

Impacts of Development Programs on Santal Community

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Certificate

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Declaration

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Abstract

A Tribe is viewed historically and developmentally as a social group existing before the development of or outside of state. The present study is an attempt to discuss the impacts of development programs on Santal Community. Santal are known as one of oldest tribal populations in Bangladesh, having their own religion, traditions and customs. Government and non-government organizations recently have undertaken different development programs in most of the tribal inhabited areas of Dinajpur District and integrate them socially and economically with the mainstream population of Bangladesh.

To know the impacts of Development programs on Santal Community is the main objective of the study.

A total of 80 respondents aged from 15 to 55 years with different socio-economic and cultural problem related and here this study is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The respondents were evaluated by conducting case study and focus group discussion.

It is evident from field visit and the FGD findings that the Santals are vulnerable in terms of economic, social and human rights conditions. However, there are some positive impacts of different GOs & NGOs programs upon them and effective measures should be taken by the government functionaries, human rights agencies and civil society. Which are reducing illegal eviction, harassment, discrimination, human indignation. The government institutions are not highly responsive for developing the Santal community. Only a few number of respondents getting the government institutional facilities. On the other hand a large number of respondents are highly responsive by the NGO activities. Education, rights and status of women, wages, scope of employment, health facilities, loan facilities and training should be provided greatly for meaningful existence and uplift of the Santal Community. They are facing many challenges like, land grabbing, unemployment, wage discrimination, violence etc. Santal could change their social status by these programs and also got freedom and make them empowered through the programs.

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List of Acronyms and Glossary

<i>CRP</i>	Common Pool Resources
<i>BBS</i>	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
<i>FGD</i>	Focus Group Discussion
<i>NGO</i>	Non Government Organization
<i>VGD</i>	Vulnerable Group Development
<i>VGf</i>	Vulnerable Group Feeding
<i>BRAC</i>	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
<i>RDRS</i>	RangpurDinajpur Rural Service
<i>GO</i>	Government Organization
<i>SSC</i>	Secondary School Certificate
<i>Adibasis</i>	Indigenous people
<i>Aman</i>	One type of rice
<i>Adhi</i>	Sharecropping contract
<i>Aro</i>	Showing rice festivals
<i>Agrahayan</i>	Late autumn season
<i>Bapla</i>	Marriage
<i>Bitlaha</i>	Out casting from santal society
<i>Bonga</i>	Evil spirit
<i>Baha</i>	First fruit and flower festivals
<i>Durga, Kkali, Monsha, Ganga</i>	Goddesses of traditional santal
<i>Dhaibudhi</i>	Mid wife
<i>Durga puja</i>	Religious festivals
<i>Falgun</i>	Spring season
<i>Gua</i>	Walnut tree of this area

<i>Godo</i>	Mice
<i>Ghardijawae Bapla</i>	Economic contract related marriage system
<i>GolaetiBapla</i>	Intermarriage
<i>Godet, kudamnaeke</i>	One type of political leader
<i>Gaye halud</i>	Marriage festival
<i>Ganjhi</i>	T-shirt
<i>Haria</i>	Local drinks
<i>Horhopens</i>	The children of man
<i>Hasdak,hembrom, soren, kisku, tudu, marandi,baski, murmu, besra, chonre, puria</i>	
<i>&beda</i>	Clan title
<i>Hasdak</i>	Wild goose
<i>Irri</i>	One types of paddy
<i>ItutBapla</i>	One side love marriage
<i>Jama</i>	Female child wear
<i>Jihuhansdak</i>	One types of bird
<i>Jhumur</i>	One type of Santali dance
<i>Jog Manjhi</i>	One type of political leader
<i>Janamchatiar</i>	Rituals of purification
<i>Jungle</i>	Forest
<i>Khai- khalasi</i>	Long term contract of sharecropping
<i>Karu</i>	Traditional Santali god
<i>Kuhibesra</i>	Sub clan
<i>Katha</i>	Om types bed cover
<i>Kikir</i>	Fishing beard
<i>Kuindimiru</i>	It's a bluish cocorita
<i>Kali pujai</i>	Religious festivals
<i>Kabiraj</i>	Village hearler
<i>KudamBapla</i>	Pre marital relation and then marry
<i>KirinjawaBapla</i>	Social arrange marriage.
<i>Lungi</i>	Bengali male dress
<i>Manjhi harem</i>	Political leader

<i>Muri</i>	Puffed rice
<i>Mama</i>	Natural seed which is used for making ranu
<i>Marndi</i>	One kind of blue bird
<i>Murmu</i>	Mriest
<i>Manjhi</i>	Headman
<i>Moron bum</i>	Ancient god
<i>Monsalaxmipuja</i>	Religious festivals
<i>NirbolokBapla</i>	Pressured by girl type marriage
<i>Naeke</i>	Social head
<i>Nabanna</i>	Winter crops festivals
<i>Ojha</i>	Shaman
<i>Pichubhuri andpichu haram</i>	Creators
<i>Pauria</i>	One type of flower
<i>Paranik</i>	Title of political organization
<i>Poush</i>	Winter season
<i>Paharis</i>	Hilly people
<i>Rabi</i>	Winter crops
<i>Ranu</i>	One type of medicine which is used for making haria
<i>RaibarBapla</i>	Arranged marriage
<i>Sari</i>	Bengali female dress
<i>ShaluarKamij</i>	Modern Bengali female dress
<i>Saksabji</i>	Vegetables
<i>Soren</i>	The Pleiades
<i>SangaBapla</i>	Widow Marriage
<i>Shanka</i>	One type of bangles that wear after marriage
<i>Sohrae</i>	Harvest festivals

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Santals who are largely concentrated in the districts of Dinajpur are one of the oldest tribal groups in Bangladesh. The Santals have to face multidimensional changes in their economic, financial, religious and cultural life due to the expansion of education, market penetration, technology, bad political culture and increasing interaction with the mainstream population. They were mainly hunters and gatherers. They largely depend on the common pool resources (CPR) like forests, *beels* and *haors* and above all on agro-economy for their livelihood. Because of the technical and industrial development and increasing in populace, the area of forest, *beels* and *haors* is reduced as well as the mode of agriculture is changed to technology based methods replacing human labor. As a result the Santal community gets a limited access to the common pool resources and their sources of collecting food are squeezed. They have to find out alternatives for existence. Furthermore, frequent political changes, malpractices of politics, rising of muscle men and bustle of land grabbers compel them to lose their minimum land property. It makes them helpless and they seek after assistance from anywhere. The Christian missionaries take the advantage and expand their assistance to them and the Santals, a larger ethnic community of our country, have to change their age old traditional religious belief to get the financial support. The Christianization process has brought tremendous changes in their religious beliefs, traditions and life styles. Thus the Santals are losing their religion, culture as well as the areas of livelihood. As they are the citizens of this state, they deserve adequate and time bound attention from the government. It is now important to know how much attention and steps the government offers for them to cope with the changed situation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Santal community among other tribals is not an insignificant number in our country. In almost eighteen districts they have been living for a long time. They came in our country only in search of food. The then landlords used them for their own interest as the Santal labor was very cheap. Still they sell their labor in cheaper rate in comparison with the plain land Bengalis. The Santal community is less dependent on day labor as they have the habit of collecting food from the nature. They organize their community near forest, jungle and *beel* area so that these become very easy sources of their livelihood. Due to industrialization and increase in population, the area of unused land decreases. Ultimately it decreases the moving space of the Santal community. Though constitutionally every citizen deserves equal attention from the state, the Santals are still treated as *adibasi* ignoring their basic demands of education, health care, employment, etc. During the past few decades the plain land Bengalis could improve their financial condition remarkably, whereas the tribals including the Santal community are losing their moveable and immoveable properties gradually.

There is rare example where the Santal people have improved their financial conditions. There is provision for quota system in recruitment to take the backward section of the society on the main track but the Santals are not qualified enough to reach the level of getting quota facilities. That is why the Santals including some other tribals need more extended cooperation to walk together with the mainstream population. It demands special attention to spread education among them and create special employment generating scopes for them. The government should take policy which will eliminate social discrimination and provide equal opportunity for the Santals to avail all the benefits the state offers. To ensure the future existence of the Santal community, they should be given the favorable area of income generated with appropriate training and motivation. In addition special measures need to be taken to preserve their culture as well as our national cultural heritage.

1.3 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 rest 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 58,015,162 or 6.9% of the total population. There seems to be at least fifty-eight such groups that exist in the country

Bangladesh includes Chakma, Garo, Manipuri, Marma, Munda, Oraon, Santal, Khasi, Kuki, Tripura, Mro Hajong and Rakhain. The total population of some of these smaller groups in 1991 and 2001 is shown in table 1.1-

Table 1.1: The Linguistics Journal to September, 2009

Indigenous groups	1991	2001
Banshi	2,112	3,126
Bawm	6,979	10,327
Buna	13,914	20,592
Chak	2,000	2,960
Chakma	252,986	374,419
Koch	12,631	18,694
Garo	68,210	100,951
Hajong	11,477	16,985
Harijon	63	93
Khasi	13,412	19,850
Khyang	2,345	3,471
Khumi	1,241	1,837
Lushai	662	978
Mahat/Mahatoo	3,534	5,230
Marma	154,216	228,240
Monipuri	24,902	28,562
Munda/Mundia	2,112	3,126
Murang	22,178	32,823
Muro/MO	3,211	4,752
Pahari	1,853	2,742
Pankue/Pankoo	3,227	4,776
Rajbangshi	5,444	8,057
Rakhain	16,932	25,059
Santal	202,744	300,061
Tanchangya	21,057	31,164
Tipra	1,242	1,838
Tripura	79,772	118,063
Urang	11,296	16,718
Uruo/Urua/Uria	2,481	3,672
Others	261,746	387,384
Total	1,205,978	1,784,847

(Sources: Adapted from World Bank Report titled “Bangladesh- indigenous/tribal population and access to secondary school (draft): indigenous peoples plan”, Report no.- IPP280, April 4, 2008, vol. 1, p. 3)

The above table reveals the total population of Santals in Bangladesh is above 300,061. The Santals are the second largest ethnic community of Bangladesh and they concentrate in the Barinda region of North Bengal under Rajshahi and Rangpur Division. The following table shows the distribution of santal population who lives in Barind region-

Table 1.2: 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)

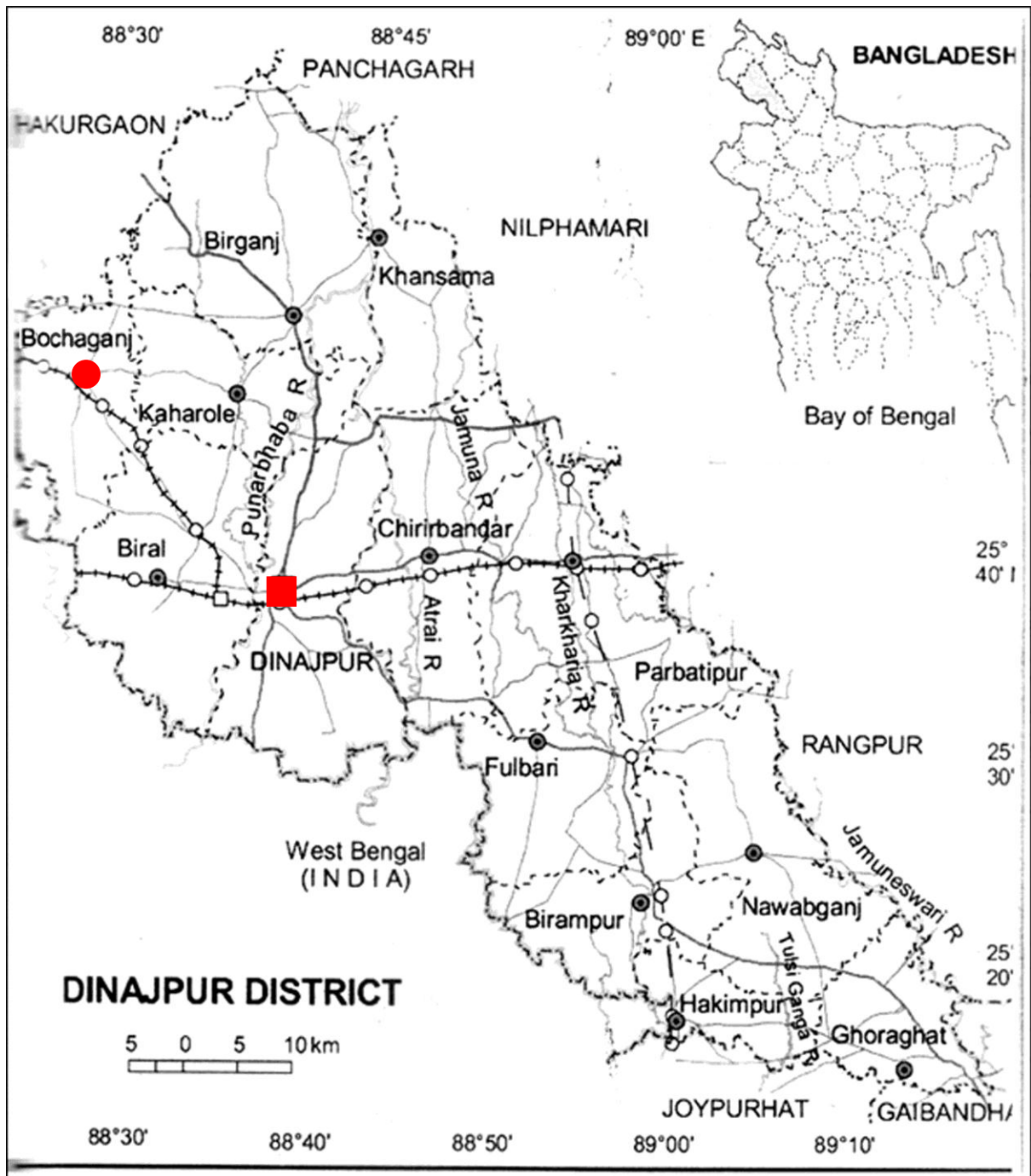


Figure 1.2: Santal in Dinajpur District Map

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to analyze the impacts of development programs on Santal community. The specific objectives of the study are set as follows:

- a) To know the demographic profile of Santal community.
- b) To know the socio-economic conditions of Santal community.
- c) To reveal the development programs and their impacts on Santal community.
- d) To identify the challenges of Santal community.
- e) To know the expectations of Santal community for developing their life standard.

1.5 Methodology of the Study

This study was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. In order to understand the impacts of development programs on Santal community, the study mainly followed social survey. In addition some case studies were conducted to supplement the social survey. Besides, Focus Group Discussion-FGD was conducted for collecting data from Santal community.

1.5.1 Selection of the Study Area

Keeping the objectives of the study in view, purposively three villages of Dinajpur district namely Mirzapur, Boirchuna and Hatrampur were selected as study area.

1.5.2 Population and Selection of sample

In this study all the Santal people of Dinajpur district namely Mirzapur, Boirchuna and Hatrampur were considered as population. It was not possible to trace out the location of all Santal people due to lack of sufficient data and information. Therefore it was not possible to determine the population size. Hence, random sampling procedure was not possible to follow. In this regard, purposive sampling procedure was followed.

All the Santal people at the age of 15 to 65 years were considered as population. In total 80 Santal people were purposively selected as respondents. For in-depth case

study of 05 cases among them 03 were from male and 02 from female. In FGD in total 10 participants were selected purposively where five Santal people, one chairman, one member, one teacher, one NGO worker and one job holder were participants.

1.5.3 Developing Tools and Pre-testing

For data collection one set of interview schedule was prepared for conducting the field survey. To make the schedule error free, a pre-test was done on respondents. In the light of pre-testing necessary adaptations were brought about the schedules.

The interview schedule contained 52 major questions which were both structured and open-ended in nature. Interviews with 80 respondents were then conducted using the pre-test. In addition to the schedule checklist was developed for a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and 7th case study.

1.5.4 Data Collection

For the present study data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary information was collected through FGD, in-depth interviews; observations etc. were included in the field survey. On the other hand, secondary data were collected from relevant available different published research reports, journals, books, booklets, articles, publications, internet, relevant literature and studies.

1.5.5 Data Processing and Analysis

Data processing and analysis started in the field with checking for completeness of the data and performing quality control. The plan for data processing and analysis was made after careful consideration of the objectives of the study. After completion of field work and data collection, data were input and compiled. The input data were finally checked and carefully coded, recoded and grouped into same and different variables. Data were analyzed and interpreted according to the objectives made for the study. In order to establish relationship between and among the variables, data were presented mainly in tabular forms. Qualitative data were analyzed in-depth description form.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The study has some limitations. In Bangladesh, there is no official statistics describing the impacts of development programs on Santal community. Some limitations were as follows-

- a. Most of the respondents were not familiar with the concept of development programs so there were some obstacles in data collection.
- b. Since the sample was selected purposively any generalization should be made with cautiously.
- c. The sample size of the research was not very large so it might not be considered as representative unit.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

Neither the Social Science Research Council in Bangladesh nor any of the authority had institutional review boards or committees who could approve the study. I followed the ethical guidelines given by Miles and Huberman (1994.)

I informed the respondents, local authority and stockholders before my fieldwork. I myself performed my fieldwork.

The researcher received verbal consent from each respondent. The aim and purpose of the research were explained to every respondent. The researcher considered the interviewer's interest and willingness. The inquirer tried best to maintain the local norms, values and beliefs. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured.

Chapter Two

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 made to discuss some of the research findings about Santal community as well as other ethnic communities. Some of the studies relevant to the Santal community as well as other ethnic communities have been reviewed in this chapter.

1. **Dr. Muhammad Samad** (2006) studied on *“The Santals in Bangladesh: Problems, Needs and Development Potentials”* and showed that there are about 70 distinctly recognizable indigenous nationalities in Bangladesh. Among them, Santals are one of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable indigenous communities. Land-grabbing, threats, evictions and killings have marginalized them to such an extent that their existence in Bangladesh is currently at stake. Recently a study was conducted in order to assess the problems and needs of the Santals and to initiate development intervention for improving their life situation. This article presents the predicaments of Santal community and provides recommendations for the well-being of this disadvantaged indigenous community based on the findings of the study conducted. The Santals do not have any say about what kind of ‘development’ they require. Very few organizations work with the Santals, but even there they do not have meaningful participation in the programs undertaken. There is a significant lack of understanding among both the government officials and the NGOs about the needs of the Santals as a nation and as a community. The major issues are thus unidentified, ignored, and finally, unheard by the ‘development’ agencies led by representatives of majority Bengali population. It is not just a case of ignorance; a basic change of attitude is required (Samad, M. 2006).

2. **Dr. Ali Ahsan** (1998) gives detailed information of an ethnic community of Barinda tract in his book *“The Santals of Bangladesh”*. 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 Santal 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.

He also explained 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. The Researcher's observation articulated that Santal now seems 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 breaking now. Some are keeping traditional religion and some are continuing Christianity. Actually Christianity impacted highly on their culture and they were 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.

3. **Hossain Kazi Tobarak** (2000) in his book *“The Santals of Bangladesh: An Ethnic Minority in Transiti”* has 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 in 3 areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sylhet, Mymensing, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. The Author emphasized that they all are changing, because of different 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.

