

# **Social Dynamics of North Bengal Frontier** **(A Sociological study of two Border Villages in** **Darjeeling District of West Bengal)**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN ARTS (HIMALAYAN STUDIES) UNDER THE  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

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17 DEC 2012

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***Dedicated to my parents***

**Mr. Upendra Nath Roy  
and  
Mrs. Chandan Bala Roy**

## Preface

This thesis is the outcome of field work conducted in two Indo-Nepal Frontier villages in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Here the important field data are collected during the years between 2001 to 2003. Beside this, field visit is made many times till the completion of the thesis. In understanding social, economic, cultural, and political situation in rural society, the contribution of historians, economists, anthropologists and sociologists is very important. But the study of above situation in frontier villages in Indo-Nepal frontier areas is not similarly highlighted. In this situation this study has been undertaken. This study shows that the socio-economic, cultural, and political situation of frontier villages in Darjeeling district have some dissimilarities with the traditional rural society. The villagers in the Frontier villages are more adaptive with any situation. The population structure of the villages is framed by a large number of migrant people, bilingual and multilingual groups of people. Beside this, the nuclear type of family structure, monogamous form of marriage, cross-border marriage, cross-border kinship network, cross-border fairs and festivals, illegal trading activity etc are the important features of the villagers living in the frontier area. The people living in the frontier area enjoy political power in democratic way in certain extent. The political behaviour of the villagers is not regulated by the caste rules and the existence of traditional caste council is not observed. It is expected that this study fulfills the gap of knowledge of the students, scholars and planners about social, economic, cultural and political life and changes therein in the life of the people living in Indo-Nepal frontier villages in Darjeeling district of West Bengal.

This thesis would not have materialized without the proper guidance of Prof. Sekh Rahim Mondal, Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal. I thank him for his guidance at every steps of this work and for his understanding of all my problems.

My thanks are due to Prof.(Mrs.) M. Choudhury, Director of the Centre for Himalayan Studies, NBU for her valuable help and cooperation to complete this research work. I am also indebted to Prof. R.Sahu, Dr.(Mrs.) K.Datta, Dr. U. Bhui and Mr. B. Golay for their valuable suggestions and inspiration. I am also thankful to non-teaching staff members of the Centre for Himalayan Studies, N.B.U. for their help and cooperation to conduct this research works.

For the purpose of this study, I visited the National Library of North Bengal University, and the District Library of Jalpaiguri. I thank the librarians, staffs of those libraries for their help they extended to me in using the materials available in their libraries.

While doing my field work in those studied villages, I received unexpected help from the villagers. In addition to the Panchayet members, Pradhan of the Gram Panchayet Area, I thank the villagers for their help, assistance, affection and cooperation from them during my stay in the villages. In this regards, I am mostly grateful to Sri Sailendra Nath Singh and Sri Sarbajit Ghatani for their help and assistance. Without their help, the field work would not be possible.

I am also thankful to the University Grants' Commission for awarding me a UGC Fellowship (NET-JRF) without which the work could not be started in the initial stage.

Last but not the least, was the help and encouragement received from my family members, friends and I am thankful to all of them.

*Ranjit Roy*  
12/07/2011  
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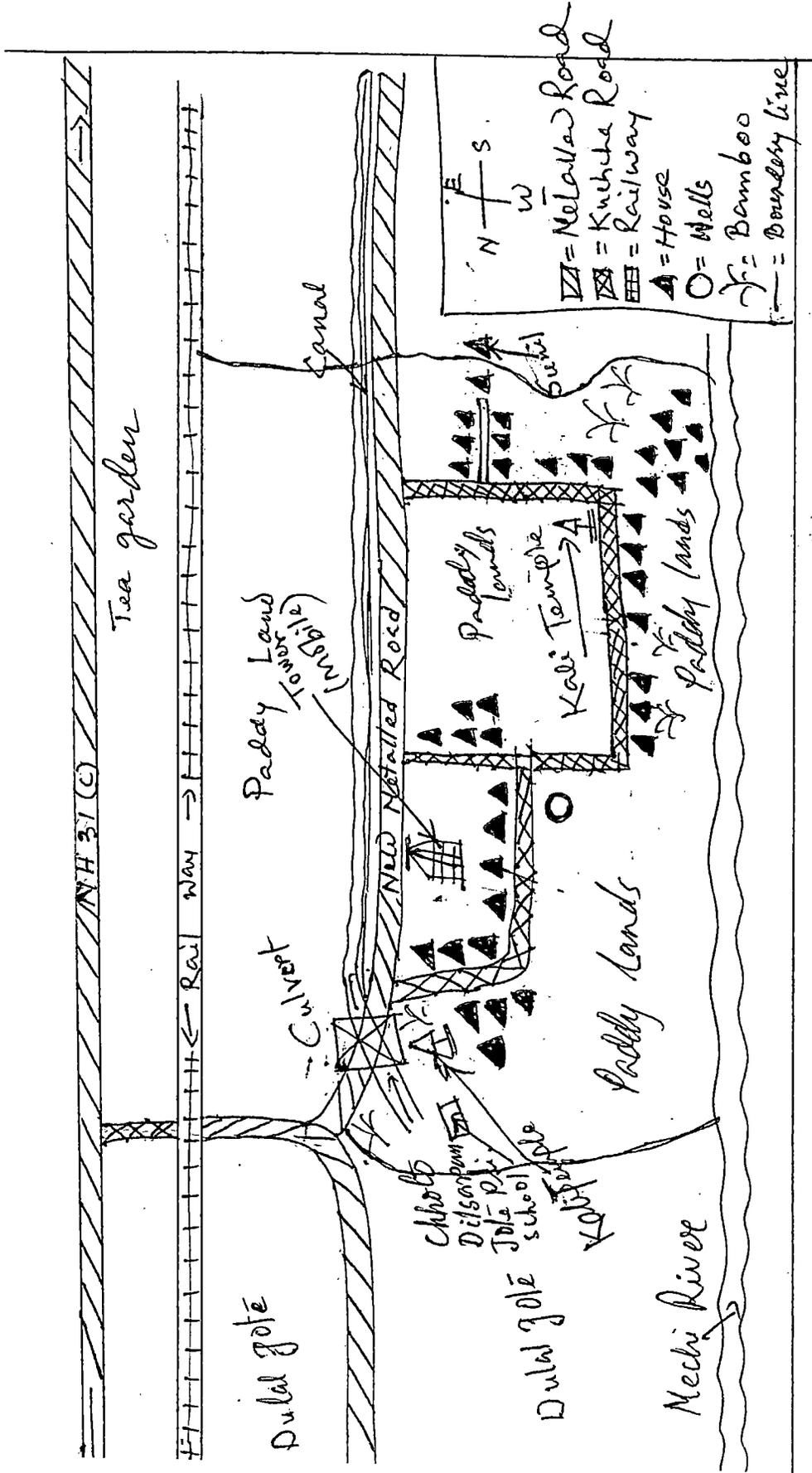
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Map No. 2.1: Map of Chhoto Dilsaram (Not to Scale)





