of languages, they have been classified by Anthropologists as pre-Dravidians, Kolarians, Dravidians, Proto-Australoids, Nishadies and Austrics.

Risley's classification of the pure Dravidians stock is considered by many as outdated because the Santals racially differ from the Dravidian speaking tribes. Peter W. Schmidt classified the Santals as Austro-Asiatic, A. C. Haddon as pre-Dravidian and Guha as proto-Australoids, because of the racial similarity with the aborigines of Australia.

Observing the general physical characteristics of the Santals P. O. Bodding has doubted the existence of a Negroid element among them and Dr. Hrdlicka corroborating with this view has suggested that the Santals are a Mongolian admixture.

S. S. Sarkar thinks that the Santals appear to possess a strong Australoid strain in addition to a Mongoloid element. From the above theories, it is evident that no one is scientifically certain about the racial identity of the Santals.

The mythological story of the Santals enumerates the first human pair as *Pilcu Haram* and *Pilcu Budhi*. The Santals regard them as their first parents {Cf. L. O. SKREFSRUD, *Horkoren Mare Hapramko reak' Katha (The Traditions and Institutions of the Santals)*, Bihar 1968, p. 5 (hereafter cited as *Horkoren Mare Hapramko*.)

To get all necessary facts and proofs it would be most desirable to have Santals scientifically studied and measured. Although it is not satisfactory to rest one's opinion only on probable conjectures, Guha's opinion which identifies the Santals as Proto-Australoids still seems to derive support from the fact that there is a racial similarity between Santals and the aborigines in Australia (Murmu M, 2004:6).

We may add that the present-day Santals are not an unmixed race. During the last generations, perhaps also formerly, there must have been a mixture of other blood. That is why the Proto-Australoids are also known as Austrics. Whatever may be the racial identity of the Santals, evidently they possess very primitive components.

Language:

The Santals of the study villages are bi-lingual. They have learnt the Bengali Language for communicating with the Bengali neighbors and retained their own language to use it among themselves. The Santals speak an independent language known as Santali.

It belongs to the *Mundas* family of language belonging to the Austro-Asiatic language group. It may be noted that, original written script was absent in all the cases of ethnic languages (Hossain K.T-2000:7). However, many of these peoples have adopted other's script to write their own language. Thus Roman script was adopted by the Santal. Table - 10 is showing ethnic communities by linguistic affiliation.

Table-10
Distribution of Ethnic Communities by linguistic Affiliation

Language family	Branch	Ethnic Communities
Tibet-Burmese	Kuki-chin	Bawn, chakma, khami, khyang, Lushai, Manipuri, Marma, Mro. Pankho, Sak, Tanchargya (other groups Banjogi Shendu)
	Bara (Bodo)	Garó, Hajong, Koch, Mrong, Rajbansi, Tipra (other groups: Dalu, Hadi, Mikirr, Pathor, Riang)
Austro-Asiatic (Mon-Khmer)	Khasi, Mundas	Khasi (other group: Pnar) Mundas, Santal (other group: Hahili, Ho)
Dravidian		Oran, PaHaria
Indo-Aryan		Bede, kurmi, Mahato, Malla, Bhuiya, Ganghu.

Note: This data is prepared on the basis of different books (Murmu.M:2004, Ali.ahsan:1998 & Hossain.K.T:2000)

In Santal language there are different types of terms are used. Such as follows. Table-11 is showing Santali language.

Table-11
Examples of Santali Language

English Term	Santali Terms
Rice	Daka
Water	Da
Tree	Dari
Flower	Baha
Marriage	Bapla
Dance	Anei
Oil	Shunum
Hair	Up
Hand	Ti
Leg	Kata
Eye	Mai
Cow	Dangra

Meat	Jit
Goat	Merom
Sheep	Bhedi
Hen	Shim
Teeth	Data
Pitcher	Kanda
Finger	Kotup
Tongue	Alang
Mouth	Mocha
Nose	Mu
Taka	Khodi
Lip	Luti
Ear	Lutur
Lungi	Padhat
Fish	Haku
Salt	Bulung
Air	Hoi
Sky	Serma
River	Gada
Fan	Bene
Man	Hor
Jack Fruit	Kandar
Banana	Kaira
Tattoo	Thili
Kari	Uto
House	Oda
Home	Ali ora
Oven	Chulha
Pot	Toqui
Snake	Beei
Day	Sin
Night	Nindo

Rain	Dai
Field	Bojhhod
How are you?	Aam chalka minamia?
Are you ok?	Aam joto katha ga thik gia?
I love you.	Aam ang Dudarmia
I hate you.	Eng aam Hirka ama.
What is your name?	Ama nutum cha?
Where are you from?	Kutha khan Asu Ha ana?
Are you married?	Am ko bapla akta mia?

Source: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur.

Dress Pattern:

Dress-Pattern of the Santals is similar to those of neighbor Muslims and Hindus. They told that their ancestors generally wore short-cut dresses. But by the time, they have habituated with the dress like Muslims or Hindus.

Male-Dress:

Santal men generally wear '*Lungi*' or '*Pant*' and vest. They have no provision to wear *Lungi* or *Pant*. Generally, the older men wear *Lungi* and the younger men also *Lungi*, but occasionally the younger men wear *pant*. The young men who have connection with different institutions of Ghoraghat Thana or Dinajpur District generally wear shirt and *pant* when they go to the outside of the village.

Female Dress:

The women wear '*sari*' or '*Shaluar Kamij*'. Generally, the older women and younger married women wear saris with different colors. On the other hand, the younger girl wears *Shaluar Kamij* with different colors.

Clothing of Children:

Children go about bare till their second or third year. After that age, a *Dung* boy wears a small shirt or half-trousers and female child wears *Jama*.

Ornaments:

The Santals women like ornaments. Long ago, women had many ornaments, but now they have only glass bangles and only a few of them have few silver ornaments.

Food Habit and Nutritional Situation:

Now-a-days, the Santals of the study villages are accustomed with Bengali food. The staple food of the Santal is rice, which is boiled as *Bhat* for food. They eat rice three times a day. With rice they take a simple *Sak*, *Sabji*, fried or boiled green vegetable and roasted potato or lentil or they may eat plain white rice with salt. Lunch and dinner are their major meals.

In addition, they also take rice in the early morning as their breakfast. For breakfast normally they take the left over rice of the previous night. The Santal people eat almost all kinds of vegetable depending on their availability in particular season. They eat meat only on special occasion and during the festival moment. Pork and duck meat are the popular meat items for them. On the non-harvesting season they like to take their breakfast by *Muri* and tea.

Drink (*Haria*):

Alcohol is an integral part of Santali diet. The alcohol they take is referred to as '*Haria*'. '*Haria*' (Rice-beer) is extremely preferred by Santals. The method of preparing this drink is as follows:

An earthen jar with water in it is placed over a burning hearth. When the water has been sufficiently heated about four seers or eight pounds of *marua* (*Eleusine corocara*) is put into it and a little later about half a seer or a little more of rice is added. When this *marua* and rice are both sufficiently boiled and the water in the jar has dried up.

The jar is taken down from over the hearth and left to cool down to some extent. Then the contents of the vessel are spread out either on the floor that has been previously cleaned with water or on a mat spread out on the floor. When the contents have quite cooled down, the remedial *ranu* is mixed with the contents.

This *ranu* is made of a few vegetable roots that are powdered into the shape of small tablets. The inside of the jar is now thoroughly rinsed and dried over the hearth. Then the contents spread out on the mat and mixed with the medicine *ranu* are part into the jar, and stowed away. In summer it takes about three or four days and in winter about a week or more. The *ranu* is produce by farmer.

Now when it is desired to use water is poured in to the jar and mixed with contents by pouring the contents, water and all into a capacious brass plate and back again into the jar and repeating this process several times. The rice beer (*Haria*) thus prepared is now put into another earthen vessel and it's ready for drink.

Manufacturing of *Haria* Tablet by Santals:

One of the ingredients of '*Haria*' is *Ranu* Tree. The Bark and fruits of *Ranu* trees are collected and laid for drying under the sun ray. After words, the dried Barks and fruits of *Ranu* tree being mixed with *Aman* rice and these are crushed and pasted manually by the santal.

During crushing the above, a quantity of water and *vang* (one kind of marijuana) are mixed with it. After mixing the above all components, it is stirred for sometime and one kind of paste is made from this. Then some quantities of round tablets are made from this paste and keep these in their houses.

Keeping there tablet in the home for 2/3 days' the tablets are again taken out form the house for further drying. After proper sun dry the tablets become hard. Making 2 kg / 3 kg rice beer need 20-30 tablets are being mixed. In these activities women's roles are very important.

Non-Material culture:

Songs:

There are different kinds of songs for different festivals. The names of the persons who composed particular songs are not remembered and no singer may claim proprietary right in his songs. There is no more professional singers amongst the Santals, through some young singer here and there sometimes acquires a local reputation as a perfect singer.

Men Women and Children may sing the same songs with the exception of marriage songs and angina songs that are sung generally by women and little girls respectively. A few Santal songs are traditional may are old and some are Modern. The songs are mostly based on love, sometimes with irreverent overtones. One such song is cited below:

*“Nadia ka dhara dhare
Kahar bansi baje
Hai Hai, antar knadise
Anakhite dekhini
Ikane to shoni ni
Hai Hai amar antar kandise”*

[On the bank of river
Who plays on flute?
Oh, my heart is weeping!
I have not seen with my eyes
I have not heard with my ears
Oh, my heart is weeping!]

Source: village peoples

Owing to vigorous missionary campaigns many Santals have embraced Christianity. That's why Christianity impact on their songs. Two such songs are cited below:

*“Hormo hopon babu leng-faleka
Danda hopon babu chowmuk leka
Chekate bang babum rehad kon.
Ningtema bang loure chando ge,
Benao lidingjisumasi kin”*

[Brother, your body was faulty and slippery.
Your waist was thin,
But now it is all gone,
You look sickly.
I am not to blame for this, sister in law.
The *chando* (sun-God) had made me
But Jesus has been my bane.]

Santal prayer song:

Inak nutum do ol akana
Serma puthire.
Inak nutum do ol akana
Serma puthire
Ar onate Jotoakre raskak
Kanan
He, reskak Kanan.

Source: village peoples

Santals too much cultural, theirs colorful music and song prove it.

Dances:

Dances and songs are believed to bring happiness and prosperity and a Stimulation of the helpful forces of nature. So that the earth may be fruitful and the Santal may be blessed with an abundance of animal and vegetable food and the fertility of man and of the rest of creation are increase.

The most important incidents of Santals life are love and marriage and agricultural operations. As every season of the year has its appointed work for the Santal, so every season its appropriate dances and songs.

A principal feature of the customary dances of the period known as the '*Jhumur*' dances is the long line of maidens with their arms interlaced retreating backwards as the young men advance towards them with measured steps to the sound of drums, as the young men in their turn step backwards, coquettishly advancing towards them with the most captivating movements of the feet girls know (Murmu.M, 2004:5).

Menstruating women are excluded from dances. The instrumentalists play in the center and the dancers dance in a circle around them. Singing accompanies dancing. Their dance numbers acquire a high quality due to rhythmic movements of various limbs of the body. Dances are arranged during religious festivals marriage, fair or to celebrate.

CHAPTER FOUR

Social Organization

Introduction

Clan organization

Origin of the name of the clan

Clan system under the study village

Family

Kinship

Marriage

CHAPTER-4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social organization is the foundation of a society. Because it's mutual relations, obligations of ideal behavior anticipated behavior are all included. The social organization of the Santals is considered as a functional aspect of the units of which association the aggregate of the individuals and institutions rules and procedures and governing the group to up the society smoothly are parts. There social organizations are as follows-

- A. Clan
- B. Family
- C. Kinship
- D. Marriage

Clan organization:

The Santals have a patrilineal exogamous clan organization. The clan is known as different names, sects, genes etc. All clan are associated with some objects animate or inanimate. Patronyms are as well innate through male ranks. They are a patrilineal Society where father is usually the family head. But females are also particular significant substance as they also contribute efficiently in the household.

It is pragmatic in the study area that the females almost uniformly participate in income earning activities for the household. Household structure is generally nuclear in nature. With the diffusion of modern values, nuclear households are emerging as well in rural areas. I found 55 nuclear households (out of total 75 Santal households) in *Parlo* village.

The Santal tribe is traditionally divided into 11 clans. They are (1) *Hasda*, (2) *Murmu*, (3) *Kisku*, (4) *Hambrom*, (5) *Mardi*, (6) *Sauren*, (7) *Tudu*, (8) *Baski*, (9) *Besra*, (10) *Chaure*, and (11) *Pauria*. However, Ali (1998: 125) found one more clan, namely *Bede*. These clans are totem based. They have established association or mythological relationships with the numbers and such bodies are known as 'Totem' (Ali 1998: 45).

Origin of the names of the clan

Baske: This word means stale and it is applied to the foods and rice, particularly advanced the evening for the following morning. We have already seen why the old Karu has given this name to the child Boso. But others two traditions exist on this subject. According to the first one, on the occasion of a big hunting, during which the Santals

decided to divide in twelve clans, some of them cooked so much rice to be enough also for the day after.

Having eaten such rice the following morning, they were denominated *Baske*, and such name passed to their descendants. The other tradition says that the *Baske* had as ancestors two young people, which during the same hunting, were lost in the forest and returned to the camp the day after.

Not having anything to offer to them, the parents gave some rice from the previous day. It says that the clan's mahali clans are totemic and ten of them are equal to the Santal ones. Speaking of the Baskes, he says that *baske* or *kanti* is a kind of vegetable.

I have not found neither between the Santais neither between the Mahalis of Bangladesh anybody that knew how to explain the relationship that passes between Baske and Kanti to me, name entirely unknown to them. The only word that is similar is *kantha*, *Euphorbia granulata*, whose leaves are edible, called from the Santais *kantiha haruk*¹. All clan discretion and background related data are collected from field work and other books, like-Ali .A.:1998, Hossain K.T.:2000 & Anthropology blog (website).

❖ *Besra:*

The *Besras* are considered inferior to the others, and more than once I had someone talking with contempt of them. They are, wrongly, considered vulgar and licentious as their first ancestor. Someone derives their name from *besrom* that, between together meanings has also that of licentious and shameless.

The *Besras* are also called *bayar*, male buffalos, always in reference to their licentiousness. However everyone recognizes their intelligence; but also this is a free judgment. Sengupta thinks that *Besra* wants to say hawk. Really he is wrong. There is in fact the *kuhi besra*, but it is a sub-clan, common also to the Baskes and the *Hasdak's*. *Kuhi besra* is the *Spilornis melatonin* or Indian crested eagle, raider of snakes.

The *Mahalis* of Bangladesh call the *Besras* with the name of *Khanger*, while Sengupta makes of this name the thirteenth mahali clan, and according to him the meaning is crow. The *Mahalis* I had consulted deny that *Besra* and *Khanger* are two separate clans.

❖ *Coré:*

It is a small clan and not much respected. They are nicknamed *cacarhat* that wants to say dirty, with a rough skin, pimply and flood of square like that of the lizards. The *Mahalis* call the *Core* with the name of *cercetec*,

which corresponds to our gecko. Sengupta is therefore not completely wrong when he says that Coré means lizard.

❖ ***Hasdak:***

Literally it means goose of water; but such name is never used from the Santals to indicate the goose, that is said *sak*. According to the written tradition it is the name assumed by the greatest child of the first human couple.

Hadaks is also the name of the mythological bird from which had origin the aforesaid couple. Sengupta translates *hasdak* with wild goose. As we have seen, *Karu* gave this name to the child *Harmu*, because he drank dirty water when it was thirsty, without taking care to look for clean water, just like the geese.

❖ ***Hembrom:***

I have already made notice that the *Hembrom* were princes or they acted as notables at the court of the king Kisku, while they were in Champa, and were called *Hembrom kuar*. But in addition to prince, *kuar* wants to also say bachelor. And it is to the light of this tradition and this second meaning that it makes sense the name given from the old *Karu* to the child Somae: he had remained many years *kuar*, that is bachelor; and a day had killed a male of a blue cow a prey worthy for a prince.