4. **Manik Akhteruddin** in his book "*Bangladesher Santal Somaj*" 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 are solely based on the other 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 firsthand knowledge about the lives and manner of living people.

The book deals with fifteen tribes 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 Santa'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 afterlife. It also contains a number of songs in Santali in Bangla translations.

5. **Bag, Dhanapati** (1987) in "*In the Midst of Santals*" has stated that 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 is by the demands of employment. Even today their condition has hardly changed.

The writer tries to find out Santals living in close 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 making 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 his book were the Santals living in the Bolpur Santiniketan area. Adivasi 'Santals'¹ who are living close ties are 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.

6. **Abdul Jalil** (1995) in "*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.

Though they are small in number, they have originality in their culture. They are the most prehistoric people of this sub-continent. They feel arrogant and consider themselves as the most prehistoric and original people of Bangladesh. The writer, in research, tried to elaborate their day to day life.

7. **Majid Mustafain**"*Adibashi Sangskriti*" 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 outlook. In spite of this, they are upholding their heritage, which is going on century after century. In this book the author discussed the origin of Santal which has a fascinating myth 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 are also discussed here.

8. **Pussetto L.** (2000) in the book "*Santals of Bangladesh*" has explained Santal race, origin and language of Bangladesh. The Santals are animist people. The Author also explained their houses, villages, roads, sacred grove and social structure of the village.

According to the author's 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 about the cult of the spirits, although 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, in Santal tha is called Pans. According to Boding 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 do not 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.

9. **Mehrab Alis** (1980) has explained in his book *“Dinajpurer Adibashi”* different types of tribal communities' life and tradition who are living in Dinajpur Region. How they celebrate their culture and adjust with other culture it is also explained here.

10. Bangladesh Asiatic Society in the book *"Adibashi Janogoshthi"* explains the whole indigenous people who live in southeastern and Northern part of Bangladesh. And the author also describes the colorful life and traditions. 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 and 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 colors 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. The Santals being Hardworking, honest, illiterate and poor, 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 consider themselves to be Bengalis. As they wrote in an issue of the Santal language periodical 'Hariar Sakam¹ 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 the book from where we have got many information and made a theoretical framework.

11. **Sohana Khandoker**, in her article gives detailed information of Santal community. She also deals with ethnicity and political identity, Santal constitutions and rights, land disputes, discrimination in labor market, silent discrimination in education and employment.

Her article also focused on the vulnerability, insecurity and existing struggle of Santals in Bangladesh.

12. "*Life and Living of Santal Women of Dinajpur*" is a thesis by *Fatema Tania*.

In this paper she focused on:

- a. Settlement Pattern of the Santal physical traits, language, dress pattern, ornaments, food habit and nutritional situation, song, dance.
- b. Social organization, clan organization, family, kinship, marriage.
- c. Political organization, duties of the political leaders, judgment system, impact of missionary and modernization, women involvement in Santal political organization.
- d. Economic life, NGO's intervention, technological development.

From the literatures discussed above, some of the key findings can be ascertained as follows:

- i. Santal community has their own culture. But it is pragmatic that the longstanding traditions and culture of the Santals are undergoing changes due to the intervention of exterior forces which are working for the disintegration and transformation of the distinct archaic ethnic culture of the Santals.

- ii. Development activities impacted highly on their culture and they were also influenced by urbanization.
- iii. Study results show that there are some problems of Santal related to ethnicity and political identity, Santal constitutions and rights, land disputes, discrimination in labor market, silent discrimination in education and employment along with vulnerability, insecurity and existing struggle of Santals are the challenges in Bangladesh.

Finally, it can be said that the effective development initiatives, proper execution and implementation, policy formulation can ensure the development of Santal. Once policy based changes can be brought out for Sanal, it accelerates their life. Reviewing these literatures help the researcher form a sound basis for analysis of the present research findings. Findings and analysis of data of the present study will enrich the existing literatures pertinent to the impact of development initiatives for Santal in Bangladesh.

Chapter Three

Santal: Origin, Culture and Realities

3.1 Historical Background of the Santals

Since how long 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, not after 1000 B. C. It is probable that the Santals scattered throughout Bengal at the time of the Muslim invasion of this region during the last decades of the twelfth century or at the beginning of thirteenth century. In the words of Fr. Luiz Pussetto; (2008) "the Santals retired progressively toward more calm regions or where it was easier to defend [themselves] from the invaders... "

In later times, with the historic Santal Revolution in 1855 under the British Colonial rule in the Indian subcontinent, when 30,000 thousand Santals are believed to have been killed (M. Hasdak, 2003), it is beyond any doubt that many of the Santals were dispersed into distant lands and geographically isolated territories. Many of them even crossed the river Ganges and end up in the East, the part of present Bangladesh. Many think that the early Santals came to North Bengal in search for job opportunities, especially when the railway tracks were under construction during the British rule in the second half of the 19th century. This may be one of the reasons that most Santals in Bangladesh are found settling on both sides of the railway lines from North to South.

3.1.1 The Name "Santal"

Regarding the name Santal, opinions differ among the scholars. For Skrefsrud, the name *Santal* is a corruption of Soontor, and was adopted by the tribe after their sojourn for several generations in the country around Saont in Midnapur. W. B. Oldham opined that Santal is an abbreviation of *Samantawata*, which has its etymology from Sanskrit *Samanta*, another name given to the country around Saont. O'Malley is of the opinion that *Santal* is an English form adopted from Hindi which

corresponds with the form *Saotal* used by the Bengali speaking people. Sir John Shore designated Santals as *Soontars* while for McPherson it is *Saungtars*. For P. O. Bodding it would derive from Sent or Sot or *Sar*, a region of the district of Midnapur, in India. Bishop J. Obert who had long experience working with the Santals looked at this from different perspective. According to him, *Set* would mean seven, number referred to the seven rivers of a region: Country of the seven rivers (Pussetto, 2008). Most Anthropologists agree that *Santal* is a name given to this tribe by non-Santals. However, Santals prefer to call neither themselves nor meaning "human being or person." For the Santals the concept nor bears a rich connotation to mean a person with qualities of intellect, of knowledge, of wisdom; they refer themselves as a tribe with dignity and full human potentiality. The Santals are proud of their identity that defines the traits of solidarity and uniqueness as a group.

3.1.2 Origin, Race, and Language

As to the "origin" of the Santals, very little is known for certain. The Santals have no recorded history. Like other ancient societies, Santals have tried to explore the mysteries of creation, history and life by means of myths and legends. Following the anthropological data, some authors classify Santals as Pre-Dravidian and others as Proto-Austroloids; and others as aboriginals of the Northwest. Thus, the opinions in this respect are very discordant. The Santals do have their own mythology of creation and many believe that they all have come from *Pilcu hofom* and *Pilcu budhi*, which is like Adam and Eve in the Bible.

Santali is the mother tongue spoken by the Santals. It is a munda language of the *kherwar* group that belongs to the munda-non-Khmer or 'Austro-Asiatic's (N-Prasad) sub-family. But there are other different opinions on this too. According to N. Prasad, "Santal is the richest dialect among all the tribal dialects of Bihar."

The language spoken by the Santals is Santali. The Santali language is a part of the Austro-Asiatic family. The Santali script is a relatively recent innovation. The Santals did not have a written language until the twentieth century and it used Latin/Roman,

Devnagri, Oriya and Bangla writing systems. In Santal inhabited rural areas, they speak to each other in Santali language. But when they speak to others, they speak in Bengali. Their children generally learn both the languages at their early ages.

3.1.3 Religion

The Santal people thinks the soul is immortal as well as the creator is immortal. The Santal religion worships *Marang buru* (big hill) or *Bonga* as supreme deity. The weight of belief falls on a court of spirits (*Bonga*), who handles different aspects of the world and who must be placated with prayers and offerings in order to ward off all evil influences. They believe that *Marang Burn* first looked after them, feed them, clothed them, gave them sex and taught them brewing of rice beer. A yearly round of rituals connected with the agricultural cycle, along with life-cycle rituals for birth, marriage and burial at death, involve petitions to the spirits and offerings that include the sacrifice of animals, usually birds. Religious leaders are male specialists in medical cures who practice divination and witchcraft (*Adibasi Janogoshti, Bangladesh Asiatic Society, 2007*).

3.1.4 The Santali Festival and Amusement

The Santal community mainly prefers group performance than solo. Group dancing and singing is the most important medium to express their joy and happiness. The most well known dance form of the Santals is a group of women with interlocked hands forming a semicircle, encircling a relatively smaller group of male percussionists at the centre. The *Dasai* dance is performed only by males of the community on festive occasions. *Langre*, *Guluri*, and *Humti* are danced all the year round, whereas *Baha* and *Sohorai* are only for festive seasons. In social ceremonies like marriage, *Dong* is danced. The Santali songs also have similar variety like their dance. The Santali word for song is "*Sereng*". The Santali culture is depicted in the paintings and artworks in the walls of their houses.

The Santals celebrate loads of festivals in different occasions. The Santals follow cycle of nature and agricultural term to celebrate festivals accordingly. They celebrate

these festivals to invoke the nature for increasing their wealth and free them from all the enemies. They celebrate festivals like *Sohorai*- from the end of *Paush* up to the entire month of *Magh*, *Karam*-in *Aswin* (September- October) in order to have increased wealth and progeny and to get rid of the evil spirits. *Disumsendra*- to celebrate hunting on the eve of *Baishakhi Purnima*. *Era*- Paddy sowing festival, *Jamtala Bonga*- festival to celebrate when the year of paddy hangs downward exclusively in the year when crop is destroyed due to scanty rainfall. *Makar Parva*-the Prime festival of the Santal celebrated with pomp and grandeur in the month of *Paush* (January) when the paddy reaping is half done and the mind is free from all lures and anxieties (*Interview with Nicholas Murmu, Hatrampur, Dinajpur on 15 March, 2015*).

3.1.5 Judicial System

The Santal community traditionally had an organized judicial system for the management and solution of the various problems within the community. They make every effort to solve the social problems arising within their community by themselves. The Santali system of governance is known as *Manjhi- Paragana* which may be compared to Local Self Governance. This body is responsible for making decisions to restructure the village's socio-economic condition. The head of the Santal community is called *Manjhi Hadam* (headman of village). He is the chief of the executive, judicial and all other functions within the society. He is assisted by other office bearers like *Paranik, Jagmanjhi, Jagparanik, Naike, Gudit*, etc.

3.1.6 The Customs of the Santals

Birth is regarded as a very joyous occasion in the society of the Santals. After the birth of a child, the Santal midwife or *Gaasibudhi* cuts the umbilical cord of the child with an arrow and buries it near the door. The child is named on the day of the birth or on any odd numbered day following birth. The first-born son is given the name of his grandfather; and the second male child will be named from maternal side. He is also given another name for calling him. After birth of the child the family has to provide feast to the villagers. Kinship and Social Network, the Santals are a patrilineal ethnic group where descent is reckoned through male lines. They have a patrilineal society

where father is generally the household head. But females are also given significant importance as they also contribute economically in the household. The ritual of marriage generally comes in the life of all boys and girls of the Santals. Monogamy is the usual form of marriage. Bigamy is also allowed. Levirate and Surrogate marriage are possible depending on the situation. Premarital relation within lineage group is not allowed. The death during old age is taken good because it brings occasion of transformation of body and soul of a person. The dead body is buried or cremated. Only male members participate in death rituals. The dead are cremated as well as buried. The entire village has to mourn the death. After seven days the Santals purify themselves by bathing in a river. Family is the smallest unit of social organization in the Santal society. Family is nuclear, husband-wife and their unmarried children. Married son established their own family and married daughter leave the house to lead a family with their husband. The Santal tribe is divided into 12 clans or Parish. They are (1) *Kisku* (rulers) (2) *Hasda*. (3) *Murmu* (priest)) (4) *Hambrom* (judges) (5) *Mardi* (businessman) (6) *Sauren* (soldiers) (7) *Tudu* (musician) (8) *Baski* (9) *Besra* (10) *Pauria* (11) *Gua Soren* (12) *Chaure* (*Adibasi Janogoshti. Bangladesh Asiatic Society, 2007*).

3.1.7 Geographical Location

In Bangladesh, the Santals are found mostly in North Bengal (Northern part of Bangladesh) especially in the then greater districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, and Rajshahi. According to the census of 1881, the Santals resulted present in the district of Khulna, Pabna and Chittagong in the south. Many say that the Santals, who are in Sylhet, are the ones who migrated from the districts mentioned above and came here mainly to work in the tea gardens as laborers. In short, the Santals of Bangladesh are almost all derived from those emigrated from the Santal Pargana in India and nothing distinguishes them from those who are still living there, with the exception, perhaps of the use of *Bangla* words that are *Santalized* (L. Pussetto, 2008). In recent times some of the Bangladeshi Santals also started going abroad taking employment opportunities.

3.1.8 The Global view

The Santals are simple and unsophisticated people. Like any other people, the Santals have developed their own worldview, a system suited to deal with the basic problems of life and its meaning. They have perceived the enigma and the basic dichotomy of human existence-life and death, good and evil from their own perspective. For the Santals, life, health, wealth, prosperity, happiness, tribal solidarity, religious belief, mores, etc., are "good"; and death, illness, poverty, misfortune, injury etc. are "evil". Their religious experiences is mediated through their culture and are expressed in terms of symbols, metaphors, myth, legends, folklore, songs, cult, rituals and so on (Albert Larka). The Santals consider *Thakur Jiu* (Life Giver) or *Cando Baba* (Sun Father) or *Marang Buru* (Great Mountain) as the source of all "good"; while it is the "evil eye", the "evil mouth" and the *baric'* bongo or malevolent spirits who cause harms in human life. Therefore, while acknowledging the Supreme Being, they also propitiate the bongo in an attempt to solve the problems of suffering, sickness, and other crisis. All these quite often lead them to superstitious beliefs and give rise to prominence of the fear of the *bongo*. For the Santals every newborn child coming from the invisible and shadowy world needs to be purified, identified and introduced to the Santal society. Much of such realities are expressed through the ritual ceremonies performed after a child is born. The ritual of *the janam chatiar* (birth purification and name-giving ritual) is one example where these aspects are enacted through bathing, shaving the head of the baby, divining of orwo rice (unboiled rice) grains and welcoming of the baby by the community. The death purification ceremonies like funeral rites of *Bhandan*, or *Mora Karam* (after-death celebration) provide further details of the Santal-belief system that the dead person goes back to the same spirit-world of life from where he/she had come as a baby and remains defiled and defiling, for which reason not only the family that needs purification, but the very return of the deceased person to its original state or shadowy-world is already defiling because it is a tribeless-state, condemned and sinful state and because it has been created for the punishment of the sins of greed and pride. Hence, the deceased person needs to be brought back spiritually to his/her own family and is installed as an invisible member as *hapram* (ancestor). The deceased, although invisible, remain a

permanent member of the family and are remembered and respected during all their family occasions. The Santals believe that "when a human being becomes perfectly free from all greed and pride this state will be removed and that will be the New Creation" which in Christianity may be compared with the state of salvation.

For the Santals, there is no clear distinction between the sacred and the profane, religious and non-religious, spiritual and the material areas of life. Animals and the material world are at the disposal of human beings for their self-preservation and well-being. Moreover, Santal-life is closely related to nature and to the whole of creation. Land and forest remain united with Santal-identity and are very much reflected in their lives, love, poetry, songs, dance and music. The Santals, for example, address to the "supreme being" as *Cando Baba* (Sun Father) and the stars too have different names. According to Archer, "Although fields, houses, men and women seem to constitute a Santal village, Santals regard them as at most a portion of their total world." (Archer)

3.1.9 The Santals in their Socio-Cultural Realities

(a) The Santal-village: The Santal village is a pattern of Santal living and it is the most traditional and ancient institution, which crystallizes the whole system of social, political, and ritual structures. It comes into existence through the special dispensation of the bongo and is sanctified by their blessings. The presence of different clans in a village demonstrates the beauty of a community living and obviously the democratic character of the village administration itself is a sign of incredible richness of the Santal societal dealing and living. A Santal village is demarcated with an implicit boundary so that it may remain free from outside interference of evil spirits. The Santals believe that quarrels among families and groups in the village, natural calamities, sickness, epidemics, etc., are caused by lack of balance between the forces of good and evil. (Murmu, 2004)

The Santal villages enjoy a large measure of internal autonomy and they are mainly governed by their own traditional laws and customs. Santals have their own method

of dealing with various issues of moral and religious nature (Troisi, 2004). But, this situation is rapidly changing due to the introduction of the state laws. The application of Hindu laws to the Santals, especially with regard to the inheritance of property rights, created much disputes among them who have enjoyed their own customs and traditions since times immemorial.

(b) Social Structure of Santal Village: The primary feature of every Santal village is the "*Manjhi* Council" or the village council headed by a *Manjhi* (headman). The village council is the representative body of the community consisting of seven officials, namely: *Manjhi*, *Paranik* (a deputy headman), *Jog Manjhi* (an overseer of the village on moral issues), *Jos Paranik* (assistant to *JogManjhi*), *Godet'* (a messenger), *Naeke* (a village priest), and his assistant is *Kudam Noeke*. These officials in fact are the servants, not the masters of the village and their role is purely functional. The *Manjhi* remains as the overall leader of the village council and presides over the village meeting but with the accepted principle that no one overrules any one else. The functions of the council on the other hand, are categorically divided among the members in order to avoid any overlapping. The council members perform their functions in accordance with their tribal customs and traditions. The pattern of the village governance of the Santals is mostly democratic in character like any other democratic institution. However in present time, with the introduction of the government-sponsored *Union Par/sod* (local administrative council) the social control of the traditional *manjhi* council of the Santals is mostly undermined.

Following the patriarchal pattern, the *Manjhi* (leader) of the village for the Santals, is always a male. The title of the *Manjhi* is generally hereditary and it is passed on patrilineally. Now-a-days, the male members of the village may elect or even select their own headman upon common consensus. The term of office is indefinite but can be altered by general agreement according to the need. Although the office of the headman is voluntary and honorary in nature, the members of the *Manjhi* council are responsible to the community for the smooth running of the village particularly for social matters.

(c) **The Clans:** Santals are endogamy as a people because they cannot get married outside their tribe, but they are exogamic as clan because they cannot be married between the same clan (Paris). Traditionally the Santals used to have fostered a total of twelve clans but unfortunately in the course of history one has been missing. The clans are: 1) Baskey, 2) Besra, 3) Core, 4) Hasdak, 5) Hembrom, 6) Kisku, 7) Marandi, 8) Murmu, 9) Pauria, 10) Soren, 11) Tudu, and 12) Bedea (the lost one).

Major functions of the clans are to regulate marriage, inheritance, succession and affiliation (Ali 1988; also Hossain 2000). One becomes a clan member by birth. It is said that these clans are hierarchically ordered on the basis of occupation, like: Kisku *raja* (king), Marandi *Kipisar* (wealthy or richer), Murmu *Thakur* (priest), Soren *Sipahi* (warrior), Tudu *Mandaria* (musician), and so on and so forth. However, according to the researcher, these occupational hierarchies of status do not have any impact on the Santals in daily lives.