# CHAPTER -1

## Introduction

### 1.1: Background

North Bengal, at present a narrow strip of land at a short distance from the Chinese border connects two divisions of India as a vital point in the bottom of the Himalayas. It is surrounded by Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan in the north, Assam in the east and Bangladesh and rest of West Bengal in the south and Bihar in the west. This location has provided her a special place of strategic importance. Since the time immemorial North Bengal has been serving as the eastern gateway for the passage and the communication of people, commodities and ideas between the Indian sub-continent in the west and Assam, Burma, China and other parts of South Asia in the east. This is situated in the centre of the network of national highway connecting different civilizations through the inland mountain routes (Bhattacharyya and Mukherjee, 1987).

More recently, the portion of West Bengal from Ganges on the south and the Himalayas on the north is physically called "North Bengal" within the state of West Bengal. It consists of six districts viz. Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Coochbehar, North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur and Malda. Mountains, valleys, undulated foothills and the plains covered by forests and agricultural lands, criss-crossed by rivers and streams have given the place a natural background of unique character. North Bengal is considered to be a place of floral, faunal, ethnic, lingual and cultural diversity. The region of North Bengal is very important to the travelers, tourists, and researchers not only for its natural wealth but also for its people and their culture.

North Bengal occupies about one fourth portion of West Bengal. The population structure of North Bengal consists of various indigenous as well as immigrant communities like Rajbanshi, Poliya, Beldar, Bhunmali, Dosad, Gondi, Mal, Mushahar, Nuniya, Kami, Dami, Namasudra, Lepcha, Bhutia, Nepali groups. During the census year of 1991, the total population was 12036292. On the basis of religion the population structure is characterized by

Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Animist communities (Bose, 1998). The number of population is in gradual increase. According to the census of 2001, the population is 14724940.

## **1.2: Statement of the Problem and Justification of the Study**

India is predominantly characterized by her rural communities, city and urban dwellers form only about one-fifth of the total Indian population. The culture matrix of India's rural communities is not uniform and is rather marked by the regional and ethnic diversity. Therefore, to understand Indian rural society, one has to understand the social structure of village India. Villages as representatives of various subcultures are to be covered for the purpose (Mann, 1979).

From the teaching of history it is found that the existence of villages in India and the history of the people in village are very old but in India, village studies have their roots in the colonial rule. Actually the village study is the 18<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon and it developed through various stages. Sometimes it is called that the study of Indian villages began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with intensive survey work regarding land holdings. Later on the Indian villages were compared with the villages of West. However in the last century, intensive empirical studies on village economy and society gained much popularity (Dumont and Pocock, 1957).

The "village studies" has been developed through a historical process and the contributions made of individuals, government organizations were very helpful for its origin and growth. Initially, 'village studies' were conducted to see the economic situation of the villagers but the social aspects like caste; marriage, family-condition etc were not looked similarly. It is found that village studies during 1920-50, the emphasis was laid increasingly on purely economic categorization of rural societies; and even the social relations which the villagers had evolved with reference to their economic organization were not attended properly or at all. The economic distribution, landholding the expenditure pattern, and such other economic attributes of the villagers were often treated in meticulous details, but the social relation of rural folks had

developed with respect to such economic attributes were almost invariably lost sight (Mukherjee, 1965).