Sengupta thinks that Hembrom wants to say walnut-tree of areca. But he exchanges the clan with a sub-clan. It exists in fact the sub-clan Hembrom 'walnut-tree of areca', *Gua Hemhrom* (*Gua=Areca catechu*, walnut-tree of areca).

❖ ***Kisku:***

The *Kiskus* were those that in Champa were imposed as heads, raja. But this doesn't have anything to that to do with the origin of the name. Sengupta has derived Kisku from *kikir*, the martin fishing beard.

It seems a little bit uncertain, but also the manjhi *Karu* forced the sense calling Kisku the child Karuk, because he raised *kisni* (maina). The *Mahalis* when they speak between them, instead of *Kisku* they use *Kauria*.

❖ ***Marndi:***

The *Marndis* had fame to be rich while they were in Champa. According to some this fame derives really from their name, as *marndi* is a very luxuriant grass and, in the field where prosperous, it suffocates the rice. Also Sengupta says that it is a grass clan *marndi* (grass); but in the same page he writes: Marndi is one kind of blue bird).

Marndi would be therefore also a blue bird. Really he treats of another mistake: once more he confuses the clan with a sub-clan: *Miru Marndi*, which is Marndi *cocorita*. The *Psittacula cyanocephala*, said from the Santals *Kuindi miru*, is a bluish *cocorita*.

❖ ***Murmu:***

The *Murmus* practiced the priestly office anciently and therefore were called *Murmu thakur*, those people that offer sacrifices to the spirits. And the only santal clanic name of which Bodding says that it could be a totemic name coming from *murum*, the *Portax pictu*, commonly called blue cow, and that really it is a buck whose meats can not be eaten by the *Murmus*.

They can not even kill this animal and, to the news that Santal of other clans has killed it, they must purify with the bath and to wash the suits. We have already seen that *Suku Hasdak* also denies any totems to this clan. *Karu* gave this name to the child *Manka* for his ample and nice faces like that of an ox. Sengupta says simply that *Murmu* is a kind of animal, and with this he thinks to have proved his thesis. The *Mahalis*, to call the *Murmus*, use commonly the word *Dumri*.

❖ ***Pauria or Paulia:***

About the origin of this name there is not other news besides those of the oral tradition: *Phagu*, the tenth child of *Karu haram*, was called *Pauria*, because he distilled and drank gladly the delicious grappa extracted from the flower of *matkom*. Sengupta ignores this clan.

But in Bangladesh they are exist *Mahali* with this name, in addition to Santal. A characteristic of the *Paurias* is to not be able to wear any object of metal, even if of gold or of silver. Nobody knew how to explain the origin of this taboo to me.

❖ ***Soren:***

In Champa they were considered soldiers and messengers therefore were called *Soren sipahi*. Sengupta makes them originating from *Sorenko* (the *Pleiads*). And also Campbell says that the *Pleiads* are the totem of the clan of the Sorens, while Bodding does not say anything on this.

Someone should have been present to the laughter of that Santals that, referring to the *Sorens*, said: And would they descend (descend, not originate) from the stars. The oral story tells that the origin of the name is because of the way of living of *Samu* with its brothers, united as the Pleiades.

❖ ***Tudu:***

They were called *Tudu mandarin* because in Champa they were blacksmiths, builders and drums players. Also today, between the Santals, blacksmith is a little bit a synonymous of libertine. With the above it could be explained the fact that *Karu* gave the name of Tudu to the child *Themka*, incorrigible in palpating the women.

According to Sengupta, Tudu would be a field mouse. I asked the explanation of it to *Suku Hasdak* that, after some thinking said me: Probably because, between the Mahalis, the Tudus sacrifice some *godo* (mice) during the *pujas*. But Tudu doesn't want to say absolutely mouse.

Clan system in the village under study

The Santals believe that each clan has its own totem and there exists certain relationship between a clan and its totem. Totems are generally animals (such as Bison, sheep), birds (such as goose, pigeon), plants (such as a grass) (Ali 1998: 45). Totemic belief is a symbolic system. At a time it was very important. Now conversion of missionaries makes their Totemic belief more flexible. But till now they are a patrilineal exogamous clan. The Santals have different types of clan. Chart -2 shows the name of clans of Santal.

Chart-2

Name of the clans of Santal

<i>Hasdak</i>
<i>Murmu</i>
<i>Kisku</i>
<i>Hembrom</i>
<i>Marandi</i>
<i>Soren</i>
<i>Tudu</i>
<i>Baske</i>
<i>Pauria</i>
<i>Core</i>
<i>Basra</i>

Source- field work in *Parlo* village

It may be mentioned that this clan-based society of Santals are exogamous. Marriage is prohibited within the same clan. Females after marriage adopt the husband's clan's status and no longer remain in the father's clan (see as well Hossain and Sadeque 1984:160). It may be noted that Santal Christians who are educated and well off, do not always strictly follow the rigid rules of exogamy.

Instead, they prefer to choose spouse of the similar socio-economic status even if He/she is from the same clan. It is interesting that the Santals who are converted Christians, do retain their clan Patronyms.

Major functions of the clans are to regulate marriage, inheritance, succession and affiliation (Ali.A 1998:46). One becomes a clan member by birth or by marriage (applicable for females only).

The names of clans are also associated with totemic belief. The Santals had some taboos. Show the Table-12 clans and their taboos.

Table-12
The clans and their taboo

Clans	Taboos
<i>Hasdak</i>	Can not eat duck
<i>Murmu</i>	Can not take the meat of Nil Gae or blue cow. Can not champa flower.
<i>Kisku</i>	There taboos have not yet been fully investigated. But they can not establish matrimonial link with murmu clan.
<i>Marandi</i>	Can not pluck young padely plants, if they do it unwillingly than the must plant it again through the ceremony of zuhar or pranam.
<i>Hembrom</i>	Can not eat shol fish.
<i>Soren</i>	Can not take the meat of deer.
<i>Tudu</i>	Can not take a kind of Fruit called Daha Jibiga
<i>Baske</i>	Can not take unboiled rice.
<i>Besra</i>	Can not kill cow.
<i>Pauria</i>	Can not kill any bird except pigeon.
<i>Core</i>	Can not kill lizard.

Source- (Murmu M, 2004:8)

It is believed that these clans are hierarchically ordered on the basis of occupation (e.g. Kiskus were kings, Murmus were priests, *Sauren* were warriors, *Baskies* were traders). This kind of occupation related clan patronesses are somewhat like the Hindu caste system.

Like caste system, the cans of the Santals had to practice different occupational names at one time. Table-13 gives a picture of occupations pursued by some of the clan.

Table-13
Distribution of clans by occupational Distinctions

Name of Clan	Occupation
<i>The Kisku</i>	Royal tribe under the cognomen of Kisku Raj.
<i>The Murmu</i>	Princely tribe and were named Murmu Thakur
<i>Hembrom</i>	Ennobled and known as Hembrom Kuar
<i>The Soren</i>	Soldier tribe and were named <i>Soren</i> Sipahi
<i>The Marndi</i>	King's treasures and stewards and Marandy Kipisar
<i>The Tudu</i>	Took to Music and Received the Title of Tudu Mandariya.

Source- (Murmu M, 2004:8)

These occupational distinctions, however rapidly disappeared. At present though certain clan members still bear the occupational appellation, there is no trace of occupational specialization. Now days, however, all the clans enjoy the same social status.

Clan organization of the study village:

The main function of the clan organization is to regulate marriage, inheritance, succession and affiliation clan membership is acquired either by birth or by marriage. So, it is an important organization for Santals society. The village under study is inhabited by many clans.

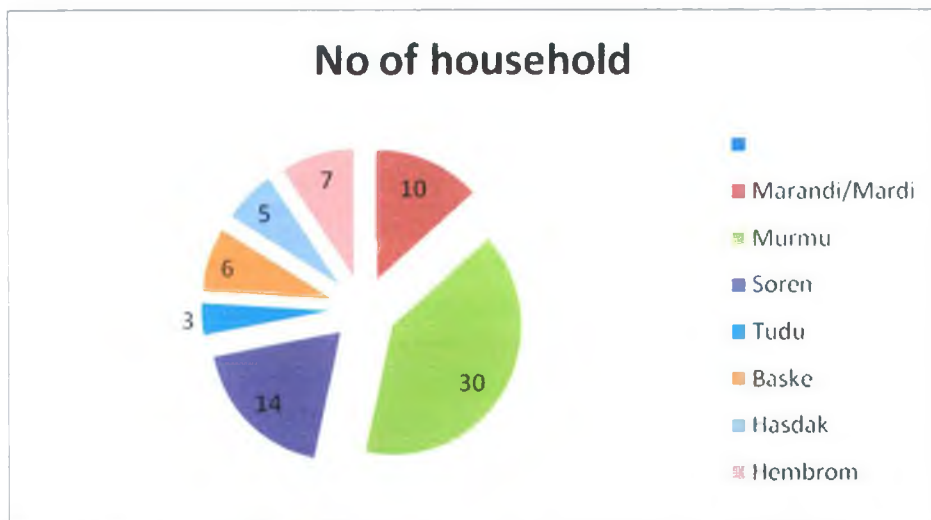
Table-14 gives a picture of clan distribution of *Parlo* village.

Table-14
Clan Distribution

Clan	No of household
<i>Marandy/Mardi</i>	10
<i>Murmu</i>	30
<i>Soren</i>	14
<i>Tudu</i>	3
<i>Baske</i>	6
<i>Hasdak</i>	5
<i>Hembrom</i>	7
Total	75

Source: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur District.

Graph-4
Clan Distribution and no. of household



Source: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur District

The villagers are converted. But till now they are clan exogamous. Two person of the same clan can not marry one another. For example a son of *Soren* clan can not marry a girl of the same clan. He is to marry a girl of another clan.

If anybody does so, no Santal keeps any social relation with him. Such a case was found in the village. One *Soren* clan's Man married a *Soren* woman. Then no Santal kept any social relation with him. But after many years villagers gave pardon the men and women. Santals boys and girls cannot also marry anybody other than the Santals.

The relationship among the clan members in the village is very deep. They share happiness and misery with each other. Even after their conversion in to Christianity, they are trying to protect their traditional social organization. Clan is an important unit of the Santal social life every where, which regulates and conditions their social life and action pattern in various ways.

Family:

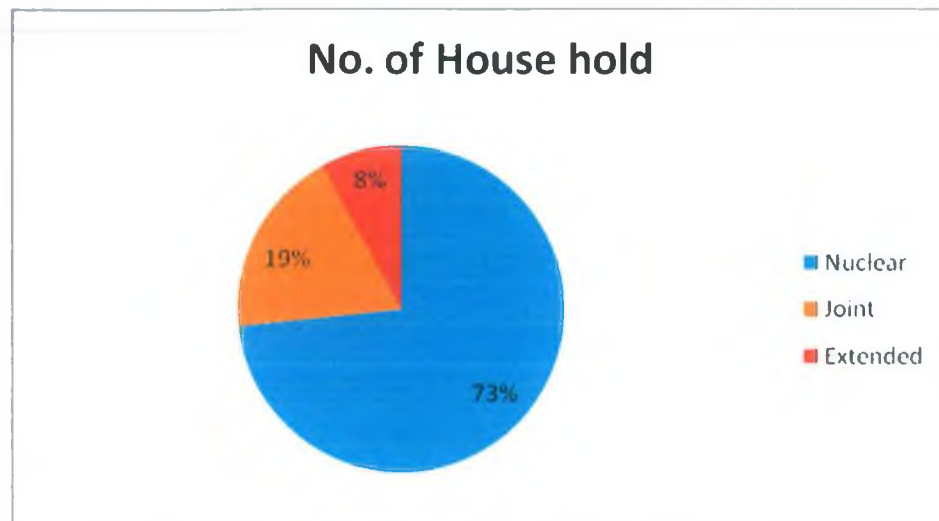
The smallest unit of the social organization is family, which is arise form marriage. There are three traditional types of family like nuclear, joint and extended family. In the village *Parlo* there are 75 families. Among them 55 are Nuclear families, joint family 14 and 6 are extended family. This has been shown in table- 15.

Table No-15
Types of Family

Size of Family	No. of House hold	%
Nuclear	55	73.33
Joint	14	18.67
Extended	6	8
Total	75	100%

Sources: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur District.

Graph-5
Types of Family



Sources: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur District.

Santals families are patriarchal and with the passage of time the number of nuclear family is increasing. The main reason behind this are limited resources, modernization etc. As a result Joint and extended families are breaking the structure of nuclear families.

Kinship:

Kinship is one of the most oldest and important elements of social organization. There is a high correlation between social organization and kin terminology (Radcliffe-Brown). Kinship relation makes both consanguine and affine and this system may include socially recognized relationships based on supposed as well as actual genealogical ties.

Kinship relation is very strong in Santal society. In their society they have different kinship term. This term of relationship is mainly classificatory system. Classificatory kinship systems, as defined by Lewis Henry Morgan, put people into society-wide kinship classes on the basis of abstract relationship rules.

These may have to do with genealogical relations locally (e.g., son to father, daughter to mother, daughter to father) but the classes bear no overall relation to genetic closeness. If a total stranger marries into the society, for example, they may simply be placed in the appropriate class opposite to their spouse.

In santal society there are two main principles of the terminology. Santal Kinship relationship makes both consanguine and affine roles. The distinctions between

consanguine relatives and between affine are address, there is a merging of all cousins into the sibling category.

Despite the lack of a clear prescriptive alliance system, there is a tendency to marry the classificatory mother's brother daughter. The most distinctive Munds feature of the system is the alternation of generation (which recalls very clearly the Australian tribes). There is a slight tendency to have clan hyper gamy—possibly a result of Hindu influence.

Table -16 shows the terms of relationship and sex.

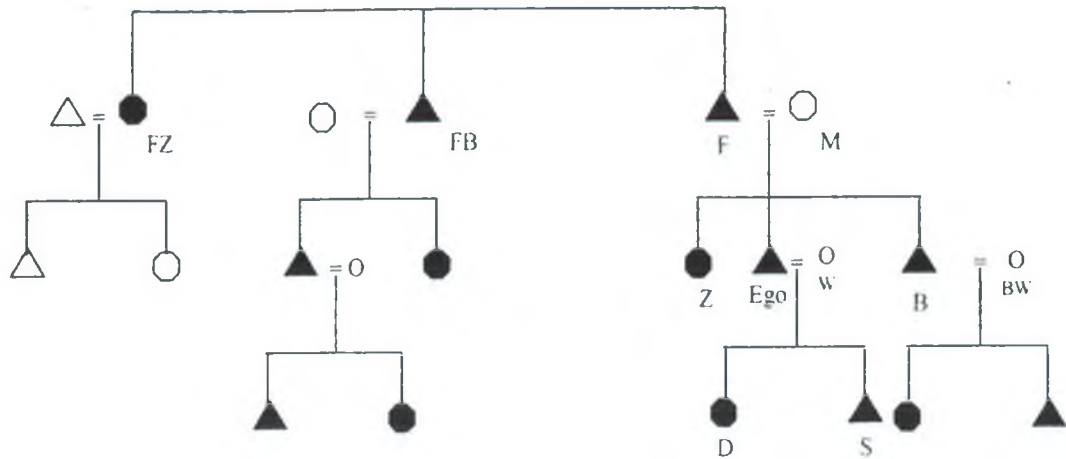
Table-16
Terms of relationship and sex

English Term	Santal Term	Santal term for addressing them
Father	<i>Baba, Appa</i>	<i>Baba, eh ba</i>
Mother	<i>Ayo, Enga</i>	<i>Ayo</i>
Uncle	<i>Hudin Baba</i>	<i>Eh Hudin Baba</i>
Aunt		<i>Eh Hundain Baba</i>
Husband	<i>Janwaen, berel</i>	<i>Eh father of so and so</i>
Wife	<i>Baku, Era</i>	<i>Eh Mother of so and so</i>
Elder brother's wife	<i>Hili</i>	<i>Eh Hili</i>
Father-in-law	<i>Honhar Baba</i>	<i>Eh baba</i>
Husband elder brother	<i>Ba honhar</i>	<i>Eh honhar</i>
Wife's elder brother	<i>Bah honhar</i>	<i>Eh honhar</i>
Mother-in-law	<i>Honhar</i>	<i>Eh Ayo</i>
Great-Grand-Father	<i>Dadu Haram</i>	<i>Eh dada</i>
Great-Grand-mother	<i>Dai bud hi</i>	<i>Eh Dai</i>
Grand father	<i>Gorom Haram</i>	<i>Eh Gorom Baba</i>
Father's uncle	<i>Garom haram</i>	<i>Eh Garom Baba</i>
Mother's brother	<i>Mama</i>	<i>Eh Mama</i>
Father's Sister	<i>Hatom</i>	<i>Eh Hatom</i>
Mother's brother's wife	<i>Momi</i>	<i>Eh Mami</i>
Daughter	<i>Hopon era</i>	<i>Eh Mai</i>
Son	<i>Hopon</i>	<i>Eh Babu</i>
Grand Son	<i>Gorom Koza</i>	<i>Eh Gorom Koza</i>
Son's Wife father	<i>Balaea</i>	<i>Eh Bala</i>
Younger brother's wife	<i>Kimim</i>	<i>Eh Baku</i>

Sources: Fieldwork in the village *Parlo* at Dinajpur.