(d) **Family and Marriage:** Family is the primary unit of human society. The family among the Santals can be termed as of biological, joint, and extended. A husband, his wife and their unmarried children form part of the biological or nuclear family. A husband, his wife and his married and unmarried sons and daughters and sometimes his old parents, brother and his family form part of the joint family or extended family type.

According to the Santals, marriage is a union between a man and a woman, which is socially recognized; culturally and religiously it allows the couple to live in a family. A Santal marriage can be described also as a legal transfer of dependency of the bride, from her father's family to the groom's family. By this transfer, the groom's family does not only assume guardianship but also assumes control over all her affairs. Through marriage the bride loses her paternal legal identity and acquires the identity of the groom's family. In the institutional sense, marriage is the partnership between a man and a woman regulated by customary laws that enhance legal union between the

sexes and define the procedures for establishing the husband-wife relation, the reciprocal obligations and the accepted restrictions upon its personnel.

As to the origin and institution of marriage, the Santals believe that the Creator Himself has established marriage. That is, the *Thakur Jiu* who created the first human pair (*Pilcu haram* and *Piku budhi*) has also instituted marriage. Although there are some instances of polygamy, monogamy is the nature of most Santal marriages. Besides serving sexual needs and procreation of heirs, a Santal marriage has also other purposes, such as companionship, formation of family, economic security, cooperation in the family enterprise, social and psychological security, etc. Thus, Santal marriage is not only between two persons of opposite sex but it also becomes a bond of union between two families, two villages, and also influences the circle of relationship among the relatives. M. A. Jalil mentions four types of marriage among the Santals in Bangladesh. These are: 1) *Dongwa bopia* (contact marriage), 2) *Angir bapla* (love marriage), 3) *Or bapla* (force marriage), and 4) 'tut' bapla (tactical marriage). C. Mukharji mentions several other forms of marriage among the Santals in Santal Parganas, in India. These are: *Bariat bapla*, *Tanki dipil*, *Baha dor bapla*, *Jharipani bapla*, *Kiriri jawae*, *Sanga bapla*, *Nirbolok' bapla*, *Ghardi jawae bapla*, and *Hiram cetan bapla*. Moreover, Santals do have exceptions especially in the case of marriage between candidates of the same clan. For example, when the marriage of a young couple of the same clan for a valid reason becomes necessary, and consanguinity or affinity does not prevent it, they apply a juridical pretense. In such case, an elderly couple of a different clan, adopts the bride as their daughter through a simple ritual ceremony and gives the proper name to her.

Marriage among the Santals is usually arranged by the parents and by the close relatives of the couple. Yet, in present days, there is much relaxation on this traditional practice and the candidates do have their say for arranging their marriage.

(e) Annual Festivals and Ceremonies: The Santal society is marked with feasts, festivals and ritual celebrations. One of the terms often used by the Santals is *raska*

meaning happiness, or joy, which is not only dear to their hearts but is part and parcel of their life. Thus, we find dancing and singing have a very important role at every festival occasion. It brings a Santal to forget worries and stresses of his or her day-to-day life. In the social life of the Santals, feasts and festivals have great significance for these are the living expression of the deep aspiration of joy and happiness, and also demonstrate the feeling of community and solidarity integrated as part of the nature of the Santals. Many of such characteristics are expressed in songs, music and in dance. In fact, the Santals don't give any space to individualism and it is really during the feasts and festivals that an individual realizes himself or herself in the community and his or her future role in the life of the community. Although, most of these festivals seemingly appear as mere gathering of close friends and relatives, individuals of the same sub-clan or that concern only the inhabitants of a village; yet, there are also occasions that involve more villages, as it usually happens on the occasion of marriage when participation is mostly unanimous. In any of these feasts and festivals, there are certain rites and rituals being followed often accompanied by simple offering at the center. Ablutions and unction of oil, the use of vermilion to mark the sacrificial victim and even being used by the participants, bears a greater significance. In fact, some of these festival performances consist of some sort of worship or folk cults. From the rites and festivals of the Santals, it is quite clear that their economic life, social organization and ritual performances are interwoven mainly around agriculture. The Santals believe that the aspects of material life must be protected and guarded by appropriate rites and festivals; and bongo (spirits) must be satisfied by giving their due shares.

Many of the socio-cultural festivals and ritualistic celebrations indicate that Santals have deeper insights that go beyond mere external celebrations. However, due to the scope and limitation of this study, we only mention some main annual festivals and ceremonies commonly observed like: *Sohorae* (harvest festival), *Baha* (flower festival), *Erok'* (sowing of rice seeds in the field), *Iri-Gundli Nawai* (offering of the first fruits of the millet *iri*), *Janthar* (offering of the first fruits of the winter rice crop). Santals also have occasional rites and festivals, which are neither associated with

agricultural operations nor performed annually. Some of these are: *Jom Sim*, *Mak' More* and *Karam*.

3.1.10 Socio-Economic and Political Realities

(a) Occupations and Living: Traditionally Santals are mainly agriculturists. They cling to their land as their principal occupation and means of subsistence. About 95% of the Santals are involved in agricultural operations. Industrious and hardworking as they are, unfortunately the scientific side of their knowledge about cultivation and managing their land has not been developed. In the past the majority of the Santals were landowners, but due to the increase in population, exploitation by moneylenders and landlords, illegal occupation of their land, poverty and illiteracy, natural calamities etc. the vast majority of the Santals in Bangladesh have lost their land properties. At present, nearly 80% of the Santals are land-less, forcing them to earn their livelihood depending on the mercy and availability of work in the fields of their Muslim or Hindu neighbors for their mere subsistence. Yet, it is significant to note that traditionally there are no beggars among the Santals. Rather, the Santals in the time of dire poverty go to the jungle to collect wild plants, fruits, wild potatoes and roots of young shoots, flowers, mushrooms, etc.

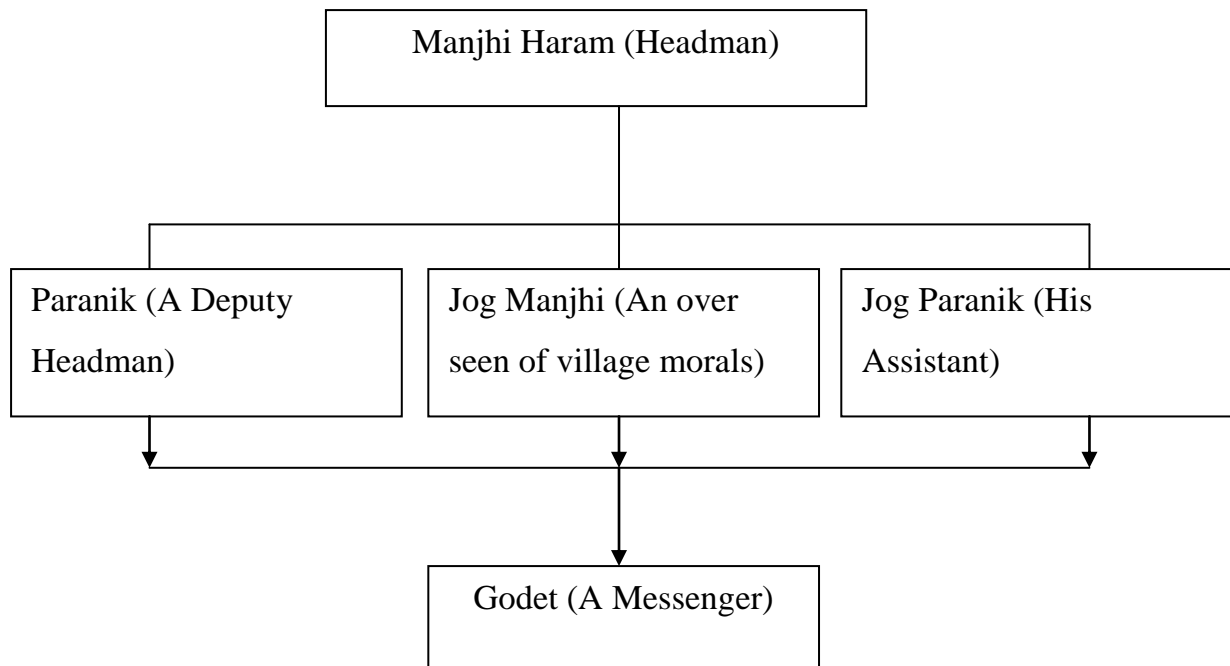
Hunting and fishing that used to be part of Santal-living, have now become secondary importance due to the change of situation. Lack of employment opportunities in the village areas, also forced many Santals to flock to the nearby towns and cities in search of daily wages and jobs. The women in Santal society play an important role in maintaining their families but in reality they remain deprived of their equal right, which is reflected by the fact that women are not eligible for the inheritance of properties.

Santals have never been found to be interested in commerce or any such profession to avail of economic self-reliance. This is one of the reasons why they remain rather marginalized inviting poverty in their lives. Moreover, most Santals do not think about future, rather they are more concerned for the day; it's a day-to-day living and they

remain satisfied and happy with the little they can have for maintaining their family. However, due to some progress in education, a small number of Santals have been able to make little changes in their way of living. Some have taken up modern professions like teachings, technical assistance, judicial advocacy, nursing etc.

(b) Political Reality: Santals, a peace loving people have never been found interested in politics. Yet, they have always reacted when things went severely painful and they were pushed against the wall when they could not bear anymore. The historic Santal Revolution in 1855-56, the *Tebhaga Andolon* (share croppers' movement) in 1945, and the *Nachol Bidroho* (farmers' revolution) in the year 1950, are the concrete examples of the past (Jalil, 1991, p-120). In fact, Santals have always been used by others in the forefront battle. Illiteracy, absence of organizational set up and lack of genuine leadership have kept the Santals far from achieving any end result. In recent years, some of the Santals have been found to take active role in the local politics by their participation in the local election.

Figure 3.1: The Stratums of the Helmet Political Institutions



(Source: Field work of the Hatrampur Village)

(c) Conflict management: Human society does not live in perfect harmony with one another. People often behave themselves in such a way that other people's property rights and even their physical and psychic selves are violated; Santal society is not an exception to this. Beside the democratic pattern of the village governance, the Santals traditionally follow a tribal system of conflict management. In any case, the issue is always reported to the *Manjhi* (headman) who takes initiative to settle the matter by the village court that constitutes all the male members of the village community. A number of villages also form one local administrative unit under a Pargana Council, which consists of (usually) five *mahjhi* from the neighboring Santal villages. Any issue that cannot be solved in a *Manjhi* Council is referred to Pargana court (Murmu).

The third judiciary procedure of the Santals is known as *Des Manjhi* Council. It consists of the representatives of: a) head of the *Manjhi* Councils, and b) the Pargonos (head of the Pargana Councils). This juridical entity is superior to both the *Manjhi* Council and Pargana Council. The *Des Manjhi* Council acts as an appeal court to settle disputes that remain unresolved by the two inferior judiciary councils.

Traditionally, Santals also have the practice of *Sendra Baisi* (hunting court) or *Lo Bir Baisi* (forest court), which is the highest court for the Santals. This informal court, consisting of the elders belonging to the region, takes decisions on outstanding cases. It hears appeal made against the ruling of the *Manjhi* or the *Pargana* councils. The decision of this hunt or forest council comes into immediate effect. In extreme cases, when the community bond is in jeopardy, the forest court (*LoBir Baisi*) can resort to physical punishment. The *dihri* (special priest) presides over this council. This court makes judgment on the basis of the principle of equality that is, where human dignity is respected and all are considered equal in front of the law (L.o. Skrefsrud, Milan, 1983). With the change of situation, especially with the installation of the state law applicable to all the citizens, both *Pargana Baisi* and *Sendra Baisi* do not seem to be effective in Bangladesh anymore. The breakdown of these socio-juridical entities has created many social problems threatening the social integrity and identity of the Santals.

3.1.12 Beliefs and Ritual Practices

(a) The Belief in One Supreme Being: As it has already been mentioned earlier, Santals do believe in one "supreme being" whom they call *Thakur Jiu* (Life Giver) or *Marang bum* (Great Mountain) who is considered to be the "supreme" among all the "religious beings". The most common Santal-term used for the Supreme Being these days is *Cando Baba* (Sun Father). According to the experience of the researcher the Santals here do not refer literally to the Sun itself rather, it is an expression of a divine activity: expression of divine love in relation to human beings. For the Santals, *Cando Baba* is a benevolent Deity who organizes the days and nights and is responsible for heat and cold, rain and sunshine; and from a dwelling 'somewhere in the sky', allots each Santal a term of life here on earth. But, he stays far away, far above the sky and cannot be reached. It is underneath the sun, beneath the clouds, that Santal life is challenged. Here the bongo roams around and only by coming to terms with them can Santals be happy.

(b) The Belief in *Bonga* (spirits): The Santals believe in the existence of the spirits who are called bongo. The bongo has much repercussion on daily living of the Santals. To ensure their continuing care, beside annual sacrifices, the bongos are remembered in a daily basis. Whenever a meal is taken, a small portion of the food is dropped on the floor for the *bongo*, or at the time whenever rice-beer is drunk, a little is spilt on the ground for *Marang Buru*. Thus, the Santals live not only in their tribal society but in a greater society consisting of supernatural beings as well (Datta Majumder, 1995).

In practice, the Santals often use the term bongo meaning "to incorporate" someone into the society by doing certain ritual. The phrase used in this case is: *bonga tola kedeako* meaning, he/she has been admitted into Santal society.

According to the Santal religious belief there are two types of bonga-the malevolent and the benevolent ones. The bongo-worship is primarily to please and to invoke the powers of the benevolent bonga (Gausdal, 1960) and to avert the ill will of the

malevolent *bonga*. In the worship of Bongo we can distinguish analytically two interrelated aspects:

- a) The objective aspect of the religious rites is to have an alliance with the benevolent Bongo and thereby controlling or even defeating the powers of the malevolent Bongo; and
- b) The expressive aspect of the worship is manifested through various seasonal and religious rites, festivals and rites associated with various social rituals.

Santals have an innate relationship with their Bongo and consider themselves living with them. This relationship is mostly of dependence, submission, propitiation and reverential fear. The Santals do supplications; offer rice-beer; and animal sacrifices in the name of the *Bonga*. It is worth mentioning that there are instances among the Santals in the rural villages where persons even in time of serious sickness would not look for medical help instead leave it to the Bongo to be cured.

(c) Belief in Witchcraft: Related to Santal belief-system, is also the existence of witches. The Santals believe that there are certain people, especially women, who possess special power and techniques to harm people, cattle, and crops. These so-called witches are involved in doing harmful activities like giving poisons, taking out human livers, sending troublesome spirits to certain families and changing themselves into black cats. Because of such belief in witchcraft practices, the Santals easily suspect one another, and are often led to fight. It is presumed that it is essential to have such a belief especially in the pagan world. However, there is also a counter-belief among the Santals that there are certain people *Ojha-janguru* (specialists), mainly men, who possess special power and techniques for detecting witches and nullifying their spells. Thus, whenever Santals get into trouble, they seek the help of these people who, more often exploit the society.

Referring to the sickness and other problems, the Santals believe that they are caused by the evil spirits when they become dissatisfied with the sacrifices of the people or when they think that they are being manipulated by some evil-minded people

(witches). Therefore, the Santals try to identify the agents of the trouble through the help of *ojha-janguru* and try to pacify each agent through various sacrifices.

(d) The Ancestors: From the rites and rituals as practiced by the Santals, it is quite evident that ancestor-worship is a common feature among them. The dead ancestors are the real benefactors of the families or groups to which they belonged and that they are easily approachable by their living kinsmen. Hence, at all important occasions of birth, of marriage or of death the deceased ancestors are remembered and offered sacrifices.

(e) The Jaherthan: The *Jaherthan* or the sacred grove is an essential part of a Santal village. It is a sacred place of special worship for the Santals. After a village has been set up, a *Jaherthan* is installed through ritual ceremony at the outskirts of the village. The main deity of the *Jaherthan*, is known as *Jaher Era* (the lady of the grove). According to the Santals, she resides there besides other important deities such as the *Moreko-Turuiko* (literally means "five-six"). The *Jaher Era* presides over the sacred grove, tends over other bongo in the *Jaherthan* and looks after the interests of the villagers especially for their physical needs. The spirits of the *Jaherthan* are worshipped during the principal festivals, like *Sohorae* (Harvest festival), *Baha* (Flower festival), *Erok'* (Sowing festival), and so on for the general welfare of the village particularly for obtaining good crops and for the health of the villagers and their livestock.

(f) The Manjhithan: The Manjhithan or the altar of the headman is placed alongside the *kulhi* (village road) or often at the central place of the village or in front the house of the *Manjhi* (the headman). It is believed that the *Manjhi* bongo (spirit of the headman) resides in this altar and acts as the spiritual adviser of the headman. Here the *Manjhi* offers sacrifice for the benefit of himself, his family and for the whole village.

(g) The "House-altar": In the inner side of a Santal house, there remains the *bhitar*, a tiny compartment, which is the darkest space of the house. It is the abode of the *orok* bongo (house spirits) or often known as abge bongo-the bongo of the sub-clan. The head of the family does the worship. In any occasion of the family and social festivals, food offering is made on this altar. The names of the *orak* bongo are not revealed to outsiders and even to the female members of the house rather, handed down from father to son. Usually the eldest son receives the name from his father. The *bhitar* is also used as a secret place to germinate and to store *handi* (rice beer), which is not only used as normal drink but its use is significant and extended to socio-cultural ritualistic celebrations, and even that to be offered to satisfy the *bongo*.

(h) The Afterlife: The Afterlife is the continuation of life that is lived in this world. The Santals believe that the spirit of the deceased goes to a shadowy world where the person requires the materials of this world. This is well expressed with the ritual practices done at the time of burial and during the *bhandan*, the last ceremony done in honor of the dead. In the past, it was performed immediately after all the requirements had been fulfilled for the deceased person, but in present days such ceremony, in a rich family, is done within two or three months from the death and in a poor family, it is one year or two. For the Santals, the more numerous are the animal-victims offered in honor of the dead during the *bhandan*, the more would be the animals that the ancestor will have in the other world. Most animal-victims are donated by the relatives and none of them are to be spared for future use by the family concerned.

Traditionally every Santal, male and female, is supposed to bear undeletable scars on the body. For the male, it is the *sika* that must be at least three scars representing *jion* (life), *moron* (death), and *jion* (life). The Santal women do not practice *sika*, but to escape to be devoured by the worms in the life-after, they have their chest tattooed, which is called by the Santals *khodo*. Fr. Pussetto, with his vast experience with the Santals testified:

I have not only seen Santal women tattooed on the chest but also the back, the face, the arms and the legs; the tattoos were enough complicated, but purely ornamental. The tattoo will serve to the women to be recognized from the respective husbands in the other life.

In the present times the younger generation of the Santals in Bangladesh does not practice *sika* or *khodc* or rather these have become voluntary. However, every Santal child bears needle-eye wholes in his/her two ears to use ornaments when they grow up and especially at the time of his/her marriage.