Regarding the nature of the Indian village, earlier studies considered that the Indian village society was 'closed' and 'isolated' system. While the studies on Indian village in 1950's and onward was based on the assumption that the Indian village was not 'static', 'isolated' and homogenous but rapidly changing due to interaction with outside (Quoted from Sharma, 1997).

In the decade of 1950's some important studies on Indian villages were conducted by Indian as well as foreign anthropologists and sociologists viz. Srinivas (1955), Gough (1955), Dube (1955), Bailey (1955), Marriot (1955), Mukherjee (1957), Bose (1984), and many others.

At this stage some scholars have contributed to the studies of border villages like Swarup and Singh (1988), Bhowmick (1976), Samaddar (1999). In the context of trans-border ethnic movement and consequent ethnicity and political instability of contemporary times, it is desirable that an intensive anthropological and sociological study of the frontier areas must be taken into consideration. Recently North Bengal is bounded by three international borders viz Indo-Nepal, Indo-Bhutan, and Indo-Bangladesh. The social dynamics of these frontier areas are quite-complex in nature. Because, due to open border system, the incoming and outgoing of people in the frontier areas are quite continuous. The frontier areas are the meeting ground of various groups of people and their relationship is designed by reciprocal as well as conflicting pattern. Even the frontier areas have been the evidence of various illegitimate activities like political instability, smuggling, kidnapping, disturbance of law and order, cow-stealing and some other anti-social activities.

The border study has a very wide scope in contemporary social science research. Because in recent times, due to various reasons, international migration is very often notified, this is leading to form ethnic disturbance in frontier villages. This new social formation has generated a unique pattern of inter-ethnic relations which is reflected through ethnicity and trans-border movements. It is desirable that a socio-economic study of border villages is very necessary both for academic as well as politico-administrative and

developmental reasons. But unfortunately the study of border villages in Himalayan and sub-Himalayan areas of North Bengal is significantly lacking. The Indo-Nepal frontier areas are the important places where the non-Nepali and Nepali people are living together. Due to their interaction, the socio-economic, political and cultural lives of both the communities are changing. In the present study, the frontier areas located very near to Indo-Nepal border line have many villages and villagers, with their own economic, socio-political and cultural life, and they face many changes in their established relationship. Some aspects are losing their importance and some are existing with increased importance or new type of social formation is being emerged. They are occurring due to some special reasons. The sociologists and social anthropologists do not show their much attention in this field.

### **1.3: Review of Literatures**

In the field of sociological and social anthropological studies on village society, village social structure, village social life etc have been made by some Indian and foreign scholars. Though a good number of studies have been conducted on the villages of West Bengal and as well as the villages of other states of India, but the studies on frontier villages of North Bengal is very scanty. Hence, a few of the noted village studies, some other studies, survey reports, census reports which are related to rural society, rural social problem etc made by scholars are reviewed.

Ahuja (1993) in his book shows the role of dowry in selecting bride. He says that importance and typicality of the problem of dowry today is to be assessed not because the number of the reported cases of burning of brides is increasing but also because a good number of girls remain unmarried even after crossing the marriageable age due to parents' inability to pay dowry. This creates the problem of spinsterhood too with its own sociological repercussions. The dowry problem is also crucial because many girls are humiliated and harassed for not bringing adequate dowry to the satisfaction of their in-laws and husbands creating the crisis of their personality disorganization; because it compels many parents to use illegitimate methods in earning money and increases corruption in society; and because it poses dilemmas and conflicts of

varied types of individuals, families, and the society. He also says that due to cruelty of dowry, the bride-burning is in gradual increase in different parts of India.

Basak (1992) in his study reveals the formation of the community panchayat. His works on the community panchayat of the caste Hindus which is based on the elderly male members of the village or villages. They constitute according to their own convenience with five to seven members according to their own strength of the community. The Panchayat is headed by a male member who is wise and influential in the society is called Mandal or Morol in the village terminology and is assisted by other elderly male members of five to seven according to the capacity of number of the village households and caste differentiation i.e. of the number of the castes and sub-castes living in the villages.

Bhowmick (1976) discusses various aspects of the socio-cultural life of the people of frontier Bengal. In this study an accurate emphasis has been laid on studying the particular ways of life of different communities. The author has given more stress on description and analysis of the ways how a great number of communities have interacted with one another. In terms of religious festivals he says that religio-festive life in a village is closely associated with certain supernatural concepts or traditional beliefs and ritual patterns observed by different castes, constant group participation in those affairs, perpetual and unified social order or relationship amongst the individuals concerned which become strengthened further and develop some norms in course of time. But beliefs in different religions or faiths sometimes segment the society vertically into different strata, largely associated with the exclusiveness of the rituals.

Bailey (1955) makes a study on Bisipara, an Orissa village. He reveals the changing social structure of the village with the change in political and economic scenario. In terms of economic change Bailey shows that the impact of market-oriented production has decreased the class differences between classes. It is found that the demand of turmeric in Bissipara in Orissa has brought agricultural profit to one and all irrespective of caste or agricultural skill and experience.