The Santals are Patrilineal i.e. they imagine decent from father's side. Property is transmitted from father to son chart-3 shows their Patrilineal decent system.

Chart-3
Patrilineal decent chart



Source- field work in *Parlo* village

Note-Ego's Brother B, F Father, FB ego's Father's Brother, FZ ego's Father Sister, M ego's Mother, S & D ego's Son & Daughter. Black spot indicates Patrilineal Decent group.

The relationship among the kin groups in the village is very strong. But they can not marry in his own group and they have also another restrictions which is they can marry in to the clan of their mothers, but there must be three generations-gap at the time of marriage. The Santals are influenced by Christianity but their kinship tie is still very strong.

Joking Relation:

The husband's elder brother is rigid taboo to Santal women, but repression in one way leads to a corresponding freedom with the husband's is younger brother, who is considered to be in Joking relations. Relationships of such a kind, but not such a degree, exist between a grand father and his grandchildren, between a women and her elder sister's husband, among the brothers and sisters of a bride and bridegroom between the younger brother of the husband and the sister of his wife and the brothers both can married.

The Santal society permits them to crack jokes with one another to tease, tickle and play pranks mutually in the enjoyment of their company. Joking relation makes their life simple and easy.

Marriage:

Marriage is an important part of life-cycle. The generic Santal term for marriage is *Bapla*. (o'Malley:1913:164-197). In Santal society, marriage is one of sacred event of life and marriages add up extensive respect in culture. However, there are some customs and mores need to be harshly followed in doing so. It is rigorously prohibited for any Santal to wed within his or her own regulations (Parish). He can marry into any other regulations or sub-regulations to which his/her mother belonged.

There are some steps, which never intermarry with another in consequence of some ancient feuds between them. For example, A Hasdak' male or a female never marries a Murmu female or male respectively. Similarly, a Tudu male never marries a Besra female and vice versa. These customs are no longer in effective prevalent in day-to-day life of Santals. However, myths and tales associated with feud are still told among the Santals.

Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. In Santal marriage, there is no restriction of age. The bride may be younger, older or of equal age with bridegroom. There are two types of marriage practiced by Santals- the marriage arranged by match maker one is the regular form of marriage and Couple themselves arranges the other forms of marriages. In this village 99% people are christens but till they practice their traditional marriage forms.

Traditionally there were seven forms of *Bapla* or marriage. This discretion are prepare on the basis of village people and some books, like- Ali.A:1998 & Hossain K.T.:2000.

These are as follows:

❖ *Raibar Bapla*

This form of marriage is most commonly practiced in Santal society, where parents of both side select the bride and groom. Once they liked each other, then *Raibar* (match maker) is appointed to negotiate between them. Generally, bride's father asks for bride price, which is generally divided among the bride's father,

bride's mother, Mother's mother and father's mother. The brother of bride will get bull from groom. It is customs that not fix the marriage date in the month of birth.

❖ ***Sanga Bapla:***

In this form of marriage the divorced women or widow is married with a widower. Here, bridegroom and bride settle the negotiation and mostly male takes the initiatives. In this marriage, bride price is very nominal. The binding ceremony of the Santal marriage is the Sindurdan; which is here done by not applying the Sidur directly on the parting of the hair of bride by bridegroom, but instead he smears a dimbu flower with vermilion and fixes it in the bride's coiffure.

❖ ***Kudam Bapla:***

If a girl becomes pregnant, the young man by whom she becomes so is bound to marry her. Generally young man informs the Jog Manjhi (Assistant to head man) of his offence and the girl confesses it to wife of Jog Manjhi. Then they inform to parents of bride and bridegroom. As usual, bridegroom pays bride price and bull. Bridegroom at the time of applying vermilion stands facing west and bride facing east.

❖ ***Kiring Jawa Bapla:***

If the couple belongs to the same step, the headman calls for councils of village, and the decision would be always negative. Here boy's father has to bear the expenses of the marriage of the girl to another man. Then headman arranges the marriage for girl far away from village and name of boy is always secret.

❖ ***Ghardi jawae Bapla :***

When a man has minor sons and grown up daughter, he procures Ghardi-Jawae to get in his agricultural work. All expenses of marriage is borne by bride's father. At ordinary situation marriage the bridegroom's friends are called Bariat; but in this it is the friends of bride that are called so. In this kind of marriage the bridegroom pays nothing for his bride but lives with father in-laws and work for him without wages for five years. When man procure a Ghardi Jawae to get help his agricultural works, in such cases, the girl's father sets aside a bit of land for this Ghardi Jawae and help him to get additional land Once five years of service is over, the Ghardi jawae is free to depart.

❖ ***Tunki Dipil Bapla:***

Poor men perform this type of marriage. As they have not sufficient money to bear the expenses of the regular marriage (Raibar Bapla), they resort this type of marriage. The bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom with small basket

on her head; a few friends and relatives accompany her to her house. The bridegroom in the presence of these persons applies vermilion on her head and couple then lives as husband and wife.

❖ ***Itut Bapla:***

Forward young men who are not quite sure whether the girl fancy will accept them and take this means of compelling her to marry adopt this. This type of marriage is looked down upon and rarely occurs. Generally double bride price is paid and the marriage is still legal. But if girl declines to live, then she must take divorced in full moon and cannot marry as spinster.

❖ ***Nirbolok Bapla:***

This form of marriage can be said to be female variety of 'Itut' Bapla. A girl who cannot get a man whom she likes in the regular way, takes pot of rice beer and enters his house and insist upon staying there. They do not adopt any physical force to expel her from house. It is said to be quite fair and usually effective to throw red pepper on the fire, as by inhaling smoke she will be compelled to run away. If she passes this endurance test without leaving house, she is held to have own her husband and family is bound to recognize her as husband. This type of marriage also rarely occurs in Santal society.

❖ ***Golaeti Bapla:***

We could call it intermarriage, when, for an antecedent birth, a boy of family A marries a girl of the family B and a boy of the family B marries a girl of the family A. The divorce between the Santals is admitted for a double reason: adultery and witchcraft, to which currently it adds a third one, that is incompatibility of character.

Of the ten traditional ways of securing a mate, only 3 types are found at the village under study in Dinajpur. There are- *Kirin bahu Bapla, Itut Bapla & Ghardi Jawaee Bapla*. Santal marriage is normally arranged. This type of marriage is increasing, because of economic hardships and want of suitable brides, due to their minority in number and rapid conversion to Christianity. There is, however, some restriction in the marriage between a Santal, non Christian and a Santal Christian. They have to be same religious group.

Christian Santals of this region must seek matrimonial alliance with the partner in other places, or even other districts, because the Christian Santal villages are distributed throughout the region in a scattered way, like the branches of Christian missionaries. My study village is also a converted Christian village. That's why they are on this situation.

The groups, aboriginal santal and Christian Santal follow some roles, such as follows-

- ❖ No marriage is possible between agnates or member of same win group.
- ❖ Marriage is impossible between parallel cousin.
- ❖ No marriage is possible if the bride & bridegrooms are not in the same Christian group. If they do it. Than Bride have changes her religious group.

Most of the Santals practice Monogamy marriage, polygamy is rear. In this village, there is only one person, who practices polygamy. Polygamy is not supported by Santals marriage roles and regulations. It's a disgusted type of marriage to the Christian Santal and aboriginal Santal.

In Santal marriage system the parents of bridegroom have to paid bride-price to the parents of bride. The Bride price is not money it's different thinks like cloth, ornaments and other cosmetics. On marriage ceremony Bride's father also paid dowry. The dowry consists of a cash amount, plus certain payments in kind like cloth, paddy, cattle etc. They exchange gift each other happily.

In Santal society divorced is an unexpected occurrence. But it's increasing day by day. Their belief and social norms are effected by urbanization. Urbanization also positively and negatively influences their custom. In the study village there is no divorce case. But two families are living separately. It's like a divorce. Actually Divorce is formal term. But two families are informally divorced. But most of the Santals families lead happy life.

CHAPTER FIVE

Belief and Rituals among the santals

The rites and rituals of Santals society

Birth and socio-religious ceremonies

Birth outside the marriage

Infanticide and voluntary abortion

Bitlaha

Death and Funeral Rites

CHAPTER FIVE

BELIEF AND RITUALS AMONG THE SANTALS

The rites and rituals of Santals society

In the social life of the Santals the feasts have a great importance: they are the alive expression of the religious feeling of the community, characterized from the fear for the spirits, and at the same time the demonstration of that deep desire of joy that is an integral part of the santal nature, and it is particularly expressed in the song and in the dance.

The Santals don't give any space to individualisms, it is really during the feasts that the individual realizes himself in the community, because he can show his dowries and his abilities of performer, dancer, chorister, minstrel, guest, hunter, archer and, at times, also of peacemaker. It is during the feasts that he can throw the bases of his future social role in the life of the community.

Being the expression of the religious feeling of people, it is normal that in all the feasts we can notice a strong sacred character, even if they are originated only from common events of life or facts lost in the fog of the times and that nothing have to do with the sacred. It is on the occasion of the feasts that relatives and friends get together, individuals of the same sub-clan are assembled.

At times the feasts concern only the inhabitants of a village, other times involve more villages, as it generally happens on the occasion of marriages. However the participation to almost all the feasts is unanimous. Dance and song are an essential part of the most important feasts, always accompanied by lavish meals and conspicuous drinks.

Public and private sacrifices, accompanied at times by simple offers, are the centre of every feast. Ablutions and unction of oil, the use of the vermilion with which are marked the victims, the men and also the beasts' participants to the feast, and of the curcuma (Curcuma longer in dust, a kind of saffron) they are other essential elements.

Birth and socio-religious ceremonies

The Santals don't have some particular belief connected to the conception or to the birth. Every village has its *dhai budhi*, the midwife of role, that we could call midwife of obligation. She in fact not only intervenes to the birth of the child, but also owes to attend to all the socio-religious ceremonies that follow. Her role is so important that, still today, when a mother gives a child to the light in the hospital or in the dispensary, she must be punctually paid, as if the mother had been assisted during the birth.

Besides she must be guest to take part to the ceremonies that they will be done, as soon as possible, in the village. This fact makes a great deal reluctant the santal women to give birth with the assistance of physicians or nurses, owing to want a double honorary to them and to the midwife of the village. Here I have discussed about santal traditional socio-economic ceremonies.

Janam chatiar

It is so called the ceremony of ritual purification that follows the birth of a child. Literally it means purification of the birth. When a child is born, not only the mother but the house where the birth took place and the whole village are considered impure. Accordingly to no one, with the exception of course of the family it is allowed to take food in that family; and in the village it is not allowed to offer sacrifices to the bongas (P.P. Majumder:2001).

The ceremony of the *Janam chatiar* is completed in the fifth day from the birth if the newborn is a male; in the third day if the newborn is a female. To give the start to the ceremony is a barber, which is sent for the occasion from the father of the newborn. He shaves first hair to the *Naeke*, then to the *Kudam Naeke*, and subsequently to the five heads of the village; finally to all the present men and, as last, to the father of the child.

When finished his job, the barber, from the porch where he stays, asks the midwife to bring the newborn to him. She comes with the child in the arms and two plates, one to put the water and the other for the hair of the newborn.

At this point of the ceremony, writes Obvert, it should take place the cut of the navel, with the point of an arrow. "Cut the hair and put on the dish, another ceremony takes over, that is the cut of the navel... After the cut, the midwife attaches two threads to the arrow" he affirms. The author is incurred evidently in an error of time: the cut of the navel, which happens with the point of an arrow in our case, is ended immediately after the birth, evidently. But even it is not necessary to think to an ulterior cut of the brief appendix that it stays from there, from the moment that this, drying, falls spontaneously.

While the midwife is about to tie the threads to the arrow, the father of the newborn fills of oil a cup of leaves, he is conducted then by the men, in compact group, to the place of the bath. When the men return home, the midwife takes some oil, some red colour and the arrow, to which she has tied the two threads, and he drives the women to the bath.

Come to destination, the midwife throws on the wave the hair of the newborn with one of the threads that had tied to the arrow. This ceremony of hair and the thread, thrown on the wave that flows (such it is the sense of the verb *atu gidi*), it is like the wish of a happy marriage: it is thought in fact that, if the hair of the child (or the girl), arrived in the sea with the water of the river, will met with the hair of a girl (or a child), they will marry.

Before making the bath, in the exact place where the women will go down to wash, the midwife sprinkles water with dust of vermilion five times. Such ceremony is told *Ghat Kirin'*, that wants to say buy of the *Ghat*, that is the place where they take bath. Really it concerns a ritual purification of water.

To their return to the house, the midwife takes the thread remained attached to the arrow and dips it in a solution of water and turmeric (the Turmeric longer is the Indian saffron) and it fences in the sides of the newborn of it. Then the mother goes out from the hut and she takes in her arms the child. She seats at the shade of the porch, nurses him, holding in hand a leaf of *atnak*, the *Terminalia tomentosa*, as wish that the newborn grows strong as the silkworms (*Antherae mylitta*) that flourish on the leaves of that plant.

While the woman nurses the small one, the midwife prepares a mixture of water and dung of cow and she puts some flour in the water of another vase; precisely they are three flour cones that she puts in the water. The mixture, very diluted, of dung of cow is to purify, while the mixture of water and flour is for prosperity. Monfrini says that it has to keep distant the bad spirits, but I have not found confirmation of this assertion.

After the mixtures have been prepared, the *puerpera* purifies her, dipping the left hand in the mixture of bovine dung, bringing then it to the front and the lips. She *reenters* therefore in the house to depose on the *parkom* (bed of ropes and bamboo) the newborn. Then the midwife enters in the house, and she sprinkles with the flour mixture the four angles of the bed, then she sprinkles on the breast of all the men present to the ceremony, starting from the principal priest, and finally to all the women starting from the wife of the principal priest. The villager of Parlo practices both traditions. They are maintaining tradition and also go to the churches with new born baby and then take fathers blessing. (P.P. Majumder: 2001).

Imposition of the name

Contrarily to what affirms Overt, the ceremony of the imposition of the name doesn't happen a week after the birth, but habitually after the *Janam chatiar*. When the old ones of the family are still alive, they ask themselves: How will we call him. And they choose, immediately, the name with which the newborn will be called. Father also gives me name.

The ceremony is closed with the offer of the *nim dak' mandi*, water of rice with leaves of *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*), that are beloved, but have also numerous medicinal properties. All the men, starting from the Naeke, eat a little bit of it, and so the women, starting from the wife of the naeke. In the case that the priest is not present, the first one to receive the offer of the *nim dak' mandi* it is the head of the village, that is the *Manjhi*.