3.1.13 Morality in Santal Conception

For the Santals, morality means rightful doing and living; and remaining true and loyal to their tribal identity. For the Santals, morality is intimately linked with the issues pertaining to sex. For them, sex is sacred and it is intimately related only with marriage and it can only be done in secret. The Santals never talk about sex in public; and they use metaphorical language to express sexual issues. In most *Marijhi Council* meetings, sexual issues (*kuri-kora dorbar*) get priority to be resolved. The Santals often have marathon session to settle such issue even it takes more than a day. Since family and village community are the principal arena of moral education and formation, it is clear that Santal-morality is passed on from one generation to another in the living expression of the culture of the people.

3.1.14 The Santals in Search of "New Identity"

Every ethnic group or society has its own unique characteristics, value-systems, language, religious belief, mores, life-attitudes, culture, customs and traditions. It has its own approach to life and death, disease and sickness, individual and community, and above all, a sense of identity. Anyone visiting a Santal village or an area with vast majority of Santal inhabitants will easily realize the difference and the identity that applies to the Santals. This sense of identity or cultural self-image defines the traits of solidarity, uniqueness, and also seeks differences with other groups in the larger society around. Yet, in many ways, the Santals of Bangladesh today can be seen

going through an identity crisis for a variety of reasons. They have not been able to make concerted efforts to face the rapid changing situation. Whatever changes seem to have taken place due to the outside pressure, promotion of education and some initiatives taken by the Church, do not reach out to the bulk of the Santals living in the rural villages scattered around the countryside. As the time passes, Santals are more and more becoming marginalized-struggling for survival without having proper direction to move forward to improve their life situation.

There is clearly a confrontation between the ritual-based sense of traditional culture and the forces of change and modernization represented by the socio-political and socio-economic factors allied to these changes. In fact, the Santals are badly caught up between the mythological past of glorious traditions and the present with its ever degrading and desperate poverty caused by ignorance, exploitation and oppression by their neighbors.

Moreover, Santals are found to be more divided than being united due to the fact that there are Santals who have already embraced the Christian faith belonging to different church denominations while the vast majority still remains following the old traditional pattern of culture and religious practices. The gap among these groups has been widening in the course of history. According to Kazi Tobarak Hossain, "the social solidarity and homogeneity of the ethnic minority of Santals are weakening and disintegrating. In effect, culturally they are in a transitional state." The Santals today face the transition from the sovereignty of the isolated village to the complexities of modern polity, bureaucracy and money economy (T. Hossain, 2000).

At the time of the Liberation War in 1971 and in the post-war period, both Christians and the non-Christian Santals felt closely affiliated to the Catholic Church. Fr. Giacomelli, a PIME missionary who worked among the Santals during the period reported that he distributed thousands of medals and crucifixes to non-Christian and many were approaching him for security reason. But, this priest was not a missionary to take advantage to convert them. He never discriminated anybody on the ground of

religion. The same could be mentioned with other missionaries who were engaged in other parishes in Bangladesh.

Presently, a little change, mostly among the Christian Santals has been noticed because of their contact with the local mission stations. The *Lego/ Aid* activities for the Tribals supported by Caritas-Bangladesh during the post-war period, *Manjhi Some Chore'* (village leaders' meeting), the *Sida-Kanhu* martyr's day annual celebration, the Diocesan *Credit Union movement*, Educational and Health care facilities and services, pilgrimage to religious shrines, priestly ordination and Bishops' pastoral visits to local parishes created a tremendous impact on the non-Christian Santals to know Christ. Yet, many of them remain closely attached to their traditional beliefs and many also fear the societal excommunication or they are even scared of the harmful consequence of displeasing the bongo. Until now the Santals have not been converted to any other religion like: Islam or Hinduism, except Christianity. This issue is important for the reason that whether the Santals in the near future would be ready to accept Islam or to be converted to other religions as it happened in the past when many low caste Hindus were converted to Islam.

The fact that the Santals who remain artificially divided in two camps: a small number of Christians and the majority remaining out of reach-certainly cannot be a good sign for the Santal society and for its future. The prayer of Jesus for his disciples echoed in the Gospel is something that draws our attention "that they may all be one, as you Father, are in me and I in You, that they also may be in us, that the world may believe that you sent me" (John Paul, 1999).

Thus, evangelization of the Santals in the proper sense would mean a new hope and a new beginning of realizing the dream that will bring the Good News of Jesus to the Santals. "The harvest is plentiful" and Bangladesh remains a "fertile ground" for the mission of evangelization. Hence, the local churches in Bangladesh have a greater - role to play in the field of the evangelization of the Santals. For "God has called us to be Christians not only so that we may be saved but that we may collaborate in the

work of the world's salvation, and invite those whom God draws to the Church to share in our faith."

Thus, the questions to be answered are: Where do the local churches in Bangladesh stand? Does evangelization carry any meaning for the Santals who look forward toward the Church in the silence of their hearts with great hope and who search for a direction of a way, the light, and the truth?

3.1.15 The Santal Population in Bangladesh

The People of the Santal community are found mostly in the northern districts of Bangladesh. Around one third of the Santal population lives in Dinajpur district. They are also found in the districts of Tagoregaon. Panchagarh. Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Nawabganj, Natore. Naogaon.Sirajganj.Joypurhat.Nilphamari.and Gaibandha.

Table 3.1: Districtwise Santal Population

SI. No.	Name of the Districts	Santal Population (as on census 2011)
01	Dinajpur	49,861
02	Rajshahi	26,469
03	Nawabganj	6,228
04	Natore	2,496
05	Naogaon	24,409
06	Sirajganj	621
07	Joypurhat	2,689
08	Bogra	881
09	Gaibandha	3,087
10	Nilphamari	9
11	Panchagarh	920
12	Rangpur	5,645
13	Tagoregaon	6,382-

14	Hobigonj	6.450
15	Moulavibazar	6,245
16	Meherpur	8
17	Chuadanga	590
18	Satkhira	105
Total		1,43,425

(Source: Population Census 2011, BBS)

According to the census of 2011, the Santals resulted present also in the southern districts of Meherpur. Chuadanga and Satkhira. Some population of them have' been living in Hobigonj and Moulavibazar as they, saying is there, migrated from the northern area to work in tea gardens. According to the census of 2011 the total ethnic population is 15, 86,141 (1.10% of our total population). The total ethnic household is 3, 56,175 (1.11% of total household). The Santal population living in the said 18 districts is 1, 43,425 (8.96% of ethnic population and 0.09% of our total population (BBS. 2011).

3.1.16 The Santal Community in Dinajpur

The total population of Dinajpur district is 29, 90,128 whereas the number of the Santa! population living here is 49,861 which is 1.67% of the district's total population (Population census 2011). It is already said that one third of the total Santal population live in Dinajpur district. This population spread all the Upazilas of the district.

Table 3.2: Upazilawise Santal Population in Dinajpur District

SI. no.	Name of upazila	Santal Population
1	Birampur	5605
2	Birganj	6880
3	Biral	3257
4	Bochaganj	2322
5	Chirirbander	2478

6	Fulbari	3956
7	Ghoraghat	4929
8	Hakimpur	1868
9	Kaharole	3305
10	Khansama	386
11	Dinajpursadar	4191
12	Parbatipur	3180
13	Nawabganj	8496
Total		49861

(Source: Population Census 2011. BBS)

3.2 The Present Situation of Santal of Dinajpur

Santals are known as one of oldest tribal populations in Bangladesh, having their own religion (known as sonaton dharma), traditions, and customs. Their social solidarity, religion, and traditions as a distinct culture is at stake today. A large number of this ethnic minority have converted into Christianity, leaving aside their age-old traditional religion. Christianization process has brought tremendous change in their beliefs, traditions and life styles. In addition to that, influence of education, market penetration, and increasing interaction with mainstream population are also working as important forces for the Santals to undergo cultural changes. It is then important to know why they are becoming Christians. After becoming Christians, do they retain any of their traditional cultural traits and traditions? Other than conversion into Christianity, what other changes are taking place among the Santals due to external forces? These questions deserve investigation. Accordingly, in the light of answering these questions, my study attempts to discuss the changing patterns of culture among the Santals.

It is observed that the age-old traditions and culture of the Santals are undergoing changes due to the intervention of external forces, such as Christianization, education, market penetration, 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, we find a number 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 in areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sylhet, Mymensing, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur.

Government and non-government organizations recently have undertaken different development programmes (such as education, infrastructural development and rural electrification and health facilities) in most of the tribal inhabited areas of Bangladesh (Shelly 1992). These programmes are aimed at social and economic *upliftment* of the ethnic minorities of Bangladesh and integrate them socially and economically with the mainstream population of Bangladesh. However, on the flip side of the coin, implications of these development strategies tend to work as forces of disintegration and cultural transition of the ethnic minorities of Bangladesh.

The Santals are one of the oldest tribal populations in Bangladesh. They are largely concentrated in the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. Rough estimate from different sources reveals that there was approximately 1,50,000 Santal population in Bangladesh in 1984 (Ali 1998:13; Sarkar 1998:147). However, updated information on the number of Santals cannot be provided in the absence of tribe wise breakdown of national population census report. The Santals were originally inhabitants of Chotonagpur, Santal Pargana of India. 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. Anthropologists tend to identify the Santals in the racial

category of Proto-Australoid (Siddiquee 1984, Ali 1998). It is assumed that the ancestors of this stock of people migrated from the mainland of Australia to India some ten thousand years ago (Maloney 1974). Santals skin colors is dark, hair is black and smooth to wavy, they have broad nose with thick lips and they are of medium height (Samad 1984, Hossain and Sadeque 1984).

The Santals were originally hunters and gatherers. However, when they migrated to Bangladesh, they were engaged primarily as agricultural laborers. These people are very poor as they do not generally 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 represent the dominant culture of Bangladesh. While talking to some respondents of the study area and adjacent villages, I learnt that the Muslims often exploit them by paying relatively low wages. Some of the Santals who has small amount of cultivable land before, 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. In the study area, I have found 39 (out of 40) Santal household heads are engaged with wage laborers in their own villages and outside (neighboring) villages. Only one household head is found who works as sweeper in the City Corporation office at Dinajpur city. He commutes on working days. Along with the male household heads, their adult female counter parts are also engaged as wage laborers in postharvest activities, earth work, carrying and grinding bricks required for construction works in the nearby urban areas.

I have learnt from key informants that due to scarcity of employment opportunities in village areas, a good number of Santals (mostly Christians) have migrated from Boirchuna and other villages to urban fringes of Dinajpur city in search of nonagricultural employment opportunities. I learnt that Christian Mission and Catholic Bishop's Organization for Charity and Development (CARITAS) located at the outskirts of Dinajpurcity, generally helped these Santal migrants by offering material

help and, sometimes by providing them with jobs. They also provided them with shelters. Their cooperating and helping attitudes motivated the non-Christian Santals to get converted into Christianity later on.

a. Education

The Santals are generally not literate. They however, have their own language known as Santali language. In Santal inhabited rural areas, as I observed in Mirjapur village, they speak to each other in Santali language. But when they speak to others, they speak in Bengali. Children generally learn both the languages at their early ages. But the perturbing setting of the Santal neighborhoods picture are quite different as reported by the key informants and my observation also confirm this in the casual visit to one such area namely, Mirjapur. Here, the Santal Christians who are more or less educated and economically reasonably well off, do not speak within themselves in Santali language. They speak in Bengali. Interestingly enough that third/fourth generation converted Christian children usually do not even know the Santali language. It may be mentioned that Mirjapur is mostly inhabited by the Santal Christians (about 95%). Though literacy rate among the Santals is generally very low in rural areas, recently changes are apparent. Christian Missions have established schools in and around the Santal villages that the Santal children get inspiration to go to schools.

I may mention that recently a school (up to primary level) has been established in Mirjapur village by the Christian Mission. This has specially motivated the children of this village and neighboring villages to go to school. Also Christian Missionaries make routine visits to villages for motivating the parents to send their children to schools where they can have free education, free books and other facilities (Samad 1984 and Ali 1998). However, along with spreading education and advocating for education, they as well try to motivate the Santals to get converted into Christianity saying that if they become converted Christians, they will have better prosperity and socio-economic security.

b. Kinship and Social Network

Santals are a patrilineal ethnic group where descent is reckoned through male lines. Patronyms are as well inherited through male lines. They are a patrilineal society where father is generally the household head. But females are also given significant importance as they also contribute economically in the household. It is observed in the study area that the females almost equally participate in income earning activities for the household. Household structure is generally joint in nature. With the diffusion of modern values, nuclear households are emerging as well in rural areas. I found 5 nuclear households (out of total 40 Santal households) in Boirchuna village.

The Santal tribe is 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. In my study area and adjacent villages, I found these 11 clans. However, these clans are totem based. 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).

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 status and no longer remain in the father's clan (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 rule of exogamy. Instead, they prefer to choose spouse of the similar socioeconomic 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. I observed this pattern in the study area and adjacent villages.

Major functions of the clans are to regulate marriage, inheritance, succession and affiliation (Ali 1998). One becomes a clan member by birth or by marriage (applicable for females only). 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 patronyms are somewhat like the Hindu caste system. But today, as I observed in the study area, these occupational hierarchies of status do not seem to have any impact on the Santals.

The Santals today are no more confined within their own village. Their mobility and interaction with the mainstream population have tremendously increased due to expansion of market mechanism and employment opportunities outside their own villages. For employment, they often go outside their own areas, for buying necessary goods they go to different nearby market places as well as distant urban market places. Females also do the same for buying their necessary items. I found a few converted Christian Santal students (both male and female) of the neighboring villages of the study area who go to colleges located in the Dinajpur City area. All these tend to indicate that they are having greater interaction with the mainstream population and having wider networks.

Christianization and Cultural Disintegration of the Santals Religion is a very important element of culture for any group of people. Like many tribal groups, the Santals believe in various impersonal spirits and forces which control human life. They believe in a number of deities of which Bongas are very powerful and can do harm to mankind (Ali 1998:207, Hossain and Sadeque 1984). The Santals worship the supernatural powers. They call their religion as Sonaton Dharma. The rites and rituals, belief in a number of deities, etc., tend to be quite close to Hinduism (Sarkar 1998). Dancing, music, and drinking alcohol are embedded in their important religious rites and rituals. Enjoyment and pleasure are most important characteristics of their rituals and festivals (Culshaw 1949, Hossain and Sadeque 1984). This distinct religious and cultural ethnic heritage of the Santals is undergoing rapid changes, particularly through the unending process of Christianization. This animist tribal people are generally adopting Christianity under the influence of Christian Missions (Samad 1984; Anwar 1984). This process of conversion of the Santals into Christianity started during British period and is still continuing unabated. It is observed that the Santals who are converted were more attracted by the prospect of social advancement and

political protection (generally promised and/or offered by the Christian Missions) than by the promise of spiritual salvation (Anwar 1984:366).

Expansion of Christian Missions and educational institutions run by them in the Santal inhabited areas of Dinajpur districts tend to have increasing impact for accelerating the process of converting the Santals. The Santals who are converted Christians and who are not converted often confront conflicting social and cultural values, resulting disintegration of their cultural solidarity as an ethnic minority. In my study area of Hatrampur village, I observed that those who are not converted, feel isolated and ignored by those who are converted Christians. A few of the Santals (who are not yet converted) told me that the situation is as such that eventually they will have no option other than becoming Christians and cope with the current. In this village out of total 75 households, 25 are converted Santals, 15 are Santals (non converted) and the rest 35 are Muslim households. While talking to them I learnt that out of total 25 converted Christian households, 15 were converted three generations ago, 5 of them two generations ago and 5 are first generation converts. It is generally observed that when the household head becomes converted, other members also become converted Christians. Interviewing some converted Santals of the study area and some adjacent areas, and information collected from key informants, some major causes of their conversion into Christianity are identified. They are as follows:

- i. Spreading of education through Christian Missions is an important cause. In the Christian Mission run schools, Santals get free education and sometimes other fringe benefits such as, books, hostel accommodation etc. It is reported that behavior and attitude of the Missionaries toward the Santal children in these schools are very loving and convincing. In other words, it is an indirect way of motivating the students.
- ii. It is already said that the Santals are generally very poor. If they come across some kind of economic crisis (such as house repair, money needed for treatment) Missions often help them in kind or with cash. Also during severe winter, they distribute blankets among the poor Santals. These humanitarian activities often influence the Santals to get motivated for conversion.

- iii. It is reported that the Christian Missionaries make routine visits to different Santal inhabited villages and inquire about their problems and advise accordingly. The missionaries in such routine visits often profess the social and economic benefits they would usually get after being converted.
- iv. Christian Missions in collaboration with voluntary Christian organizations such as CARITAS sometimes provide them with jobs in their organization, help them with cash in times of need, and also in kind such as, materials for 12 repairing house, giving shelter who have migrated from other areas in search of employment.
- v. Communal tension (often riots) between Hindus and Muslims, particularly during 1940's, was also a cause for some of the Santals to become Christians during that period in Bangladesh. The religion and rituals of the Santals are close to that of the Hindus. As a result before and after Partition of India in 1947 whenever communal tension and riot took place, they felt in secured and were vulnerable for being considered as a part of the Hindu community by the Muslims. In order to get rid of this insecurity, some of them preferred to get converted into Christianity and become safe and secured. I learnt this while talking to some long ago converted Christians in the study area.
- vi. It is interesting to note that the Santals are not becoming converted Muslims though they are surrounded by the Muslim majority culture. One of the important reasons for this is that, no Islamization programmes are found to be in operation among the Santals. Mosques do not perform such duties and strategies among the ethnic minorities as done by the Christian Missions. As reported by the key informants and my observation confirm that the Muslim landlords often exploited the Santals. This tends to have developed negative attitude of the Santals towards the Muslims.

These are some of the major causes that could be identified for Christianization among the Santals. It may be noted that the converted Santals call themselves Santal Christians. However, I observed that converted Santals do retain some of the cultural traditions and traits of the non-converted Santals. They do not forgo their clan

patronyms and often retain the previous names as well after becoming converted Christians. But even when they change the names, they retain the Clan patronyms. The Christian Santals and non-Christian Santals speak within themselves in Santali language in rural areas as I observed in the village Mirjapur under Dinajpur District. However in periurban Santal localities like Mirjapur, I observed that the more or less educated and well to do families do not speak within themselves in Santali language. They speak in Bengali. In different yearly festivals of the Santals, Christian Santals participate mostly as observers. It may be mentioned that due to poverty, glamour of their festivals is gradually decaying. Under these circumstances they are limiting the excessiveness and elaboration of their rites and rituals.

c. 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 Hatrampur 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, 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'.

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 Kara has given this name to the child Boso. But others two traditions exist on this subject. According to the first one, the occasion of a big hunting, during which the Santals decided to divide in twelve clans, some of the 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 *kantha haruk*. Ail clan discretion and background related data are collected from field work and other books.

i. 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. *Besra* wants to say hawk. There is in fact the *kuhi besra*, but it is an sub-clan, common also to the *Baskes* and the *Hasdak's*. *Kuhi besra* is the *Spilomis melatonin* or Indian crested eagle, raider of snakes.

The *Mahalis* of Bangladesh call the *Besras* with the name of *Khanger*, the *Mahalis* I had consulted deny that *Besra* and *Khanger* are two separate clans.

ii. Core

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.

iii. 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. As we have seen, *Kara* 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.

iv. *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.

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).

v. *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.

