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R. N. DAS

CH. P. K. MOHAPATRA

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N. DAS

OUTLOOK FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

(A paper presented to the Anthropology Section of the Indian Science Congress Shragpur 1970)

In India Social Anthropology started mainly as ethnohistory. Administrators and missionaries from the west took interest to record quaint customs and practices of the tribal. The jungle folk who are named as tribes (Professor Nihar Ranjan Ray disputes the word tribe and prefers *Jana*) provided a field for intellectual pursuit of scholars. Risley in 1891 as the Census Commissioner laid the foundation for comprehensive ethnographic record of the tribes. Their customs and practices as widely different from the Hindus widely different from the Hindus and Muslims who inhabit the sub-continent were of considerable interest to the administration of the day. The university of Calcutta started teaching in the subject quite early and from this university scholars trained in the discipline had spread far and near. Pioneering work of Sarat Chandra Roy, L. K. Anta Krishna Aiyar and Hira Lal gave foundation to monographic studies among the tribes. A good number of scholars from various disciplines carried forward studies on Sociology and Anthropology. Caste as significant omnipresent Hindu institution

attracted large number of scholars both western and oriental. When Indian anthropology was in such a formative situation the discipline in the west had taken a good shape due to strenuous field work of scholars like Malinowski, Rivers, Boas, Radcliffe Brown and others. The Indian scholars some of whom were trained in England were mainly influenced by concept of functionalism and practical field work among the communities. Thereafter illustrious monographs by Majumdar and others were produced in India.

In this background studies on Anthropology in India was mainly based on studying different tribes in an integrative approach. No doubt colonial and imperial sophistication incumbent on such studies was manifested in thoughts and ideas. In the earlier days administration of the country encouraged scholars for this purpose to facilitate peace and good Government in tribal areas. No doubt isolation and segregation were dominant concept in all these studies. Nevertheless the studies were primarily problem oriented with cut and hard methods of direct participation etc.

After independence, mobility of scholars attained a new thrust. Large number of teachers and students from Indian Universities mostly went to U. S. A. American scholars in the meantime had began studies in Sociology and Anthropology in different areas of the world. A good number of books and literature came pouring. During the days of Boas and Kroeber scholars were primarily interested to isolate problems first and then devise methods suitable to study those. Gradually this approach was considered obsolete and methodology was given premium over the problems. Formulations from other disciplines from physical sciences and mathematics were widely borrowed to give significant impression. At this stage began a switch over from problem directed studies to method directed one. This situation as was prevalent particularly in the new world dominated the Indian scene to a very great extent. The situation is being analysed below.

Anthropology and Sociology are now being taught in most of the Universities of India Barring a few in the south.

According to traditional methods of Sociology and Social Anthropology the scholars in India as has been said earlier were first identifying problems and thereafter they were studying those with suitable methodology befitting to the situation. In the new era concepts of methodology were first devised and thereafter studies were planned to suit to one or the other. Functionalism, pattern school or

structural analysis of culture were considered outmoded. Psychological derivations were brought to lime light. Mathematical and statistical representation of universal laws were applied at random. When Majumdar studied the Ho's of Kolhan and Roy wrote on the Munt Oraon, Khadia and Bhuiyan they did not very much take into account as to how and where the perimeters of culture of tribes under study took a turn for better or worse. They mainly started the study to let it be known to the whole world as to where and how the particular community stands in its social and cultural edifice. Similarly Chattopadhy, Biswas, Ghurey, Dubey and even Srinivas made studies into tribal and social problems, from the point of significance of those. Their contributions hardly harped on borrowed nomenclature.

During the last decade, the social scientists in India, have entered a new phase of academics. From then Anthropologists and Sociologists wish to make their presence felt in different branches of social political and cultural affairs of the country. Parallel is drawn from the role of scholars of these disciplines in affluent countries, particularly the U. S. A. A good number have been appointed in governmental agencies. Almost all universities have opened teaching departments. These are certainly perimeter of the growth of social science subjects in India. Above all journals and bulletins are being brought out in large numbers. Anthropology and Sociology are definitely on march.

Along with it there is a persistent effort to incorporate new methods and doctrines from real sciences. The basic motivation has been to revolutionise Social Anthropology and Sociology.

As back as 1913, Pioncare said "Nearly every sociological thesis proposes a new method which, however, its author is careful not to apply, so that sociology is the science with the greatest number of methods and the least results". How true is this analysis! Indian scholars have been apt to incorporate as many words and theories from real sciences. Particularly the young post-graduates, or those who have been visiting foreign countries speak with abstract formulae. The extension of those into social and cultural phenomena is fraught with various difficulties. Firstly social behaviour of men is flexible and varies according to situations. Secondly individual mood, attitude and adjustment are dependent on multiple factors. Thus to drag those to fit into a particular statistical and mathematical vogues is the denial to the basic component of those phenomena.

The other day while attending a seminar of learned men to discuss the tribal situation in India, I could get an impression that I was fairly outdated. Scholars in Anthropology and Sociology were trying to out beat each other with borrowed words from real sciences. Concepts and standards were used to describe social situation which were invariably devoid of context. There were faddism, idealism as

well as scholasticism. Take for instance core and fringe societies which a competent anthropologist described in detail. There was a hypothesis that there were definite standards of mobility within those. Agreeing to it, one could however see that a group of human beings in their primary or secondary structure, continuously revolve around the core and fringe. I could cite the example of growth of Dravida Khazagham from the Justice party, which was primarily formed to oust the brahmins from their dominant position in various spheres of Madras Presidency. Ultimately orthodox brahmins from sacrosanct *Agraharams* of Tamilnad sported support to D. M. K. in various elections. Here again congress was considered a greater evil than D. M. K. Thus there are contra directional mobility in case of brahmins in adopting and accepting a particular norm, according to situation.

In another case the peasants and oppressed rural folk in the erstwhile native states in Orissa, who resisted the then ruling chiefs through *Praja Samitis*, continuously returned rajas, ranis or their kinsmen in all the three general elections. Here again the rajas reverted to the core of the social life in those areas from their fringe position before independence. How can we standardise this mobility through mathematical formulae?

In a seminar on Methodology of Social Sciences, there were dialogue of scholars which often led to controversial dimensions. When some one described 'Action Anthro-

pology' as adopted from Levy Struss some one else repudiated it. I was bewildered to a considerable extent to understand as to how and when action anthropology would begin. With these example, I have perhaps exposed my ignorance to a considerable extent. Of course I shall prefer to exhibit that, rather than to be continuously gloating in uncertainties. My reservations have been many and I need to be enlightened.

As a former student of real sciences I learnt at my initiation that scientific theories are based on universal truth. Those have been derived through experimentation, and observation to arrive at an inference. Once this process is completed the universal application of those would not vary under similar conditions. Of course with the change of conditions like temperature; pressure, etc., the result will vary. But those variations are equally ascertainable both in laboratory and outside.

In case of Social Anthropology and Sociology hypotheses are conceived on certain observations participation and application of standard tests and questionnaire. Those are related to the situation in which a group or community is. This situation goes on changing due to various circumstances far beyond the control of the observer. I remember utterances by responsible persons during partition days condemning Pakistan and Muslims. Even those who never subscribed to the communal dogma were equally vociferous. At that situation study of any rural or

urban community would certainly show chi-square or some such deductions to be totally different. Suddenly one evening the Father of the Nation fell to the bullet of a Hindu. Those persons who vehemently criticised action of Government of India in releasing funds to Pakistan became appreciative of the move. The theory of Hinduraj was condemned with greater force. A study then would show the group or community to be secular with wider world view.

The riots in Rourkela would conclusively show that the tribals in the neighbourhood who do not understand anything of two nation theory, or partition were instrumental in mass killing. Before and after the riots they lived and live together with muslims. The situation before and after would show peculiar denomination. During the riots the traditional life and values were thrown to winds. How to judge the social values of the different communities? How to standardise these?

A short term study in Orissa side bordering Andhra Pradesh where Naxalites are in ramage, showed that the tribals seldom understand the implications of Marxism or Socialistic revolution through violence. They do not know where Naxalbari is. They understand that their lands have been usurped by higher castes. Forest regulations have curbed expansion of shifting cultivation. The all pervading block development activities did not help them to any extent to improve their standard of living. Channels of redress were exhausted, but redress

to their grievances were no where in sight. At this crisis situation any body who incited tribals to violent methods would succeed in mustering support from them.

The Lanjia Saoras of Ganjam and Koraput were recruited in large numbers in tea gardens of Assam from the beginning of this century. There was a double way traffic from the tea gardens to the backward Saora hills of Parlakhemundi and Pottasingi. But as reported by students of Saora Culture, Saora traditions were the least affected by the impact of tea gardens. On the other hand those who returned from tea gardens spent a good part of their savings in offering sacrifices to local spirits and dead ancestors. Saoras thus negated the presumptions on environmental reconditioning in tea gardens which did not leave an indelible imprint on the cultural life of a people.

These instances would go to show that determinants in social sciences are bound to be considered flexible unlike those in physical sciences. When determinants could not be specific the deductions from these could never be reduced to specific formulae. As soon as we trace out social events in mathematical sequence we indirectly go farther from those. Individual variations and personal equation are to be reckoned in social sciences. Thus with borrowed nomenclature and deductions from real sciences, we are indirectly loosing the real perspectives of Sociology and Anthropology.

It is now noticed that field work is being progressively cut short. For example by interviewing 10 to 15 individuals from any age or sex some generalise about the progress attended by conversion to christianity. Similarly on an identical manner all important drifts in a culture are analysed. Are we not landing ourselves into vague and indefensible situation by adopting such methods. Instead of collecting the data by following methods as may be appropriate to a particular study, we first lay down methods and hypothesis. Then we are in a tight corner and resort to deductions from real sciences sometimes through inevitable back calculation.

It has to be reckoned that due to so called progress, or advancement in social sciences which we are indiscriminately adopting the strenuous field work which was *sine qua non* for anthropologist has been cut short. Young students of the discipline are reluctant to spend longer time among a tribe or community. Very often anthropologists who were never students of real sciences during their career adopt methods which they do not understand. Thereby they reduce themselves to laughing stock. It is therefore taken into consideration that our universities and other bodies of social sciences should rise to the occasion. There would perhaps be then no occasion for something like Naxalite aggression to set the house in order. Teachers in social sciences should see that students and scholars working under them should not indulge in the luxury

of "Mouthtalk" but take up strenuous field work to understand the problems. When the learned profession interpret the data collected by students they should be sure that those are supported by adequate field work. In case of backward communities working knowledge of their language has to be acquired. A pre-planned methodology to arrive at deductions and formulae should be cut short. By thus the reputation of sociologists and anthropologists could be salvaged. Another crucial factor is the duration of a study. Emergent social problems are studied expeditiously and certain suggestions are to be advanced from the findings. Administrators and planners would be expected to act on those, or atleast to take those into consideration, if relevant studies are completed in time, and the findings are intelligible to all concerned. But if delayed those will loose their import, and become another piece of document like the reports of commissions and committees constituted for various purpose.

We have to admit that sociological analysis and their importance have to be impressed on others. In our country all pervading bureaucratic adminis-

trative machinery move slow, and is tapid to new innovations. Unless and until we exert and cater to the requirements, social studies will continue to be backdrop to our national determinants. Then we are only to blame our lot. Of course I cannot advocate giving up scientific analysis and doctrinaire deductions for the sake of expediency. But those should not be oblivious to basic consideration of facts gathered through painstaking field work.

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U. D. MOHAPATRA

PTCT TASTE THRESHOLD IN SOME CASTES OF ORISSA

Phenylthiocarbamide is well-known for its dual taste perception. In 1931 Fox discovered the human dimorphism into tasters and non-tasters using dry crystals of PTC. Snyder in 1931 and 1932 established that taste dimorphism regarding PTC is controlled by allelic genes T and t. The taster gene T is dominant over the non-taster gene t. Blakeslee (1932) noted the necessity of diluting PTC in water. Hartmann, Falconer and Fischer used serial dilution of PTC and they found that sensitivity in a population varies according to different strength of the solution. Harris and Kalmus (1949) improved

the serial dilution method by introducing "sorting technique" which is now used by most of the investigators.

Material and Results

In the present paper, an attempt has been made to study the taste sensitivity for PTC among three upper castes and two occupational castes in Orissa. The data were collected mostly from Puri and Cuttack districts of Orissa during 1968. All the individuals are between the age of 9 years and 30 years. The distribution of individuals tasted in various castes are as follows :—

1. Brahmin = 200; (male = 100 and female = 100)
2. Karan = 200; (male = 100 and female = 100)
3. Khandayats = 200; (male = 100 and female = 100)
4. Badhai = 100; (male = 50 and female = 50)
5. Teli = 100; (male = 50 and female = 50)

The sorting technique of Harris and Kalmus was followed to determine individual threshold.