As far as it concerns the name, it must be noticed that every Santal possesses two names: the *cetan nutum* or external name, that is the name that is known by everybody and it is used for calling a person; and the *bhitri nutum*, that is the hidden name, that is known

only from the narrow relatives, and that it will be revealed to the child later (P.P. Majumder: 2001).

Five days after the imposition of the name, the midwife and the barber return to the house of the newborn to shave it a second time; therefore such ceremony, that is subject to variations, in some places is called hoyoruars, that literally means to "cut hair again". And the people of the village with the Manjhi, is invited to drink the beer of the new cut of hair. It is the common beer of rice that the women prepare for the occasion. Barber and midwife receive, before the others, two cups of beer that they drink happily, and then they distribute the drink to all the presents, drawing to the jar with cups of leaves.

By the way on this drinking of beer, nothing is said in the *Horkoren Hapramko sea reak' Katha*; I have taken the information from the manuscript of the Pater Mardi. Between the Santals of the Bengal, it is very clear that this drinking has community importance as every other drinking connected to particular socio-religious ceremonies. But this silence in the book of Skrefsrud can also indicate that this particular one is not of obligation like other circumstances (M. Murmu: 2004).

It is in this occasion that the midwife receives the compensation enacted by the custom, that remains anywhere, although if, for change of situations, it has gone varying sensitively in these last years. The established rule is the following: if the newborn is a boy, the midwife has the right to receive three cubits of cloth, one *Muri* (approximately 30 kilograms) of paddy and a bracelet, due for the cut of the navel. If the newborn is a girl, she receives three cubits of cloth, approximately 20 kilograms of paddy and a bracelet.

For the barber it doesn't seem there is a fixed pay established by the custom. He receives yet enough food, in remuneration of his job, which consumes on the place; besides a not fixed quantity of rice, lentils and oil. But he will stay to complete a last service to the presents, before going out with the remuneration: to pour water on their hands and on their feet and to anoint them of oil.

So the villagers are practicing Christianity and their old traditions. Because they are converted christen not original christen. They have changed their religion but till they can't change their traditional belief which is merge in their sole. They changed their religion for their surviving.

Birth outside the marriage

When a girl not married becomes pregnant, the father and the greatest brother (The greatest brother or dada is the first male of the family, even if he is much younger than the sister he will be always the dada that must be respected and obeyed) they have the obligation to tell the Manjhi and the Paranik, which let the men of the village assemble.

To the presence of everyone the girl must say who the father of the child is. The suspected man is grabbed by five men, to avoid that he escapes. It is not enough that he denies the fact to be saved from the accusation. On the other hand it will be practically impossible to bring proofs on what happened, that can excuse him without possibility of doubt.

The only possibility of escape will be to affirm categorically that other men have been with the girl; in this case the doubt on the paternity will make to consider the future boy as bastard.

In the case that the girl can assure with certainty who is the father, he must take her as wife (if there are not impediments of relationship or, worse, of tribe or caste). When it can be proved that two or more men have been with her, they are forced to pay a fine, and the responsibility of raising the boy will be left to the *Manjhi jog*, of whose clan the small one will make part, freeing him of the "title" of bastard.

In the case that the *jog Manjhi* is relative of the girl, the responsibility of the care of the child will be left to the *jog Paranik* or to any other of the village. The money of the fine paid will be given part to the mother-girl, part to whom will take the responsibility of the child, part will be devolved to the maintenance of the child. The balance, if any, will be distributed between the five responsible of the village.

When, instead, the girl doesn't succeed in giving proof on the father, and to no one is given the precise accusation to have frequented the girl, the father and the brother must purchase a husband to her; otherwise the child is destined to be forever a bastard. In the case that someone accepts to be purchased he must take the responsibility of the child and to give the name of his clan to him.

But it happen an unpredictable fact: nobody was considering him able to take his place. They begged to stay in his office until someone could replace him. And so: two years ago the adoptive daughter has gotten married with a young santal. And probably also the child will do the same; may be he will not take the place of the father, but meanwhile he will be considered a true santal from everyone.

Infanticide and voluntary abortion

Never have I seen written information of infanticide between the Santals. Yet the infanticide is practiced regularly, if impediments of external order to the group don't intervene, at least in a circumstance and with the tacit consent of everybody. It exists between the Santals a not written law, and even not openly bequeathed but know from everyone, according to which, if a child is born marked by the doubt, he must die. This happened and it happens regularly when the supposed father of the child, says that he is not the father.

At times the doubt around the legitimacy of the child can be founded, because there are proofs of the unfaithfulness of the wife; but a lot of times the doubt is born from the blind trust that the husband has in his ability of birth control, and he does not admit to make errors in his relationships with the wife. Naturally, if the wife conceives a child in that period, the husband will not recognize him like his own. And in case the child will see the light, it will be very difficult that he will arrive to the *Janam chatiar*. Such use stays also between the converts to Christianity; and they ask a baptism for the child condemned to die.

J. H. Hutton brings a case of infanticide happened in 1931, but for different reasons. He speaks of the case of a Santal that killed his own child to the purpose of recovering from an illness that had struck him. It concerns an isolated case or, may, a few cases, in which it intervenes the idea of sacrifice as mean of health and prosperity in connection with magic (P.P. Majumder:2001).

Although many missionaries don't want to admit, the voluntary abortion is enough common between the Santals; they have at their disposal plants and medicines with which to get an abortion in the first months after the conception, without too many drawbacks. If the fetus is already in advanced state, the thing becomes more difficult, but an old woman will always be been complaisant to do the job, even if too often the woman will die for bleeding or infection.

The causes of the voluntary abortion can be various. The malice of an "easy" girl or the lightness of the woman with the excuse that she does not want the child sometimes is enough. But the cases are not frequent and after all common in the whole world. Many times, the woman, overloaded of job, throws away "the thing" that is of impediment to her working life.

At times, the woman, rather than to see to kill the child after the birth, for the above exposed reasons, prefers to free her before. Other times, both for married and single, the honor can be a cause: if a leader or other important person is involved, then the girl or the women are forced to abort. Rare are the cases, in such circumstances, that the child comes to the light and then is suppressed.

If a parent is involved, the only way is the abortion, as no marriage or possibility of reparation can happen. The two would be declared *Bitlaha*, that is excommunicated, and automatically out casted, and they would be forced to live at the borders of the society, unbearable thing for the majority of the Santals.

Bitlaha:

It means out casting Santal from society. This outcast takes place by the order of assembly of villagers. It is resorted when a Santal women indulges in any physical

relationships with either Diku (non-Santals) or with a person of name step. It is worth noting that relatively free sex is prevalent among the Santal society.

If it is proved, then the assembly gives the order of outcast and they proceed to carry out the day after annual hunting. A man in the market who carries a branch of Sal tree with leaves announces the date of Bitlaha. The person in the market on seeing him understands the matter and counts the leaves that indicate the no of days.

The day of Bitlaha, all female members of village kept themselves away from village. In the early morning bachelors and other male members of the neighboring villages with flutes and drums, bows and arrows meet at the end of Village Street where culprit lives. Drumming is kept terribly high so that it can be heard from long distance.

When crowd reaches the house of the offender they tie a short charred bit of firewood, worn out broom add some used leaf plates on the pole of bamboo and fixed at the entrance of courtyard. Bachelors in undress do desecrate the rooms. The person who outcastes are not allowed taking food with others, and they cannot give their children marriage within the Santal community (Ali.A:1998, P.P. Majumder: 2001).

Its traditional rules and practices of the santal society, but today they don't practice this regulation like this way. Till today they don't allow this behavior. They are christen santal and some are traditional santal, if anybody do this mistake than village leaders punished him and villager out him from their society.

Death and Funeral Rites

You would say that the Santal is not afraid of the death. Yet, there is a kind of particular death that fears: that that he waits for a curse. But in such case, to make sad and worried a Santal it is the tiring waiting of death more than same death.

Here it plays the psychological factor: the whole being rebels to the injustice of that death, to which, yet, he is convinced to not be able to escape. Hardly a Santal has the strength to react to the feeling that invades him: a mix of anguish, of anger and of discouragement, and he ends to really die.

The Santal, if doesn't generally fear death, is however afraid of the corpses. He considers inauspicious to meet on his road a funeral, while he goes to the job or he is travelling. All the Santals are afraid of the deceased corpses in anomalous situations, as, for instance, of the dead women with the child in their breast. I have known some young sturdy santals which shivered to the thought that at night some corpse came to tickle them under f the feet or to throw the lobes of the ears (www.everyculture.com).

Announcement of death

When the death arrives unexpectedly, the women start the lamentations: they cry hopelessly, launching high cries of complaint and beating their breast. They arrive, at times, to beat the head against hard objects. They interrupt the complaints only to exalt the virtues of the extinct one, his beauty, his youth, his dowries of worker and hunter. The head of the family gives the notice to the *manjhi* and the *paranik*, they, through the godet tell the people of the village inviting all the men to assemble in front of the house of the corpse (Murmu. M.: 2004:28).

While the men attend standing, grasping the axe that will serve to cut the firewood of the pyre, the women grind some turmeric and they toast cotton seeds and paddy. Some men catch a chicken that will serve for exorcisms, they ignite a big straw rope and they make a bundle of grass removed by the roof of the porch, setting all with the toasted cotton seeds and the paddy on an old sieve.

On a *parkom*, different from that of the dead body they dispose, in nice order, all the objects that are supposed the dead person wants to bring with him: dresses, money also in small coins, the axe, that once was that for war and now for job, the arc, the arrows, the baton, the flute and other tools. After having done this, four men enter in the house and, grabbed the *parkom*, on which the corpse is, by the four legs they bring it out and they burden it on the shoulders, bringing it up to the extremity of the village, where the road is bifurcated.

After that the men have deposed the *parkom* carefully in the centre of the bifurcation, the women are about to anoint the dead body with oil and turmeric, and they make for him on the front a bracelet with minimum pasta. After this operation, from the four angles of the bed they scatter all around the cotton seeds and the toasted paddy. This one is an action for preventing to the spirits to take possession of the soul of the dead.

At this point the *ojha* turns three times around the dead body. I note here that action repeated three or five times, not only in the funeral ceremonies, is a recall to the three great spirits in all the ceremonies: *Maran buru*, *Jaer era* and *Gosae era*, and to the five brother spirits, said *Morékos*. But if, as in this case, we ask to the Santals what is the reason for which the *ojha* turns for three times around the dead body, they would answer: *Bay badaea*, we don't know (Murmu. M.: 2004:28). .

After they have anointed the body of the dead and scattered the seeds, the women do return the village, while the men go to the place of the cremation.

Death ritual

The Santals generally cremate the corpses, even if we know from the Tradition that in the ancient times they buried them. The cremation of the corpses was taken from other tribes

met during their long wanderings. The Santals affirm to have taken the use of the cremation from the Hindus. However such use goes up to very distant times.

Today some Santals, in addition to the Christians, still bury their corpses. It is not yet clear if such tombs are done in case of persons deceased of normal death or bad death. If the dead person possessed some land with a pond, there he is brought for the cremation, otherwise near a river. The pyre must be prepared in north-south direction; and to give to it stability, four poles said trumpets of the pyre (*torre*) are plunged to the four angles of it.

The narrowest relatives wash the hands and the feet of the corpse, and they pour in his mouth some remained water. At times, water that remains is poured behind the head of the dead body; instead other times they put in it a rupee of metal, which they had held in hand during lavender, as unction.

After having brought the corpse for three or five times around the pyre they prepare him on it with the head turned again to the south. The dead body is now stripped of everything he wears: dresses, necklace, rings, earrings, and the twine that every Santal brings at the sides and anything else; finally they put on the limbs a twig. To hold rigid the dead body on the pyre, they assure it with four strong poles: one is set on the breast, another on the abdomen, a third along the sides and a fourth along the legs. These poles are said poles of coverage (*danapal katko*).

After death the dead body has been put on the pyre, all the men of the village stand around; but those that have their wives pregnant stay a little far. No explanation is given for this attitude as no explanation is given for the fact that the women don't take part neither to the cremation, neither to the tomb (Ali.a:1998, Murmu. M: 2004).

Now in the last few years of my durableness in *Parlo*, maximum people began to take part to the Christian funerals. That's why their past traditional customs of death is unavailable day by day.

CHAPTER Six

Political organization under the study

Political organization of santal society

Duties of the political leader's

Judgment system

Impact of Missionary and Modernization

Women involvement in santal political organization

CHAPTER-6

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION UNDER STUDY

Political organization of santal society

The Santals live in centralized village, based on self governed social system called “*Manjhi* Organization, where all its occupants are related by some sort of kinship or other ties and known each other as members of a sign's socio-political group.

The prototype of the political organization and administration of the Santals is by nature self-governing, that is, on a republican basis. The offices of the political organizations were generally hereditary and passed patrilineal. At the present time, the offices are not only hereditary but also are conferred by selection, according to the efficiency of the person concerned.

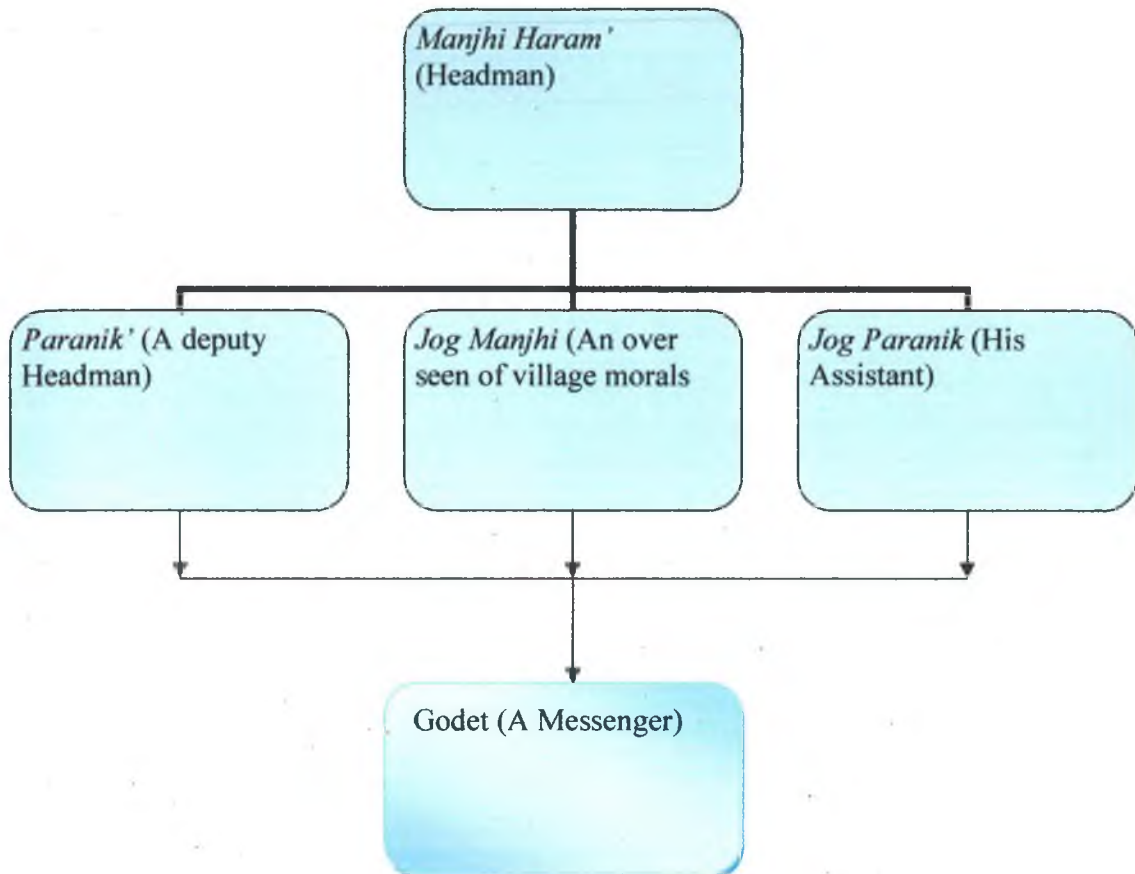
Sometimes, individuals may themselves relinquish their office for personal reasons. The terms of office are indefinite but foresee the possibility of a necessary adjustment or alteration. All officials of the political organization are responsible to the community for their functions. They cannot exercise any force in any form except through the members of the existing organs.