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*.

vi. *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. It is a grass clan *marndi* (grass); *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*.

vii. 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 Cannot 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. *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*.

viii. 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*.

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.

ix. Soren

In Champa they were considered soldiers and messengers therefore were called *Soren sipahi*. 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.

x. 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.

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 Tudu 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) 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. Here shows the name of clans of Santal.

Name of the Clans of Santal

<i>Hasdak</i>
<i>Mur mu</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>

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. 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. 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 3.3: The Clans and their Taboos

Clans	Taboos
<i>Hasdak</i>	Cannot eat duck
<i>Murmu</i>	Cannot take the meat of Nil Gai or blue cow. Cannot champa flower.
<i>Kisku</i>	There taboos have not yet been fully investigated. But they can not establish matrimonial link with mumu clan.
<i>Marandi</i>	Cannot pluck young paddle plants, if they do it unwillingly than the must plant it again through the ceremony of zuhar or pranam.
<i>Hembrom</i>	Cannot eat shol fish.
<i>Soren</i>	Cannot take the meat of deer.
<i>Tudu</i>	Cannot take a kind of Fruit called Daha Jibiga
<i>Baske</i>	Cannot 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: A Thesis on Life and Living of Santals Women of Dinajpur by Fatema Tania)

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 3.4 gives a picture of occupations pursued by some of the clan.

Table 3.4: 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: A Thesis on Life and Living of Santals Women of Dinajpur by Fatema Tania)

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 eighth by birth on by marriage. So, it is an important organization for Santals society. The village under study is inhabited by many clans.

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 everywhere, 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 *Hatrampur* there are 50 families. Among them 35 are Nuclear families, joint family 10 and 5 are extended family. This has been shown in table- 15.

Table 3.5: Types of Family

Size of Family	No. of Household	Percent (%)
Nuclear	35	73.33
Joint	10	18.67
Extended	5	8
Total	50	100%

(Sources: Field work in *Hatrampur* 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. 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 hypergamy possibly a result of Hindu influence. Table 3.6 shows the terms of relationship and sex:

Table 3.6: Terms of Relationship and Sex

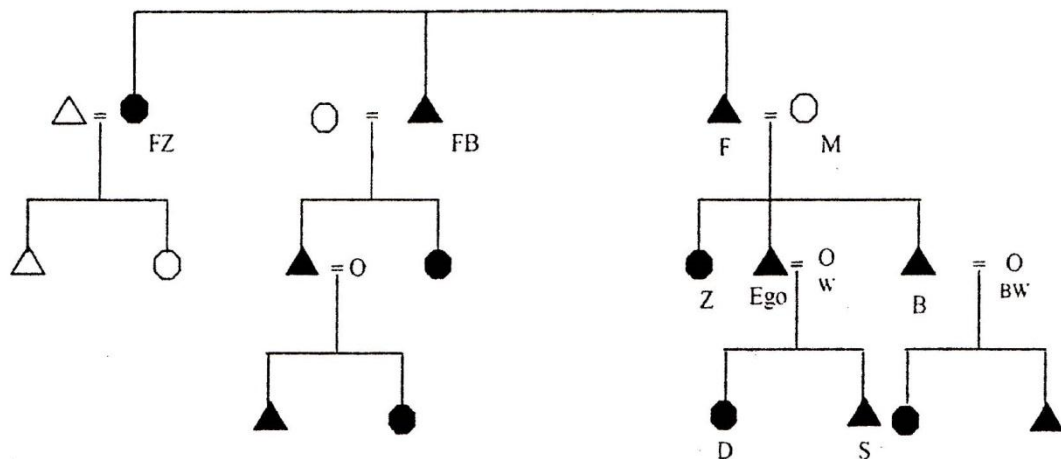
English Term	Santal Term	Santal term for addressing them
Father	<i>Baba, Appa</i>	<i>Baba, eh ba</i>
Mother	<i>Ayo, Enga</i>	<i>Ayo</i>
Uncle	<i>Hudin Baba</i>	<i>Eh Hudin Baba</i>
Aunt		<i>Eh Hundain Baba</i>
Husband	<i>Janwaen, berel</i>	<i>Eh father of so and so</i>
Wife	<i>Baku, Era</i>	<i>Eh Mother 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 *Hatrampur* at Dinajpur)

The Santals are Patrilineal i.e. they imagine decent from father's side. Property is transmitted from father to son chart 3.2 shows their Patrilineal decent system.

Chart 3.1: Patrilineal Decent Chart



(Source: Field work in *Hatrampur* 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 cannot 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 grandfather 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. 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. 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:

- I. ***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.

- II. ***SangaBapla:*** 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.

- III. ***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.
- IV. ***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.
- V. ***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 are 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.
- VI. ***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.

- VII. ***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 divorce in full moon and cannot marry as spinster.
- VIII. ***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 insists 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 won her husband and family is bound to recognize her as husband. This type of marriage also rarely occurs in Santal society.
- IX. ***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 ever 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-

- i. No marriage is possible between agnates or member of same win group.
- ii. Marriage is impossible between parallel cousin.
- iii. 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.

d. Political Organization Under Study

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*'*jNacke*', '*Jog-Paranik*

'*Kudam Naeke*', '*Godet*'. 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-

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:

- a. With the assistance of the village elders he decided the dates for village festivals and also the nature of the Harvest Festivals (*Sohrae*).
- b. He is informed and also present at name-giving initiation, marriage and death rituals and ceremonies,
- c. His permission in fact is essential in negotiating a marriage. A marriage party always plays its respects first to his house.
- d. At festivals, the dancing starts from his house.
- e. 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.
- f. 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-

- a. 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,
- b. He has to organize the '*Sohrae Festival*' and has to control the behavior of the participant Male and Female

- c. 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 *Hatrampur* there are prevailing five political institutions. Every '*Manjhi Haram*' maintain his respective hamlet. If there 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 anyone 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

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.

The present democratic institution of Bangladesh cannot give more opportunity to function the '*Manjhiship*' 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 modem society.

Chapter Four

Findings of the Study

In order to get a comprehensive idea of the structure of a society, it is important to discuss from the level of the individuals, since the individual is the basic unit of a society. Each and every individual is unique in character and differ from one another. The distinction is generally determined by age, sex, material status, religion, occupation and ethnic identity. In spite of these differences, each individual depends on the other in his daily life and other social functions that constitutes a network of relationship among themselves.

This chapter deals with the findings of the impact of development programs on Santal community. While collecting data, some specific areas pertaining to the study objectives were emphasized. These were demographic profile of the respondents, socio-economic condition of the Santal, family related information of the Santal, development programs related information, challenges and recommendations. The detailed analyses of data in accordance with the objectives of the study are furnished below:

4.1 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Table 4.1: Distribution of Age of the Respondents

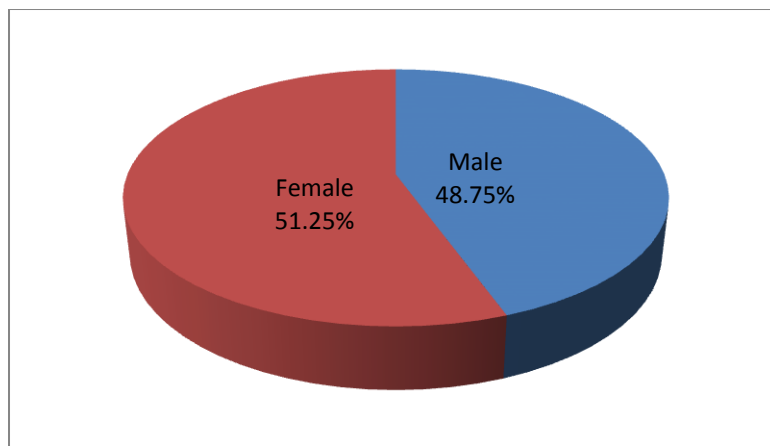
Age Limit (in Year)	Number	Percent (%)
15-25	05	6.25
25-35	20	25.00
35-45	25	31.25
45-55	19	23.75
55-65	11	13.75
Total	80	100

The above Table illustrates the age distribution of the respondents. The major concentration (31.25%) of respondents was within the age group of 35-45 years. The next highest group was of 25-35 (25.00%) followed by 45-55(23.75%). Among others 13.75% belonged to 55-65 and 6.25% belonged to 15-25 age group. Most of the participants were from Hatrampur village to be more specific large number of respondents are 35 years of age in the sample.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Sex of the Respondents

Sex	Number	Percent (%)
Male	39	48.75
Female	41	51.25
Total	80	100

Figure 4.1: Population Composition of the Research Area



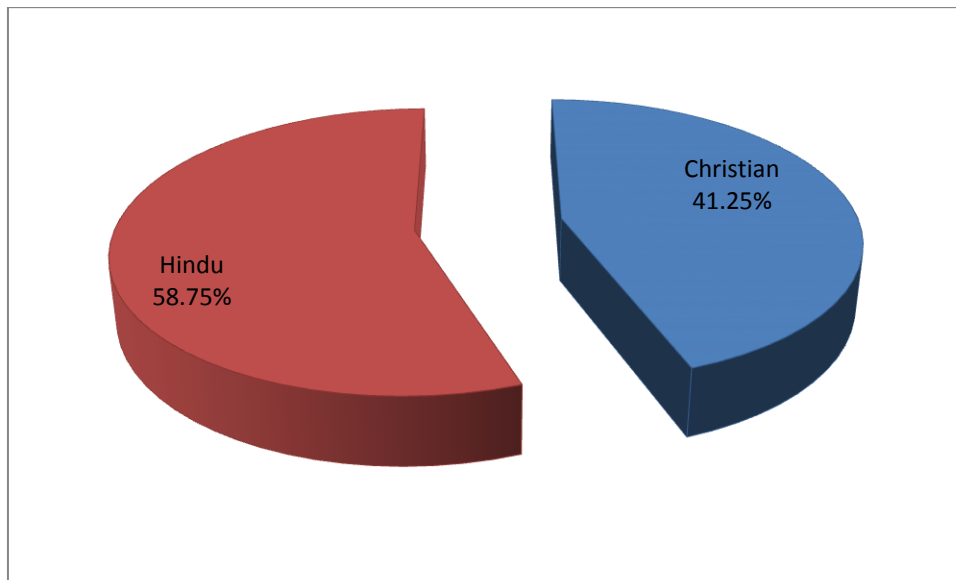
(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

It can be seen that the female constituted a significant percentage of the respondents. The table shows that most of the Santal were female, where 48.75% were male and 51.25% were female. It is quite clear that out of the total respondents investigated for the study, over whelming (51.25 percent) of them were females whereas about 48.75 percent were found to be meles. In santal conditions the households are normally headed by the males and head of the household was the unit for data collection, from the given sample very few housholds are headed by the females also.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Religious Status of the Respondents

Religion	Number	Percent (%)
Hindu	47	58.75
Christian	33	41.25
Total	80	100

Figure 4.2: Population According to Religion



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

It is found that 58.75% respondents were from Hindu community and the rests 41.25% were from Christian community.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Occupational Status of the Respondents

Nature of occupation	Number	Percent (%)
Farmer	15	18.75
Agri labor	50	62.5
Student	04	5
Housewife	04	5
Petty business	01	1.25
Rajmistri	02	2.5
Nothing	04	5
Total	80	100

The table shows the occupational status of the respondents. It appears that 18.75% of the respondents were farmer, 62.5% were agri-labor, 5% were student, 5% were housewives, 5% were jobless (dependent older people), 1.25% were petty businessmen and 2.5% were rajmistri. It can be seen that most (62.50%) of the respondents were agri-labor.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Monthly Income of the Respondents

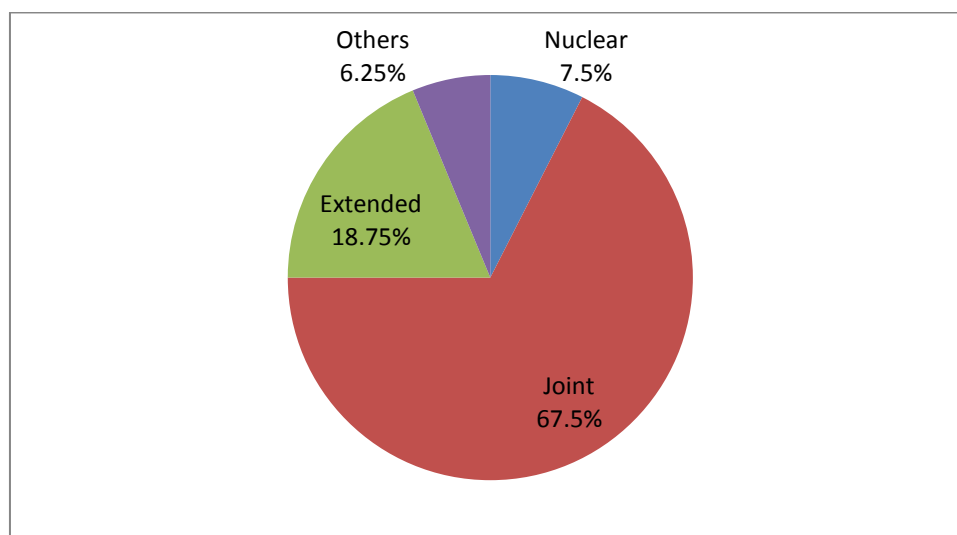
Monthly income (in TK.)	Number	Percent (%)
2000-4000	05	6.25
4000-6000	33	41.25
6000-8000	25	31.25
8000-10000	17	21.25
Total	80	100

It was found that most of the respondents' (41.25%) monthly income was TK. 4,000-6,000. Besides this, 31.25% earned TK. 6,000-8,000, 21.25% earned TK. 8,000-10,000 and 6.25% earned TK. 2,000-,4,000.

Table 4.6: Distribution of Family Pattern of the Respondents

Pattern	Number	Percent (%)
Nuclear	06	7.5
Joint	54	67.5
Extended	15	18.75
Others	05	6.25
Total	80	100

Figure 4.3: Types of Family



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

It was found that 67.5% santal were from joint family, 18.75% from extended family, 7.5% from nuclear family and 6.25% from others type of family such as single parent family, childless family. It was noticeable that most of the santal lived in joint family, but nowadays santals family pattern are in extended and nuclear also. And the modern thought and development activities have impacted their living standard.

Table 4.7 Distribution of Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital status	Number	Percent (%)
Married	55	68.75
Unmarried	09	11.25
Widow	16	20
Total	80	100

Table 4.7 shows that overwhelming numbers of the respondents (68.75 percent) were married and remaining (11.25 percent) were unmarried, where as twenty percent of the respondents were found to be widows.

Table 4.8 Distribution of Land Ownership

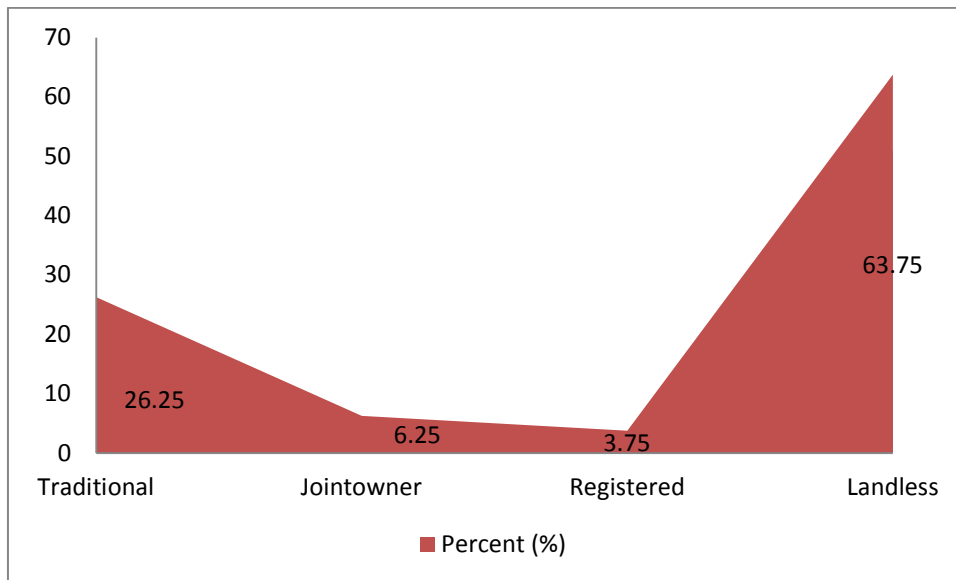
Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	29	36.25
No	51	63.75
Total	80	100

From the table given above it is clear that a majority of the respondents do not owned any land that means 65.75 percent of the respondents are mostly landless laborers and are totally dependent upon the people who owned most of the land in village. Merely 36.25 percent of the respondents do possess some land.

Table 4.9: Distribution of Landownership of the Respondent

Types of land ownership	Number	Percent (%)
Traditional	21	26.25
Joint owner	05	6.25
Registered	03	3.75
Landless	51	63.75
Total	80	100

Figure 4.4: Land Ownership Pattern



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

The above table indicates that 26.25% of the respondent had traditional land. On the other hand, 6.25% respondent had land of joint ownership. Only 3.75% respondent had registered land and 63.75% respondent had no land of their own. A landless person cultivated others' land and did work as a seasonal labor. Different types of income bearded family were in those villages.

Table 4.10: Distribution of Nature of House of the Respondent

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Pucca	00	00
Semi-pucca	29	36.25
Kancha	51	63.75
Total	80	100

It is obvious from table 4.10 that a majority (63.75 percent) of the respondents was residing in 'Kancha' houses and remaning (36.25 percent) of them were residing in 'Pucca' hoses. The number of respondents living in 'Kancha' houses was much more than the respondents residing in 'Pucca' houses. It can therefore be concluded that

because of the economic backwardness and lack of materialistic resources the house type of a large number of respondents were of 'Kancha' type.

Table 4.11: Distribution of Electricity Status of the Respondent

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Grid line	26	32.5
Solar	14	17.5
No electricity	40	50
Total	80	100

From the table statistics it is found that in the village Mirjapur 32.5% respondents were using grid line and 17.5% were using solar system power. On the other hand, 50% of them had no electricity. Most of the respondents were not getting electricity opportunities.

Table 4.12: Distribution of Natures of Fuel for Cooking

Nature	Frequency	Percent (%)
Electricity	18	22.5
Wood and Dry Leaf	65	81.25
Kerosene	30	137.5

The table depicts that 22.5% of the respondents used electricity, 81.25% used wood and dry leaf, and 37.5% used kerosene for cooking. It is clear that most of the respondents used wood and dry leaf for cooking. It is evident from table 4.12 that the majority (68.75 percent) of the respondents was used wood for cooking, where as about 18.75 percent of them were used kerosene and rest of them was used electricity for cooking.