The distribution of the taste threshold in different castes are

shown in table 1. The distributions are bimodal and antimodal values in different castes are taken for the separation of tasters and non-tasters. Among the Brahmins the antimode falls between 3 and 4

in both male and female, but among all other castes, the antimode falls between 4 and 5. Bisexual variation regarding antiodal value is not observed in any of the castes.

In table 2, the percentile distribution of tasters and non-tasters among the different castes under present study are presented. In all the castes, the males exhibit a higher percentage of non-tasters than the females. But this bisexual variation in frequencies of tasters and non-tasters are not statistically significant in any of the groups. The frequency of non-tasters is lowest among the Brahmins and it gradually increases through the Karans, the Khandayats, the Badhais to the Telis among whom highest frequency of non-tasters are observed.

The mean taste threshold of the tasters among different castes are presented in table 3. It is observed that except the Khandayats and Brahmins, in all other groups the mean taste threshold is higher among the females. In these two groups the males exhibit higher mean taste threshold. As the bisexual variations in mean taste threshold in all the groups are not statistically significant, the mean taste threshold for the whole population in each group is calculated for comparison. The Brahmins exhibit the lowest mean taste threshold and the Telis exhibit the highest. The Badhais and the Khandayats exhibit almost identical mean taste threshold for taster. The mean taste threshold among the Brahmins is significantly lower than all other groups. No

statistically significant difference is observed in the mean taste threshold among the tasters in all other castes under study. (Table 5).

Frequency of tasters and non-tasters among different castes, both male and female combined are used to calculate the intercaste variation. The chi square values (table 4) suggest that there is no statistically significant differences in PTC tasting frequency among these five castes.

The frequency of non-tasters in different comparable population of Eastern India are presented in table 6. From this Table it is apparent that there is a regional variation in frequency of T and t gene. But within Orissa also considerable variation is observed between the tribal and non-tribal population. All the groups of tribal population exhibit considerably higher frequency of non-tasters. The Brahmins of the three states Assam, West Bengal and Orissa though exhibit variation in frequency of non-tasters, these variations are not statistically significant even at 0.5 p. c. level. The Kalitas of Assam also donot show significant difference from the Khandayats. All the non-tribal groups of Orissa exhibit statistically significant difference from the tribal population except the followings :—

1. The Khandayats and the Gadaba
2. The Badhais and the Gadaba
3. The Telis and Bado Gadaba
4. The Telis and the Ollaro Gadaba

Summary

The tests for PTC taste deficiencies were performed on the Brahmins, Karans, Khandayats, Badhais and Telis of Orissa, among both male and female. The distribution of taste thresholds are bimodal in all the groups. The Brahmins exhibit the lowest frequency of non-tasters and also the lowest mean taste threshold among the tasters. The Telis, on the other

hand exhibit the highest frequency of non-tasters and also highest value for mean taste threshold. The frequency of non-tasters in various castes do not show statistically significant difference, but they differ mostly from the non-tribal population. Among the caste groups under study, the female exhibit lower frequency of non-tasters, but usually they show higher mean taste threshold.

TABLE 1

Distribution of PTC Taste Threshold in different Castes of Orissa

Groups		Solution Number													
		1>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Brahmin	M	15	8	4	1	7	9	11	14	16	8	5	2	..	..
	F	13	7	4	1	4	10	15	16	13	9	2	2	1	
Karan	M	17	6	4	2	1	6	10	15	16	12	6	3	2	..
	F	15	6	4	3	1	7	10	16	16	14	4	2	2	..
Khandayat	M	17	8	4	2	1	4	8	13	20	12	7	3	1	..
	F	16	7	5	2	0	3	9	16	21	11	6	3	1	..
Badhai	M	9	4	3	1	0	3	4	7	7	6	4	2	..	..
	F	8	3	2	2	0	3	4	6	7	7	4	2	1	1
Teli	M	7	5	3	2	0	2	4	8	6	5	3	2	2	1
	F	7	4	3	2	0	3	5	7	8	4	4	2	1	..

TABLE 2

Percentile distribution of Tasters and non-Tasters among different Castes

Groups		Total No.	Tasters		Non-Tasters	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1		2	3	4	5	6
Brahmins	M ..	100	72	72.0	28	28.0
	F ..	100	75	75.0	25	25.0
	T ..	200	147	73.5	53	26.5
Karans	M ..	100	70	70.0	30	30.0
	F ..	100	71	71.0	29	29.0
	T ..	200	141	70.5	59	29.5
Khandayats	M ..	100	68	68.0	32	32.0
	F ..	100	70	70.0	30	30.0
	T ..	200	138	69.0	62	31.0
Badhai	M ..	50	33	66.0	17	34.0
	F ..	50	35	70.0	15	30.0
	T ..	100	68	68.0	32	32.0
Teli	M ..	50	33	66.0	17	34.0
	F ..	50	34	68.0	16	32.0
	T ..	100	67	67.0	33	33.0

TABLE 3

Mean Taste Threshold among the Tastes in different Castes

Groups	Mean Taste Threshold			't' between male and female Mean
	Male	Female	Total	
1	2	3	4	5
Brahmin ..	7.57+0.21	7.54+0.21	7.83+0.17	0.10
Karan ..	8.33+0.19	8.36+0.17	8.27+0.14	0.12
Khandayat ..	8.47+0.18	8.40+0.17	8.44+0.12	0.29
Badhai ..	8.38+0.28	8.70+0.32	8.43+0.21	0.74
Teli ..	8.74+0.34	8.77+0.34	8.55+0.23	0.06

TABLE 4

Chisquare value for taster and non-taster among different castes

Groups		Chisquare	Probability
Brahmin	× Karan ..	0.3114	0.98 > P > 0.95
Brahmin	× Khandayat ..	0.9885	0.90 > P > 0.80
Brahmin	× Badhai ..	0.9948	0.90 > P > 0.80
Brahmin	× Teli ..	1.3751	0.80 > P > 0.70
Karan	× Khandayat ..	0.1904	0.98 > P > 0.95
Karan	× Badhai ..	0.2857	0.98 > P > 0.95
Karan	× Teli ..	0.5060	0.95 > P > 0.90
Khandayat	× Badhai ..	0.0312	.. P > 0.99
Khandayat	× Teli ..	0.1224	0.99 > P > 0.98
Badhai	× Teli ..	0.0227	.. P > 0.99

TABLE 5
The value of 't' between mean taste threshold in different castes

Groups	Brahmins	Karans	Khanda-yats	Badhai	Teli
1	2	3	4	5	6
Brahmins			
Karans	..	2.00	..		
Khandayats	..	2.93	0.94	..	
Badhai	..	2.22	0.64	0.04	..
Teli	..	2.57	1.03	0.42	0.38

TABLE—6
Percentile Distribution of non-tasters in various Groups from Eastern India

Groups	Total No.	Per cent of non-taster	't' gene	Authors
1	2	3	4	5
<i>Assam</i>				
Brahmins	.. 189	39.1	0.625	Deka Mahapatra (unpublished)
Kalita	.. 310	35.8	0.598	Deka Mahapatra (unpublished)
<i>Bengal</i>				
Rahri Brahmins	.. 1813	30.56	0.553	Das 1966
<i>Orissa</i>				
Brahmins	.. 200	26.50	0.514	Present study
Karan	.. 200	29.50	0.552	Ditto
Khandayats	.. 200	31.00	0.557	Ditto
Badhai	.. 100	32.00	0.565	Ditto
Teli	.. 100	33.00	0.574	Ditto
Bado Gadaba	.. 439	49.89	0.706	Das et al 1963
Bareng Paraja	.. 409	53.55	0.731	Ditto
Paren Gadaba	.. 439	52.85	0.728	Das et al 1964
Ollaro Gadaba	.. 432	52.55	0.725	Ditto
Konda Paroja	.. 438	53.42	0.730	Ditto

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K. K. DAS
and
A. K. MAJUMDAR**

STUDY ON SOME ASPECTS OF RAJBANSHI FAMILY*

Introduction

Among the groupings or forms of association existing in rural society, there are certain forms which have grown up due to circumstances. Such groups include the family, locality groups such as neighbourhood, village as community, and the Governmental units like the township, subdivision, State and the nation. Membership in other groups is more or less voluntary.

The family structure in India is changing and has generally been taken to be patrilineal patrilocal in nature¹. The family among the primitive tribals is not of one type². This fact means that there should be studies of particular religions and groups. Yet, it is erroneous to believe that there cannot be common frame of reference for the study of family in India. Uptil now the family that has received the largest and deepest attention is the patrilineal patrilocal family. One reason for this fact is that it is the largest part of the Indian population.

This approach is applicable in all communities in our country. The Rajbanshi, one of the significant units of Indian population is now a research problem to the Indologists in every respect. The question in which the people themselves in Rajbanshi community all over India and the sociologists are concerned is not whether the family will be patrilineal or matrilineal. The question with which they are concerned is, whether the Rajbanshi family in India will be joint or nuclear or how the family structure is undergoing changes day by day in this country. In this respect a study was conducted to throw some light over the aforesaid question. The main objective of the study was to see the nature of structure in Rajbanshi family in southern part of Midnapur district in West Bengal.

Materials and Methods

The study was conducted in the southern part of Moyna Block.

*This paper is part of a larger research project entitled "Study on some aspects of Rajbanshi Community in West Bengal".

**Contribution from the Department of Agril. Extension, University of Kalyani, West Bengal.

Midnapur district of West Bengal, constituting twelve contiguous villages namely Ismalichak, Raychak, Pyrachak, Bakcha, Arangkiarana, Madhurkiarana, Balbhadrachak, Kiarana, Gojina, Goramabal, Shridharpur and Kripanandapur during 1968. Before starting the work the names of the Heads of the families in all the villages had been collected from the offices of the Anchal Panchayat, V. L. W., camp and the Block head office.

Proportionate stratified random sampling method was adopted for sampling purpose. From each village about 30 per cent population had been considered for this study. Thus the total number of selected families were 420 from 12 villages.

The data for the investigation had been collected mainly through the personal interview technique. All the Heads were mainly interviewed for this purpose.

Results and Discussion

The results of the present investigation are represented under the following sub-heads :

- I. Types of Rajbanshi families
- II. Size of Rajbanshi family
- III. Changing pattern of family structure.
- IV. Reasons for change in the family structure.
- V. Belief in jointness.

1. Types of Rajbanshi families—

We have studied the types of families in Rajbanshi Community based on the kinship relationship among the members living in the same household. From the responses of the subject it was analysed whether the particular residential group was joint or not joint (nuclear) in terms of the kin composition of the household. The distribution of the different types of families in the community are as follows :

TABLE 1
Showing the distribution of different types of family in Rajbanshi community

Types of families	No. of families	
	No.	P. C.
NUCLEAR		
1. Husband and wife only ..	7	2
2. Unimember family ..	5	1
3. Husband, wife and unmarried children ..	173	43
4. The above group with other relatives who do not add to the generation.	117	28
JOINT		
5. Three generation group of descendants with relatives	69	16
6. Three generation group of descendants with blood relatives.	11	3
7. Three generation group of descendants with non-blood relatives.	19	5
8. More than three generations with or without blood relatives.	9	2
Total ..	420	100

In the table we have seen that types 1 to 4 represent different forms of nuclear family and constitute about 74 per cent of our total sample. Types 5 to 8 represent different forms of families and constitute about 26 per cent of the sample.

There are only two per cent joint families which consist four or more than four generations (type 8). In our sample, the ratio between joint families and nuclear families come out to be approximately 1 : 3.

We have 74 per cent nuclear families of the types varying from 1 to 4. Now type 4 includes relatives who do not add to generation depth and therefore we do not call this type joint. In that case the percentage of the nuclear group is reduced by 28 per cent to 46 per cent.

2. *Size of Rajbanshi family*—A domestic family normally consists of a man and his wife and children, and often includes patrilineal relations of the head, such as unmarried siblings, married brothers with their wives and children, and married sons with their wives and children etc.

In Rajbanshi community we see the same pattern as we see in caste Hindu family³. The number of family members varies from region to region and community to community. The changing pattern of family size is also evident in this community. However, the present study reports the following picture of the Rajbanshi community.

TABLE 2
Showing the size of the family in
Rajbanshi community

Size of the family	No. of respondents	
	No.	Percentage
1—4	65	15
5—8	272	65
9—12	68	16
13—16	8	2
17—and above	7	2
Total	420	100

From the table it is seen that out of 420 families, 65 families consist of 1 to 4 members only. 65 per cent of the total sample is under the category of 5 to 8 and very few in 13—16 or still above categories. In the community we have seen a large family consisting of 37 with 4 generations.

To find out the standard of family we have considered the factor in the following manner.