Barua (1978) makes an intensive study of a single village named Moranjan. The author has examined the character of Ahom Social relations. She tried to assess the trend of changes in the socio-cultural life of the community. She expresses the social relation through the understanding of the people, economic profile, household, religion, kinship and community relation. She shows that though changes are taking place in the socio-economic, religious and political life, yet strong traditional elements persist, often manifested in a strong urge to revive distinctive socio-religious rites and maintain a separate identity.

Basu (1962), in his study of a village, Kanchanpur in Burdwan district, West Bengal shows that the high caste had a larger proportion of joint families than the lower castes.

Bose (1984) analyses the economic structure of rural society in terms of the combination of two aspects – the forces of production and the relation of production. He says that the highest percentage of nuclear families is found among the peasant proletariats. The poor peasants and the middle peasants generally have nuclear families, but in the villages, these classes have supplemented nuclear families and joint families also. The big landowners like rich peasants and landlords usually live in joint families. And finally he shows that the contribution of caste to family structure is not statistically significant and we have found members belonging to high caste but low class have nuclear families. This shows that the subsistence pattern, modes of livelihood, landownership or lack of it or, in short, a person's class position is related to the family types.

Carstairs (1983) makes a study on a small village named Sujarupa, in Rajasthan. The author shows how a small, tightly knit but not always harmonious community of Rajput farmers has reacted to the pressures of modernization.

Conklin (1973) in his study reveals that marriage to either mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, or elder sister's daughter is the ideal type of all Hindus in twenty six villages in Karnataka.

Danda (1984) in his study at Basuda shows the family size of different caste groups. He shows that there is variation among the different caste groups. Finally he points out that the average family size of the village is 5.6 persons.

Danda and Danda (1968) are of the opinion that on the one hand, the upper caste group rarely grants a position desired by a lower caste; on the other hand, caste members of the former parallel social position never recognize the superior position of the aspirant caste.

Doshi and Jain (2004) in their study state that India's villages are highly disposed to religion. Religion and its associated aspects such as ritual and magic also influence the society. It may be said that at the outset that Indian rural society is much characterized by the observation of rituals and magic than religion itself. The rural society is basically a caste society. And, caste has religion as its inherent part. In practice caste and religion can hardly be separated.

Dube (1955) in his study says clearly Hinduism as it is practiced in the village is not the Hinduism of the classical philosophical height, nor the abstract content of the latter. It is the religion of fast, feast and festivals, in which the prescribed rituals cover all the major crisis of life. Worship and propitiation of gods and spirits follow the annual round of festivals and the rituals of human life-cycle. Disease and difficulty may also necessitate invoking assistance from the sources. Analysis of life histories reveals that spiritualism can not be said to be the keynote in the life of the community, far from it, the religion appears to be a practical one.

Dube (1963) in his another study observes that cross-cousin marriages are general rule in the tribal communities and are allowed among both upper and lower castes in Western and Southern India. Moslems permit parallel cousin marriages also. Among certain groups of the Hindus in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in South India, maternal uncle and niece marriages are preferred as they involve a cyclic change of hands in regard to substantial property.

Driver (1962) makes a comparative study between city, town and villages and shows that there are more joint families in rural areas, and more nuclear families in the urban areas. He also points out that the highest and the

lowest income groups show the preponderance of nuclear families and that the highly educated also have preference for nuclear families. The middle class or the middle income group appears more traditional in that it shows preference for a joint family.

Gough (1955) in his essay, the social structure of a Tanjore village, has outlined the social organization of a typical "Brahman village" named Kumberpetti. He has tried to focus the social change in the village and its underlying causes like internal migration of people. In terms of family and occupations he says that the Brahmans who, as large landowners do not manual work and totally dependent on land, have extended families while the landless labourers, known as Adidravidas, live in nuclear families.

Gomes (1987) makes a study to show the social structure of a composite village named Chandor, a typical Gaon village. The physical environment, demographic characteristics, caste structures, economic affairs, cultural activities, religious practices, feasts and festivals, influence of church and folklore of the Gaon people with the changes operating in various spheres of their living have been depicted.

Hiramani (1977) makes his investigation in two villages named Kolghar and Golatgaon of the Arungabad Taluka in the region of Marathwada. The author has tried to present the social structure of the villages and to bring together some of the responses of the rural areas of the region to industrial urban influence. In terms of family structure he shows that the number of the nuclear family is higher than the number of joint families found in Kolghar and Golatgaon villages.

Kamal Krishna (1969) shows in his study that majority of traders were from high caste, though their socio-economic background was very near the middle class. He also found that illiterate leaders were slowly being eased out.

Kapadia (1956) in his study of family types in the Navasari town, (Surat district), in the surrounding rural areas, and in the fringe areas of the town shows that both the town and rural areas show a predominance of the joint family.

Kolenda (2003) in his study shows the importance of village endogamy in determining the marital relationship. According to him in North India, marriage alliances are dispersed with a preference for maximizing ties so that seldom do two sisters marry into the same village or family. And in South India, it is children of brother and sister who should marry. This means that there is a special closeness between the brother and sister, whose children may marry, although there may be enmity between a sister and brother whose children of the right age, but who did not marry. For the bride in cross-cousin marriage, her mother-in-law may be her father's sister, or else her father-in-law may be her mother's brother, she does not move into a house of stranger at marriage.