Table 4.13: Distribution of Having School in their Village

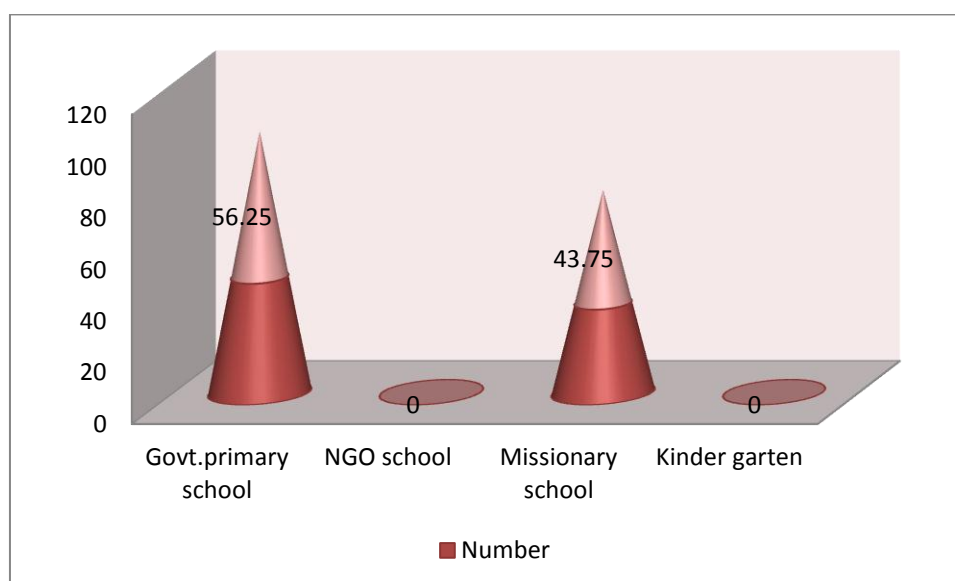
Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	80	80
No	00	00
Total	80	100

All the respondents said that they had school in their village. It was significant that study area was in remote area of Bangladesh. But the children's of those communities had the available facilities of schooling.

Table 4.14: Distribution of Types of School for Education

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Government primary school	45	56.25
NGO school	00	00
Missionary school	35	43.75
Kindergarten	00	00
Total	80	100

Figure 4.5: Types of Schools



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

The table shows that 56.25% santal's children were going to primary school, 43.75% were going to missionary school. The village education is increasing mainly for the activities of government primary and some missionary schools. In the village Mirzapur it has a long tradition of missionaries. Missionaries changed santal religion but it has a positive impact on their education. It is found that there were no NGO based schools and Kindergarten in the village.

Table 4.15: Distribution of Medium of Language in Education

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
English	00	00
Bangla	80	100
Mother Tongue	00	00
Total	80	100

It is significantly noticed that 100% santal children study at Bangla medium school. It is found that they did not have opportunity to get education in their mother tongue or English. They communicate with each other through their mother tongue, only while they are in their clan.

Table 4.16: Distribution of Getting Education Facilities from Government

Primary School and Missionary School

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Government Primary School	40	50
Missionary School	40	50
Total	80	100

It is found that all of their children were getting free education and free books from government primary schools. None of them were found giving fee and spending money for buying books. In the table the Catholic santal's study in missionary schools and getting free education and books only from Missionary School. But they had to

pay 100 tk. as a hostel charge in residential missionary school, where people of other religion needed to pay 4 times higher.

Table 4.17: Distribution of Satisfaction Status of Education Facilities of the Respondents

Status	Number	Percent (%)
Highly satisfactory	00	00
Satisfactory	20	25
Moderately satisfactory	60	75
Total	80	100

In this study, 75% of the respondents opined that they were moderately satisfied with the education activities of the existing government and missionary schools of the village. On the other hand, 25% respondents said that they were only satisfied.

Table 4.18: Distribution of Having Health Institution in their Village

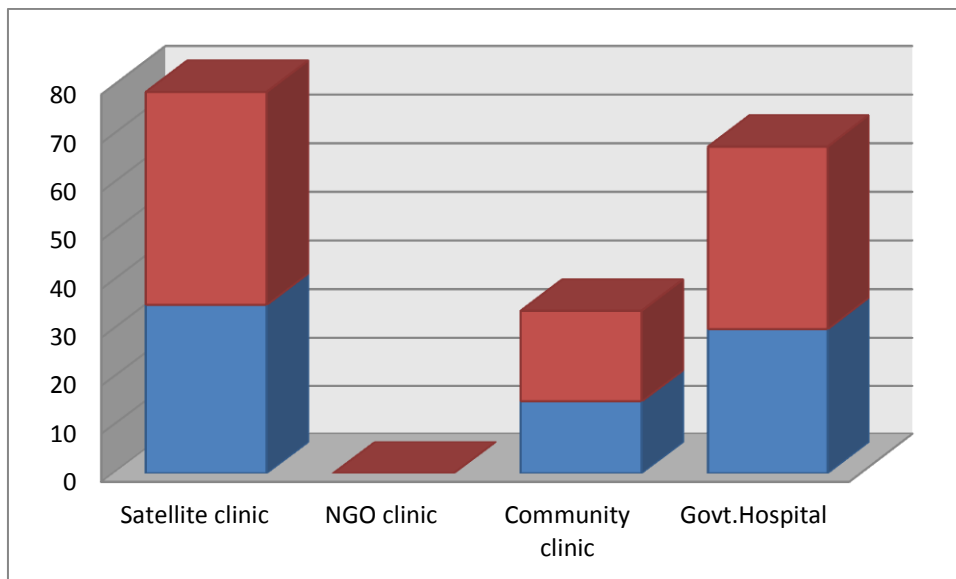
Opinion	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	80	100
No	00	00
Total	80	100

The above table shows the distribution of having health institution in the villages of the respondents. All (100%) the respondents said that there were health institutions in their village.

Table 4.19: Distribution of Types of Health Institutions for Getting Medical Service

Number	Frequency	Percent (%)
Satellite clinic	35	43.75
NGO clinic	00	00
Community clinic	15	18.75
Government Hospital	30	37.5

Figure 4.6: Different Health Institutions for Getting Medical Services



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

The table statistics shows the distribution of the existing types of health institutions in their village for getting services. It shows that in the village's satellite clinic (43.75%), community clinics (18.75%) and government hospital (37.50%) were the health institutions for getting health services. It is noted that there were no NGO based clinics for health services.

Table 4.20: Distribution of Taking Health Services for Children Vaccination and other Health Check up of the Respondents

Nature	Frequency	Percent (%)
Satellite clinic	35	43.75
NGO clinic	00	00
Community clinic	15	18.75
Government Hospital	30	37.5
Total	80	100

The table shows that 43.75% respondents were going to satellite clinic to get health facilities. On the other hand, there were no NGO clinics in those villages, only 18.75% respondents were going to community based clinics and 37.5% santal were going to Government Hospital. It is found that majority of them were getting services from satellite clinics.

Table 4.21: Distribution of Hearing about Family Planning Method of the Respondents

Opinion	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	80	100
No	00	00
Total	80	100

The above table shows that 100% respondents said that they had heard about family planning method in their village.

Table 4.22: Distribution of Getting Information of Family Planning Method of the Respondents

Description	Frequency	Percent (%)
Television/Radio	37	46.25
Health Worker	23	28.75
Neighbors	20	25
Total	80	100

The table shows that 46.25% respondents were getting family planning information from television or radio. Besides this, 28.75% respondents were getting information from Health Worker and the rest of the respondents were getting information from their neighbors. It was found that most of them were known about family planning.

Table 4.23: Distribution of Using Family Planning Method of the Respondents

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	57	71.25
No	23	28.75
Total	80	100

The table shows that 71.25% respondents used family planning method. On the other hand, 28.75% respondents said that they were not using family planning method.

Table 4.24: Distribution of Using Family Planning Method in case of Male/Female

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Only husband	17	21.25
Only wife	25	31.25
Both	15	18.75
None	23	28.75
Total	80	100

In above table presents that only 21.25% cases husbands used family planning method and 31.25% cases wives were using family planning method. However, it is noticed that in 18.75% cases both husbands and wives were using family planning method. 28.75% respondents said that that were not using family planning method.

Table 4.25: Distribution of Using Hygienic Latrine of the Respondents

Opinion	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	52	65
No	28	35
Total	80	100

The table shows that 65% of the respondents knew about hygienic latrine and they used it. On the other hand, 35% of the respondents did not use hygienic latrine.

Table 4.26: Distribution of Making Awareness about Hygienic Latrine of the Respondents

Nature	Frequency	Percent (%)
Health worker	25	31.25
NGO worker	17	21.25
Neighbors	15	18.75
Television/Radio	48	60.00

It is found that the respondents were getting awareness about hygienic latrine from different sources whereas 60.00% of the respondents were becoming aware by watching and listening television and radio, 31.25% of the respondents were getting awareness from health workers and 21.25% from NGO workers. It is noticeable that most of the respondents were getting awareness building information from television or radio.

Table 4.27: Distribution of Responsiveness of Government Institutions in Development Activities

Opinion	Number	Percent (%)
Responsive	10	12.5
Moderately responsive	08	10
Somehow responsive	47	58.75
Not at all responsive	15	18.75
Total	80	100

The table shows that none of the respondents agreed that government institutions were highly responsive for developing the santals condition. Only 12.5% of the respondent said that the government institutions were responsive. On the other hand, 10% of the respondents said it was moderately responsive. Besides this 58.75% respondents said that the institutions were somehow responsive and the rest 18.75% of the respondent said that the institutions were not at all responsive.

Table 4.28: Distribution of Responsiveness of NGO Workers in Development Activities

Description	Number	Percent (%)
Highly	5	6.25
Responsive	10	12.5
Moderately responsive	37	46.25
Somehow responsive	25	31.25
Not at all responsive	3	3.75
Total	80	100

It was found that 6.25% of the respondents said that the NGO workers were highly responsive. It also indicates that 12.5% of the respondents agreed that the non-government institutions were responsive and 46.25% said that the organizations were

moderately responsive. On the other hand, 31.25% were somehow responsive and the rest 3.75% were not at all responsive.

Table 4.29: Distribution of Taking a part on National Election of the Respondents

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	73	91.25
No	7	8.75
Total	80	100

The table shows that 91.25% of the respondents were found who voted in election but 8.75% of them did not take part in election by voting. None of the respondents were found who competed in election to be elected as public representative.

Table 4.30: Distributions of Getting Facilities from Different Institutions

Nature	Frequency (n=80)	Percent (%)
Government programs	42	52.5%
Non-government. programs	45	56.25
Somoby programs	5	6.25
None	38	47.5%

According to the above table statistics, 52.5% of the respondents were getting facilities from government institution, 56.25% of the respondents were getting facilities from non-government organization and the rest 6.25% of them were getting from somoby programs. It is notable that 47% of the respondents were not getting any facilities.

Table 4.31: Distribution of Getting Facilities from Different Government Programs of the Respondents

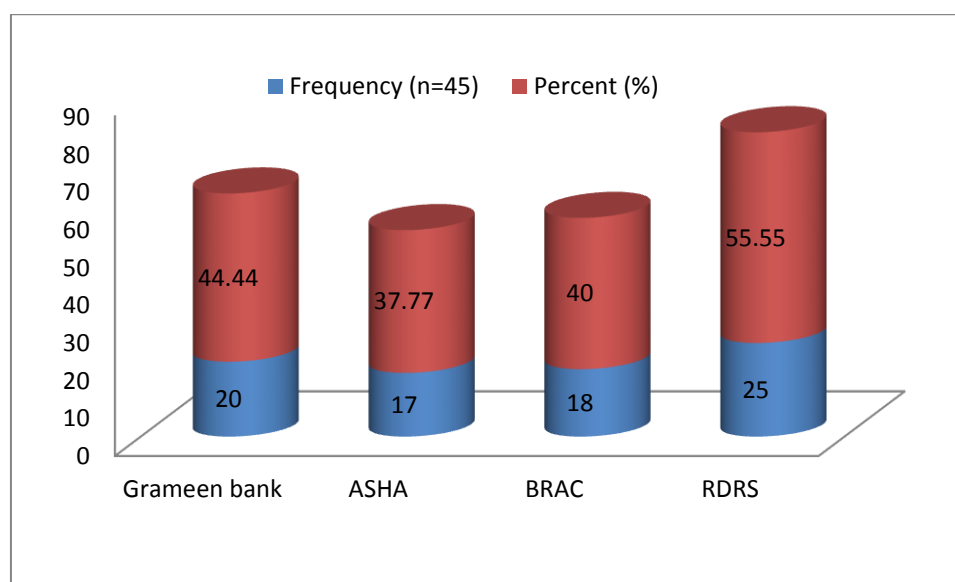
Nature	Frequency (n=42)	Percent (%)
Old age allowance	15	35.71
VGD/VGF	27	64.28

In the above table, it is found that only 35.71% of the respondents were getting old age allowance service from government. On the other hand, 64.28% of them were getting services under VGD/VGF programs. Somehow they were involved in different non government programs.

Table 4.32: Distribution of Getting Facilities from Different Non-government Organizations of the Respondents

Description	Frequency (n=45)	Percent (%)
Grameen bank	20	44.44
ASHA	17	37.77
BRAC	18	40.00
RDRS	25	55.55

Figure 4.7: NGO's Intervention



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

The table shows that 40.00% of the respondents were getting different facilities from BRAC, like sanitation, income generating training activities, poultry, micro credit etc. On the other hand, 37.77% of them were getting only micro credit from ASHA and 25% were involved with Grameen Bank. It also indicates that 55.55% of the respondents were taking different facilities from RDRS.

Table 4.33: Distribution of the Previous and Present Income of the Respondents

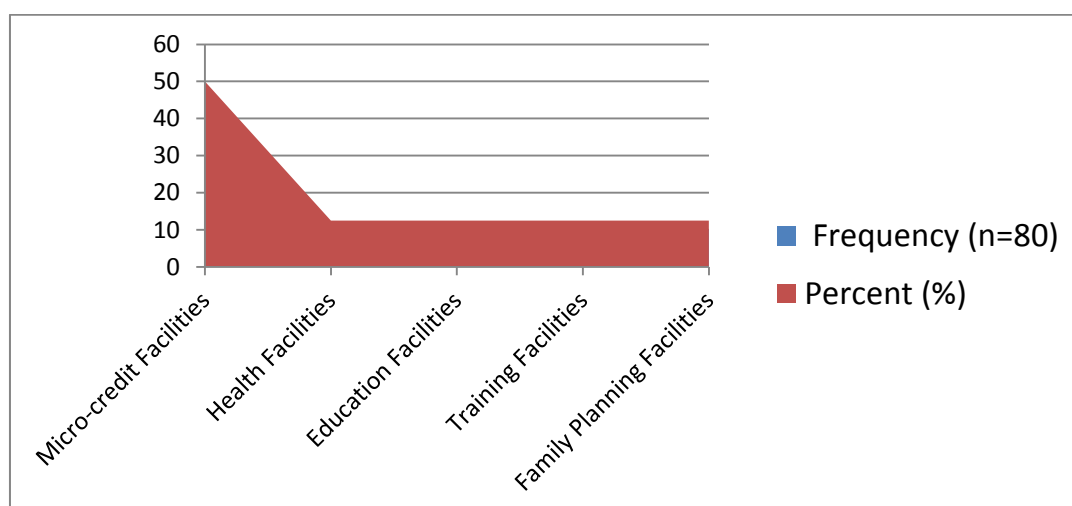
Present Income (inTK.) Monthly	Number	Percent (%)	Previous income (in TK.) Monthly	Number	Percent (%)
2000-4000	05	6.25	2000-4000	33	41.25
4000-6000	33	41.25	4000-6000	25	31.25
6000-8000	25	31.25	6000-8000	17	21.25
8000-10000	17	21.25	8000-10000	05	6.25
Total	80	100		80	100

The above table shows that the present income of the respondents is increasing than that of the previous income by getting different facilities from the different government and non-government organizations. Here, this is clear that if every santal can get the facilities they can improve their living standard. Previously 41.25% santal are getting 2000-4000 tk. in per month through agri-labor or farming while now-a-days only 6.25% of them are getting 2000-4000 tk. per month. On the other hand, 41.25% santal are now getting maximum 4000-6000 tk. per month but this was previously 31.25%. So it was found that the present income of the santal is increasing than that of the previous income.

Table 4.34: Distribution of Getting Different Assistances from Government and Non-government Organization

Nature	Frequency (n=80)	Percent (%)
Micro-credit Facilities	40	50.00
Health Facilities	10	12.5
Education Facilities	10	12.5
Training Facilities	10	12.5
Family Planning Facilities	10	12.5

Figure 4.8: Different Assistances from Government and Non-Government Organizations



(Sources: Field work in Bochaganj, Dinajpur)

The table above shows that 50% of the respondents were getting micro-credit facilities and rest of them were getting health, education, training or family planning assistances from different organizations.

Table 4.35: Distribution of the Effectiveness of Development Activities of the Organizations

Nature	Frequency	Percent (%)
Increase awareness	28	35.00
Increase income	30	37.5
Increase education rate	25	31.25
Increase living standard	17	21.25
Increase freedom	11	13.75
Increase empowerment	9	11.25
Increase social status	9	11.25
Decrease family conflict	15	18.75

It is found that 37.5% of the respondents said that their income had increased through the existing developmental programs. It also shows that 35.00% were being awarded by these programs and 31.25% of the respondents said that their education rate had increased as an impact of these programs. On the other hand, 21.25% of the respondents increased their living standard, 11.25% of them could change their social status and 11.25% of them got freedom or had empowered through these programs.

Table 4.36: Distribution of Nature of Problems of the Children that Faced in School

Nature of problem	Frequency (n=80)	Percent (%)
Children do not understand the medium	35	43.75
Far away school	35	43.75
Insecurity	10	12.5

The present study indicates that the santal children faced different kinds of problems in school. Among the respondents, 43.75% of them said that their children could not understand the medium because maximum santal spoke in santali language. However, 43.75% of them thought that schools were far away from the village and only 12.5% of them felt insecurity to send their children to school.

Table 4.37: Distribution of Having Any Kind of Violence against in Santal Community

Nature	Number	Percent (%)
Yes	25	31.25
No	55	68.75
Total	80	100

The table represents that 68.75% of the respondents said that they did not face any kind of violence against women or no women became a victim of violence. On the other hand, 31.25% told that they had bitter experience about violence against Santal's women in the community.

Table 4.38: Distribution of Types of Violence against Women in the Community

Nature of Violence	Frequency (n=25)	Percent (%)
Physical abuse	16	64.00
Dowry related violence	15	60.00
Suicide	02	8.00
Homicide	03	12.00
Rape	02	8.00
Acid throwing	00	00
Prostitution	00	00
Sexual abuse	03	12.00
Female child abuse	00	00

The table shows that according to the opinion of the respondents among the tortured female Santals most of them were victims by physical abuse which was 64.00%. On the other hand, there were no victims on acid throwing, prostitution and female child abuse. Besides these, there were 60.00% dowry related victims and 8.00% Santals were victimized in suicide or rape in their community. 12.00% Santals were victims of sexual abuse and homicide also.

Table 4.39: Distribution of Relationship between Bangalee and Santal Community

Nature of relationship	Number	Percent (%)
Friendly	45	56.25
Moderately Friendly	15	18.75
Somehow Friendly	10	12.5
Hostile	10	12.5
Total	80	100

The table shows that 56.25% of the respondents said that Bangalee were friendly with them. On the other hand, 18.75% of them had noticed that Bangalee were moderately friendly with them and the rest 12.5% said that Bangalee were somehow friendly with the Bangalee and 12.5% said Bangalee were hostile towards them.