In Santal village in every hamlet there are specific leadership and political structure. The leader of the hamlet is called ‘*Manjhi Haram*’; an experienced and aged person is elected as the ‘*Para Manjhi*’ or ‘*Manjhi Haram*’.

He has four assistants to assist him. ‘*Para Manjhi*’ with his subordinate leader deals the social and administrative activities of the hamlet. They control the hamlet with their age-old tradition. We find a helmet structure use in this village. This village has been under the control of this institution.

Once upon a time the santal political organization was seven stratum helmet organizations. They are ‘*Manjhi*’, ‘*Paranik*’, ‘*Jog-Manjhi*’, ‘*Nacke*’, ‘*Jog-Paranik*’, ‘*Kudam Naeke*’, ‘*Godet*’ (Dalton, 1872:213). Now there is an organization of five members with evolution of time the other two structures are has been extricated. Now a day there is five stratum helmet organizations. The stratum of the helmet political institutions are-

Chart-4
The stratum of the helmet political institutions



Source- Field work in *Parlo* village

Duties of the Manjhi Haram:

The authority of the traditional *Manjhi* or headman is tacitly recognized by the Government, many changes have taken place in the administration of the village council. Whenever dealing with crimes and other important issues, especially those connected with land property and with the relationship to the non-Santal communities, it cannot go against the prevailing civil law.

In fact, the authority of the traditional headman is deteriorating because of the application of the "Hindu law" on the Adibashi, the so called tribal peoples of Bangladesh.

The *Manjhi* council is a full-fledged village council consisting of seven officials: *Manjhi* (a headman), *Paranik* (a deputy headman), *Jog Manjhi* (an overseer of village morals), his assistant *Jog Paranik*, *Godet* (a messenger), *Naeke* (a village priest) and his assistant *Kudam Naeke*.

These officials have to perform their functions in accordance with the tribal system and that is why they are expected to be well acquainted with the Santal traditions, customs, religious beliefs and practices

He is the most powerful person of the helmet institution. He has the proven power and control over the helmet. Usually an experienced and aged person is selected as a '*Manjhi Haram*'. '*Manjhi Haram*' is selected by the consent of all people. In every helmet there are different organizations with different stratum.

"*Manjhi Haram*" plays an important role in all sphere of the santals life. The duties of the '*Manjhi*' are many fold:

- ❖ With the assistance of the village elders he decided the dates for village festivals and also the nature of the Harvest Festivals (*Sohrae*).
- ❖ He is informed and also present at name-giving initiation, marriage and death rituals and ceremonies,
- ❖ His permission in fact is essential in negotiating a marriage. A marriage party always plays its respects first to his house.
- ❖ At festivals, the dancing starts from his house.
- ❖ Besides this work, the '*Manjhi*' has other administrative and political duties to perform. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the village. He is bound to report any crimes which take place in his village.
- ❖ Disputes, breaches of peace, divorce cases and social offences in a village, are settled by the villagers themselves gathered under the chairmanship of '*Manjhi*'.

That means "*Manjhi Haram*" has a great impact over the social and political sphere of the general people. The man, who helps the '*Manjhi Haram*' in day to day activities, is as follows-

Paranik:

He is deputy headman. He helps the '*Manjhi Haram*' in all programmes. In the absence or illness of '*Manjh Haram*', he acts as the leader of the hamlet (*para*).

Jog Manjhi:

Jog Manjhi has an exceptional role in the society. He plays the central role in organizing the social programs. His other duties are as follows-

- ❖ He has the duty to prevent social strife and to investigate into the illegal sexual relation and if necessary he can arrange force marriage for there male-female. Otherwise he has the duty to send them to *Manjhi Haram* for trial,
- ❖ He has to organize the '*Sohrae Festival*' and has to control the behavior of the participant Male and Female
- ❖ So we can say *Jog Manjhi* maintain the linkage of santals with their traditional relations and festivals.

Jog Paranik:

The direction is at the hand of *Jog Paranik* in any social or religious festivals. If there is any unexpected incident, she has to explain the situation of '*Manjhi Haram*'. So his roles are important to maintain the society.

Godet:

Godet acts like a messenger. To call the meeting and to rise money are his main duty.

Judgment System:

In two hamlets of the village *Parlo* there are prevailing five political institutions. Every '*Manjhi Haram*' maintain his respective hamlet. If their any strife between two hamlet than they negotiate with each other to solve this problem. In case of bigger problem they go to the chairman. If the problem doesn't solve than they go to the court. If anyone denies the verdict of the institutions verdict and go to the court and get the same verdict in that case he will be fined for his libelous activities.

Their Judicial System is different. If any one makes an offence which doesn't belong to their traditional activities, he will be excluded from the society as a punishment and he will also be fined.

After excluding from the society if a man beg pardon to his institutes then he will fine a certain amount and he has to arrange feast. For example, Mandol *Soren*, villagers who married in a group twice denying their tradition, excluded from the society for long time when he begged pardon, he was fined Tk. 3000 and given a feast for all villagers. The money was stored in the fund to expand in festivals.

Impact of Missionary and Modernization:

Modern government laws and Christianity at Barind region are changing the Santal traditional *Manjhi* organization. But this village System is so intimately woven with the social fabric and religious customs of the people. That it is practically impossible to make it disappear altogether. So long as the Santal race retains its existence (Hossain.K.T:2000, 13-14).

The present democratic institution of Bangladesh can not give more opportunity to function the '*Manjhip*' in their traditional format all. But the Santal *Manjhi* organization is that due to the present situation it is functioning in connection with their ceremonies and rituals only.

Women involvement in santal political organization

In santal society there is no more involvement of women in the political organization. A man takes all type of decision. It's May be familiar, social or political. In their social judgments system they give first priority in *Manjhi* organization, than they go to the government administration. But they truly believe in their *Manjhi* organization.

Santal women are taking education, now they are comparatively aware about their self right. That's why they also want to participate in their political organization. Especially they face problems in social judgments or the time of marriage, because there is no more female member. That's why they can't easily shear or express their opinion about the problem.

In this case all decision is enforce to them. In this village some women really interested to be a member of their political organization. It's a positive fact of this village. Otherwise they can establish their right and they can be a empower women. Santal society is really changing are getting education and thy also making their positive thinking. It's an impact of modern society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Economic Life of the Santals

Economic life

Economic Life of the village under study

Technological development

N. G. O.'s intervention

Sharecropping

Exploitative relationship

Economic activities and women involvement

CHAPTER-7

ECONOMIC LIFE OF SANTAL SOCIETY

Economic Life

The Santals were initially hunters and gatherers. However, when they move around to Bangladesh, they were engaged primarily as agricultural laborers. These people are very poor as they do not usually own land for cultivation. As a result they work as laborers in agriculture and agriculture related activities. They are generally employed by the Muslim landowners who embody the leading culture of Bangladesh (Hossain K.T.:2000:5-6)

I know from the study area that the Muslims often exploit them by paying relatively low wages. Some of the Santals who had small amount of cultivable land, they leased them out to Muslim landowners for immediate need of cash and eventually lost their land. This happened because they could not repay the money in due time.

It is interesting to note that among the Santals, both men and women work for wages in agriculture and related activities in rural areas. Along with the male household heads, their adult female counter parts are also engaged as wage laborers in post-harvest activities, earth work, carrying and construction works in the village and also nearby urban areas

Economic Life of the village under study

The village is an agro-based village. There are some people who have other profession but they also indirectly related to the agriculture. Main crops of the village are rice, popcorns, wheat potato, sugar cane, jute, mustard, vegetable etc. They cultivate three different types of rice *aoush*, *aman* and *Irri*. Some farmers are also cultivating reasonable vegetables like onion, carrot, bringel etc. They also cultivate some fruits like mango, jack fruit, Lich, guava etc.

Most of the santal cultivators cultivate their lands by their own family labor. But some santal cultivators hired labor from their community.

They generally hired day laborers in the plantation period and the time of harvesting. According to my observation about the condition of the santal economy, the following statistics concerning the land holding in the santal villagers under study has shown in Table- 17.

Table-17
Land distribution

Types of land ownership	No of household	%
Land owner	25	33.33
Landless	35	46.67
Pure land less	15	20.00
Total	75	100

Source: Field work in Ghoraghat, Dinajpur

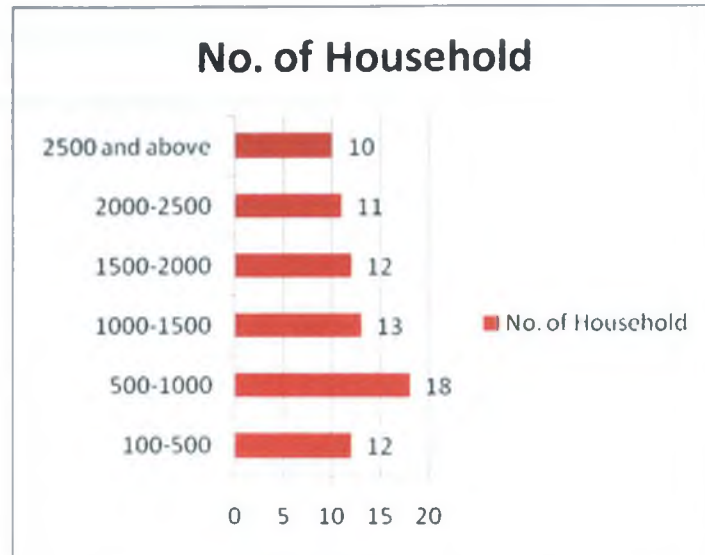
In *Parlo*, 46.67% people are landless and 33.33% have land. A landless person cultivates others land and do work as like a seasonal labor. Difference types of income bared family are lives in this village. Table 18 and graph-6 shows the difference income bared family.

Table -18
Difference types of income bared family

Income	No. of Household
100-500	12
500-1000	18
1000-1500	13
1500-2000	12
2000-2500	11
2500 and above	10
Total	75

Source - Field work in Ghoraghat, Dinajpur.

Graph-6
Income based family in the study area



Source - Field work in Ghoraghat, Dinajpur.

Most of the family are low income based family and their living standard also very poor.

Technological Development:

Technology has a great collision in the agricultural sector of the village. They use tractor, deep and shallow a machine, thrashing machine etc. Though they have electricity, all of them do not use it. They use electricity in agricultural purposes.

N.G.O.'s Intervention:

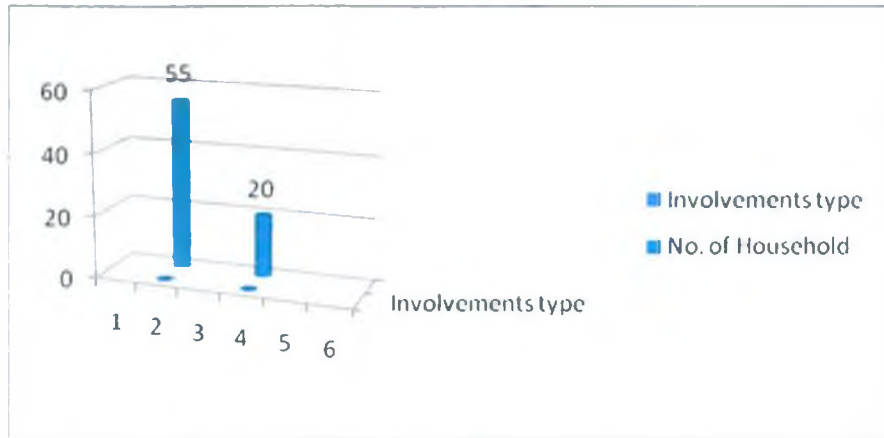
The Santals are involved in different types of NGO's activities. Table 19 and graph-7 shows the numbers of household are involve with NGO's activities.

Table-19
NGO's involvement

Involvements type	No. of Household	%
Involvement	55	73.33
Noninvolvement	20	26.67
Total	75	100

Sources: Field work in *Parlo* in Dinajpur.

Graph-7
NGO, s involved of the study area



Sources: Field work in *Parlo* in Dinajpur.

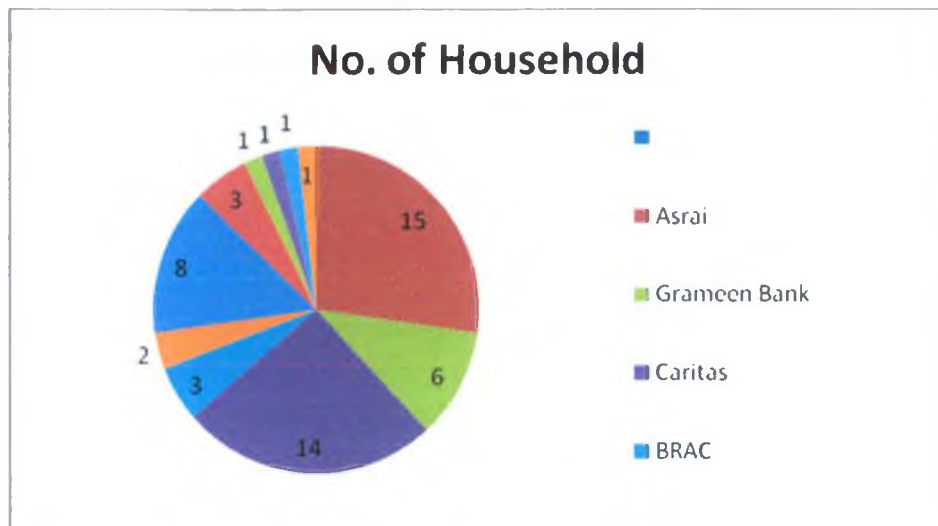
In this village there are 73.33% people are involve with NGO activates and 26.67% are not involve. In this village there different types NGO's are working. Some people are joint one more NGO's activities table 20 shows the name of NGO who are working in this village. Table -20 shows number Of NGO, s working in the study area.

Table-20
Number of NGO's and Number of household

Name of NGO	No. of Household
Asrai	15
Grameen Bank	6
Caritas	14
BRAC	3
Asrai & Grameen Bank	2
Asrai & Caritas	8
Caritas & Grameen Bank	3
Caritas & PCDP	1
PCDP & Dipshikha	1
Grameen Bank and BRAC	1
Asrai, Caritas and Heed Bangladesh	1
Total	55

Sources: Field work in *Parlo* in Dinajpur.

Graph -8
Number of NGO's and Number of household



Sources: Field work in *Parlo* in Dinajpur.

Among them, Asrai and Caritas work only for indigenous people. BRAC established a primary school in the village. All NGO's gives them micro credit and most of the credit receivers are female, but the credits are control by male.

Sharecropping:

The small land holders utilize their own labor force but rich landlords cultivate their land by day labor and landless farmer. Most of the landless families are related with sharecropping system. There are difference types of sharecropping system in this village. Some examples are explained below.

Adhi:

They Contract the land will be cultivated under the total disposition of sharecropper but the land owner will get 50% of the harvested crop. It's more beneficial for the band owners.

Khai-Khalasi:

It's a long term contract between a land owner and a sharecropper. Normally 5 years one 'bigha' land is rented out for Tk. 3000 to 4000 Tk. The sharecropper under this contract holds the right to enjoy the total crop raised on this land up to 5 years.

Exploitative Relationships:

The Santals are simple in Nature. They easily fall in the exploitation of Muslim neighbors. For example, Santal are culturally fond of drinking 'Haria'. They become alcoholic and drunk very often. When they are in financial hardship they love to drink. In such situation along with his Muslim neighbors, they go to the local Bazar and drink 'Haria'. Then he forgets is in financial hardship but drinks alcohol as much he can. Sometimes his Muslim neighbor gives him a big amount of fabricate account for spending against drinking alcohol. After than the santal have no way to pay back. He offers certain amount of hand to the Muslim neighbor. Then they go to the land registration office. In this way they are exploited by their neighbors.