TABLE 3
Showing the standard of family in
Rajbanshi community

Number of members in	Standards	Number of families	
		No.	P. C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	1	5	2
2	2	7	2
3	3	10	2
4	4	43	10
5	5	48	11

In the table we have seen the maximum number of families are in the range 4 to 10 and the standard is 7 (21 %).

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
6	6	79	19
7	7	88	21
8	—6	57	14
9	—5	25	6
10	—4	11	5
11	—3	9	2
12	—2	13	4
13	—1	7	2
14 and above.	Others	8	2
		420	100

3. *Changing pattern of family structure*—Previously the Hindus had an appreciation for the joint family. The normative pattern of their actions was characterised by their orientation to this group. The boundaries of this group were primarily defined by kinship. The change of boundaries (jointness or nuclearity) can be measured in terms of previous generations of families in the community. The following table represents the changing structure up to three generations in the Rajbanshi family.

TABLE 4

Showing the present and the two previous generations of Rajbanshi family

No.	Generations			Families	
	First	Second	Third	No.	P. C.
1	N	N	N	10	2
2	N	J	N	87	21
3	N	J	J	68	16
4	N	N	J	27	9
5	J	N	N	95	23
6	J	N	J	35	8
7	J	J	N	80	20
8	J	J	J	9	2
9	Families whose history is not known			9	2
Total				420	100

In the table 4 we can observe that there are 4 per cent families whose two previous generations were the same as their present generations, i.e., there had been no change. (Nos. 1 and 8). Out of this 4 per cent in which there has been no change, 2 per cent families which were joint in the past are also joint today and other 2 per cent are also similar in nuclearity. We may say that these families

have a tendency to maintain jointness or nuclearity as a tradition. From the table we can also observe that there are 64 per cent families nuclear in their present generations. Out of these 64 per cent, 23 per cent were nuclear in their second generation. It is also interesting to know that majority of the nuclear family remain as usual up to 5 years. This can be represented in the Table 5.

TABLE 5
Showing the duration of present generations in Rajbanshi family

Years of duration	Types of families				Total	
	Joint		Nuclear		No.	P. C.
	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.		
5 years or less ..	20	17	212	70	232	55
6-10 years ..	5	51	82	23	133	32
11-15 years ..	25	21	11	4	36	9
16-20 years ..	7	6	5	2	12	2
21 years and above	5	5	2	1	7	2
Total ..	108	100	312		420	100

In the table it is seen that in case of joint families, the maximum duration is obtained in 2nd category, i.e., 6 to 10 years. The minimum duration of a joint family in Rajbanshi community is observed in 17 per cent and the maximum

duration in only 5 per cent in the community.

In case of nuclear families the maximum percentage (70 per cent) is observed for the duration 5 years or less. But maximum duration is obtained in very few cases.

It is evident that the changing pattern in the family structure in different generations is more or less prominent in nature and as a result the pattern may allow a definite relation between a joint family and a nuclear family. In

this respect the respondents were asked, "what is the relationship between individual nuclear families in the total joint family set up". Table 6 represents the answer to the question.

TABLE 6

Showing the relationship between joint families and nuclear families

Responses	Types of families					
	Joint		Nuclear		Total	
	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.
Very good	20	18.44	9	2.84	29	6.90
Good	6	5.55	30	40.77	36	8.57
Moderate	21	19.44	147	9.61	168	40.00
Low	29	26.66	110	35.25	139	28.34
Very low	32	30.01	36	17.53	68	16.19
Total	108	100	312	100	420	100

In the sample of joint families, it is evident from the table that in more than 50 per cent cases the relation is poor, whereas better relation exists in only 26 per cent cases. Naturally, because of poorer relation in a significant portion of the sample; the conflicts in the joint family set up act as forces to create certain changes in the family structure.

4. *Reasons for change in the family structure*—Consistently with the line of our thinking it would be more fruitful to enquire how the separation in the households came. We enquired from the heads of the family, how the separation came in the past in the two previous generations and how

the present nuclear families came into existence. We adduce the evidence in the following two tables Nos. 7 and 8.

TABLE 7
Showing the causes of formation of present nuclear families in Rajbanshi community

Causes	No. of Families	
	No.	P. C.
Natural causes like unwieldy size, separated after marriage, quarrels in the house, etc.	259	92
Business	5	2
Men staying with relatives	13	4
Separated due to service	2	1
Reasons not known	3	1
Total ..	282	100

TABLE 8
Showing the causes of separation in family in the the past

Causes	No. of Families	
	No.	P. C.
Natural causes like unwieldy size, shortage of space, quarrels in the house etc.	358	95
Separated due to business	3	1
Separated due to service	5	1
Reasons not known	12	3
Total ..	378	100

There is striking similarity in the reasons given for the past and the present separations. These reasons could be divided into two groups (1) those that were natural and (2) those that were circumstantial and/or temporary. In this respect

if we compare the reasons for separation, the difference in the proportion of natural and circumstantial reasons is significant. The fact can be represented in the following table 9.

TABLE 9

Showing the reasons for separation from joint family in the past and in the present

Reasons	Past		Present	
	No.	P. C.	No.	P. C.
Natural	358	35	259	92
Circumstantial	8	2	20	7
Others	12	3	3	1
Total	378	100	382	100

In the table we have seen that the natural reasons in the past is little more than 44 times the circumstantial reasons while in the present it is little less than 13 times. So it is evident that the proportion of circumstantial reasons for separation is increasing.

5. *Belief in jointness*—Belief is an important psychological variable for the jointness of the family in any community. In this respect we enquired from the heads of the families whether they would like to live in the joint family or not. The results can be represented in the following table 10.

TABLE 10

showing the nature of belief in jointness

Nature of belief	No. of families	
	No.	P. C.
Jointness unconditionally	177	42
Nuclearity unconditionally	104	25
Jointness conditionally	72	17
Nuclearity conditionally	57	16
Total	420	100

In the table we have seen that 42 per cent consider jointness as desirable and 25 per cent consider nuclearity as desirable. Those who believe in nuclearity conditionally, are actually believer in jointness. What they say is that nuclearity is acceptable under special circumstances only, but they desire to maintain the sentiment of jointness. Those who believe in jointness conditionally have their experiences of joint living. They do not want quarrels in joint living and they want the mutual understanding and co-operation required in smooth joint living. Thus they say that jointness is desirable only if it works as ideally as it is supposed to be. These facts very clearly suggest that jointness is considered as more or less desirable in Rajbanshi community and

that more rigorous search needs to be made in this area.

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P. BEHERA

ABO BLOOD GROUP OF ANDHRA PEOPLE RESI- DING AT CUTTACK

The present paper analyses the data investigated on 147 subjects of the ABO System of the emigrant castes of the Andhra Pradesh, residing at Cuttack.

Material and Method

The ABO blood group data were collected by the author from unrelated subjects in the month of July-August 1966 from Patapol, Makaraba Sahi, Peyton Sahi, Kesharpur, Dargha Bazar and Ranihat Canal Road area of Cuttack city. They hail from different districts of Andhra Pradesh such as Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Krishna. The total number of individuals tested was 147, of whom 105 were Madigas, a scheduled caste, 20 Pallilus, and 22 Chetegadus.

Blood samples were taken from finger pricks and were collected in numbered cleaned test tubes with 3 per cent Sodium nitrate solution. The blood samples were preserved in thermoflashk containing ice and were brought to Orissa Red Cross Central Blood Bank, Cuttack, for testing the blood groups of the subjects. High titre Tnti-A and Anti-B Sera with sufficient avidity were used and the Sera was supplied by Bharat Laboratory, Bombay-7.

The estimation of gene frequencies have been done with strict compliance with the formulae given by Mourant (1954) and improved by Bernstein. The chi-square values for testing goodness of fit between the observed and the expected numbers of the Phenotypes have been obtained by applying the usual formula.

TABLE 1
ABO Blood group among emigrant Andhra Castes

Phenotype	Madiga		Pallilu		Chetegadu	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
O No.	39	37.14	7	7.07	6	7.78
p.c.	37.14		35.00		27.28	
A No.	21	20.71	3	3.94	5	4.34
p.c.	20.00		15.00		22.72	
B No.	41	43.57	10	8.29	10	9.12
p.c.	39.05		50.00		45.45	
AB No.	4	3.57	0	0.68	1	0.74
p.c.	3.81		0		4.55	
Total No.	105	104.99	20	19.98	22	21.98
p.c.	100.00		100.00		100.00	
X ² (l.d.f.)	2.0184		1.2574		0.6840	
Probability	0.20 > P > 0.10		0.30 > P > 0.20		0.50 > P > 0.30	

Results

The ABO blood group results are presented in table-1. It has been observed that blood group B is distributed in greater percentage among all the castes. Distribution of O blood group is next to B and AB blood group occurs in lesser percentage in all the castes studied.

The observed percentage is given below the observed number and expected number in separate columns in table-1. It is apparent from the test of homogeneity by X² that the three samples, namely Madiga, Pallilu and Chetegadu are homogeneous in respect of their ABO gene frequencies. Hence, they have been pooled together to present a single population.

TABLE 2
Distribution of gene frequencies

Caste	p	q	r
Madiga	0.146	0.263	0.609
Pallilu	0.115	0.335	0.591
Chetegadu	0.184	0.330	0.522
Total	0.184	0.282	0.594

It is noticeable from table-2 that the frequency of 'p' gene is much higher in the case of the Chetegadu than the other castes. Pallilu possesses quite low value of p. The frequency of q gene in Pallilu and Chetegadu is about equal. It is further observed that all the groups are high in the frequency of q gene than the incidence of p gene. The Madiga and Pallilu show quite a high frequency

of r gene as compared to p gene and q gene, but in the case of Chetegadu the incidence of r gene is lower than the r gene of the Madiga and Pallilu.

Comparison

Table 3 shows ABO gene frequencies of populations with which the blood group data of Andhra people can be compared.

TABLE 3
Comparative study of ABO gene frequencies

Population	Author	No. Tested	Gene frequencies		
			p	q	r
Assamese ..	Mitra*	..	0.186	0.237	0.580
Bengali (mixed) ...	Chaudhury*	..	0.151	0.243	0.615
Orissan ..	Tripathy and Misra.	165	0.228	0.124	0.648
Southern half of Hyderabad State.	Macfarlane	50	0.128	0.280	0.590
Andhra emigrants castes.	Present author	147	0.148	0.282	0.594

*In Assamese and Bengali (mixed) the absolute number examined was not mentioned.

It is to mention here that the p, q, r values found in Andhra emigrant castes are appreciably close to the p, q, r, values found by Macfarlane in his study among the people of the southern half of

Hyderabad State. There is also slight resemblance between the Bengalese and the Andhra emigrant castes. Again high frequency of p and r and low frequency of q are observed among Orissan caste.

TABLE 4
Values of X^2 for inter-group differences with regard to ABO blood groups

Pair of groups	X^2 3 d. f.	Probability
Madiga X Pallilu ..	1.517	$0.70 > P > 0.50$
Pallilu X Chetegadu ..	1.436	$0.70 > P > 0.50$
Chetegadu X Madiga ..	0.767	$0.90 > P > 0.80$

The table 4 above shows that when pair of groups are compared it is observed that the chi-square values in all the cases are statistically insignificant. The three castes are, therefore, indistinguishable, so far as their ABO blood groups distributions are concerned.

Conclusion

Serologically the Madiga, Pallilu and Chetegadu emigrant castes of

Andhra Pradesh represent a homogeneous population. On the basis of the ABO gene frequencies, it is observed that the emigrant castes show greater resemblance to the people of Southern half of then Hyderabad State, now known as Hyderabad district of Andhra Pradesh. However this resemblance does not indicate genetic relationship with the emigrant castes unless further investigations on other genetical traits are carried out.

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S. PANDA

DEMOGRAPHY OF KONDH VILLAGE

Introduction

India has a large tribal population. Demography of tribal people is necessary to know the different aspects and changes of the population. Very few authors have worked in tribal demography, but in India a considerable work has been done on different aspects of demography of the general population. In Orissa so far, no proper demographic study on any aspect of the tribal people has been undertaken. In the present paper attempts have been made to study certain demographical aspects of a Kondh village, such as marriage, family, fertility, mortality, education and occupation, etc.

The Kondh village 'Khambasi' is situated on the high hill of Niam-giri at a height of 3,000 ft. in Gunpur Subdivision of Koraput district in Orissa. The village is surrounded by a chain of hills. It is partly isolated which kept it apart from the main stream of the society in the country. There is no influence of the civilized society. The village is fairly big in comparison with other hill villages. In that village there is the co-existence and inter-relation

between the tribal people and the Doms, their non-tribal neighbours. The Doms exploit the tribesmen taking advantage of their ignorance and honesty. Kondhs are the owner of all the land and Doms have no right over it. But they are exploiting the Kondhs since a good number of years. They remain attached to the village but dwell at the outskirts.