Table 4.40: Distribution of Nature of Problems Faced by the Santal Community

Nature of problems	Frequency (n=80)	Percent (%)
Poverty	20	25.00
Limitation of development programs	40	50.00
Illiteracy	20	25.00
Malnutrition/ill health	22	27.50
Cultural lag/Cultural conflict	8	10.00
Superstition	20	25.00
Low interest of participation on development programs	10	12.5

The santal faced different kinds of problems in their life. Among the respondents 50.00% opinioned that sandals faced problems as there were lack of development programs. It is found that the respondents said both poverty and illiteracy were liable for their problem. In these cases, the percentages were same and it was 25.00. On the other hand, 27.50% of the respondents noticed that suffering from ill health or

malnutrition was another problem of them. There were cultural lags and cultural conflicts in santal community and the percentage was 10.00%. Moreover, superstition and lack of interest to participate in the development programs were also addressed by them in 25.00% and 12.50% cases respectively.

Table 4.41: Distribution of Limitations of the Development Programs

Nature of limitation	Frequency	Percent (%)
Insufficient services	45	43.75
Corruption	25	31.25
Lack of skilled manpower	24	15
Administrative lacking	15	10

It is found that lack of insufficient programs in 43.75% cases, corruption in 31.25% cases and lack of skilled manpower in 15.00% cases were mentioned as the limitations of the development programs for santal. Besides these, 10% administrative lacking was also marked as a limitation of the development programs for santal community.

Table 4.42: Distribution of Recommendation for Solving the Problems of Santal

Nature of recommendations	Frequency (n=80)	Percent (%)
Making policy and planning	55	68.75
Provide training	30	37.50
Awareness build up	37	46.25
Provide education facilities	33	41.25
Provide loan facilities	29	36.25
Provide health facilities	23	28.75

It was found that for solving the problems of the santal community the respondents had recommended for making policy and planning (68.75%), providing training (37.50%), awareness building (46.25%), providing education facilities (41.25%),

providing loan facilities (36.25%) and providing health facilities (28.75%). It is noticeable that most of them had suggested for policy and planning, and ensuring awareness build up.

4.2 Findings of Case Study

Case 1

Jolen Hasda was one of the santal of Hatrampur Village under Bochagonj Thana. After the sudden death of his father he and his family members were living together. He was an Agri-laborer. Although he beared a joint family he had no traditional or joint ownership of land of his own. He was married but had no children. His wife was also an Agri-laborer and his mother named Kristi Chura was a widow woman. She was an Agri-laborer and earned more than taka 3000 per month. Jolen earned taka 200-300 per day and his wife also earned taka 150-250 per day. Other family members were also involved in different works. Jolen's house was kacha and had sanitary latrine which he had got from BRAC NGO. Jolen's Mother as she was a widow she got old age allowance from government program.

They went to nearby upazilla hospital and satellite clinic for health checkup. He had taken family planning method and his wife was also concerned about it through health workers and watching television. Although there was no electricity in the village, he went nearby bazar to watch television. He said "Only a few number of NGO worked in this village and these were BRAC, KARITAS, GRAMEEN BANK, RDRS." Every santal in this village had taken micro-credit facilities and training through those NGO's. Jolen also got some facilities from the NGO through micro-credit. He did not need to go outside for drinking water because he had got a tubewell from NGO. Though Jolen had taken some facilities from GO's and NGO's, these were insufficient and the facilities were not responsive as the Government programs. GO's programs were somehow responsive but the NGO's programs were moderately responsive. Jolen had been getting these facilities since 4-5 years.

The relation between santal and muslim were friendly-Jolen said. They shared social ritual each other. Jolen and his family voted freely in national elections. Jolen said, although there was a government primary school in his village, it was so far away from the village. For this reason children were not interested to go to school and they did not continue their education and they were dropping out day by day. He also said it was badly needed to increase educational institutions and health institutions in their village.

To involve with the different development programs now Jolen earned more than the previous. He said it was essential to take initiative for the betterment of Santal of Bochagonj Thana. So that the santal could live peacefully with the mainstream peoples in those villages. Jolen said that, he had faced some religious and cultural problems also. He told in Santali language and could not understand Bengali language easily. that's the reason why he faced many problems in society and this was one of the barriers by which the santal could not develop their own fate or life.

In social life ,Jolen was very happy now because of his earning capacity and increasing of his standard of living. He said “One day I would be a Manjhi (Chairman or Head Man of Santal Community) and would be the owner of some lands and then would lived together with all the Santal people happily.”

Case 2

Tagra Chore a Manjhi Harem (60) played an important role in all sphere of the santanl life. He lived in Hatrampur village and he was a farmer as well as an agri- laborer. He had nearly about six bigha lands of his own by traditional and joint ownership. His monthly income was nearly about 6000-7000 per month. He had six children and they were working and earning as well. Tagra had a semi Pacea house and lived jointly. Tagra as a manjhi Haram played an important role in his para. With the assistance of the village elders he decided the dates for village festivals and also the nature of the harvest festivals (Shorae). Tagra also played a role in different santali rituals as he was a Manjhi. Tagra Chore and his family members had taken some facilities from different Go's and NGO's. Health, sanitation, educational, micro-credit, training, business and petty business purpose and many other facilities were given through the GO'S and NGO's. Tagra said as a Manjhi, every program was gone through him to the santal of Hatrampur village. Before these programs the santals were oppressed but now-a-days their living standard is improving thorough these programs' he said. But these were not sufficient. He said, if government had took some measurements for the santals, they could improve their life and stay happily with other main stream people.

Tagra informed that there was only one primary school in his village and the santali children could not understand the medium. that was why school going children were dropping out and they did not got interest for reading. Only one upazilla hospital was far away from the village. For this reason, they did not got health facilities from government organization. On the other hand, sattelite clinic through non government organizations worked rapidly for santal. He informed me that many santal widows had got some old age allowances from government also.

He wished if adequate initiatives could be taken for the development of santal, the santal would be educated.They could be awared of health and income generating activities also. . If there was no poverty, limitation of development programs, illiteracy, ill health, cultural lag, superstitions, low interest on participation of development programs, the santal could changed their fate through taking more government and non government initiatives.

Case 3

Sumi Hasda (35) was a converted Santal woman. She was converted to Christian religion after her marriage. She had two sons and a daughter named Kartik Kisku (13), Shujon Kisku (10) and Baha Hasda (5). All of her children went to school. Her husband was no more in the world. Although her husband was no more, she played an important role in running her family. She headed a nuclear family with her children. She had no land of her own and lived in a kacha house. Her two children went to government primary school and the other went to missionary school. They got free books and education. Sumi had got some loan facilities from RDRS NGO and also got health facilities, training facilities from different government and NGO'S. She was aware of family planning method and she had taken permanent surgery from upazilla hospital. She could give vote in national election. She used sanitary latrine. She had got training facilities and knew about different income generating activities. Sumi went to field after completing her household work. For this reason, she had to take permission from the chairman of union parishad. Now Sumi cultivated paddy on her land on contractual basis.

Sumi wanted, her daughter would be a nurse and her son, a teacher. She was against Haria (Home made wine of Santal) as it could destroy her family. She did not want to marry second time. She was a self-reliant woman, who fought with the problems and obstacles in her life.

Sumi said when she had taken widowed life, the chairman had given her a VGD card and allowances. RDRS also given her micro credit loan for poultry and sewing. BRAC also given Sumi's family a sanitary latrine and a tube well. Sumi said, if the development based programs did not exist they had to suffer a lot. The NGO had taken many measures for the Santals. When she was not involved in these programs she could not do anything for her children and family. Now involved with these programs, Sumi was financially solvent and passing her life peacefully.

Case 4

Shamoly was 25 years old. She had passed S.S.C and now she was going to college at Shetabgonj upazila. Besides this Shamoly was also an agri-laborer and her monthly income was 6000 tk. Shamoly lived with her father. She was unmarried. Her father had no land of his own. He was also an agri-laborer. Their house was kancha and had no electricity facility in their house.

Shamoly said that, in her village there was only a primary and a high school and those schools were also far away from the village. Most of the children of the village did not want to go to school for this reason. When Shamoly was a student of S.S.C she got free books from her school. Now she wanted to continue her study with free education facilities. Everyday she wants to go to college but she did not go, because of her agri-laborership activities for her family. She was an earning person of her family. Shamoly had taken different facilities from the NGO workers and she took initiative for building awareness about this to the other people in the village. As there was no electricity in this village Shamoly made the people to become aware about usefulness of electricity. So that the union parishad chairman could take some major steps for ensuring electricity to the Santals.

Now Shamoly could understand about the development programs of different GO's & NGO's. There were a large number of programs taken by different Government and non Government organizations for Santals. RDRS had given her father a loan and he had bought a cow and two goats. Shamoly's mother was also an agri-laborer and she also aware about their income generating activities through her daughter.

Thus Shamoly played an important role in her family by her education knowledge and self employment attitude. Shamoly also took a part in national election by giving vote freely. Now she wanted to take training from the various health institutions to become a health worker. Shamoly played an important role in their festival. She made the Santal girls for dancing, singing and acting. She also drank Haria (Home made wine from rice) occasionally. She wanted to marry an educated person who could also be a teacher.

Case 5

Abraham Mardi was a Christian santal. He completed primary education. He had a daughter and a son. His children's went to missionary school. Abraham was an agri-laborer and also a petty businessman of Mirzapur village. He took loan several times from different NGO's like RDRS, Grameen Bank, and Asha.

When he married he had only a hut of his own. He did not have any land. He worked in other's land both he and his wife as a day laborer. He earned daily 200-250 tk from as a day laborer. On the other hand, from his petty business he earned daily 150-200 tk. Abraham took loan from two NGO's (RDRS and Asha). He mortgaged some lands with these loan and gave effort together in the land. After cultivated land, he started to repay the loan and bought cattle. In this way he increased his family income and started to buy some lands. His wife also planted trees around her house, which were also source of income of his family.

Abraham was very vigilant about the education of his children. Both of his children lived in the school hostels for their studies.

Abraham's family is now affluent. He and his wife both went to the field and work hand by hand daily. He was still fighting with his fate. One thing was very important for Abraham that he got loan and invest it properly. Again he reinvested his profit and composes more profit. He would also play others activities in future.

Abraham was a role model of his village Mirzapur. He had take loan from NGO's and had made his life happy and economically solvent. He said, if GO's and NGO'S had taken some effective measures for all the santls, they could uplift their living standard.

Case 06

Shubol Hasda was an illiterate santal who had three sons, mother and two daughter in laws in his family. He did not had any land of his own at present but he had before. He and his sons cultivated other persons' land. He wanted to become educated his sons. But he could not done it because of his poor economic condition.

As he and his two sons were a day laborer, they each earned near about 6000 tk. in a month. He said, one day he and his sons would be able to buy some lands and lived together with happy family life.

Shubol used hygienic latrine and he took it from BRAC NGO. He also got VGF card from union parishad and his mother also got old age allowances.

He said, every non government organization wanted to give them loan but they did not agree because of its high return money(kisti meaning). Grameen Bank, Asha, RDRS, BRAC NGO'S wanted to give him loan but he only took a loan before 4-5 years ago from RDRS.

Now he told that his income generating activities were growing up and he wanted to start a new petty business. He also told, if the Government or NGO'S trained up his daughter in laws, he would buy a sewing machine for their betterment of life. He and his family members' name were in the voter list and they participated every national election.

Shubol Hasda said there were insufficient services in his village for the development of santal. If government took measures properly, one day santal people would develop their socio-economic conditions .And thus the santal would be the mainstream people of Dinajpur district

Case 07

Rubi Tudu was a literate santal woman who read in class xi and also is an agr- laborer. She was from a joint family and also unmarried. She was a Catholic Christian. She had the name of herself in the voter list. She thought that, ethnic women were now more aware about their rights as they were as industrious as the men. They needed to be more aware about their socio-economic and political rights. At the time of election candidates had come to them and influenced them in many ways. Rubi thought that they should have a clear concept about the politics.

On the other hand, the health workers provided her different health tips for the santal women. She was also informed about the overall health care activities given by the NGO workers. Now she told about the health care functions to the village women. Rubi was an intelligent girl and she wanted to take training from the Government at free cost and then she would be an entrepreneur and so that she could earn money, which could be changed her socio-economic conditions.

She said, “Almost in all society, there were the presence of superstitions. Understanding the fear methods taboos, proverb, legends and folklore specific of any society would be helped to get switch on all kinds of cultural oddities. The people of santal society believed that if they did not follow their rules, they would face many problems.” Rubi wanted to build up awareness to the santal women about superstitions.

Thus, education, political sense, hard labor and the different government and non govt. organizations helped Rubi to be an enthusiastic and brave woman leader of santal community. So the effects of development program were essential for the santal community.

4.3 Findings of FGD

In FGD, most of the participants said that poverty, illiteracy, cultural conflict, superstition, limitation of development programs were the common problems of the santal of Hatrampur village. Most of them said that there were a few number of government and non-government organizations who gave them an insufficient facilities. The santal Manjhi ,Tagra chore said “There was only a primary school and a satellite clinic in our village which could not effort a lot for the santal. He also said that there was no electricity in the village ,but the chairman did not take any initiative. In the time of national election , the candidate ensured them for bringing many more facilities from the government but it would not happened yet. A health assistant named Joya Rani who was a FGD participant said that, every santal wanted sanitary latrine but they could not effort. But the NGO's had given the santal a few sanitary latrine, tubewell and other family planning equipments. The health assistant also said that many santal women were interested to take family planning method,female santal also took permanent method. They were interested to take lesson about health care cheek up, food and nutrition,how to used family planning method,poultry and livestock,Sewing and boutique etc.Santal women took their Children's for vaccination in nearby clinic also.

In my FGD there was an NGO worker named Rustom Ali, who was in a post of field officer in RDRS. He said santal people were interested to take any training or loan, but the limitation of porgrams could not make them happen. He also said that the santal pay their loan in time to time also.

On the other hand another FGD member mr.Binoy Kumar, who was a teacher at primary school in the village Hatrampur said, many santals children's were interested to go to school. But when they grew up, they involved with their parents to earn money and started their life as a day laborer. This was why many santals children's were dropping out from School after ending their class four or five. Sir Binoy Kumar said if the government took measurement especially for the ethnic children's, they would be interested for school going and could be interested in higher education.

Chairman in this village Mr. Prantosh Kumar, another FGD member, also participated in our discussions. He said that in every festive time he gave them financial facilities. He also said that he already gave the old age cards, the old age allowances card and VGD/VGF card. Prantosh Kumar also promised them to get electricity facilities.

On the other hand one Santal named Jolen Hasda said, there were insufficient old age allowances for the older. And the land lord did not give them sufficient wages. They did not get proper justice from the chairman also. He said if any Santal got sick they did not get any vehicle to reach them in hospital. There were no transport facilities in the village after 12-13 pm.

Most of the participants said that if there were available facilities like micro-credit facilities, health facilities, education, training, family planning from the government or non government organizations, the Santal could change their living standard, could increase their income, education rate, freedom, empowerment, social status and also increased their income generating activities. So, the government should take proper policy and planning for the Santal providing the different development programs and facilities so that the Santal could be able to ensure their potentiality to be a mainstream people in future.

Chapter Five

Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions

5.1 Summary of the Findings

5.1.1 Demographic Profile of Santal

The given content illustrates the age distribution of the respondents. The major concentration (31.25%) of respondents was within the age group of 35-45 years and only 6.25% of them belonged to the age group of 15-25 years.

It can be seen that female constituted a significant percentage of the respondents. Most of the respondents were female and the percentage was 51.25%. It is found that 58.75% of the respondents were from Hindu community and 41.25% of them were from Christian community. Interestingly, this study explores that some of the Christian respondents were converted from other religion.

5.1.2 Socio-economic Condition

The occupational status of the respondents appears that 18.75% of the respondents were farmer, 62.5% were agri labor, 5% were student, 5% were housewives, 5% were jobless (dependent older people), 1.25% were petty businessman and 2.5% were rajmistri. It can be observed that most (62.50%) of the respondents were agri-labor.

It was found that most of the respondents' (41.25%) monthly income was TK. 4,000-6,000. Besides this, 31.25% belonged to TK. 6,000-8,000, 21.25% belonged to TK. 8,000-10,000 and 6.25% belonged to TK. 2,000-4,000.

In the present study 67.5% of the respondents were from joint family, 18.75% from extended family, 7.5% from nuclear family and 6.25% from other type of family. It is noticeable that most of the respondents lived in joint family. Interestingly it is observed that the percentage of extended and nuclear family were also noticeable. This is might be for the modern thought and development activities which might have influenced their attitudes. It is observed that single parent family and childless family

also lived in that area. The marital status of the respondents was found that 68.75% respondents were married. On the other hand, 20% were widow and 11.25% were unmarried.

Among the respondents 63.75% said that they had no land. On the other hand, 36.25% respondents said that they had no individual ownership over land. It is found that 26.25% of the respondent had traditional land. Moreover, 6.25% of the respondents had land with joint ownership. Only 3.75% of respondents had registered land and 63.75% respondent had not any land of their own. It is mentionable that landless person cultivated other's land and did work as a seasonal labor.

It appears that in 36.25% cases houses of the respondents were semi-pucca house and 63.75% cases kancha. None of them had pucca house. In the study area, 32.5% of the respondents were using grid line and 17.5% were using solar system power. On the other hand, 50% of them had no electricity. Most of the respondents were not getting electricity facilities. It explores that 22.5% of the respondents used electricity, 81.25% used wood and 37.50% used kerosene for cooking. It is clear that most of the respondents used wood for cooking.

5.1.3 Development Programs and its impacts of Santal Community:

Different Government and Non-Government organizations are implementing major development programs on Santal like education health, gender development and income generating activities political empowerment which can improve their living standard. It is found that 56.25% of the respondents children were going to primary school, 43.75% were going to missionary school. It can be said that the village education is increasing mainly for government primary and some missionary school. In the village Mirjapur there has been a long tradition of missionaries. Missionaries changed santal religion but it has a positive impact on their education. It is found that there were no NGO based schools and kindergarten in the village.

It is noticeable that 100% santal's children study at Bengali medium school. It has explored that they did not have opportunity to get education in their mother tongue or in English.

It is found that all of their children were getting free education and free books from government primary school. None of them were found giving fee and spending money for buying books.

In the study the Catholic Santals who studied in missionary schools did not get free education and books. They had to pay 100 tk. as per hostel charge in residential missionary school, where people of other religion needed to pay 4 times higher.

This study explores that a great proportion of the respondents were moderately satisfied at the education activities of government and missionary school. On the other hand, 25% respondents said that they were not highly satisfied. It is significantly noticed that none of the respondents were highly satisfied about the educational facilities available for them.

The distribution of having health institution in the villages of the respondents was satisfactory. All (100%) the respondents said that there were health institutions in their village.

The statistics shows the distribution of the existing types of health institutions in their village for getting services. It shows that in the village's satellite clinic (43.75%), community clinics (18.75%) and government hospital (37.50%) were the health institutions for getting health services. It is significantly noted that there were no NGO based clinics for health services.

It has revealed that 43.75% respondents were going to satellite clinic to get health facilities. On the other hand, there were no NGO clinics in those villages. Only 18.75% respondents were going to community based clinics and 37.5% santal were going to government hospital. It is found that majority of them were getting services

from satellite clinics. 80% respondents said that they had heard about family planning method in their village.