Economic activities and women involvement

In santal society women are directly in involved economic activities. They are doing work in the household and also in the field. They are also perfect in their all activities. Santal women are truly hard worker. They start their life early in morning and its close in the night. They work tighter with male and they never feel uneasy to do any work.

A santal woman does all types of house work than they go to the field and help the husband. Even they also do as a day labour. In the study village some women do as a day labour outside the village. They also work as a construction labour.

But there is an important fact that women never get high payment than male. They are doing same work but they exploit by the society, who are the controlling the society. Women are conscious about their right but till they are unable to fight against this situation. Because of always they depend on the male member of their family.

Santal women are getting their job by the help of male. That's why mentally they are dependable. But all women are directly or indirectly involved in income generating activities. Maximum women are solvent. When they have no work, they also try to busy I different type of income generating activities, like handicraft, pottery etc.

In the study area maximum loan receivers are also female. But loan are used by male. Women are try to utilized their loan and always help to husband. Santal women are so conscious and also industrious, they never delay to pay installment of loan. Most of the NGO's workers are satisfy about their performance.

So we can say that santal women playing an important role in their economic system. A santal family cant ran without their help in all sectors. In the study village some women are also involved in difference professions, like- teaching, nursing NGO worker etc. they also successful in their own sector.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Life and living of Santal Women under the study

Life and living of santal women

Santa women's daily activities

Social life

Economic life

Family decision and women right

Santal women's and N. G. O's involvements

Superstition and women

Life cycle rituals and women roles

Role of Santal women in politics

Religious culture seasonal rites and festivals

Santal life cycle rites and ceremonies

Marriage

Death

Santal women status and empowerment

CHAPTER-8

LIFE AND LIVING OF SANTAL WOMEN UNDER STUDY

In this chapter, I have discussed about the social, political, economic and cultural life of the Santal women. Gender discrimination is not severing in the santal society. That's why all men and women of the santal society take part in all day to day activities. Santal women are also expert in shopping, household chores, weaving etc.

As they have no right of inheritance in the property. They are influenced by the men in many ways. Consequently, santal women need to depend on their father, brother or husband for any decision. This dependency sometimes acts a hindrance in their way to development.

With the passage of time, the way of thinking of the santal women has changed radically. They have come out from their traditional thinking. In this research, I tried to find out the factors responsible for reducing the change.

The research also focused on the impact of religious conversion and education on their values system. Finally, I have wanted to look at them not only as a woman of an ethnic community but also as human beings. I have also wanted to reveal the nature of their personalities.

The life and living of the santal women have been depicted with the help of various cases studies-

Santal women's daily activities:

A Santal woman starts her busy day early in the morning and she remains busy till midnight. This busy woman sometimes works in the field sometimes at home with smiling face. She works without tiredness and with out rest. In the following table, the day-to-day activities of santal women have been shown.

Table-21
Santal Women's Daily Routine

Types of work	Time
1 Get up and refreshment	5.00 -5.30 am
2. Clearing household and tending cattle to graze	5.30-7.00 am
3. Preparing food (break fast and lunch)	7.00-9.00 am
4. Feeding the children, send them to school and sending food to the field for her working husband	9.00-10.30 am
5. Taking meal and going to he field	10.30-1 1.00 am
6. Working in the field	11. 30 am- 3. 00pm
7. Return from the field. Taking bath and lunch, and complete other household chores.	3.00-5.30pm
8. Going to market	5.30-7.00 pm
9. Cooking food	7.00-9.00 pm
10. Feeding all and taking meal	9.00-1 1.30pm
11. Retire to bed	11.00pm

Sources: Fieldwork in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur.

This is the common picture of daily life of Santal women. From this daily routine we can easily imagine how hard the lives of Santal women are!

Though Santal women participate in all economic activities, they don't have the power to take any decision. A husband makes the decision. Family planning, schooling of the children and in all other matters, husband has the monopolistic power to make a decision. The different sights of the life and living of Santal women have been described below-

Social Life:

The smallest unit of the Santal society is family. A woman plays at important role in family life, as mother and a wife. As a mother she takes care of her children and performs all other duties. Again as a wife, she serves her husband keeps relation with other relatives and performs other social activities.

There is no representation of women in the political organization of the Santal society; this is known as *Manjhi* organization. Though Santal women play an important role in their family life, they are not included in *Manjhi* organization. If the Santal woman makes an offence, she will be sent to the '*Manjhi*' organization.

Than the five strata political organization will take the decision. As this organization is controlled & dominated by the men, there is no presence of women. Some men of the study area think that women should participate in this organization.

Santal women don't inherit their father's property. As a result they face many problems in their social life.

Below I will discuss such case-

Case Study 1:

Name: Gita Rani Soren (32)

Education: Can write and read.

Husband's Name: Noresh Murmu (37)

Gita is a converted Santal woman. She converted in to Christian religion after her marriage. She has a son and two daughters. All of her children go to the school. Her husband is a farmer. Gita is very sincere about the education of her children. In this connection she said, "We didn't have the opportunity to study". So I want to educate my children.

Gita does almost all household works including cooking and clearinghouse. ~~But she~~ seldom goes to the field for work. She goes to the field only when, when it is very much needed. Her husband does not like her to work in the field. But her husband does not impose any decision on her. Rather she tries to understand her. Gita says that she had freedom before marriage. Now she does not have the freedom. That's why she can't go any where without her husband's permission.

Gita's husband helps her in house-hold chores. Gita says, "My husband really a nice person". Gita is a professional midwife. Now she abandoned the job. She needed to go outside anytime for call. Her husband does not like it. Gita goes to the church with her husband. They were first catholic Christian. Now they are Methodist Christian.

For this reason she sends her children to Methodist school. After their conversion as Methodist Christian, they are able to minimize the cost of their children's education.

Gita buys for her children according her own choice. Gita and her husband are happy couple. Her husband does not insist her for anything and even work according to her desire. Gita is really a hard working female. Always she tries to contribute to her family. Now she is fully housewife. But she does her all jobs and also helps her husband.

Economic Life

Santal women play an important role in the economic life of Santal society. In santal society women work both in the fields as well as in the households. Even they work as a construction labor. They also work in small and cottage industries and also in the school or NGO, s.

In the study area 52.65% of the people are women. In speak season women work in the field as contractual labor. Some women only work in their own field. Santal woman gets **70-100** taka per day as daily wage, where men get 90-150 Tk. per day. They say about the reason behind the wage differentiate that women can do almost all work of the field, but they can not carry the paddy to the house.

Again they go to the field after completing their household work. So they have reached late in the field which is another reason for their low wage. In this village, there are eight matriarchal families. But they are dependent on their male family members. They get support from their mother or brother.

The woman who have no husband, need to take permission from the chairman of the Union Parishad to go outside the village for work. They have capabilities to do many things, always they doesn't do everything as they wish. But in many sector they make them as a successful female, housewife and professional personalities. Below we will discuss such a case-

Case Study 2:

Aroty Murmu- case of a female headed household

Aroty Murmu (30) got married 14 years ago. Her father in law's house was in Panchbibi in Joypurhat district. Her husband was a sharecropper. But he was too much addicted by

'*Haria*' (rice-beer). He used to spend his money on the '*Haria*'. That caused problem in the family. Even Aroty, s addicted husband used to beat her.

Then she left her husband's house and came to her parent's house and she started to work as a labor in the field, but work was not always available. That's why she was in trouble. Though she is living with her parents, but she cooks separately. Her brothers have managed a job as a labor in road construction recently. Now Aroty is solvent.

Aroty is very concerned about the education of her children. She is bearing all the educational expenses of her children by her own income.

To make any decision Aroty consults her brothers. Her brothers give importance to her opinion which her husband did not.

At first Aroty was rebuked by her neighbors to leave, her husband. Now she has recovered this problem. Aroty wants to make her daughter a nurse and her son a teacher. She is against '*Haria*' as it has destroyed her family. She does not want to marry second time. She is a self-reliant woman who fought the problem and obstacles of life. Sujala Soren is another woman who is economically solvent but dependent upon husband to take any decision.

Case Study 3:

Name- Sujala Soren

Husband's Name: David Murmu.

Sujala is 27 years old. She has passed S.S.C and her husband is a graduate. She has two children. She is a teacher of a missionary school. Sujala lives with her husband, mother-in-law and sister-in-law. Her father-in-law lives separately with his second wife. Sujala's mother-in-law likes her very much. Sujala's husband was an employee of an NGO. But he lost his job.

Thus they were in a bad situation. At that moment Sujala started to teach in a local missionary school. Now her family runs by her income. Her unemployed husband took loan from an NGO and bought some cattle to help his family. Though the family runs with the income of Sujala, but her husband leads the family. Her sister-in-law is a nurse. Sujala is a Christian Santal by birth. Her husband does not insist her in any matter.

Sujala is an independent woman, because she is solvent. For this reason all of the family members respect her. They all are educated also. It's a very imperative changing pattern of traditional santal society. Maximum santal women are trying making a self preamble, which will make them confident and self reliant human being. Than they become a empower women of santal society.

Family Decision and Women Right:

Family head takes the decision of the family. As the Santal have the patriarchal type of family. Father's decision is obligatory on the family members. Where the children will study, where they will be married to whom they will be married in the entire matter father's decision gets Priority. Girls have to marry according to their father's choice because of social and family reason. The following example will support this fact.

Case Study 4:

Name- Amily Murmu

Education-class 10

Age-16

Amily Murmu has appeared in S.S.C exam recently. She has one sister and a brother. Her father is a sharecropper. She has step mother. Her father married for the second time after the death of her mother. Amily studied in a residential missionary school in Joypurhat. After her S.S.C examination, her father arranges marriage.

Amily's husband lives in Dhaka and works in a garments factory. Amily does not know anything about her husband. Her father along with *jog-Manjhi* arranges the marriage. They have not given any importance of Amily's opinion.

Amily used to like a boy who was entitled for her. But her father rejected her choice. Because of her lover is their relative. According to the custom of Santals society she can not marry which boy from their relatives. Otherwise, they will be segregate from the society.

Amily is also a singer. In future she wants to be a teacher. She was very upset for the marriage against her aspiration. Now she is not feeling interest to know anything about

her husband. Amily feels her so mother much. She assumes, if her mother would alive, she won't allow it to happen.

Santal women's NGO's involvements:

There are different NGO working in the village. Some of the NGO work with loan. Other works for the education, health and socio-economic development. The name of the NGO,s are Grameen Bank, Asrai, PCDP, Dip Shikha, Heed Bangladesh, Caritas and BRAC . Women Subscribers are large in member. NGO's are also interested to give loan to the women. Because of women repay the loan in time.

But Women can not use the loan. In maximum case, women take the loan, but men control it. 55no. of households are incorporated with the loan distribution programs of NGO, s. BRAC is playing an important role in education while Dip Shikha is working in education, health, development and public awareness sectors.

Many women are now self-sufficient with the help of NGO. Some of them are in loss, because of improper use of loan. Some of them are solvent. Now I will depict the case study of a woman who has been benefited by the NGO.

Case Study 5:

Name: Noany Hembrom (34)

Education- class 5

Husband's Name: Dinesh Murmu.

Noany is a Christian Santal. She completed primary education. She has one daughter and one son. Her children go to the missionary school. Noany is the cashier of the 'Asrai Samity'. She took loan, several times from difference NGO like Asrai, Caritas, Dip Shikha and Heed Bangladesh.

When she married, her husband had only a hut. They did not have any land. Her husband worked in other's land and both of them worked as a day labor.

Noany and her husband took loan from two NGO (Heed Bangladesh & Dip Shikha). They mortgaged some land with the loan. They gave effort together in the land. Thus

they started to repay the loan and bought cattle. In this way she increased her family income and started to buy some lands. She also planted trees around her house, which were also source of income for her.

Later she took loan from *Asrai* and *Caritas* and bought agro land. She has 3 *bigha* of land. Maximum loans are taken by her name. But her husband controls the loans. They consult together about all transaction, income and expenditure of their family.

Noany is very vigilant about the education of her children. Both of her children live in the school hostels for their studies. Her son studies in a missionary school at Dhaka. She took her son to Dhaka and admitted him here. She also comes to take her daughter from the hostel.

Noany says that her husband loves of education. He studied up to class eight. He left his education, because of financial trouble. So he does not want that his children face any complexity for complete their education.

Noany's family is now affluent. But she still goes to the field with her husband and helps him in his work. Even she also does all household chores. Noany is not only a successful women, but also solvent women and responsible mother.

Noany is now successful, but she is still fighting. One thing is very important on Noany that is she gets loan and invest. Again she reinvests her profit and composes more profit. She will also do others activities in future.

She is very target oriented woman. She also a role models of this village. Many women feel interest to be like her. Noany's husband never dominates her. But they politely make this possible.

Another successful women entrepreneur is Urmi Tudu. Below I will discuss how she ensured solvency of her family by establishing cottage industry.

Case study-6

Name - Urmi Tudu

Husband's Name- Monish Soren.

Urmi is a successful women entrepreneur. She is literate and she has no children. She married 4 years ago. She has been taking medicine from a *kabiraj*, to get children.

Urmi makes handicraft on cloth, *katha*, table cloth and handkerchief. She works on contract basis. She takes order in every month after finishing her works.

Thus she earns a lot in every month and she buys cattle by her income. She also spends her money to cultivate the lands. Her husband influences her to earn more profits. In harvesting reason, she works with her husband in the field. But she does not work in other person's land.

Urmi has no children, but her husband also does not blame her for the barrenness. Though Urmi earns and she maintains her shops according to her husband's choice. Sometimes her husband gives less importance in her opinion. But he consults with Urmi for any work.

She is a rising woman entrepreneur of this society. She is also very much confident about her jobs. In future she wants to open a shop in the local market. Then she can earn more profit. She also contributes in her family. She is an income generating member of her family, that's why she also gets honor by others family members.

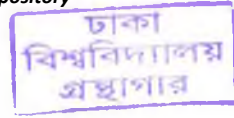
Superstition and Women:

Almost in all society, there is presence of superstitions. Understanding the fears, myths, taboos, proverbs, legends, and folklore specific of any society will help to get switch on all kinds of cultural oddities. Superstitions have the potential to affect everything from politics, business, public life, family life, travel, and social conduct.

The superstition of Santal society provides a deeper look at an array of lore that includes anything from spirits, ghosts, monsters, urban myths, old wives' tales, occult practices, and luck charms.

All of person have belief on superstitions. Women have many superstitions in walking, eating, marring rituals etc. Santal society also has many superstitions. Some of these superstitions have been cited below-

- They don't start for a journey on Wednesday as they think it will bring bad-lack.
- They don't let the bride to go out side the house after the "*Gaye Halud*". They think it may cause devil (*Bongo*) to see her.



- The bath of pregnant women in the pond is prohibited.
- Pregnant women cannot go outside the boundary wall of the house during the day or evening.
- The Santal tribesmen living in the Himalayan mountain region believe that women can be dabbed with *sindur* on her forehead by men only once. This is the reason why the meetings of families arranging marriages may be tension-filled; young men might forcibly dab *sindur* on the women. Men from the Ho tribe (near the northeastern corner of India) may forcibly put vermilion powder on single women's forehead, even in public places and against their will, and claim them as their wives.
- Hindu brides wear *shankha* or bangles made of conch shell as a symbol of their devotion to their husbands. Broken or cracked shell bangles are considered bad luck for the marriage. Conch shells with swirls going in the clockwise direction are considered as lucky charms for couples.