According to 1951 Census, the total population of the village was 239; in 1961 it increased to 330 and in 1968 it was calculated to be 414 individuals. Doms speak Oriya but Kui is the mother-tongue of the Kondhs. There are nine clans among the Kondhs, such as Wadeka, Kadraka, Kundika, Sikoka, Pusica, Prasca, Bengaska, Melaka, and Kurunjali. These are endogamous groups. Khambasi is in the Wadeka mutha and therefore members belonging to Wadeka clan predominate and own all land. All the other clans except Wadeka are outsiders and have migrated to this village. The society is patrilocal and children belongs to father's clan. The people (Kondh) are primarily shifting cultivators but Doms are mainly businessmen.

Khambasi, the selected village for study, is situated about 380 miles away from Bhubaneswar. The investigation was carried on during October 1968. The main purpose of selecting this village is that, it is more or less a compact village. As there also Dom families in the village, it is interesting to compare the demographic aspects of these two groups of people. The eastern part of the village is attached to a small hill tract which runs from village Kurli towards the Chatikana railway station situated about 9 miles away. There is a big weekly market near this railway station, which caters to the need of the Kondh people. Most of the people of other hill villages attend this market. People of this village are now going to the hospital run by the D. K. D. Scheme (Dongaria-Kondh Development Scheme) situated three miles away from the village, in another village named Kurli. There is a Primary school established three years ago by the D. K. D. Scheme, which is managed by two non-Government lady social workers of Kasturba Trust.

The population

The data utilised in the paper are taken from the Kondh and Dom people of the village. The outsiders are not taken into account, as their number is very small and they are the temporary inhabitants of the village.

The age composition of male and female population in the village is presented in Table 1.

From the table it is obvious that in the age-group 0—5 the proportion of female is higher in both Kondh and Dom society. It is remarkable that in the total population the percentage of female is higher both among Kondhs and Doms. There may be some sociological and biological factors behind it. It was not possible to investigate in detail all the factors due to paucity of time. The proportion of individuals in various age categories gradually decreases from the age-group 0—5 onwards. The proportion of individuals below 20 years is quite high. Almost nearly half of the population are below 20 years.

Marriage

The Kondh marriage is not simple but is a long complicated process. They observe clan exogamy. They have retained their traditional ways and customs in selecting mates. Monogamous type of marriage is frequently noted. Polygyny is also found in some cases to assist in shifting cultivation.

In table 2-A, the marital status of the population in various age-groups has been presented. In Table 2-B, the age at first marriage of every married man and woman is presented. Most of the Kondh males marry at the age of 16 to 20 years, the percentage being 47.2. Large number of marriages occur in the age-group 21 to 25 (46.7%). But this is not the case with Doms. Dom girls marry earlier. Child marriage is totally absent in Kondh society as is seen from the table.

Cause of late marriage in females—In their society the father of a girl is not worried about the marriage of his daughter. It is the responsibility of the father of the boy to propose.

The ancient custom of procuring wife by service is widespread. Accordingly, a person is required to serve in his would be father-in-law's house as a suitor servant called 'Khamari', and marries the betrothed girl after a lapse of some years. The time period depends on the will of the father-in-law and in most cases he delays, so that both his daughter and his would be son-in-law work in his field longer. Another cause is due to bride-price. It is against one's status and prestige to accept a lower amount, of bride-price one's daughter. The high bride-price makes it difficult for young women to marry and marriage is postponed till late in life. So girls seldom marry below 20 or even 25.

From Table 2-A, it is observed that the percentage of widows is greater in Kondh society than in the Dom society. No widower is present among Doms but 4 such persons are present among the Kondh. Maximum number of widows are present among the Kondh, in the age-group 51 and above. Society does not restrict divorce and second marriage. Divorce is rare in both the societies. All the percentages are given in the table. There is no divorced lady in Dom society and only one divorced man is present. The Kondhs always wish to have as many wives as possible, but getting

more wives is very difficult due to bride price. Only 5 Kondhs have two wives and one has three. In case of Doms only one man has two wives. Considerable attention has been given to the influence of polygyny on the fertility of women¹. "On a priori grounds it would seem probable, in view of the ovulation cycle and the chances of conception, that moderate dispassion of the husband's sexual acts would be likely to cause reduction of the fertility of married women." It is interesting to note that in polygenous families the number of children is not more as compared to the monogamous families.

Family

Structurally, three types of families are observed, the nuclear, the joint or extended and the compound families. A nuclear family is constituted by a man, his wife, and their unmarried children. The female members of the family leave their parents after marriage and go to live with their husbands. Nuclear family is divided into ordinary, broken and incomplete. After the death of the husband or wife, the children and their father or mother or on the other hand divorced male or female and his/her children form the broken family. Again single homestead consisting of spouses without children are considered as incomplete family. It may be complete after getting issues.

The extended family is extended both vertically and horizon-

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tally. Larger family groups consist of several genealogically related simple families living together. (1) A man, his wife, his married children and their children and the bond of close kinship embraces uncles and aunts, cousins, etc., (2) Several brothers, each with his wife and children living together. Families which are based on the special marriage custom of polygyny and remarried widow or widower and their children have been taken here as compound family.

In Table 3-A, types of families found in the village are presented. Nuclear families are higher in proportion both among the Kondh and Dom. This is due to their economic stringency and they generally prefer to be separated after the death of the father. The percentage of nuclear families is 70.39 and 72.0 among the Kondh and Dom, respectively. Compound family is 13.6 per cent and 4 per cent and extended family is 15.9 per cent and 24 per cent among Kondh and Dom, respectively. There are few broken and incomplete families.

Among the simple families most of the families are small with 3 persons in the family, but joint families have 7—14 members in Kondh society. The greater number of members in some joint families is due to the following cause. In these families there are two to four widows or unmarried father's sister or father's father's sister or own sister of the family head. This is because in their society barren women or women with daughter only have no right over

their husband's property. Woman having male issues can inherit property. Therefore, barren women in widowhood return to their parental house, a reason for which there were greater number of widows.

Fertility

The fertility of women varies in each population. It is, therefore, interesting to note the fertility of women of two different groups living in this village. Fertility rate of any group depends on the customs and traditions relating to their sexual behaviour. Social taboos and mating pattern play important role in determining the fertility. There are social taboos on illegal sexual intercourse. They do not marry within the clan. This taboo restricts illegitimate children to a great extent. Within a short period of stay, it was not possible to study the complete reproductive behaviour of the people. Causes of low fertility may be due to different factors, such as abortion, still birth, miscarriage, etc. The most difficult enquiry was to find out the incidence of abortion.

Number of children born per mother in Kondh society is 3.02 and in Dom society is 3.9 as given in the Table 4-A. Pre-marital sex relation leading to infanticide in Kondh group may be one of the causes of less number of children. The age of parents at the birth of first child is one of the important factors in fertility study. In Kondh society the highest number of males become father when they were within the age 21—25 years. It is also same in case of females.

In Dom society females become mother a bit earlier than Kondhs. Males become father also at an earlier age. So among Doms the age of father and mother at the time of birth of first child is lower. It may account for greater number of children in Dom society compared to Kondhs. (Table 4-C)

Mortality

The number of deaths in 1967-68 are recorded here. This year large number of children died of small-pox. Higher percentage of death was recorded among the male babies. The percentage of male and female children died was 47.2 and 25.0 among the Kondh and 19.42, 8.3 among the Dom but the percentage of infant death in Kondh and Dom group is 72.2 and 27.7, respectively. This shows a great difference in infant mortality ratio in the two groups. This is due to the fact that, at the time of epidemic, Doms were vaccinated, but Kondhs were afraid that this was against the will of the God. The main reason of the high rate of infant mortality, is due to the lack of hygienic and medical care of the children.

Literacy

The Tribal population in India, in general are educationally backward than the general population. Kondhs in particular are educationally quite backward. Boys have very recently started attending schools. Among Kondhs literate persons are only 21 out of the total population of 256. All of

them are male. The percentage of literacy is 18.9 out of the total 111 males.

In case Doms out of the total 145 only 21 are literate, 17 being males and 4 females. Percentage of literates in various age categories has been presented in Table 5. Kondh boys do not attend schools in the day time, they keep themselves busy in their fields. But the Dom boys are reading at day time.

Occupation

Kondh economy almost entirely depends hard toil. The hill slopes are cleared by them for shifting cultivation. They are remarkably proud of their position as landholders and tenacious of their rights. Kondhs are the traditional owners of all the land. Except kitchen garden Doms have no land. They cultivate lands of Kondhs when they got those.

Out of the 44 Kondh families the primary occupation of 41 families is cultivation. Only 3 families have no land. They work as labourers. No Kondh is doing business. Both males and females work in the field. A Kondh lady is laborious. She can do all types of agricultural operation, except heavy work like felling trees. Besides being engaged in household activities, the women work in the field and at times also work as labourers. Pineapple and plantain are extensively grown on the hill slopes. Besides these jackfruit, orange and mango are grown in the area.

Doms are traders, weavers and middlemen for the products of the tribesmen. Business is the primary occupation of 15 families, weaving

is of 3 families and 3 have cultivation as village servants. They got land from Kondhs.

TABLE 1
Age and sex distribution of the population

Age group.	K o n d h				D o m			
	Male	%	Female	%	male	%	Female	%
0—5	11	26.1	24	28.2	12	40.3	21	42.5
6—10	18		17		17		16	
11—15	13	23.4	12	20.6	7	16.4	9	21.8
16—20	13		18		4		10	
21—25	8	..	16	..	3	..	7	..
26—30	13	..	13	..	6	..	5	..
31—35	7	50.4	10	51.2	2	43.3	6	35.6
36—40	7		4		4		4	
41—45	4	..	7	..	3	..	2	..
46—51	6	..	8	..	3	..	4	..
51—	11	..	16	..	6	..	3	..
Total	111	..	145	..	67	..	87	..

TABLE 2-A
Kondh Marital status in various age-group

Age group	Unmarried		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F.
0—10	32	40	..	..	..	..	..	..
11—20	24	16	3	9	..	..	..	..
21—30	0	7	17	20	..	..	1	..
31—40	..	1	14	13	1	4	..	2
41—50	..	..	8	5	1	10	..	..
51+	..	..	8	4	2	14	..	..
Total	56	64	50	51	4	28	1	2
%	(50.4)	(44.1)	(45.04)	(35.1)	(3.6)	(19.3)	(.9)	(1.3)

TABLE 2-B

Age at first marriage in various age-groups

Age-group	K o n d h				D o m			
	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Femal	%
10—15	1	1.8	..	..	2	6.2	10	250
16—20	26	47.2	30	37.3	13	40.6	22	55.00
21—25	20	36.3	38	46.7	11	34.3	6	15.00
26—30	8	14.5	13	16.0	..	18.7	2	5.0
37 and above.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
Total	55	.	81	..	32	..	40	..

TABLE 4-B

Age at Menarch

Name of the tribe and the caste	Age at menarch		15 to 16
	11 to 12	13-14	
Kondh (55)	30	21	4
Dom (50)	26	22	2
	56	43	6

Figures in the parentherto indicates number of women examined.

TABLE 3-A

Showing types of Family

Name of the tribe & caste	Nuclear family		Incomplete	Compound	Extended	To
	Ordinary	Broken				
Kondh ..	22	5	4	6	7	44
	(50%)	(11.3%)	(90.9%)	((13.6%)	(15.9%)	
Dom ..	14	1	3	1	6	25
	(56%)	(4%)	(12%)	(4%)	(24%)	
Total	36	6	7	7	13	69

TABLE 3-B
Distribution of Family size

No. of individuals	No. of families Kondh/Dom	
1—3	13	4
4—6	15	10
7—9	13	8
10 & above	3	3
Total	44	25

TABLE 4-A
Number of children born per mother

Name	No. of children per mother								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Kondh	12	11	3	11	9	1	1	0	48
Dom	4	3	5	7	6	3	2	1	31
Total	16	14	8	18	15	4	3	1	79

TABLE 4-C
Age of the parents at the time of birth of first child

	Age-group	Number of fathers	Per cent of the total fathers	Number of mothers	Per cent of total No. of mothers
	1	2	3	4	5
Kondh	16—20	3	55	..	..
	21—25	28	51.9	31	53.4
	26—30	23	42.5	27	46.5
	Total	54	99.9	58	99.9
Dom	16—20	7	21.2	11	34.3
	21—25	15	45.4	15	46.8
	26—30	11	33.3	6	18.8
	Total	33	99.9	32	99.9

TABLE 5
Percentage of Literates

Age-group	Kondh		Dom	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5
6—10	11	..	2	..
11—15	9	..	2	2
16—20	1	..	4	1
21—25	..	..	2	..
26—30	..	..	1	..
31—35	..	..	1	..
36—40	..	..	1	..
41—45	..	..	0	..
46—50	..	..	0	1
50+	..	..	4	10
21 (18.9 per cent)		..	17 (25.37 per cent)	14 (4.55 per cent)

TABLE 6
Occupation of the Tribe and the Caste

Name of the tribe and caste	Number of family	Agriculture	Labour	Business	Weaving
1	2	3	4	5	6
Kondh	44	41	3	..	..
Dom	25	3	4	15	3
Total	69	44	7	15	3

N. B:—I am thankful to Dr. (Mrs.) U. D. Mohapatra, Reader in Anthropology Utkal University for guiding me in this article.