Moreover, 46.25% respondents were getting family planning information from Television or Radio. Besides this, 28.75% respondents were getting information from health worker and the rest of the respondents were getting information from neighbors. It was found that most of them knew about family planning. 71.25% respondents used family planning method. On the other hand, 28.75% respondents said that they were not using family planning method.

The study indicates that only 21.25% husbands used family planning method and 31.25% wives were using family planning method. 18.75% both husband and wife were using family planning method. 28.75% respondents said that they were not using family planning method.

It has explored that 65% of the respondents knew about hygienic latrine and they used hygienic latrine. On the other hand, 35% respondent did not use hygienic latrine. It was found that the respondents were getting awareness about hygienic latrine from different sources. It explores that most of the respondents (60.00%) were getting awareness building information from television or radio. Besides 31.25% respondents were getting awareness from health worker, 21.25% from NGO workers.

The government institutions were not highly responsive for developing the santals' condition. Only 12.5% of the respondents said that the government institutions were responsive and 10% respondents said it was moderately responsive. Besides these, 58.75% respondents said that the institutions were somehow responsive and the rest 18.75% respondents said that the institutions not at all responsive.

It has found that 6.25% santal said that the NGO workers were highly responsive. 12.5% said that the non government institutions were responsive and 46.25% said that the organizations were moderately responsive. On the other hand, 31.25% were somehow responsive and the rest 3.75% were not at all responsive. 91.25%

respondents were found who voted in election but 8.75% did not take part in election by voting. No respondents were found who competed in election to be elected as public representative.

The current study has found that the respondents were getting facilities from government institution (52.5%), non-government organization (56.25%) and somoby programs (6.25%). It is notable that 47% of the respondents were not getting any facilities. It has also found that among the government servicebeneficiaries 35.71% were getting old age allowance service, 64.28% of them were getting services under VGD/VGF programs. Somehow they were involved in different non government programs.

It explores that 40.00% respondents were getting different facilities from BRAC like- sanitation, income generating training activities, poultry, micro credit etc.; 37.77% were getting only micro credit from Ahsa and 25.00% were involved with Grameen Bank. Rest 55.55% respondents were taking different facilities from RDRS.

It has found that the present income is increasing more than previous income by getting different facilities from the different government and non government organizations. Here, this is clear that if every santal can get facilities, they can improve their living standard. Previously 41.25% santals were getting 2000-4000 tk. monthly through agri labor or farmering. Now –a- days, only 6.25% people are getting 2000-4000 tk. per month. On the other hand, 41.25% santals are now get maximum 4000-6000 tk. per month but this was previously 31.25%. So it was found that the present income of the santal is increasing more than the previous.

It has found that half of the respondents were getting micro-credit facilities and rest of them was getting health, education, training or family planning helps from different organizations.

5.1.4 Challenge of the Santal Community

The Santal have their own challenges in regards to peaceful living. They do not have any say about what kind of development they require. They are facing many challenges like, land grabbing, unemployment, wage discrimination, violence etc. It has revealed that 37.5% respondents were increasing their income through the existing programs. It also shows that the respondents were being awarded by these programs (35.00%) and increasing of education rate (31.25%), improvement of living standard (21.25%), positive change of social status (11.25%) and getting freedom or having empowerment (11.25%) were the impact of different developmental programs for the Santal community.

The santal children faced different kinds of problems in school. Among them 43.75% children could not understand the medium because maximum santal spoke in santali language. 43.75% told that schools were far away from the village and rest 12.5% felt insecurity to send them to school.

It has revealed that 68.75% santal said that there were no women in the village who were not a victim of violence. On the other hand, 31.25% of the respondents opinioned that told that there was violence against women in the community. In this cases they also informed that the nature of women violence were physical abuse (64.00%), dowry related victim (60.00%), suicide (8.00)% and rape (8.0%). On the other hand, there were no victim on acid throwing, prostitution and female child abuse

Above 56.25% respondents said that they were friendly with Bangalee. On the other hand, 18.75% told that they were moderately friendly with Bangalee and the rest 12.5% said that they were somehow friendly with the Bangalee and 12.5% said it was hostile with Bangalee.

The santal faced different kinds of problems in their life. Among them half of the respondents faced the limitation of development programs. One fourth of them faced poverty and illiteracy. On the other hand, approximately one third of them were

suffering from ill health or malnutrition. They also suffered for cultural lags and cultural conflicts in santal community and the percentage was 10.00%. Moreover, superstition and lack of interest to participate in the development programs were also addressed by them in 25.00% and 12.50% cases respectively.

It was found that 43.75% Santals suffer from insufficient programs, 31.25% by corruption and 15% for skilled manpower. There were the limitations of the development programs in santal community. Besides this, 10% administrative lacking was also the limitation of the development programs on santal community.

It is found that lack of insufficient program (43.75%), corruption (31.25%) and lack of skilled manpower (15.00%) cases were mentioned as the limitations of the development programs for santal by the respondents. Besides these, administrative lacking (10.00%) was also marked as a limitation of the development programs for santal community.

5.1.5 Expectations of the Santal Community

The core expectation of the most respondents were to resolve the language problem, education system, poverty, alcoholic addiction, land grabbing, unemployment, wage discrimination. So that, the Santal can lives with the mainstream people pride and prestige. It was found that for solving the santal problem they had recommended for making policy and planning (68.75 providing training (37.50%), awareness building (46.25%), providing education facilities (41.25%), providing loan facilities (36.25%) and providing health facilities (28.75%). In most of the cases they recommended for ensuring awareness build up, taking much more development based programs and making policy planning.

5.2 Recommendations

The Study on the “Impacts of Development Programs on Santal Community” is undertaken on the basis of qualitative and quantitative data and the data help to identify a number of important issues of the santal people in Dinajpur. This study reveals that many governments, donor and many NGOs are implementing major development programs, like community empowerment, economic development capacity and confidence building, health, education, gender development, income generating activities, political empowerments which have had some positive impact upon the quality of life of santal community in Dinajpur. Furthermore, more government and NGOs initiatives are greatly needed for the upliftment of the santal of Dinajpur. At the time of interview, case study and FGD, good number of suggestions were offered. In view of study findings and respondents’ opinions, the following recommendations may be offered.

(a) Socio-political mobilization might be encouraged on the basis of santal demands of Jatiyo Adivasi Parishad, including that of the constitution reorganization of Adivasi.

(b) Development strategies by the government organizations and non-government organizations are highly needed for improving the socio economic conditions of the santal in Dinajpur. (c) In regard to employment and income generating activities the important suggestions are:

- (i) Increasing the land cultivation facilities.
- (ii) Increasing wages of the santal day or agri laborer.
- (iii) Poultry and livestock rearing.
- (iv) Plantation and harvesting, etc.

(d) Most of the respondents at the time of discussions, opined to provide easy loan for the above mentioned income earning activities. (e) Micro-credit loan may be increased for various income generating activities such as poultry livestock, small business, cottage industry etc. (f) Education program contriving primary education, non-formal primary education might be increased. (g) Comprehensive health program might be increased including Medicare, public health facilities, family planning and reproductive health.(h).About special development for women, suggestions are:

- (i) Financial, technical and marketing facilities for weaving.
- (ii) Training on sewing and supply of sewing machine.
- (iii) Training on poultry and livestock.
- (iv) Loan for small business
- (v) Awareness building and training on various crafts and
- (vi) Equal wage etc.

(i) Special mobility of women might be expanded through awareness building and motivation so that they can participate in development activities effectively. (j) For balanced growth, development and desirable future of the santal children; they are suggested to take several steps such as:

- (i) Increase educational institutions in every para
- (ii) Increase Medicare facilities
- (iii) Supply of nutritious food
- (iv) Recreational facilities (gamers, music, cultural functions) etc.

(k).For stopping land grabbing and security, the suggestions offered by santal people are:

- (i) Effective administrative measures by civil and law and other enforcement of law
- (ii) Proper enforcement of law
- (iii) Awareness building about land related rules and regulations and preservative of land document etc.

(l) Most of the indigenous people unable to know the legal facility given by the service provider. They suggest increasing awareness and capacity building program for the indigenous communities in Dinajpur. Therefore, in top priority, they asked for legal assistance against forced land-grabbing, social crimes, oppression by the majority group, and to uphold human rights. (m) Effective measures might be taken by the government functionaries, human rights agencies and civil society members for stopping illegal eviction, harassment, discrimination, human indignation etc. (n) For strengthening social harmony among the indigenous and Bangalee communities, cross-cultural interactions through reciprocal participation in various social, cultural and religious functions and festivals may be encouraged. In this respect, government

functionaries and NGOs may play important role. (o) Initiatives for reconstruction and establishment of educational institution, hospital/clinic, temple, cultural-centre, club-gymnasium etc. may be undertaken. (p)The respondents suggested for taking necessary measures for preserving their cultural heritage such as festivals, ritual dances, songs etc. (q) Steps may be taken to ensure participation of the indigenous communities in planning and policy making bodies of the development agencies. (r) Political participation in terms of putting up candidates in local government and national elections might be encouraged. (s) Pressure might be created on political leaders to execute their election commitment for the development of indigenous people. (t) Initially some support-oriented services such as: low cost housing, primary health care, safe drinking water, hygienic latrine, education etc. may be provided by the government and non government development agencies.

5.3 Conclusions

The Santal have been living in the pristine natural surroundings of the area for thousands of years. Their way of living and culture is a breathing heritage for Bangladesh. Today their socio economic state is initiating changes in their deep rooted culture. The information and discussion provided in the present study tend to indicate that the social cohesion and consistency of the ethnic minority of Santals are weakening and disintegrating their way of living. Their authentic ways of social formations and individuality needs to be protected and preserved. The intention of the study is to start the thinking and journey towards creating a society where individuality of every human being is appreciated. This study is not just for Santals but a platform for everyone to express their eccentricity. This approach can be an inspiration for everyone retain their identity and be proud about it.

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Appendix-1

(Confidential—Only for the Purpose of Research)

Schedule No.....

Interview Schedule

Impacts of Development Programs on Santal Community

Researcher

Mst. Shamima Nasrin

M. Phil Researcher

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

Supervisor

Dr. Golam Rabbani

Professor

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

- A. Demographic & Socio-economic information:
1. Please mention your name.
 2. Please mention your age?
 3. Sex of the respondent
 - 3.1: Male
 - 3.2: Female
 4. Please mention your Religion?
 - 4.1: Hinduism
 - 4.2: Buddhism
 - 4.3: Christianity
 - 4.4: Muslimism
 - 4.5: Others (Specify....) o
 5. Please mention your Occupation/what is your Occupation?
 - 5.1: Farmer
 - 5.2: Housewife
 - 5.3: Agri-Laborer
 - 5.4: Salaried Job
 - 5.5: Business
 - 5.6: Petty Business
 - 5.7: Fisherman
 - 5.8: Blacksmith
 - 5.9: Unemployed
 - 5.10: Student
 - 5.11: Potter
 - 5.12: Old age person
 - 5.13: Others (Specify)
 6. Please mention your monthly income.
 7. Please tell about your Family pattern.
 - 7.1: Nuclear
 - 7.2: Joint
 - 7.3: Extended
 - 7.4: Others (Specify.....)

8. House hold information:

SL No.	Name	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education	Occupation	Income
1.							
2.							

9. Please mention your marital status

9.1: Married

9.2: Unmarried

9.3: Separated

9.4: Widowed

9.5: Others (Specify...)

10. Have you any land of your owns?

10.1: Yes

10.2: No

11. If yes then tell the types of ownership

11.1: Traditional

11.2: Joint ownership

11.3: Registered

12. Nature of House:

12.1: Pucca

12.2: Semi-pucca

12.3: Kacha

12.4: Others (Specify.....)

13. Electrifications status:

13.1: Grid line

13.2: Solar

13.4: Others (Specify...)

14. What types of fuel you use for cooking?

14.1:Electricity

14.2: Wood

14.3: Kerosene

14.4: Others (Specify...)

B. Development Programs Related Information.

15. Do you have school in your village?

15.1: Yes

15.2: No

16. What types of school your children accessed for education?

16.1: Government Primary school

16.2: NGO School

16.3: Kindergarten

16.4: Others (Specify

17. What is the medium on language of book in your children school?

17.1: English

17.2: Bangla

17.3: Mother tongue

18. What types of education facilities your children get from Government?

18.1: Free education

18.2: Free books

18.3: Others (Specify...)

19. Are you satisfied in the education activities of Government/NGO?

19.1: Highly satisfactory

19.2: Satisfactory

19.3: Moderately Satisfactory

19.4: Some How Satisfactory

19.5: Not at all satisfactory

20. Do you have any health institution in your village?

20.1: Yes

20.2: No

21. If yes. Please tell the type:

21.1: Satellite clinic

21.2: NGO Clinic

21.3: Community Clinic

21.4: Government Hospital

22.5: Others (Specify

22. Where do you get health services for your children vaccination and other health checkup?

22.1: District Hospital

22.2: Upazilla Hospital

22.3: Union Health Centre

22.4: School Health Clinic

22.5: NGO Clinic

22.6: Others (Specify..)

23. Do you hear about family planning?

23.1: Yes

23.2: No

24. If yes. What is your usual source of getting information?

24.1: Television/Radio

24.2: Health worker

24.3: Neighbors

24.4: Others (Specify ...)

25. Do you use family planning method?

25.1: Yes

25.2: No

26. If yes, who use the family planning method?

26.1: Only husband

26.2: Only wife

26.3: Both

27. Do you know about hygienic latrine?

27.1: Yes

27.2: No

28. If yes. Who makes awareness?

28.1: Health worker

28.2: NGO worker.

28.3: Neighbors

28.4: Television/Radio

28.5: Others (Specify...)

29. Please tell about your social rituals:.....

.....

30. Please tell about your religious rituals:.....

.....

31. Responsiveness of government institutions.

31.1: Highly

31.2: Responsive

31.3: Moderately responsive

31.4: Somehow responsive

31.5: Not at all responsive

32. Responsiveness of local/NGO workers

32.1: Highly

32.2: Responsive

32.3: Moderately responsive

32.4: Somehow responsive

32.5: Not at all responsive

33. Do you think that the Santal community can vote freely?

33.1: Yes

33.2: No

34. Do you get any facilities of any institutions?

34.1: Yes

34.2: No

35. If yes then specify the institution

35.1: Government programs

35.2: Non-Government programs

35.3: Somoby programs

36. If Government then specify the programs types

36.1:

36.2:

37. If Non-Government then specify the organization

37.1: Ashari

37.2: Grameen Bank

37.3: TMSS

37.4: Asha

37.5: Brae

38. Specify the facilities that you taken from the NGO's/ what types of assistance you are getting from Government institutions or NGO?

38.1: Micro-credit Facilities

38.2: Health Facilities

38.3: Education Facilities

38.4: Training Facilities

38.5: Family planning Facilities

38.6: Others (Specify..)

39. If yes, then tell your previous income and the present income
40. What types of changes have brought in your life for participation in the development activities of the organizations?

- 40.1: Increase awareness
- 40.2: Increase income
- 40.3: Increase education rate
- 40.4: Increase living standard
- 40.5: Increase freedom
- 40.6: Increase empowerment
- 40.7: Decrease family conflict
- 40.8: Increase social status

C. Problems Challenges and Suggestions Related Information.

41. What types of problem your children face in school?

- 41.1: Children do not understand the medium
- 41.2: Far away school
- 41.3: Insecurity
- 41.4: Others (Specify ...)

42. Please give some suggestions in improving education facilities in school

.....
.....

43. Give your suggestion in promoting health facilities:

.....
.....

44. Do you know any women of your village who was a

- 44.2: No

45. If yes, what types of violence?

45.1: Physical abuse

45.2: Dowry related violence

45.3: Suicide

45.4: Homicide

45.5: Rape

45.6: Acid throwing

45.7: Sexual abuse

45.8: Prostitution

45.9: Female child abuse

46. Relationship between Bangalee and your communities:

46.1: Friendly

46.2: Moderately Friendly

46.3: Somehow Friendly

46.4: Hostile

47. How lone are you in this organization?.....

48. Have you changed your occupation to involve this organization?

48.1: Yes

48.2: No

49. Please tell about the problems of your community?

49.1: Poverty

49.2: limitation of development programs

49.3: Illiteracy

49.4: Malnutrition/ill health

49.5: Cultural lag/cultural conflict

49.6: Superstition

49.7: Low interest on participation of development programs

49.8: Others (Specify-..)

50. Please tell about the limitations of the programs:

50.1: Insufficient services

50.2: Corruption

50.3: Lack of skilled manpower

50.4: Administrative lacking

51. What types of programs can be taken for the development of Santal?

51.1: Education

51.2: Loan

51.3: Income generating activities

51.4: Health facilities

51.5: Making policy and planning

51.6: Others (Specify.)

52. What types of measurement can be undertaken for solving the santal problem.

.....
.....

This part should be filled in after the interview: Time of the interview: Hour:

Respondent: Very cooperative/medium/not cooperative at all:

(Signature of the Interview)

Date:

(It was interesting to talk to you. Thank you for giving me your valuable time and information.)

Checklist

Focus Group Discussion

Impacts of Development Programs on Santal Community

Researcher

Mst. Shamima Nasrin

M. Phil Researcher

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

Supervisor

Dr. Golam Rabbani

Professor

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

**Institute of Social Welfare & Research
University of Dhaka**

1. What are the problems of santal Community?
2. What kind of services (Go's & NGO's) are effective for the development of your community?
3. Please mention the rationale behind your option?
4. Do you think that the programs are effective for the betterment of santal life?
5. According to you what are the limitation of the existing programs?
6. Please provide some recommendation for ensuring the efficiency of the existing programs.
7. According to you what kind of measures needed to lunch for mitigation the problems of santal?

This part should be filled in after FGD:

Time of the FGD:

Hour:

(Signature of the Researcher)

Date:

(It was interesting to talk to you. Thank you for giving me your valuable time and information.)

Checklist

Case Study

Impacts of Development Programs on Santal Community

Researcher

Mst. Shamima Nasrin

M. Phil Researcher

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

Supervisor

Dr. Golam Rabbani

Professor

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

Institute of Social Welfare & Research

University of Dhaka

1. Please tell about the socio-economic condition of your family
2. What kinds of development programs are effective for santal community?
3. Please mention the rationale behind your option.
4. Please tell about from where you have received services for the betterment of your family life.
5. Do you think that the services are effective for your community?
6. According to you what are the limitations of the existing programs?
7. Please provide some recommendations for ensuring the efficacy of the existing programs.
8. What is your future plan?

This part should be filled in after the case study:

Time of the interview:

Hour:

(Signature of the Researcher)

Date:

(It was interesting to talk to you. Thank you for giving me your valuable time and information.)

Appendix-2



Church of Christian Santals of Hatrampur Village



Santal Women of Hatrampur Village



Government Primary School of Hatrampur Village



FGD Stackholder of Hatrampur Village



A joint family structure of Hatrampur Village



FGD participant of Hatrampur Village



Case study in Hatrampur Village



FGD's Participant in Hatrampur Village



FGD's Participant in Hatrampur Village