They believe that if they don't follow their rules, they will face many problems. A woman was sick for violating this taboo. Now I will discuss the case study-

Case study-7

Name - Behula Hembrom (38)

449914

Husband's name- Sumon Murmu

Behula Hembrom is an illiterate woman. She has a son, when she was pregnant once she went to the pond and took bath. Therefore she became ill and she lost her upcoming child. In pregnancy period women are strictly prohibited to go to the pond. But she doesn't care about the rules. That's why she has to face many problems. For the same reason her 3 children died before born one after another.

Behula's elder son was lost in a marriage ceremony of her relative. This boy returned home by the help of "*kabiraj*". Behula has too much faith on '*kabiraj*'. Because she got treatment from the *kabiraj* more even she got back her children with help of *kabiraj*.

Behula believes that *Bonga* is responsible for all the misfortune. Not only Behula but also all women of the village believe in their superstitions. They also believe that, if they do not follow their customs, they will be in trouble.

Conflict in marriage and decision:

In the study village, Thana is several clashes for the marriage which expressed the exercise of power. Most of the clashes originated from the attempt to marry from the own clan to other clan, which is strictly forbidden in the Santal society. If any one makes this offense he will be suspended from the society. If the suspended family included in the society after giving, they are treated as an inferior person. Women are specifically face difficulty in their clashes. The appropriate example is Rusena Soren.

Case study- 8

Name- Rusena Soren (28)

Education - S.S.C.

Husband's name- Suvash Mondol Soren (50)

Rusena Soren has passed the S.S.C examination. As her family was not solvent, she lived in her relative Suvash Mondol's house. At first Mondol admitted her in a school. Mondol's wife took her to Dhaka with her own children where she worked as a nurse in a missionary hospital. Rusena is as old as the younger daughter of Mondol.

When Rusena was in class eight, she falls in love with Mondol. Mondol's wife understood their relation and rebuked them about the relation. In this situation Mondol went to their village with Rusena and married her according to the traditional law. Though they were Christian they married in Santal law because Christian religion does not support second marriage.

After the marriage the villagers abandoned them. Because of Rusena and Mondol both are from Soren clan. Inter clan marriage is forbidden in Santal society. For the long time they lived outside from their society. Her husband admitted her in the missionary school and she passed the S.S.C examination. She gave birth of her first children after passing S.S.C examination.

Mondol is one of the affluent men of the village. He negotiated with the village organization. They said that he needs to give a fine of 3,000 tk. And have to give a feast for the villagers. He approved and thus included in the society again.

But Mondol's family did not give her recognition. They even tortured her physically. But her husband gave her shelter all the time. Her husband started to live in the village permanently.

At last Mondol's family gave her the recognition. When they started to live in the village, they developed the condition of their village household with the help of her husband; Rusena also got the job of a primary teacher.

Her husband helps her in many ways despite their age difference, they have a good understanding. After the retirement Mondol's first wife came to the village and started to live with them. Rusena obey her too much. Rusena also win their heart with her behavior.

Now she has a good relationship with all family members. Her husband made it possible. Thus with the help of her husband Rusena win all difficulties.

Though there is no evidence of divorce in the Santal society, there is the tradition of separation. The second marriage of husband and extra marital relation are mainly responsible for that. Such a woman is Rani Mardi, who lives separately with her children.

Case study -9

Name- Rani Mardi (39)

Husband's Name- Jatin Besra (45)

Rani Mardi is an illiterate woman. She was married 22 years ago. She and her husband both are day labour she has a daughter who suddenly died from diseases. Rani's husband hasn't own property. So she lived in her father's house. Rani's elder brother also lives with her. So Rani takes care of her brother children.

Her husband sometime lived in his house. He was a contractual seasonal labour. Rani gave birth of her younger son in her father's house. After five and six years once her

husband stopped visiting her. Then she came to know that her husband married for the second time.

Knowing this incident she stopped communication with her husband. Her husband also stopped visiting her. She could send him for a trial. But she didn't do so. She knew that village organization only fined her and then sent her to live with him. She was reluctant to live with her. Her son after visits his father she does not forbid him.

Rani took loan from the NGO and brought cattle. She also works in field. She does all household activities. Even she goes to the market in the evening. Her brother helps her in the household chores.

Rani spends her money in her own ways. She wants to make her son an educated person. Rani is a self-confident Santal woman who fought against all odds.

Life cycle Rituals and women roles:

There are many rituals and festivals in Santal society. Such as birth, marriage, death, puja, fair, Christmas day etc. In these festivals they sing, dance and drink. Women have a great impact in their festivals. Because of women make all foods and decorate the house. Above all women make their popular dinks '*Haria*. Besides every Santal woman is expert in singing and dancing. They drink and dance together in the festivals.

Role of Santal women in the politics:

Now-a-days, the role of Santal women in the politics has increased. Political awareness is rising among the women. In the national election and union *Parishad* election women are eligible to cast the vote. Through they have the right to choose the representative. They often influenced by their father and brother.

Now their political awareness is increasing day by day. Different nongovernmental organization and Christian missionary are playing a vital role in this regard. Though Santal women are not directly involved in politics they desire to establish their right and to solve their problems.

Day by day their involvement in politics is rapidly increasing. They are conscious about their self right. They want to know and also interested to participate in their traditional political system. Malabi Tudu is one of them.

Case study-10

Name- Malabi Tudu (32)

Husband Name- Mohan Hasdak

Malabi Tudu is an illiterate Santal woman who has four children. She does not have any land, so she cultivates other person's land. She wants to educate her children. But she cannot do it because of her poor economic condition.

She has name in the voter list. She thinks that ethnic women are now more aware about their rights. As they are as industrious as the man, they need to be more aware about their political right. At the time of election candidates come to them and influence them in many ways. So Malabi thinks that they should have a clear concept about the politics.

From this discussion we can say that Malabi has interest in the political issues without any academic knowledge. She thinks in her own way. She got the point that women should have more involvement in the politics. They have also no right to express their opinion on the Manjhi organization. Malabi thinks that they have give opportunity to express their opinion.

Religious Culture: Seasonal Rites and Festivals

The Santals celebrate a number of religious and non-religious (Agricultural) festivals through out the year. They think that, this would ensure their safety and this will also bring prosperity for them. This festival is the part of their annual life cycle. Here a brief picture has been given about the Santal typical festivals as I have observed during the fieldwork at Dinajpur. Table-22 reflects detail of such Festivals.

Table-22
Seasonal Rites and Festivals among this society

Festivals	Month of the celebration	Purpose
<i>Sohrae</i>	December- January	Harvest Festivals
<i>Baha</i>	February-March	Offering of the 'First fruits' and flowers.
<i>Aro</i>	June-July	Showing of rice seeds.
<i>Nabanna</i>	November-December	Offering of the first fruits of the winter rice crop.
<i>Durga Puja</i>	According to Hindu Period	Religious Festivals
<i>Kali Puja</i>	According to Hindu Period	Religious Festivals
<i>Monsa Puja</i>	According to Hindu Period	Religious Festivals
<i>Laxmi Puja</i>	According to Hindu Period	Religious Festivals
<i>X-Mas Day</i>	According to Christian Period (December)	Christian Festival
<i>Happy New Year</i>	1 st January	Christian Festival
<i>Ester Sunday</i>	According to Christian Period	Christian Festival

Sources: Field work in *Parlo* village in Dinajpur.

Sohrae:

The *Sohrae* is the principal and most important public event among the Santals. It is also their largest and merriest annual event when the villagers are given to general dancing and relaxation. This festival is held in the month of '*Paush*' (December-January, after the paddy has been reaped, threshed and store. All the festivities connected with the *Sohrae* must be over the full-moon night of '*Paush*' (December-January).

The festival continues for 6 days with dance, music, food and rice beer (*Haria*). The entire village takes part in the fun and joy. All the villagers are in-exuberant moods.

Baha:

The second great festival of the Santals is the '*Baha*' or flower festivals held after the full moon in the month of '*Falghun*' (February-March), when the '*Natkom*' or '*Mahua*' trees begin to blossom. This feast, which lasts for two days, marks the beginning of the Santal year. The feast is held on different days in different villages so that people may visit their relatives and friends. When the festival starts then the whole village joins in dancing and singing well in all over the night.

Aro:

Another important festival of the Santals is '*Aro*'. They observe this festival four days before. They start sowing paddy. The deeper belief of the occasion is that they expect a satisfactory outcome of their labour put to cultivation by the grace of God. Through dances and music this day is observed their desire is expressed to God.

Nabanna:

This festival is performed in '*Agrahayan*'. Its duration is two days. Through this festival, the Santals offer the first fruits of the winter rice crop. During these two days, all the Santals enjoy with dancing, singing, drinking '*Haria*' and perform prayer of respective God.

These all are agricultural rites and festivals. Now I explain some religious festivals-

Durga, Laxmi and Kalipuja:

It's a traditional Santal's festivals. Those are held in '*Sarat*' season (September-October) for two weeks. Those are also Hindu festivals. Traditional Santals still they celebrate those festivals. But Christian Santals don't celebrate those festivals in these villages.

Christmas Day:

Aboriginal Santals do not live exclusively in one single village. Christian Santals live in the same village side by side. Therefore, inter-group mixing between Christian and aboriginal Santals become more common and pollution rules become more relaxed. When the Christian Santal brethren observed '*Boro Din*' in the village, then they invite all the villagers and they all end the ceremony.

On the occasion of 'Boro Din' all Christian Santal attend the prayer at village Church. They also attend the Sunday prayer at village Church. Christian Santal also attend the traditional all festivals *like-Sohrae, Baha, Aro & Nabanna*.

After conversion to Christianity, they termed themselves as Christian or Christian Santal and lost their tribal heritage in terms of festival cycle and others. They have already lost their tribal festival Calendar and following the Christian path. In all festivals women roles is most important. Because of they are the main leader of social festivals.

The Santal Life-Cycle: Rites & Ceremonies

There are various religious rites and ceremonies by which Santal society marks the physiological phases of human life and above all its crises and transitions. This rites and ceremonies are mainly concerned with securing the active help of the benevolent spirits and the passive forbearance of the malignant ones. So it's to ensuring the safety and well being of the individual and his family at the different turning points in his life cycle (Culshaw 1949, Hossain and Sedeque 1984).

They have also public and collective occasion, which emphasize the relations of mutual harmony and solidarity between the individual and society and the dependence of the former on the latter.

The turning points in the life cycle of an individual Santal are the critical occasions of 'birth', 'initiation', 'marriage' and 'death'. The Santals believe that these critical junctures of an individual's life are replete with danger both of the individual himself and also for the others.

To control these dangers, guard against any external harm, satisfy the emotional need of restoring hope and confidence, these life crises moments are set off by elaborate socio-religious rituals involving help of the benevolent bongas.

Birth Ceremonies:

One of the greatest things that's a Santal married couple dreads is to have no offspring. They will secure adult respect only when they will be got a child. Besides the children are also considering very important because of their potential working ability.

The Santals believe that at no time of life is a human being more exposed to supernatural evil influences than while still in the mothers' womb and at birth. Added to this, there are many precautions which have to be observed so as to protect the mother and the children in her womb (Ali 1998: 207, Hossain and Sedeque 1984).

The various precautions which a pregnant Santal mother must observe may be broadly divided into two categories: (a) Those meant to protect the mother and child from the unsatisfied souls of the dead, and (b) Those enjoined because of their effect on the physical appearance or the character of the child.

Provided these precautions are observed, the Santals believe that a birth is rarely attended with any difficulty. Midwives are engaged for the delivery. No man is allowed in the house, as his presence is believed to hinder delivery.

When the child is born, the midwife using a sharp iron arrow severs the umbilical cord. The placenta and the after birth are then buried near the main door of the room where the delivery had taken place. One ceremony, performed on the day of birth, is meant to protect the mother and child.

The cleansing ceremony after birth is call '*Janam chatiar*'. '*Janam*' means birth and *chatiar* is a word connected with the Hindu word *chut* which means polluting.

This ceremony may be said to have three fold functions:

- It purifies the house and the village from the defilement caused by the birth of a child.
- It gives a child a name, thus formally admitting it into its father's clan and also churches.
- It incorporates the children into the tribe.

Normally the '*Janam chatiar*' ceremony is held on the third day after the birth of a girl and on the fifth day after the birth of a boy.

The name giving is an essential part of the '*Janam chatiar*' ceremony, for the giving of a name to a child, formally admits it into its father's clan and church (Converted Santals). In giving it a name, the father removes all traces of illegitimacy, if any, recognizing the child as his own. The child thus acquires a definite status in the village and among its kinsfolk. It is considered to be a Santal. The name-giving also emphasizes the social obligations of the household to its new addition. The name is chosen by the parents of the child.

Three factors stand out as being of prime importance in the *Janam chatiar* ceremony:

- The religious role of the father who provides the child with household spirits.
- The intimate connection between the removing of the childbirth pollution and the admission of the child into the tribe and the *bongas*.
- The Santal's reluctance to lose one of their progeny. Because of these three factors the illegitimate child is almost unknown in the Santal community. The ingenuity of the Santal has involved a system whereby all children of Santal parentage are legitimized.

Therefore, a change has been observed that names are not given in accordance with the traditionally established rules. The names are now given according to the Christian rules by most of Christian santals. But till now they don't forget their traditional Culture. That's why a pluralistic culture has been observed in *Parlo* village.

Initiation:

Initiation is the second critical stage in the life-cycle of a Santal, marked by a pacificator rite called *coco chatiar*. In fact, there is no fixed time when the *coco chatiar* is to be held as long as it is observed before marriage.

While the *Janam chatiar* ceremony admits a child to be outer fringes of the tribe, the *coco chatiar* ceremony is believed to give an individual all the responsibilities and privileges of a full-fledged member of the tribe. Through this ceremony, an individual enters into a new relationship with the *bongas* whom he can now approach with sacrificial offerings and also share in the sacrificial meal.

In the study village, the performance of this ceremony is of an extremely causal nature. It is, however, considered important by Santals because of the dire consequences that would follow if it were not observed. Thus, no Santal boy can get married unless he has undergone this ceremony.

Rice-beer brewed for the occasion, is served to all present, after which they sing and dance in honor of the household in whose honor the ceremony is to be performed. Christian Santals do not practice these traditional ceremonies. But they practice it due to their changing structure (Anwar 1984: 366).

Marriage:

Judging by the complexity of the ceremonies and the long period of time during which the complete procedure for contracting a marriage is gone through, it is obvious the marriage is a most important stage in a Santal's life cycle. It is considered indispensable for every Santal, whose tribe members cannot visualize now abnormal man or women can remain unmarried. Bachelors and spinsters are looked upon as unhappy wretches.

Generally those who don't marry in life are looked down upon by the Santal society. They also practice monogamy. Polygamy is not favored unless the wife is died, in which case, as we have seen; the husband can either divorce his wife or take a second wife with the former's consent. Otherwise, Santal opinion is against polygamy. It is more appropriate for the bride to be younger than the groom. The average marriage age of a boy is twenty and that of a girl sixteen.

To protect their tribal solidarity, the Santals have very rigorous marriage laws. A Santal cannot marry a non-Santal or a member of his own clan. The former is considered as a threat to the tribe's integrity, while the latter is considered incestuous. Residence pattern is normally patrilocal. After marriage, the bride goes to live in her father-in-law's house. There also exists a certain social reluctance towards inter-village marriage.

Divorce was formerly rather rare among the Santals, although the following three reasons did justify a divorce –

- Infidelity.
- The suspicion that the wife practiced witchcraft.
- Infertility or bareness.

Nowadays a couple can also be divorced if they cannot live peacefully together. A man may also seek divorce if his wife is too extravagant and wastes the family resources; if she is permanently ill, or if she is very lazy. A woman may be granted a divorce if her husband cannot supply her with the necessities of life or if he wants to get a second wife against her consent. A simple ceremony called *sachem* or the tearing of the leaves, symbolizes the breaking of relations between husband and wife.

The generic Santal word for marriage is *Bapla*. Among the Santals there are seven traditional forms of marriage-

1. *Kirin Baku Bapla*.
2. *Kirin Jawaee Bapla*.
3. *Tunki Dipil Bapla*.
4. *Sanga Jawaee Bapla*.