K. L. BHOWMIK

Pregnancy as a biological phenomenon is developed in a woman when an ovum being fertilised by a sperm produces a zygote and ultimately a foetus in her womb. This implies a union of a male and a female and a multiplication of their kind. It is known beyond any degree of doubt the primary objective of every human society is to struggle for its existence. And, with this objective the society has consequently developed a culture as a tool to fight out the various odds and to gain all the evens. Thus, in every human society the affairs of pregnancy are culturally conditioned. This attempt in delineating the concept of Dule Bauri pregnancy puts all the emphasis to an analysis of the nature and extent of socio-cultural conditioning of a biological phenomenon as prevalent in a scheduled caste community of India.

The Dule Bauris constitute an endogamous *thank* (grade) of the Bauris in West Bengal.³ Ethnographic findings recommend their affiliation to tribal caste, and anthropometric data suggest their membership to proto-Australoid racial type. As regards their grade system, they claim that their ance-

CONCEPT OF DULE BAURI PREGNANCY

tors migrated to Dhalbhum of Bankura district from their supported home in Manbhum of Purulia district, and there they ultimately became subjugated under the socio-ritual authority of the Dhabal Raja. Thenceforth, they developed certain cultural dissimilarities which, in due course of time, helped in differentiating themselves from the other Bauris living elsewhere and in constituting a separate grade for themselves. In a socio-economic survey of the Dule Bauris made in 1964-65 it is found that in Dhalbhum there are 28,769 Dule Bauris living in 296 villages. In most of these villages they live in association with other castes and communities, and only in 12 villages they live by themselves. The present study is made among the Dule Bauris of Dhalbhum which includes the areas of Indpur and Khatra police-stations, and a part of Ranibandh police-station.

The Dule Bauris regard the condition of pregnancy in a woman as *antapati* (which literally means the husband inside). According to their belief, a pregnancy in a woman is developed as and when the semen (*beej*, which literally means seed and is regarded by

them as a synthesis of man's blood) gets an entry and is nurtured in the womb of the woman. Hereafter, the woman is responsible to feed it within and outside her body during the entire period of its infancy. They have no physiological concept of sperm and are not at all aware of the role of ovum and fertilisation. Of course, they do recognise the secretion of female organ during the coitus, though they do not know the exact physiological function of it. They regard it something like semen which, according to them, is a synthesis of her blood. They explain that it welcomes the male semen and does the function of a preservative during the growth of the male-semen into the shape of a baby (foetus). As the baby grows up within the womb the amount of it increases, and finally when the foetus becomes fully grown up this increased amount turns into the placent (*phul*, which literally means flowers) which at the time of child-birth accompanies the child out. A child is regarded by them as a *phal* which literally means a fruit.

The Dule Bauris believe that a male is able to procreate only when he can ejaculate a liquid from his male-organ. This he attains not before he reaches the age of ten years, and continues to exercise this power till he reaches the age of sixty years. Of course, there are exceptions too. For each and every exception they assign the entire responsibility on the shoulders of the evil-spirits who are always trying to do some mis-

chievous acts by way of threatening the earthly existence of the Dule Bauris. On the question of effectiveness they classify the male semen into three categories: (a) immature semen——during the very boyhood a male discharges semen which does not cause pregnancy as it is immature to live within the womb of a woman; (b) inactive semen——the reproductive system of a male is so disorganised that his male organ ejaculates a liquid full of inactive semen. There are two forces to cause it. First, the menstruous women died of unnatural events like accident, suicide, spirit-possession, etc., become some sort of evil-spirits who often try to take a sex-liberty with the sleeping males. If it happens to a male, his reproductive system thereafter becomes disorganised in a way that it never discharges active semen. Second, the sorcerer *gunin* by applying his magical power destroys the reproductive system of a male on whom he does his tricks (*tuk-tak*). Sometimes, he employs the afore-said female spirit to cause the same trouble. Thus, in a sexual intercourse with a living woman the victim can only do the act but is always incapable of ensuing a pregnancy; and (c) mature and active semen——a well grown up male discharges the fully matured and active semen which under favourable conditions are always capable of shaping a foetus inside the womb of a woman.

A Dule Bauri female is able to participate in procreation as soon as she completes her first menstruation, and continues to exercise this

power till she reaches her menopause. The Dule Bauris believe that with the first menstruation the female organ becomes properly enlarged to accommodate the male organ, and within the range of her reproductive period (from menarche to menopause) the female organ remains prepared to receive the semen and to preserve it each time just after the menstrual period is over. Here they compare the female organ with the cultivating plot which becomes prepared for sowing only after a requisite shower it receives. They believe that if the semen is not well received and preserved in its home, it comes out with the menstrual flow. Therefore, with a motive of procreation they prefer the intercourse with a woman just after her mense is over. On the question of effectiveness it is found that there are women whose female organs are not in proper order to receive and preserve the semen in a way of making them pregnant. This failure on the part of a woman is explained by the resulting actions done by a sort of male spirit, or by a sorcerer. The adult male died of accident, suicide, spirit-possession, or any such unnatural event becomes a sort of male spirit who often tries to take a sex-liberty with a sleeping woman. Some of these male spirits not only disobey the earthly taboo in attending a menstruous woman, but also prefer such an action to their most ability. If one of these male spirits performs sex-act with a sleeping woman during her menstruation, her reproductive system thereafter becomes so much disorganised that it loses the potentiality of receiving

and preserving the semen. The sorcerer, being employed by someone or by his own evil motive, destroys the reproductive system of a woman on whom he does his tricks. Sometimes, he employs the aforesaid male spirit to cause the same effect. As regards the male spirit, they have noted that the semen discharged by it sometimes causes pregnancy in a woman. To this point it should be added that in explaining a motherhood of an unmarried, divorced, or widowed mother they always assign the entire responsibility to such unknown and unseen male spirits.

The sex-organs of both male and female may be highly effective and may fulfil all the requisites but if they lack the supernatural bliss from the supreme being, they do not get the benefit of a conception. Only when the pair receives the supernatural sanction, the secretion of the female organ in an intercourse leads the semen to its home. To this, it should be added that the Dule Bauris believe in an arrangement of three compartments in the womb of a woman. One of the first two compartments is meant for the abode of the male child and another for the female child while the third compartment behind these two is meant for eunuch. When the supernatural sanction is in favour of a male child, the door of the compartment meant for the male child remains open, and the door of the compartment meant for the female child becomes closed. But when the supernatural sanction is in favor of a female child, the

former is closed and the latter remains open. When the semen enters the compartment, the door automatically becomes closed. Both the compartments are communicated with the third compartment by two separate doors. For the breaking of taboo, or committing a sin on the part of either parent, or due to some evil influence inflicted by a spirit or a sorcerer, the door in between becomes open and the semen from either of the first two compartments takes an entry into the third compartment where the child ultimately becomes a eunuch. The semen, discharged in successive intercourse, does not get an entry into the previously occupied home, but the secretion of the female organ leads it to a place where it temporarily rests. When the woman micturates, it accompanies the urine. However, the semen may, under supernatural sanction, get a second entry in order to cause the formation of a twin.

The Dule Bauris consider that the semen does not contain a soul. During the advanced stage of pregnancy when the shape of the foetus is well developed, a departed ancestral soul intrudes the body of the expectant mother through her nostrils, and finally takes a seat in the heart of the growing baby. They strongly believe that a soul is never lost. When a man dies, his soul goes out into the open air and hovers in the surroundings till it finds a fresh entry into the body of a pregnant woman. There it livens the body of the baby. The soul however, cannot do it without a prior sanc-

tion from the supreme being. When it behaves well it gets the sanction earlier.

Their embryological knowledge diagnoses the beginning of pregnancy by the cessation of menstrual flow. Moreover, the indication of the onset of pregnancy in a woman is then followed by such signs as feeling uneasy, vomiting tendency, and an aversion to general food-menu with a particular disinclination to cooked rice. And according to them, when a pregnancy in a woman is in progress the following characteristics develop: becoming indolent and inactive; feeling heaviness in her thighs, and with the result she does not like to move but to lie down; developing a great desire to taste sour, pickle, and fried things; tendering the habit of chewing pot-cherds, earth, charcoal, ashes, etc.; and the swelling of breasts followed by a relative development in nipples. In addition of these, in case of a woman who is already a mother and is also nursing the child at her breasts, the milk in her breasts dries out as the new pregnancy advances.

The occasion of a pregnancy is greatly valued among the Dule Bauris of Dhalbhum. It proves the fertility of the expectant mother and adds a special prestige to herself and her families of orientation and procreation. But when it happens to an already mother the news is socially relished but not with the intensity we meet in the case of a woman conceiving for the first time. Women

feel themselves jealous when a woman of their neighbourhood group gives birth to a number of children. The husband along with other members in his family greet the woman for the richness in her fertility. In practice, it is, however, not uncommon for a poor husband to lament over this strong fertility in her wife. Yet they do not adept any method in avoiding a child-birth, particularly when the giving to a child is socially regarded as a legal action and a contribution to the society. To be a childless person is a curse in their society. In such a case neither the husband nor the wife enjoys the benefits of a full-membership in the community. They are debarred from participating in certain rituals. This societal avoidance in respect to the childless woman becomes more rigorous when the members in her society leave all the hopes of getting a new member from her. In most cases she is treated by the members of her society as a witch, and they avoid all possible interactions with her.

On the cultural side it is seen that the occasion of pregnancy organises a number of human interactions which set forth a complex of characteristic behaviours. The most of these behaviours is associated with normative values. For example, it is a norm that during pregnancy the mother-in-law and/or other members of the husband's family take special care of the expectant and her diet. The most of these norms is sometimes associated with customary values. As for instance, it is customary on

the part of an expectant mother not to visit haunted places like burning ghat, places believed to be the abodes of the deities or evil spirits, and places where previously accidental death took place. The institutional aspects are also involved. During the pregnancy of a woman the sadh-anna ceremony is observed thrice: once in the fifth month, once in the seventh month, and again in the ninth month. The institution of observing this ceremony emphasises an important part of the established procedures of the Dule Bauri community. All of these behaviour, custom and institution give such cultural expressions which directly contribute in defining a part of the Dule Bauri folkways and mores. To make every attempt in protecting the expectant mother and the foetus, to make sure of all possible social participation, and such other actions constitute that part of their folkways which is related to the affairs of pregnancy. To observe the first pre-natal ritual on a day after the lapse of a period of five weeks from the date of cessation of menstrual flow, to offer five fruits to the expectant mother at the fifth month of pregnancy, and such other obligatory behaviour constitute the mores which regulate their behaviour, motivate the Dule Bauris towards group welfare, and define the standards of right and wrong.

Thus, the concept of Dule Bauri pregnancy puts all the emphasis to a process of socio-cultural conditioning of a biological phenomenon. It is seen that the occasion of pregnancy among the Dule

Bauris leaves little or no opportunity to an understanding of its biological meaning and contents but gives more and more emphasis to social and cultural realities which are developed out of experience and are handed down by tradition to descending generations. To them, all these cultural expressions are like the products of natural forces, and a denial of any of these forces is considered enough to expel a member from their community.

NOTES

1. The author acknowledges his intellectual debt to Prof. M. N. Basu of Calcutta University and all Research Associates of

the Institute of Social Studies (Calcutta) for their helps and suggestions in drawing up this paper.

2. Lecturer in Rural Sociology, Kalyani University (West Bengal). Home Address : Dr. K. L. Bhowmik, 54 Acharya Prafulla Chandra Avenue, Calcutta—30.
3. The Bauris, comprising 5,01, 269 souls according to 1961 census, claim a fifth order in the domain of sixty three scheduled castes in West Bengal, and are found to be distributed throughout the State having the most concentration in the district of Bankura.

A. K. DAS

BASIC APPROACH FOR WELFARE ACTIVITIES IN THE HIMALAYAS

It is felt worth-while drawing special attention to the following facts regarding the Himalayan areas that would have a special bearing on whatever activities are under taken for the welfare of the region.

(i) The hill areas have their own socio-economic, cultural and administrative characteristics and problems.

(ii) They have a type of historical tradition, population composition, ethnic surrounding, geographical environment, etc., different from the rest of the country and all these peculiar features give the hill areas an exclusive character which is not suitable for uniform approach for hill as well as plains areas.