Klass (1966) makes a study to discuss the marriage rule in West Bengal. He observes that in order to avoid land disputes to receive deference and respect from the girl's father after marriage, and to refrain from strained relations which might result as a consequence of virilocal marriage, one would not prefer to marry children into his own village.

Kissinger (1974) in his study of Vilyatpur, a village in Punjab, combines the perspectives and methods of the historian and the anthropologist to reconstruct the social and economic history of the village. He has also pointed out the processes of migration, commercialization, occupational differentiation, population dynamics etc.

Lewis (1958) in his study of Rampura, a village in U.P. points out that the Brahmans and the Jats both of high castes have the highest proportion of joint families but the Bhangis, a low caste, have a smaller proportion of them. The structure, size and type of the families in Indian society are associated with income, landholding, occupation, education etc. It is right that society is not static, but it is dynamic. Many changes are occurring in many traditional as well as modern social organizations in society.

Lieten (1992) conducts a study on a village named Ektagram of Birbhum district in West Bengal. The author examines in detail the land reform records of the state of West Bengal which has been governed by left front since 1977. He also examines the impact of this land reform programmes on various

agrarian classes and on productivity and social progress in general. He has also pointed out literacy, family planning, political changes, poverty alleviation programmes, caste, and religion, the fate of the share cropping system, depeasantization and ends with a discussion on improvement.

Marriot (1955) has studied the social structure and change in a U.P. village named 'Kishan Garhi'. He has also studied the structural features of the cooperation which was provided among the kin groups of Kishan Garhi.

Mathur (1964) observes that religion helps a society integrate and perpetuate its social order in two ways: (i) it provides to the total system in the form of doctrine, dogma and myth; and (ii) the rites, that is ceremonial actions and ritual prohibitions, dogmatize the social system and transit from one generation to another sentiments on which the constitution of the society depends.

Mukherjee (1958) in his study has made an attempt to study the society as living and moving entity as revealed by the process of change. The study has also given a general description of the people, a broad narration of the economic activities and the effect of the economic activities on a few social complexes. It gives a broad but overall picture of the changing society.

Misra (1988) in his study reveals an account of the changes in life in a village in one of the coastal districts of Orissa during the last sixty years from the twenties to the eighties of twenty centuries. He has presented the activities of zamindars, and their agents, money-lenders, share-croppers, agricultural labourers, artisans, service classes, village lenders, and some social practices like untouchability, dowry, superstitions etc. Some social problems like crime have also been discussed. Finally, the author has also pointed out some factors like urban contact and economic factors in developing new society and values after independence of India.

The report of NFHS' (1998-99) reveals the fact that in West Bengal, the mean size of households is 4.9 persons and size of households in rural areas is larger than the urban areas. The mean sizes of household in rural and urban areas are 5.1 and 4.6 persons respectively. According to census report of 2001 the average size of household in West Bengal is 5.1 persons. The report (2001)

also shows that the average size of the households in India is 5.3 persons which is higher than the average size of household of West Bengal, Darjeeling district, Kharibari block, and the Gandagol mouza where the village is located. According to the report the sizes of household of Darjeeling district, Kharibari block and the mouza are 5.0, 5.1 and 5.1 respectively.

Pramanik (1993) makes a study on community life of the fishermen communities of Hara and Sultanpur villages in 24 Parganas district of West Bengal. The author finds the patriarchal dominance on the women. The exploiting roles of the money-lenders and aratedars have also been discussed. Finally, the author observes that the fishermen due to several hardships like insecurity in fishing, unavailability of fish etc were changing their occupation and were adopting other occupation like rope making etc.

Raj (1970) in his study mentions that the rural society is based predominantly on agriculture, land and agriculture is still the most important source of livelihood of village folk. Burden on the land is very much increasing, the people on the whole are poor and have low living standard, there is very little occupational mobility and most of the people follow ancestral occupations, landed property is considered sacrosanct and no one will like to sell that unless compelled to do so. There are several land tenure system and several land reform measures taken so far have not done much good to rural people, yet in the villages not many cottage industries have started and thus between the sowing and harvesting there is sufficient time for the village folk to enjoy and also to recreate.

Rajani (1970) in his study shows that caste is being more and more strengthened because these castes are forming caste associations. Caste association works for the caste in regards of providing some educational job facilities and political reservations.

Rao (1985) in his study reveals the role of kinship relation to regulate the marital ties. It also restricts an individual to marry with certain specific individuals and in some cases the marriage alliance is prohibited between certain kinds of kin groups. In this connection variation is also followed between North and South India. In general, the families in the South tend to

maintain, strengthen, and solidify the kinship relations through marriage, while in the North; the families tend to extend their relations to people with whom they do not have kinship ties. National endogamy also influences the limit of the marital relationship.

Ray (1964) makes a study on tribal and rural settlement pattern and house types, village planning, house planning, town planning, planning of forts, planning of richer houses, materials and techniques and rituals. An appendix contains evidences gathered from recent archeological excavations, the period covered is from C 150 BC to C 350 A.D.