5. *Ghardi Jawaee Bapla*.

6. *Itut Bapla*.

7. *Nir bolok Bapla*.

In my study village there are found only *Kirin bahu Bapla*, *Itut Bapla* & *Ghardi Jawaee Bapla*. Santal marriage is normally arranged and always marriage is arranged by elders of the family.

Process of Marriage:

Any santal family wants a suitable bride for his son, this time they will make a confidential chat about all suitable girls of the locality or even outside of the area. If they hit upon any, they will then make enquiries and should they think her a proper match for the young men, they will inform the headman of the girl's village about the desires of the youth's father.

These talks generally emanate from the bridegroom's side; the opposite party does not make the first move. If the girl's father agrees to talk over the proposal, a discussion of their clans and the other prohibited degrees ensues, so that the marriage may not cause infringement of the tribal laws. If these are found to fit in, the youth's father will be informed as to when they may formally see the girl.

The youth's father then starts with a party on a day fixed for it. They assemble in the house of the village headman and after respectful salutations and counter salutations, they refresh themselves. The girl will then be escorted to the headman's residence where she is closely inspected from head to foot by the youth's father, churches father (Christian Santal) and his friends.

If the party is satisfied with the prospective bride, the head man is privately informed the match maker and hence forward, than he (match maker) continue the negotiation. Then the party will think it worth while to visit the house of the girl's father where they may have an opportunity to judge, their future relatives closely.

Likewise the bride's party goes to the bridegroom's house. At first the bride's parties reach to the house of the village headman who thereafter conducts them to the bridegroom's house where they are received. The bride's mother then rubs the bridegroom with mustered oil and turmeric paste. He is also presented with head necklaces, kissed by the prospective mother-in-law and addressed as *baba* (An endearing term).

The preliminaries over, another day is now fixed for the marriage ceremony. In Santal marriage system there is no way to take bride price. But bride is given some gift only bride-price is no allowed in the marriage of Christian Santal.

Marriage is the greatest event of life-cycle among Santal. The preparation for the marriage sets the village humming with activity. Village elders assemble at the houses of both the bride and bridegroom in the afternoon. The villagers vertical sylvan grottoes done up with banana leaves and flowers and decorate the place with mango foliage stuck in the coils of strings and thus beautify the outdoors across the village lane.

Before marriage, the bridegroom bathed thrice after be rubbing all over the body with mustard oil and turmeric paste by some unmarried girls. Three such baths follow the similar ablution of a trio of married couples, each succeeding the bridegroom's bath one after another.

Then the bridegroom's father takes care to provide the procession kettle drums and cymbals are beaten to the accompaniment of the merry-music. The boys and girls of the tribe dance to the tune, regardless of the fire-work that is started. A van or rickshaw carries the older folks and the bridegroom.

When the Bride groom & his relatives reach the bride village, then at first they take rest in a grove just outside the village. After sometime they are invited to perform *sindradan*, an integral part of the rites in marriage, which takes place on the village street outside the house of the bride where it can be seen by all.

Then received all guest by '*Jog Manjhi*'. After receiving brides relative performed honor and offer '*Haria*' to the bridegroom's relatives. Then they go to the church and Father say some spell. Father also gives some speech about marriage. In this way, Father completes the marriage ceremony. Then they again return to the bride's house and they offer foods by bride's relatives.

But traditional marriage is light difference. In traditional system bridegroom sits astride on the shoulders of his prospective brother-in-law or of his uncle, while the bride is seated on a flat basket. In this position, she is raised to the level of the bridegroom, who now marks her with *sindur* or vermilion on her forehead using his right little finger. Now they are considering as man and wife.

Actually traditional Santal marriage roles and Christian marriage roles is like that. In this village converted Santals takes Christian marriage roles as a localized format.

Death:

The final rites of passage are related to the rituals performed on the death of a person. The Santals does not recognize the possibility of a natural death. They are also the opinion that death is never due to accident but like other ethnic group, generally attribute death to the malignancy of certain *bongas*, impersonal powers and witchcraft. They believe that these malignant agencies, against which an individual has to counteract through out his lifetime, put an end to his life.

The Santals believe that, on the death of an individual, his social personality is not annihilated but rather transformed. As some of the expressions used to denote the death of a person indicate, according to Santal belief, the soul after leaving the body and becomes a member of another world.

When a Santal dies, his house and village become polluted. No marriages, festivals or any public worship can be performed within the village until the funerary rites have been performed. The pollution is due to the belief that death is a victory of the malignant agencies. It is an insult to the benevolent *bongas* whose major concern is the Santals well-being. That's why when a Santal dies; the family and village cooperate in performing the funerary rites.

The critical junctures in the life cycle of an individual are replete with danger. The individual is himself in danger, he also passes this danger on to his family and village and tribe at large, besides the individual, his family and village are also defiled. The village *bongas* are polluted. No festivals, marriage or public sacrifices can be held unless the pacificator rituals are performed.

In view of this, we can say that the main object of all the rites and ceremonies attending birth, initiation, marriage and death, is double:

- ❖ To remove the pollution attendant on the individual's household and village and to protect them against any calamities as the hands of evil spirits and power.
- ❖ To purify the individual himself keep him away from any hostile agencies and to ensure for him the security and care given by the benevolent spirits.

These ceremonies serve as accessions for emphasizing the relation of mutual harmony and dependence between the individual and his society and how is doing village

solidarity is strengthened. The whole Santal village community acts like one man. The feasting, social reunion and rejoicing that mark their successful termination make it clear that each rite of passage is an important matter among them. In the entire procedure santal women role are too important in this society.

Santal women status and empowerment:

From the 'women status' given by united nation (1976) we find that the facilities of the women compare to man in the family indicate her status. Such as educational opportunities, control on the economic components, political right and the power of making decision in all spheres of life.

From above discussion, it is clear that in Santal society women have to depend on the men in almost all spheres of their life. A female child is under her father's guardianship a sister is dependent upon a brother a wife upon her husband and widow upon her husband's family a divorce upon her father's family.

This is also expressed that the wife is the husband's property. But Santal women's participates in all work with man. But they dependent on male's decision always. Because Santal women are excluded from land inheritance of land and education also the causes of dependence.

But Santal women position is better than Muslim's and Hindu women. So I can say that Santal women still don't receive full status and empowerment but it is not in all sectors. Women empowerment and status is so limited but the society is changing day by day. May be they will change their status and role in future.

But positive views of this village is that women are aware about their right and they are little bit solvent also, may be this opportunity will help them to be empower a women.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

The study findings

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

STUDY FINDINGS:

The findings of the present research can be summarized as follows:

- ❖ The original home of the Santals of the study villagers was somewhere else other than the area now outside the territory of Bangladesh. The santals of the study area is the ethnic people of chotonagpur and Santal pargana of India. They came to this area and now known as Bangladesh during the British period.
- ❖ Physically, the Santal are characterized by short to medium stature, dark skin, scanty bearded, long mouth provided with thick lips, a broad flat nose and way to curly hair. Like other Mundari speaking tribes, the santals have been variously designated by anthropologists as pre-Dravidian, Dravidians, proto-Australoids, Nishadies and Austries.
- ❖ Haria (rice-beer) is an internal part of Santal diet. Their festivals and almost all of their ceremonies center on 'Haria' and its consumption. Apart from all this consumption of alcohol (Haria) they also indulge in addiction to 'Ganja' 'Tari', leaf Beer etc. Traditionally the female santals also take 'Haria' and smoke. But now a day, usually the young Santal boys and girls of the study arrears do not drink Haria' or coddle is any addiction.
- ❖ Now-a-days, the santals of the study villages are accustomed with Bengali clothing. The santals of the study village wear are very simple and they wear few cloths. The men wear '*Lungi*' '*ganjee*', '*shirt*' '*pant*' (occasionally) and women wear a '*sari*' with a '*petty-coat*' and blouse. Long age, women had many ornaments, but now they have only glass bangles and only a few of them have few silver ornaments.
- ❖ The santal are patrilineal i.e. they reckon descent from father's side and property is transmitted from father to son.
- ❖ They pattern of residence is patrilocal, i.e. wife comes after marriage to live in her husbands groups. But at present neolocal residence is also found among them.

- ❖ The Santals have very stringent marriage laws. A Santal cannot marry a non-Santal or a member of his own clan. It means they are clan exogamous.
- ❖ The main function of the clan organization is to regulate marriage relationship within the tribe. A Santal may be suspended from the caste if he violates this custom.
- ❖ All the Santals are mainly agriculturists. They lived in the past in a subsistence economy, but a market economy emerged in the process of their integration into the mainstream society.
- ❖ The Santal cannot afford to use the modern mechanical devices in agriculture. Because of location, type of land, lack of capital and courage, and other social, personal and administrative reasons they suffer from economic degradation leading to transfer of land by the way of mortgage and selling. This process creates changes in farm size of the small, medium farmers and gradual landlessness to ultimate pauperization of marginal farmers in particular. If this trend continues the agro-based Santal society of the study areas will show clear polarization in near future.
- ❖ The landless farmers work as wage laborers in others' field. The marginal and small farmers work in their own cultivable and as well as in other's land as wage laborers. But the middle and rich farmers only work in their own land. Not only the Santal men but also Santal women and children work side by side with them. The interesting thing is that, the landless women, marginal and small categories work in the field. During the peak season all the Santal men, women, young girls and boys get up early in the morning and work till evening. They work ten hours per day on an average during the peak season.
- ❖ Almost every household has some poultry and livestock, which is looked after by the Santal women. They rear goat, pig, chicken, duck etc. Most of them are not able to buy bullock. Very few of them have bullock of their own and some of them take bullock by sharecropping. Cattle are gear used in agricultural operation. Chickens, pigs and goats provided them meat as well as sacrificial offerings to the occasions. Cows and goats also provide them milk. Milk, egg and meat are used to meet their need of daily food. Few households can purchase egg, milk after fulfilling their need. Bullocks are used for cultivate and such other necessities pertaining to agricultural operation in day to day life.

- ❖ The Santals live in centralized village based on self-governed social system called 'Manjhi organization'. The headman of every Santal village is called 'Manjhi'; traditionally he used to be elected by the entire village community. The Manjhi has no time limit. He can continue it till his death. But the people think that, he cannot perform his responsibilities properly than they may select another 'Manjhi'.
- ❖ The requirements to become a 'Manjhi' doesn't depend on his wealth, influence, education and such other criteria, rather it depends on his honesty and sincerity to the people.
- ❖ Now, the 'Manjhi' organization has been breaking during the last few years, due to merging with mainstream culture, poverty, missionary, oppression and so on that's why this organization plays its role in the limited field i.e. like marriage.
- ❖ In the Santal society women have no participation in the 'Manjhi' organization.
- ❖ In the Santal society, emancipation of women is not required to be granted by anyone. The freedom is there as the most natural thing. She is a mother at the same time works as hard.
- ❖ A Santal woman works hard but their wage is not enough. In the peak season they get 70-100 Tk. per day. In the off season they get 50-70 Tk. per day. Their wage rate is less than male labors.
- ❖ Though many of the Santals of the study areas are bilingual, but they have retained their own language, which is known as Santali.
- ❖ Now-a-days, the Santals of the study villages are accustomed with Bengali food. The main foods of the Santals are rice, pulse, seeds, fish, meat, vegetables etc. Although, pork have become the rare item, but the Santals of the study area eat pork in all festive occasion.
- ❖ The Santal festival cycle has also changed due to the change in their economy from agriculture to wage-earning. So, the Santals of the study area find it necessary to make the festivals very simple and shortcut. For example, the tribal festival of 'Sohrae' (harvesting festival) is now followed in a change and simple manner.

- ❖ In the Santal society Santal healers and folk medicine-men plays an important role in the treatment of the sickness. In the form of home-remedy and faith-healing practices, it is still much in vogue, particularly in the non-Christian Santal villagers. The Christian villagers are getting modern medical facilities from the mission hospitals. But till now folk medicine plays significant role in the treatment of the sickness.
- ❖ Among the Santals now seems to be making is to choose for the most part to regard themselves as Hindus or Christians rather than Muslims.
- ❖ In the study village most of the villagers are Christian, some are traditional santal and only Families are Muslim.
- ❖ Traditional Santal, Christian Santal Hindu and Muslims now live together in the same village and their mutual relation is better. They are invited each others festive and occasions.
- ❖ Santal woman works in the field with her male counterparts and they also go to the nearby market to buy their daily necessities of life.
- ❖ Polygamy is not permissible in the study village. If anybody try it, he or she have punished by their political organization.
- ❖ In Santal society women generally don't sow seeds as per Santal custom, but works collectively. While threshing paddy both work jointly plough the field is an exclusive privilege of men and women are excluded from doing it as a social taboo.
- ❖ In conjugal life, the Santal women are self-sacrificing. She eats last of all after feeding other members of the family.
- ❖ The equality of status, the women claim extends even to drinking cup as well; but she draws distinction, paradoxically enough. When she says, “we drink like men but do not get drunk”.
- ❖ Most of the Santal women are economically solvent. In some cases women's are the only earning member of her family. But most of the time she can not take any

decision alone. Always she depends on her husband and other male members of the family.

- ❖ In Santal society gender discrimination is not high, but male gets more facilities than women.
- ❖ Women take loans from NGO but man invests this loan. In some cases man discussed with his wife, but he dominate over this decision.
- ❖ In Santal life cycle festivals women role is very important. They drink and dance with man. It is very common to the Santal villagers. But it is very difficult to Muslim and Hindu women.
- ❖ Santal women have no role in the village politics and national politics. But they desire to establish their right and to solve their problems.
- ❖ Santal women have freedom, but till now they don't take any decision lonely; they are dependent upon a man. But when they will conscious about themselves. Then they can take any steps.
- ❖ In Santal society women obey their social rules and avoid superstition.
- ❖ By natural Santals are peace-loving people. They like simple life and therefore they are reluctant to face any risk. They are hard working people but they long term endurance or stamina for working. But they don't have any concept of saving. So, it is necessary to make them aware about their life planning.
- ❖ At last we can say that, if Santal women can acquire self-awareness, she can enjoy freedom perfectly and then they will be able to empower themselves.

Appendix-1

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Appendix-2

Check List

1. Name
2. Daily Activities.
3. House hold refreshing activities
4. Child caring
5. Cocking
6. Family planning/sanitation/health
7. Sexual freedom
8. Family status
9. Types of income generated activities
10. Economic power/freedom
11. Relation with economic institution [Somobay, NGO & Go project]
12. Social status
13. Kinship system and women's importance
14. Lineage system

15. Women's property ownership
16. Women's right as like a wife and girl
17. Santal women's relation with Muslim & Hindu women.
18. Women roles in religious rites/Belief
19. How does women play their role on social change
20. Women's socio-economic status
21. Women's empowerment
22. Wage labour and distinction
23. Impact of Missionary
24. Decision making power
25. Children's marriage & education a women's roles.
26. Profession change and women orders
27. Causes of religious change
28. To take children have women any right
29. When women do they work on the field (age)

Appendix-3

Household Census Schedule

1. Name : Age : Sex:
2. Religion :
3. Education :
4. Family Members :
Wife: Sons: Daughter: Others:
5. Earning Member of the Family
6. Land ownership
7. Share Cropping :
8. Wage of Labour
(Daily wage rate)
9. Main Occupation :
10. Subsidiary Occupation (if any) :
Monthly income (approximately)
11. Major rituals and Ceremonies :
12. Social Organization

Appendix-4: Map

Appendix-5: Photograph

Appendix-4

Photographs



Entrance of the village *Parlo*.



Front gate of a house.



Santal woman drying paddy.



Santal woman is teaching in a missionary school



Santal women are involved NGO activities



Santal woman is teaking care of her grandson



Santal woman are making puffed rice



Santal woman is meaking *haria*



Santal women & children are gathering in a village fair



Santal woman is making burner



A church.



Santal woman is working



Village Fair



Music with *Dholly* in a marriage ceremony.



The picture shows a bow to bridegroom party.



The picture shows the moment of marriage inside the church.