(iii) In spite of planned developmental programmes there is continuous discontent among the hill people particularly among the Hill-men of North-East India.

(iv) Some of the leaders of North-East India think that the solution of problem of hill areas lies in the direction of political settlement. The argument is that

once the hill people are left free to decide their own fate, then with adequate co-operation from the Central and State Governments concerned, they will be able to solve all their problems in a satisfactory manner. This would also help preserving the indigenous culture of the area.

(v) The full people consciously or unconsciously believe that they are being neglected because of the fact that the centres of administration, trade, commerce, education and culture abound mainly in the plains.

(vi) From our experience regarding the hill areas of North-East India one thing clearly emerges out that our administrative officers who are entrusted with the task of welfare of this area, have completely failed to win over the confidence of these people as also in the development of a sense of co-operation based on mutual understanding of customs, conventions, values etc.

(vii) In pre-independence era due to alien rulers policy, a state of aloofness existed between the hill and the plains people.

But in spite of planned developmental programmes in the post-independence period the situation has not improved to a considerable degree due to the fact that the personnel who are entrusted with the task of formulation and implementation of plan and schemes, administration of the area concerned, lacked in understanding and appreciating local customs, values, psychology, problems, needs, etc., of the people for whom the developmental programmes are meant.

(viii) One thing is to be kept in our mind that simply by accelerating the economic development measure, the strains in the hill areas cannot be reduced. Well planned concerted attempts have to be rendered to narrow down the distances between the hills and the plains and help in establishing greater sense of commonness to achieve national and emotional integration through social co-operation.

Keeping the above facts in view one should proceed for the social work or social welfare in Himalaya. But before doing so for giving it a more concrete shape the following items of information are very important:—

- (i) A thorough idea of the area where the work is to be undertaken.
- (ii) A thorough knowledge of the people for whom the benefit is meant.
- (iii) A thorough knowledge about the history of the

area and the people because the Himalayan area has a different type of historical tradition than plains areas.

(iv) The knowledge of problems of the area as well as the needs of the people thereof (this should also be viewed from their angle).

(v) Knowledge about availability of scope and sources to be exploited for the benefit of the people as well as the region. In this connection it may be mentioned that economic sources are mainly forests and lands and in the eastern region Tea plantations have seriously affected the economic growth of the region.

Instead of tackling the problems or viewing the situation in piecemeal way a total perspective of the situation should be kept in view with a total area approach.

Detailed informations about the points mentioned earlier may be obtained from the following :—

(i) Studying all the existing literatures on this area with salient features covered therein (In this connection it may be noted that a good majority of the work is unscientific in nature and mere travalogue).

(ii) Base line data should be obtained for assessing over-all socio-economic condition of the

communities residing in this area. This would give an idea about the levels of economic differences among the communities which would help in ascertaining the intensity of the programmes, etc.

(iii) Attitude and opinion of the people on different aspects are also to be assessed for ascertaining the knowledge, views, needs, values, etc., of the people concerned.

(iv) Intensive ethnographic studies on the dominant and prominent castes and communities of the area are to be undertaken. These studies would give an idea about the cultural pattern, socio-economic condition, norms, values, etc., of the people as also reveal inter-ethnic relationship pattern, position relating to conflict and tension, medium of communication of idea etc. These studies would help in understanding the psychology, culture, sentiment, etc., of the people as well as the approach needed for their welfare.

(v) Side by side, channels of communication of ideas among them, in different levels, are to be found out. Because on this particular aspect depends on the major bulk of success. In this respect the following three points are very important :—

(a) idea to be communicated.

(b) the vehicle or the mechanism that will be used for its communication ; and

(c) the environment in which it will be communicated.

In addition to what has been stated earlier, for the development of an understanding between two sections, Hills as well as Plains thorough publicity of each other's culture with norms, values, etc., through ethnographic films, literatures, text books, etc., are also quite important for the development of integrated society based on social co-operation.

All these points have been raised from the difficulties that I, encountered during my field investigation among the Lepchas of Darjeeling district of West Bengal and experiences gathered therefrom. The salient findings on the Lepchas are as follows in nutshell.

(i) The Lepchas, a scheduled tribe community of West Bengal are the original inhabitants of Darjeeling area which was ceded to India in 1835 by the Maharaja of Sikkim.

(ii) The land and the people have historical tradition of their own which go to show that Tibetans gradually became their ruler in Sikkim and gradually overpowered and influenced them in very sphere of life and activities. During British rule, due to their encouragement, influx of Nepali immigrants took place in batches and gradually they outnumbered the Tibetans as well as the Lepchas. Due to their zeal and industrious character these Nepali castes and communities are now holding a dominant position in every sphere of life and activities in this region.

(iii) Excluding the immigrants from the plains areas the Ethnic environment of the region is composed of Tibetans, Bhutias, Lepchas, different Nepali castes and communities such as Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Chetri, Newar, Bhujel, Damais, Sarki, etc., who live side by side with a good deal of interactions.

(iv) Earlier accounts, not sufficient in number, give a very vague picture of the region as well as the people. Further, most of these are unscientific in nature.

(v) The salient features of the settlement pattern of this region are :—

(a) The homesteads in these areas are stretched over a wide area throughout the length and the breadth of the hill slopes.

(b) It is very difficult to visit all the homesteads of a village within a day or two due to the difficult undulating terrain and scattered nature of the homesteads. This is true for almost all the villages whether they are situated near the main road or far from it.

(c) The village is normally divided into different hamlets according to the position of the hamlets on the hill slopes, i. e., upper, middle, lower. Some times hamlets are known by the major community of the hameet and also

by the name of an important characteristic of the hamlet.

(d) In the upper and middle hamlets (i. e., those that are situated in the upper and middle level of the hill slopes) the cultivable land is of 'Sukhakhet' type (dry land) and in the lower hamlets (lower portion of the hill slope) 'Panikhet' type (wet land).

(e) The composition of the hamlets is mainly of multi-ethnic type, not exclusively meant for a particular community though all the inhabitants of a particular community reside in one or two hamlets side by side with other communities. The people who profess christianity irrespective of their community affiliation try to reside in a particular hamlet, where the presence of a Mission church is a major characteristic. This is not the case in general with the people professing other religions.

(f) The cultivable land is situated around the homesteads or in between the homesteads. There is no systematic lane or byelane but one has to approach the homesteads through hilly track.

(g) 'Jhoras' (waterfalls), 'Simsarmul' (waterlogged areas), rivulets, etc., are the main sources of water supply.

(h) Some of the important places of the village are monastery, church, temples, etc., centring round which the life and activities of these people develop. Other important places are 'Manes' (memorial pillars), schools, etc. However for higher education in the high schools and college levels one has to go to nearby town.

This type of settlement pattern and its different characteristics and features have played a great role in modelling different facets of life and activities of these people.

(vi) Major occupations of the working members are mainly agriculture and labour and a few are also engaged in service (clerical, teaching, technical), trade, carpentry and different types of basteer work such as stone breaking, fuel collecting, etc., on daily wage basis, etc.

(vii) Major crops cultivated are Paddy (Panikhet). Maize, Millet, Buckwheat (Sukhakhet), etc., cash crops are potato, cardamom and different types of fruit cultivation.

It may be mentioned here that Nepali castes are more efficient agriculturists than others and their economic condition is better than Lepchas.

(viii) Apart from low income these people are spend-thrift in nature. Whenever they get money they spend that lavishly. The drinking of "chee" a homebrewed liquor is a curse to them. The

more money they get the more they spend on "chee". Non-agriculturists sometimes try to save money from their earnings to spend these on luxurious goods. The agriculturists on the other hand often with a deficit budget and more to overcome the same they take loans and gratis, etc.

(ix) The problems that are observed in this respect are :

(a) Agriculturists do not get work throughout the year. Moreover, labour force in agriculture is excessive in comparison with the lands and capital available.

(b) Daily labourers do not get job throughout the year.

(c) Idle labour is a problem of the day.

(d) Most of the job seekers come from agriculturists and they are eager to get job in and around the village.

(x) Though they have undergone a good deal of changes still they have retained a good deal of distinctiveness in their cultural pattern and a knowledge of the same gives a true picture of the functioning of the society.

(xi) Major religious groups are Hindus, Buddhists and a good many of them also profess Christianity.

In this connection it may be mentioned that Buddhism of this area may be termed as Lamaism which

is an admixture of Buddhism as well as animistic beliefs and practices. The Buddhist priest Lama as well as the animistic priest and priestess-Mun and Bongthing play their respective role side by side in many socio-religious festivals.

(xii) Socio-religious festivals are held both in family as well as in community level. Community level festivals are generally held in the monastery and it serves as the gathering place of different communities where the ideas and views are exchanged amongst themselves.

(xiii) A good deal of conflict and tension persists in between the different religious as well as social groups.

(xiv) Though vanishing day by day these people have still retained a rich heritage of their folklore and folk art and the same may be profitably utilised for accelerated cultural integration.

(xv) The major features that emerged from the attitude and opinion survey among them are :—

- (a) Hardly half of the sample population are aware of the existence of the majority of the tribal welfare schemes. It is found that leaders, educated persons and persons well connected with urban life are informed than uneducated and rural people with little or no connection with urban life. It means that the modern media of mass communication (such as publicity, etc.) have yet

to play proper role in interior villages.

This is important because the schemes can not be expected to reap the full crop of utility and usefulness unless the people are sufficiently made aware of these and their needs and problems made known to the administrators.

- (b) A fair number of the people are of opinion that welfare schemes could not help to raise their economic standard. The sites of the schemes chosen are in their opinion often in wrong places and the people want more of these schemes in suitable places to be decided after proper consultation with them. It has been noticed that a tendency has developed in the people of mistrust or indifference to the benefit of the welfare schemes. It is essential to make people feel interested in the schemes by means of various publicity measures at the very beginning of a scheme.
- (c) A few questions were asked about the attitudes of the people towards income, employment, Government, etc. It is revealed that people are eager to raise their cash income. Most agriculturists are seeking additional work for cash

money to meet the cash expenditure of their family budget and a good many are eagerly looking round for full time employment.

- (d) It is also found that the knowledge about the outside world is also vague.
- (e) Many of them even opined that they never saw any Government officer including B. D. O., health unit personnel, etc., paying visit to their villages.
- (f) It is also observed that the people of the hill area as well as that of the people of the plains areas lack in understanding each others customs, values, psychology, sentiment, etc. and have no urge for the same resulting in aloofness on each others part.

The channels of dissemination of new ideas among the people of the region, have been examined .

Firstly, it has been found that the newer ideas get entry into the community through the elderly people. Head of the family or his father is the usual source in this respect in family level. This is true for all communities of the village.

Secondly, on hamlet and village levels the Lamas act as central figure in this respect. This is practically true of the people of the Buddhist community. It may safely be said that mass communication is effected through the Lama in villages controlled by his monastery. The Lama knows many details of majority of the people (Buddhists) of his village as he has to attend all the socio-religious functions of the people and even he selects the name of a new born baby. Even on community level, the Lama acts as medium of inculcating new ideas for the Buddhists.

Thirdly, the non-Buddhists are usually guided by their leaders of Panchayats and church personnel.

Fourthly, a few of the prominent leaders as well as the associations of the communities also play an important role as media of dissemination of new idea among the people of this district.

Finally, it may be stated that the purpose of all our activities regarding the people of the Himalayan area should be directed towards the development of social co-operation in between the communities of the area as well as those of the plains as well as the hill areas, thereby accelerating the process of making a well integrated prosperous society.

S. P. ROUT

Pauri Bhuinya Marriage .

The Village

Marriage customs of the tribals have been a topic of study for many anthropologists and sociologists. Marriage ceremony with all its elaborate rites and rituals not only provide ethnographic details of varying customs and practices of a people, but as an important life crisis throws light on the socio-cultural frame work of the society as a whole. It thus not only describes the marriage customs and procedures but aims at analysing their social, economic, and religious significances. Marriage through an individual's concern is a communal affair among most of the tribes. In fact the unmarried boys and girls of the village in a broader sense, are viewed to be the children of the village, and thus it becomes the responsibility of all the villagers to arrange for their marriage. Though the parents have to finance the marriage of their children, other important matters regarding marriage, like selection of marriage-mates, negotiation and finalization of marriage proposal, fixation of marriage date, co-operation and participation in making marriage-ceremony a success, are always the responsibility of the

villagers. In this connection it is equally important to discuss the duties and rights of different age groups, the economic and other responsibilities enforced on various kins, and changing attitude towards marriage customs etc.