Reddy (1998) in his study makes it clear that the Hindus, a predominant segment of the Indian society have both endogamous and exogamous rules limiting the selections of a mate or a life partner. It is a common feature among the Hindu community having been divided into different castes, which are mostly endogamous groups. And in practice, the caste is again divided into a number of sub castes, sub castes into number of sections. These sections are again divided into different sub sections as *visa* and *dasa* or in terms of locality. And these different sub-castes in a broader caste community are more often exogamous.

Sachchidananda (1977) in his study of 720 families in 1970 selected from thirty villages in Shahbad district in Bihar shows the relationship between the family pattern and landholding. He found that as landholdings increase, the number of joint families also increase, or less the landholdings, less the joint families and more the landholdings, more the joint families.

Samaddar (1999), dealing with transborder migrants from Bangladesh to West Bengal has analysed the issue within a richer perspective which accommodate the historical, cultural and geographic dimensions along with the economic and demographic aspects. The author has demystified the constructs of 'borders' and national territory by bringing to the fore the view points of the migrants themselves. He found that pitted against the natural urge for survival. 'Nation' and 'border' are easily marginalized in the minds of the people who then find illegal ways to tackle this obstacle in the path of their well-being. Finally, the author said that the very future of transplanted concepts such as

'nation-state' and 'national security' and 'national-borders' is in doubt in present day South Asia.

Sahay (2001) conducts a study on four villages in Buxar district of Central Bihar. The author has analysed the economic structure, political structure and caste structure to understand the social formation or mode of production in Bihar. By this study, he has shown the existing mode of production is not feudal or semi feudal, but it is a capitalist social formation.

Sen (1965) in a study of four Bengal villages finds the predominance of the nuclear families over the extended families. Again he finds that the non-cultivating owners, day labours and non-agriculturists have a very high proportion of nuclear families as compared to the owner cultivators and share croppers. This indicates the fact that differences in occupation and subsistence pattern within the society will also explain the distribution of the nuclear and extended families among the various sections of the population.

Sengupta (1973) makes an ethnographic study on the social system in a Bengal village named Kotaigarh, under Midnapur district. The author shows that the village has complex social system having seventeen Hindu castes and two tribal groups. The latter participates in the community life of the village but they have not lost their separate identity. They speak their tribal dialects, observe many of their old customs and maintain the traditional political organization. The author suggests that lower castes do not look up to any one caste or to provide a model and he offers some evidences regarding the presence of multi reference group. Discussing the political dimension of village organization, he notes the existence of tribal councils, new statutory councils.

Singh (1973) points out that in India, for example, lower caste families where the chief occupation was agricultural labour were mostly nuclear, but this nuclearity was often due to negative rather than positive causes. These negative factors were absence of landed property, lack of landed property, lack of sufficient and stable means of livelihood and shifting mode of occupation.

Srinivas (1955) in his study of Mysore village (Rampura) describes about the strong and traditional ties that bind together the members of the village community. He also mentions that the village is an independent unit,

largely self-sufficient having its own assembly, watch and ward, official and servants. But he was not definite about the future of the villages. He also says that it is not an exaggeration if all Hindus are said to be essentially religious. Religiosity is pronounced more among the people living in the countryside than among those in a city. The degree of variation in religiosity is caused due to several factors - individual, caste, creed, sect, community etc.

Sukla (1976) gives a vivid description about the changes in social structure of a village in the state of Bihar. He shows the changes in the field of family structure, caste structure, economic structure, political structure and religious structure. He points out that the influence of some modern avenues like influence of city life, developed communication has brought changes in joint family structure, authoritarian structure of the family head, and the introduction of panchayati raj system, community development projects brings structural change in rural economy. Finally he does not observe the similar change in religious field. He says that the influence of religion and rituals on the people of India or on the whole of the Hindu society is still very powerful and great. Religious beliefs and practices are held essentially as supreme in both the city and the country. In showing the relation between family and castes he points that among the members of the higher castes, the tendency to remain in the joint family is greater than what it is among members of the lower castes.

Venkatarayappa (1973) in his study says that there are many instances of child marriage. They are a violation of law. But people do not seem to abide by law in this respect. Some girls are married at the age at 10 or 12. Some girls may be married off on the brink of puberty, post-puberty marriages are rare. The people are against it. The parents of the girls try to marry them off for fear of incurring criticism or blame. They believe that a girl who has already attained puberty is a risk and her continued stay without marriage may give rise to scandal. With the consent of the bridegroom's party, however, a girl may stay in her parent's house.

Wiser William H. and Charlotte viall wiser 1971 have shown many changes in their diachronic study on a village Karimpur. The first edition of this book published in 1930 was based on a joint work. But in 1961 when William

Wiser died then, Charlotte wrote down the changes observed in 1960 and visited Karimpur once again in 1970. She observed that village had changed negligibly in a span of 30 to 40 years with regard to social institutions like family, caste and religion but the changes in material culture were remarkable.

The above review clearly indicates that studies on frontier villages in India specially in West Bengal are very negligible. It was also noted that village studies in India were mostly found towards caste and religion. Further, studies on dynamics of Indian villages are also not much highlighted. Under such a context, I have decided to conduct an intensive study on the frontier villages specially, of Indo-Nepal border to examine the nature, character and problems as well as changes of the border villages of Bengal.

#### **1.4: Aims and Objectives of the Proposed study**

The proposed study is a humble attempt to examine the dynamics of social structure in border villages. To deal with this, social, economic, political and cultural activities of the people living in the border villages have been examined in details. More specially, this study has made attempts to make an inquiry on the following aspects:

- (1) To know the growth and development of the border villages and the socio-cultural life of the people living in them.
- (2) To examine the social organizations of the people living in the frontier villages with special reference to the existence of communities, castes and the relations as well as interactions among them.
- (3) To examine the economic activities of the people living in the border villages.
- (4) To highlight the marriage and family pattern in the border villages.
- (5) To examine the state of education of the people living in the border villages.
- (6) To find out the political behaviour of the people with special reference to party politics as well as caste and ethno-politics in the border villages.

- (7) To find the religious fairs and festivals as organized and enjoyed by the people in the border villages.
- (8) To reveal the problems faced by the villagers living in the border villages.
- (9) To compare the characteristics of border villages for examining their similarities and differences.
- (10) Finally, to highlight the changes witnessing by the people living in the border villages.

In short, this study aims to highlight the history and the growth of the border villages (settlements) and the pattern of livelihood as well as economic activities of the people living in them. The study also attempts to examine the infrastructural amenities available in the frontier villages to meet the growing needs of the people. A special emphasis has been given to highlight the law and order situation of the border villages. In this study, the concepts of border and frontier have been used to mean the same thing i.e. these concepts are used interchangeably.

### **1.5: Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Keeping the above aims and objectives in mind the present study attempts to deal with the following set of research questions

- (1) How and when did the villages emerge in border areas?
- (2) Who are the indigenous and non-indigenous people living in the border villages and what is the relationship prevailed among them?
- (3) What are the infrastructural facilities enjoyed by the people living in the border areas?
- (4) What are the structural and functional attributes of the border villages?
- (5) What are the basic features of livelihood pattern of the people living in the border villages?
- (6) How do the people in the border villages respond towards the modern education and other developmental measures available to them?
- (7) What are the forces to motivate the political behaviour of the people living in the border villages?

- (8) What are the religious and ceremonial activities performed by the border people?
- (9) What are the problems faced by the villagers living in the border villages ?
- (10) What are the socio-cultural changes noticed among the people of the border villages ?

## Hypotheses

For the present study, the following sets of hypotheses have been formulated.

- (1) The border villages are the abode of different ethnic communities of indigenous and non-indigenous varieties who share the elements of each others culture.
- (2) The people of border villages develop a unique way of life owing to migration and immigration followed by acculturation as well as diffusion.
- (3) The people of border villages are more adaptive in character owing to the nature of habitat which is characterized by complex socio-cultural system.
- (4) The people in the border villages are usually bilingual or multilingual for the sake of their day to day necessities.

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### 1.6: Significance of the Study

In India "village studies" is not new. But the village study on border villages is scanty and even in case of North Bengal this type of study is very rare. In this regard, this study has been undertaken to fill up this gap in certain extent. Secondly this study has been considered to highlight the similarities as well as dissimilarities among the attributes found in frontier village and non-frontier village social structures. This study has been estimated to reveal the

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continuity and change of the social structure in border villages. To substantiate the above purposes, the study has been considered to inquire social, economic, cultural and political behaviour of the people living in border villages. It is expected that the findings of this study shall be used for academic understanding of the life of the people living in the frontier areas on one hand, and shall also help to resolve the problems faced by the people in the frontier areas on the other hand. In this connection, it is also to be noted that the study of border villages or settlements is an important dimension of area study programmes in recent times.

### **1.7: Theoretical Perspectives Adopted**

As the present study is to show the social dynamics of the border villages of Darjeeling district, hence it is necessary to mention the theoretical perspectives on society, social life of the people and their changes.

The present study has been conducted on the basis of some theoretical perspectives. The study is primarily based on structural-functional approach. However Marxist approach has also been adopted to a some extent.

#### **1.7.1: Structural-Functional Approach**

In sociology, the structural-functional approach is very much helpful to understand the society, social structure, social relation, its continuity and change in it. In the frontier village there is a society, social structure, and social relation. Here this approach is very much applicable to know the above aspects. It is found that the village social structure and relation is consisted of the multi-castes, multi-religious groups, multi-communities, multi-linguistic groups, multi- occupational groups and migrant and non-migrant or early migrant peoples. Here the multi-dress-pattern and multi-food habits are the important cultural features of the frontier peoples. From the very past this kind of social relationship is prevailing there. It is found that the people living in this area are not free from competition and conflict within them and outsiders. And even the political interest of all the peoples are not the same and similar. All the peoples are not belonged to same political party. But the people living here are very adaptive in nature and assimilation is also happening spontaneously. If any

dispute arises among the villagers, they call meeting. Here some respected peoples of all the communities living in this village and outside are called at the meeting and they dissolve the dispute collectively. In this regards the political parties and religious fairs help them largely to be very much interactive and integrative. Here the peoples from some other places like other villages, districts, states and nations etc. and they become easily adjusted. In this society the number of population is not stabilized. Sometimes the number of the population becomes very high and sometimes it decreases also. Here this change is not static .It is continuous in nature.