Introduction

The article is based on the data collected from Jaldih, a Pauri Bhuinya village in Kuira Block of Sundargarh district. Jaldih is a hill village situated about 8 miles from Koirā amidst thick forest. Save one Gour family Jaldih is a homogeneous Bhuinya village with 27 Pauri Bhuinya families. The total population is 144 out of whom only four persons are Gours. The traditional feature of village exogamy of the Bhuinya no longer exists in Jaldih as the Bhuinya of the village belong to seven different local descent groups. The village was originally inhabited by members of Sarkondi *Khilli* (local descent group) exclusively, thereby, maintaining the village exogamy, but with the immigration and emigration of *bandhu* (non-agnatic) families of seven different *khillis*, intermarriage in Jaldih has become possible now. The *khill-wise*

structure of the village with total number of Bhuinya families and

population is given in the following table.

TABLE 1
Different Khillis, Total number of families and population in village Jaldih

Sl. No.	Name of the <i>Khilli</i>	Total No. of families	Total population		
			Male	Female	Total
1	Sarkondi	14	38	40	78
2	Kadakadi	5	11	14	25
3	Batgain	3	8	8	16
4	Kasidi	2	4	6	10
5	Kemsidi	1	2	4	16
6	Derial	1	2	1	3
7	Chaadi	1	1	1	2
Total		27	66	76	140

The village is said to be originally inhabited by the persons of Sarkondi *khilli* who feel proud being the first settlers of the village, while others are *bandhu* (non-agnatic) *khillis* who came there subsequently. The Sarkondi *khilli* members constitute the majority in the village. Out of the total 27 families 14 families, i.e. 51.8 per cent, belong to Sarkondi *khilli* while 13 families belonging to six other *khillis*. Case studies of the family-heads revealed that out of these 13 *bandhu* families 7 are living in their mother's brother's village, 3 in father's mother's village, 1 in sisters's husband's village and/or wife's village and 1 in father's sister's husband's

village, while 1 family has no such relation in this village.

Jaldih is a medium village with a total population of 144 souls. Deducting 4 Gours belonging to one family, the Bhuinya population comes to 140, out of which 66 are males and 76 females. The percentage of total males thus works out to be 47.1 to 52.9 per cent of females. The high incidence of females to male population may be accounted for greater number of spinsters. Due to heavy bride-price many Bhuinya boys fail to pay standard bride-price and marry a virgin. They thus manage to marry young widows or divorced ladies, and thereby the opportunity

of the marriage of spinsters is sealed. Average family size is calculated to be having 5.2 persons.

The villagers mostly depend on slash and burn type of cultivation, though some possess a few patches of permanent paddy plots constructed on valleys or terraces. Their economy is no doubt supplemented by food collection from the jungle, hunting occasional fishing wage-earning and basketry.

There are no schools or any other Government institution in the village. The dormitory organization of the unmarried youths which flourishes in interior hill villages and has been abolished in plains. Pauri Bhuinya villages is on the process of decay in Jaldih.

Marriage

Marriage for the Bhuinya is endogamous so far as the tribe is considered, but exogamous on the village level. Originally Bhuinya villages were uni-*khilli* villages all the villagers believing in a common ancestry. They being treating each other as brothers sisters, marriage among themselves was considered incestuous and thereby tabooed. The villages being inhabited by the persons of a single *khilli* the *khilli* name and village name were synonymous. Thus the members of village Patuli designated themselves to be of Patilia *khilli*, those of village Kasira to be of Kasiri *khilli*, and those living in village Losi, Sarkonda, Raisuan, Batgaon, Sareikala, Chaada, Kadakala and Raikala having Losial, Sarkondi, Raisuin, Balgain, s a r e i k a l i

Chaadi, Kadakali and Raikuli *khilli* respectively. Not only each *khilli* is exogamous, but each has a group of *kutumb* and a majority of *bandhu khillis*. Matrimonial relations can only be established with the *bandhu khillis*, while with the *khuthumb* ones marriage is strictly prohibited.

Migration of families of different *khillis* to a particular village has broken the traditional village exogamy. The Bhuinya villages are now inhabited by a many *khillis*, thus facilitating marriage inside the village. Marriage outside the tribe, though quite uncommon, is never totally ruled out. Cases of Bhuinya girls marrying to Gours could be recorded during the field investigation but such cases are extremely rare and are considered highly irregular.

Child marriages are quite uncommon, and the Bhuinya marry when both the partners are full adults. The boys usually marry after twenty years of age and the girls after the age of eighteen.

Marriage is monogamous, and after the death of the first wife one may marry again. In case the first wife proves to be barren, one has the liberty to have a second wife. Cases of persons marrying for the second time during the life time of their first wife are also occasionally encountered. In Jaldih, a villager fallen in love with his wife's younger sister and married her when the former was alive, but soon after the marriage the young wife died. It is, therefore, not considered proper for a Bhuinya to have two wives at a time.

Cross-cousin marriages are not common and no preference is indicated for sorroratic marriages likewise, exchange-marriages are very rarely met with.

The following forms of marriages are prevalent among the Bhuinyas.

1. *Dharipala* ... Love marriage with elopement.
2. *Ghicha* .. Marriage by capture.
3. *Phulkhusi* }
4. *Amlesare* } Love marriage with arrangement.
5. *Kadlesare* }
6. *Mangi Bibha*.. Marriage by Negotiation.
7. *Randi Bibha*.. Widow remarriage.

Of all forms *Dharipala* and *Ghicha* marriages are the most common forms. Love marriages with arrangement (*phulkhusi*) are just in the names in the memory of the Bhuinya, but marriage sample does not show a single case of such marriage. *Mangi Bibha* is the most recent form of marriage which has been adopted from the caste Hindus. Very recently, in certain cases of *Mangi* form of marriage a Vaishnab or Brahmin is invited to act as priest. This is called *Mukut Baha* since the bridal pair wear crowns (*Mukut*) made of flower like the caste people during the marriage ceremony. *Mukut Baha* is still unfamiliar in hill villages, but on plains some Bhuinyas have adopted it to elevate their social status. Only few rich families in the plains villages can afford to conduct *Mukut Baha*.

During the field work one case of *Mukut Baha* (a girl of this village marrying in Dengula) was encountered. Marriage other than *Mukut Baha* are termed as *Mankad Baha* (lit, marriage of the monkeys).

Each form of marriage is slightly variant of the *Mangi* form of marriage but all these may be described very briefly.

1. *Dharipala*—If a boy likes a girls of certain village he goes to her village and consults with her about their marriage. Both escape and come to the boy's village. The girl is left in the outskirts of the village and the boy goes and informs his elder brother's wife and father's father's wife (own or classificatory) to bring her. The ladies bring her home, and kiss the chin and fore-head of the boy and the girl with turmeric powder. Other rites are performed as in the *Mangi* form of marriage, to be dealt in detail subsequently.

2. *Ghicha*—In this form of marriage the girl's parents and villagers are consulted beforehand. After they express their willingness the girl is captured by the boy and his friends either from the forest when the girl goes to pluck leaves, from the stream while taking a bath or fetching water, from market or fares, on her visit to the boy's village or some other village on a dancing trip.

In case the girl has to be captured from her village, on a certain day the boy and her friends come and hide themselves in the forest. The girl's parents are informed

secretely so that they send the girl without her knowledge to that part of forest with her friends to pluck leaves. There the choiced girl is captured and taken to the boy's village. Her other friends represent a mock fight to save the girl, but in vain. They come home and inform the villagers and the girl's parents that the girl was lifted by a huge tiger. The villagers go to the forest and pretend to examine stones and bushes where the girl was captured and say "Here is the pug marks of the tiger! Here is some blood! Here is the torn cloth of the girl, and here is her ornament!" They then proceed to the groom's village and that day the marriage is performed. Next day the women and the girls of the bride's village pay a visit to the boy's village and they are given a feast. In this form of marriage bride-wealth is paid after two or three years of marriage. If a certain girl is captured on her visit to some village or from the market or fares, two *Khandrias* (middlemen) from the groom's village go to the girls village with stick. Reaching there they first go to the *Naek's* (village headman) house and say "One cow of this village has been eaten by a tiger (or swallowed by a snake), but we don't know to whose shed the cow belongs". The *Naek* replies—"Has the cow been completely eaten or any part is left". The *Khandaria's* reply—"It is almost eaten only the head or the legs are left". The *Naek* consults villagers and later on informs the *Khandrias* that the cow belonged to such and such person's shed. The *Khandria's* go to the girl's house and are duly welcomed.

Their feet are washed in turmeric water by a lady of the girl's family and a mat and tobacco are given to them. After a short discussion with the girl's father all come to the *Darbar* (club house of the village) and the same type of conversation is exchanged between the *Khandarias* and the villagers, as the former had with the *Naek*. Then the villagers (300 *Ghar*) say—"Any way the *bandhu* took his property (a girl is thought to be the property of the *bandhus* kept in custody of her parents and goes to the *bandhus* after marriage). There is nothing wrong in it"? When the *Khandaris* depart, the villagers tell them—"Age jauntu Panda hal, pachhe jauchhanti Jauntu Gayal. *Bandhu, sambhali tha.* lit., let the pair of buffalos meaning the two *khandrias* go first, later on the mighty bisons meaning a party from the girls will follow. Let the *Bandhu* be prepared to receive all.

Next day, the girl's villagers go to the groom's village and marriage takes place. The party is entertained with meat and rice.

In this type of marriage, the girl does not get a chance to offer cakes and mat to the boys and girls of her village (*sang chada*) to formally dissociate herself from the association of her dormitory friends neither she can be given the farewell feast by the former.

3. *Phulkhusi*—The boys of a certain village go to their *bandhu* village for *changu* (musical instrument) dance. There the boy puts some flower on the bun of his desired girl and drags her while dancing. The girl escapes. In

Ghicha the boy with his friends capture the girl in a group, and in *Ghicha* the girl's parents were consulted prior to the capture. In *Phulkhusi*, on the other hand, the girl's parents are not consulted beforehand and the girl is gragged not by the boy's friends as a group, but by the boy alone. After the girl escapes, the boy comes back to his village and informs his parents and the villagers. After a few days the women and girls of the girl's village bring her to the boy's village for marriage.

4. *Am Lesare*—A boy and a girl may like each other. One day the boy splashes mango-juice at the girl in the forest and manages to get one of her ornaments. The girl escapes and goes back home. Her Mother says—"You were with such and such boy, and you have lost your ornament. Why did you not go with him?" Then the *Mahataris* (village women) and other girls of her village bring her to the boy's village for marriage.

5. *Kada Lesare*—The same type as *Am Lesare*, but in this form the boy splashes mud at the girl.

6. *Mangi Bhibha*—In *Mangi Bibha* or marriage by negotiation two *Khandrias* from the groom's party go to the girl's parents. They assemble in the *Darbar* and say—"We have come to take a small chicken or a nice fruit from your village. The villagers ask" to whom the chicken belong? "The *Khandrias* say the name of the girl's father. The villagers say—"We shall ask him" and tell you. Then the *Khandrias* go back. In this way they come for five or six

times to the girl's village till the proposal is finalized. In Pauri area they bring rice, and liquor with them, and these are supplied to them by the groom's family. But here and in this area, the *Khandrias* are fed by the girl's family on every visit.

The following is a brief description of the various steps of *Manji Marriage* :—

1. *Phul Handi*—After the day for taking the bride is fixed, the *Khandrias* go and inform the groom's party. Two or three days prior to the taking of the bride the groom's party sends *Phul Handi*, painted with rice paste and containing paddy and rice, gur, flatrice and comb, mirror, and flower for the bride. A ring is also sent for her by the groom which the girls of the bride's village put on her finger. The grooms relatives come halfway to the girl's village while sending the *Phul Handi*. $2\frac{1}{2}$ Khandi of rice is also sent this day by the *Khandrias* for cooking *Bala Jau* in the bride's village. When the *Khandrias* arrive in the bride's village the *Mahataris* (women) go with the bride to receive them. The girls sing song and the *Khandrias* are brought to the bride's house.

2. *Tel Haldi*—That night seven women annoint oil on the girl's head. The girl holds seven straws fixed to her forehead and the *Mahataris* pour oil seven times on the straws with *Huihula* sound.

3. *Dia Mangula*—The *Mahataris* go to the four directions at the village outskirt next day with the bride and offer homage to *Pats*

Dharam Devta, Basumata, Gram Siri, etc. for a successful marriage.

4. That day again *Tel Haldi* ritual is repeated by seven women.

5. *Cooking Bilajau*—Rice brought from the groom's village is distributed and given to all families for cooking. They cook and bring the cooked rice back to the *Darbar*. Here, the cooked rice is distributed to all members of the village.

6. *Taking the Bride*—One *Khandria* from the groom's party and one from the bride's village leave earlier to arrange food for the girl's villagers. Two others remain to take the bride. After the party reaches the groom's village they are given food and water. Each party ceremonially greets each other asking about their health and happiness. The girls of the bride's village sing marriage songs. The groom's mother or his father's brother's wife carries the bride on her back to the *Darbar*.

7. *Ghurur Pani*—The bride and the groom are given ceremonial baths by the women of their respective villages on the *dobati* of the village (where two paths bifurcate).

8. *Juali Pani*—The bride and the groom are given a ceremonial bath. They are made to sit on yokes. The women of the groom's village bathe the bride, while those belonging to the bride's village bathe the groom.

The night the bride is brought the groom confines himself inside

the house till the bride is brought to the village for marriage.

9. *Selling Medicine (Asa Bika)*—The women and girls of the bride's village, dress themselves as monks. They start from the *Darbar* to the *Khanda Sal* (kitchen house) to sell "medicines". Vulgar talks and jokes relating to sex are exchanged between the women and the boys. The boys give two *pai* of rice to them. They again go to the groom's house and get another two *pai* of rice. Cakes are prepared out of these four *pai* of rice and distributed among them afterwards.

10. *Sala Bidha*—In a formal ceremony, the women of the groom's village and his relatives make gifts of money to the bridal pair and to the *Garhialis* (partners for the groom and for the bride). The bride's younger brother pats on the back of the groom and is given a piece of cloth by the groom. He carries the groom on his back, and the groom's younger brother carries the bride on his back. Both dance for a few minutes.

11. *Kada lata*—When the women relatives present gifts to the bridal pair on the marriage altar, the joking relations throw mud, cowdung water, ashes, and black-dyes at them. A lot of fun and joke is thus exchanged between the joking relations.

12. *Ceremonial Bath & Breaking the Bow*—The women and the girls of the bride's village take the bride and the groom to the stream for a bath. There the bride hides the jar under water and the groom finds

it out. The groom also hides it and the bride finds it out. This is called "Dub Duba". The bride carries a pot full of water on her head on the way back home. The boys of the bride's village make a strong bow with 'sal' branch and 'ponasi' string. The groom shoots at the water picther carried by the bride. On the halfway he breaks the bow and throws it away. He should break it in one stretch, otherwise he is not considered strong.

13. *Handi Sira*—The bride and the women of her and the groom's villages husk about three to four *pai* paddy after the bride returns from the stream. She cooks 'jau' out of this rice and offers to family ancestors of the groom in the inner chamber of the house (*Bhitar*). The persons of both sides partake a little of this *jau*.

14. "*Kanya Samarpan*" (*Handing over the bride to the Bandhus*)—At the parting time the girl's villagers and some of her close relatives hand over the bride to the groom's villagers and say—"Oh! respected Bandhus, now you get your daughter-in-law. When she was young she was of her parents, but after her puberty she belonged to the village (300-*Ghar*). Now we 300-*Ghar* are giving her to you. She may be ugly or beautiful, blind or one-eyed, deaf or dumb, lame; she might be a witch or sorceress (*Daini* or *Pangini*); she may not know how to cook, how to talk, and how to respect you. Any way, she becomes your *Bahu* (Daughter-in-law) now. If she does any thing harm to you, or she is not liked by you, don't let her wander from shed to shed (begging food) but

bring her back to the same tree (to her parents) where from you have taken her".

The groom's villagers reply—"Oh! Bandhus, She may have anything which goes against her, but she is our *Bahu* now. She is not only your daughter, ours too. Unless she does serious offence why should we bring her to you ?

15. *Gundi Chaul & Mand Chheli*—When the bride's villagers leave after marriage the groom's party gives them about five *pai* of rice (called *Gundi Chaul*) and one goat (*Mand Chheli*). The villagers may eat it on heir way or bring to the village, and then hold a feast.

16. *Consumation of Marriage*—Before the bridal pair starts sleeping together (after three or four days of marriage) the bride cooks a little 'jau' in a new earthen pot and offers to the ancestors in the *Bhitar*. At night the women who stand as elder brother's wife or father's father's wife (own or classificatory) to the groom bring the groom and the bride to the house and say—"From today you get your home (wife). Start building your shed (lit. have sons and daughters) and let your family prosper".

17. *First Visit of the married couple to the Girl's parents*—On their first visit to the bride's parents, they are given hearty meals. At the parting day a chicken is slaughtered for them and they may be given new clothes. Cakes and cooked rice are given to them to carry to their village.

Economy in Pauri Bhuinya Marriage—Marriage lays great economic strain on Pauri Bhuinyas. Contribution from the relatives and the close kins is so negligible that the parents start hoarding crops and cash for five years or more till they are able to amass considerable amount for financing a marriage. In spite of their efforts they run in to indebtedness and incur heavy loans to meet the marriage expenses. A considerable amount is spent in feasts. Other heads of expenditure include bride-wealth (*mula*) paid to the bride's relatives, clothes for the bride, groom, and other relatives, and other miscellaneous expenses.

The items and amount of bride-wealth are same for all types of marriages, which are paid within a year or two after the marriage except in *Dharipala* (marriage by elopement) in which it may be paid after five to ten years when the marrying partners accumulate enough amount for the purpose. •Extremely poor persons are sometimes exempted from paying full amount of bride-wealth. The following gives item wise detail list of the standard bride-wealth paid in Bhuinya marriages :—

(1) One bullock for the bride's father.

(2) One bullock for her father's younger brother.

(3) One bullock for her mother's brother.

(4) Three rupees and about 12 *pai* of rice for the *Khandrias* (middlemen).

(5) About 7½ *Khandi* of rice for *bala jau*.

(6) One rupee and a *sari* for the bride's mother.

(7) About 5 *pai* of rice (*gundi chaul*) and a goat (*mand chheli*) for the bride's villagers when they leave after marriage.

A piece of cloth, or one to two rupees in lieu of cloth is paid to the bride's younger brother (*sala bidha*), but this does not constitute an item of the regular bride-wealth.

Feasts drain away major shavings in marriages. In a marriage feast the groom's party is expected to feed the villagers of both sides sumptuously till they eat sufficiently and leave some food on their plates. The groom has to spend on feasts on the following occasion:—

(1) The day the bride is brought for marriage the boys and the girls of the groom's village are fed properly to receive the marriage party.

(2) As soon as the bride and her escorts arrive in the village outskirts they are given cooked rice and dal.

(3) That night after the girl's party reach the groom's village they are fed by the groom.

(4) Next day goats are slaughtered and the villagers of both the sides are given a hearty meal.

- (5) After the marriage, on some day, the groom is obliged to feed his villagers once more for their co-operation and help in the marriage.

Besides the above occasions, quite a heavy stock of rice is also required to feed the guests and the relatives. To all these expenses may be added other miscellaneous expenses like purchase of new clothes for the marrying partners and the relatives, ornaments for the bride, rice given to the different age and sex groups for paying their specific roles in marriages.

Keeping in view all the expenditures the total amount spent in a Bhuinya marriage (marriage by arrangement) is estimated to be Rs. 1,000 or more. In other forms of marriages than marriage by arrangement, less amount is spent on feasting, thereby reducing the total expenditure by about Rs. 200. In case of second marriage, the bride-wealth is more than the usual bride-wealth.

Conclusion

Without going into the details of rites and rituals of the institution of marriage, it is significant to analyse the role which the institution of marriage plays among the tribe. Its implications on the interplay of social relationship group ties and other social and economic ramifications are also noteworthy.

Marriage is always viewed to be on affair of the village than an exclusive concern of the concerned family. The unmarried girls bio-

logically belong to their parents, but sociologically all the unmarried girls are viewed to be the "property" of the *bandhus* (inter-marrying spouses). They are kept in custody of their parents and taken care of till marriage, but as soon as the *bandhus* want to take possession of their "property" the parents are obliged to part with them. In a broader sense all the unmarried boys and girls are viewed to be members of the village and the village youth dormitory (*darbar*) who associate more closely with the socio-religious life concerning the dormitory organisation. Marriage is always an affair of the village. In case of giving away the girls in marriage, the opinion of all the village elders is never overlooked. Likewise, marriage of the village boys is the responsibility of all the families of the village. The parents finance for the marriage, but the villagers lent their help and co-operation to make the marriage ceremony a success. While ceremonially handing over the bride the girl's villagers in their prayer to the groom's villagers firmly hold that they offer the girl not only to the groom, but to the care of his villagers at large for the proper upkeep of the girl. In case of divorce, therefore, the groom's villagers formally hand-over the girl to her village elders while performing the formal divorce ritual.

Marriage is the proper situation to study the roles played by different age and sex groups. The elderly men (*Mahatar*) and women (*Mahatari*) and the unmarried boys (*Bhendia*) and girls (*Dhangdi*) play specific roles in marriage. The

Mahatars work as marriage brokers (*Khandria*), fix up marriage proposals, formally handover and take over the bride in marriage, engage themselves in communal cooking, and shoulder other responsibilities. The ceremonial rites are mostly performed by the *Mahataries*. Ceremonial bathing of the bridal pair, greeting the marriage party, blessing the marrying couple and other important rites are performed by the women. Marriage is the only occasion where women have greater roles to play than the men. Likewise, the unmarried boys and the girls closely associate in marriage ceremony. The boys play on *chang* (musical drum) in marriage dance, prepare marriage bow for the groom, supply firewood, fetch water and help in cooking of the marriage feast, while the girls sing marriage songs and do other tasks like grinding spices, supplying leaf cups and plates and accompanying the bride while performing marriage rites, etc. For performing their duties, each group is reasonably rewarded by feast and other gifts.

An analysis of some of the marriage rites of the Bhuinya throws light on their social values and belief system. As the Bhuinya claim to have descended from royal chiefs, the tradition of riding on horse back is still retained by them. It is still customary for Bhuinyas to carry the bride and the groom on their backs, which symbolizes horse-riding and after marriage rice and dal paid to the persons carrying the bride and the groom is called *ghoda dana*, lit, fodder for the horse. Likewise breaking of bow

by the groom and shooting arrows are claimed to be the observance of the epic custom of Rama breaking *Shiva Dhanu* for marrying Sita. Bathing the bride and the groom by making them to sit on a yoke symbolizes that from that day they are to share and shoulder the responsibilities of the marital life. The Bhuinya, like many other tribes have great attachment to their native soil, and this sentiment has been reflected in their marriage in which the women of the bride's village worship the *Dharati* (Earth Goddess) and tie some earth in the sari of the bride.

Marriage marks the termination of one phase of life and an entry to a new sphere of life. The marrying partners cease to be acting members of their youth association and attain the status of the married persons (*Mahatara* and *Mahataries*). Before assuming the new roles and responsibilities, the bride and the groom present gifts to their dormitory friends and formally take farewell from their association. They are also entertained with feasts by their friends before their final withdrawal from the dormitory organization.

In case of the bride, she not only steps on to a new social position from *Dhangdi* to *Mahatari*, but it is more significant for her to enter into the clan of her husband. To mark this transition the bride cooks *jau* (porridge) on the marriage day and offers it to the family ancestors of the groom in the sacred *bhitar* (inner portion of the house where the ancestors are believed to reside). Likewise, to

mark the consumation of marriage, before the couple start sleeping together the wife offers *jau* to the husband's ancestors.

Marriage sample collected from Jaldih reveals that of all the types of marriages, marriage by capture, elopement, etc., are more frequently taken resort to than the regular and

more expensive form of marriage by arrangement. Out of 141 marriage cases, 36.2 per cent were found to be marriage by arrangement while 63.8 per cent were other types of marriages. The following table gives a quantitative assessment of different types of marriages of the Pauri Bhuinya.

TABLE
Frequency and Percentage of Types of marriages among the Pauri Bhuinya

Sl. No.	Type of marriage (local names)	English equivalent	Frequency	Percentage
1	<i>Mangi</i> ..	Marriage by arrangement	51	36.2
2	<i>Ghicha</i> ..	Marriage by capture ..	36	25.5
3	<i>Dharipala</i> ..	Marriage by elopement ..	51	36.2
4	<i>Randi Bibha</i> ..	Widow remarriage ..	3	2.1
Total ..			141	100%

As has been described in this paper marriage is a costly proposition for the Bhuinya and they being mostly poor fighting to sustain their living, can hardly afford to finance a marriage. Failing to arrange the marriage expenses, many Bhuinya youths are forced to lead the life of bachelors and spinsters. The heavy expenditure was minimized to some extent in old days when the Bhuinya preferred to procure marriage mates by capture or elopement but now a days as marriages other than marriage by arrangement are looked down upon the poor persons are forced to remain as life long bachelors. In village

Tantara, it was found in 1969 that 19 girls between the age-group of 20—56 years and 9 boys above 22 years of age could not marry through they crossed the marriageable age. They do not take recourse to obtain their marrying partners by capture or elopement lest they might be looked down upon by their fellow neighbours. This has serious social consequences and unless the bride-price of the Bhuinya are curtailed and other steps are taken to ameliorate the terms and conditions of marriage, the Bhuinya youths may not enable themselves to enjoy the status of full-fledged members of the society by virtue of their marital status.

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