### **1.7.2: Marxian Approach**

The social relationship in this frontier area is very interactive. Many people are engaged in illegal trading activities through the Mechi River and also through some other ways. The peoples basically the male are leaving their traditional occupations (i.e. agriculture) as primary occupation and they are adopting non-cultivating occupations as their primary occupation. The intergenerational mobility among almost all the communities living in this area is observed. Here due to less income in the agricultural activities people are leaving their traditional occupations and are adopting some other new occupations. It is also found that in terms of education, the students of these villages do not go to school regularly. Some students go to school mainly for the mid-day meals. The children of the rickshaw pullers leave the schools before 12 and they go to Panitanki market to bring rice and vegetables purchased by their fathers. Many children go to school eating foods less than necessary quantity. Theoretically it is related to the base and superstructure theory. Here the base (i.e. poor economy) determines the superstructure (i.e. culture, social relationship etc.).Due to poor economic conditions the socio-cultural behavior of many peoples is not same and similar with the behavior of the rich people in larger extent. Due to this poor economic condition the children of the rickshaw pullers do not attend class and regularly.

### **1.8: Concepts used for the Present Study**

In this study some necessary theoretical and conceptual issues have been used. These are mentioned below.

### **1.8.1: Border, Soft Border and Hard Border**

The term border is complicated in use. International borders are borders which are hard facts and define the parameters of state's sovereignty. There is nothing 'soft' about them as they have to be zealously guarded to ensure a nation's territorial integrity, both against conventional threats and non-conventional security threats. So let there be no doubt on the security of borders. 'Soft borders' is more of a political coinage seeking to connote that movements of people, trade and commerce takes place freely, without too many restrictive controls (Kapila, 2005).

### **1.8.2: Caste**

It is said that caste is an institution most highly developed in India where Hindu society is divided into a large number of separate groups, mostly functional and tribal in origin (Royal Anthropological Association of Great Britain and Ireland, 1874). According to Majumdar (1972), 'Caste' is an endogamous group which has gained some position in the Hindu Hierarchy, topped by three higher castes Brahmin, Kshasthya, Vaishya, the higher position of these three castes being never contested by any other castes.

### **1.8.3: Cross-Border Trading Activities**

Now-a-days international trade is an important phenomenon. The people living in frontier villages easily take part in cross-border trading activities. They purchase the goods available in frontier areas and sell those goods in other areas of the border line and purchase some goods available in those areas and bring into his own area for selling purpose. This type of trading activities may be called cross-border trading activities. Except this, it is also found that some people take part as carrier of goods illegally from one frontier to another frontier area. Here the people do not purchase or sell any goods. They carry the goods for the direction of others. Most of the cases the goods are carried in hidden way.

### **1.8.4: Cultural Boundary**

Heewon Chang's study "Reexamining the Rhetoric of the Cultural Border" mentions that a cultural boundary refers to the presence of some kind

of cultural difference. Cultural boundaries are characteristics of all human societies, traditional as modern. A border is social construct that is political in origin. Across a border power exercised as in the political border between two nations. A cultural boundary connotes a barrier that a more powerful side constructs to guard to its own political power, cultural knowledge and privileges. The cultural border rhetoric is grounded in the essentialist view of culture. This view makes several assumptions regarding culture: (1) a culture is viewed as a bounded system which is separate and distinguishable from others, (2) a culture is expected to be homogeneous. (3) a culture is expected to be shared by members of society (Chang, 1997).

### **1.8.5: Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity**

Weber (1978) proposed a definition of ethnic groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both or because of memories of colonization and migration, this belief must be important for group formation, furthermore it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists. Anthropologically by an ethnic group we mean a hereditary group which defined by its members and others as a separate people sociologically, biologically and culturally (Marriott, 1958; cf Mondal, 2004). According to Cohn (1978) ethnicity is a series of nesting dichotomizations of inclusiveness. Ethnicity can be narrowed or broadened in boundary terms in relation to the specific needs of political mobilization. The concept 'ethnicity' ordinarily refers to certain quality or affiliation based on heredity as well as cultural consideration (Webster, 1967). Winik's Dictionary of Anthropology does not include any entry like ethnicity as such. Nevertheless there exists the term 'ethnic' having somewhat a restricted connotation, primarily referring to a group distinguishable by certain common cultural attributes. In recent years, ethnicity has emerged as an analytical tool in the social sciences. Etymologically, the term 'ethnicity' draws its origin from the term 'ethnic' that refers to community of physical and mental traits, possessed by the members of a group as a product of their common heredity and cultural tradition

(Danda, 1991). Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity which has been defined by Devos as consisting of the 'subjective, symbolic or emblematic use' by a group of people of any aspect of culture 'in order to create internal cohesion and differentiate themselves from other groups' (Paul, 1991).

### **1.8.6: Frontier and Frontier Villages**

Here the use of the term 'frontier' is significant. It is found that each village, district, country may have the frontier area and even each of the village, district, nation may be considered as frontier tract or area. Sometimes, it is stated that a frontier zone is an area between two social systems or entities. It is that geographical position at which opposite forces of expansion or resistance neutralize each other and become steady. It is also stated that the word 'frontier' has been derived from the Latin 'frons' (and more directly from the French 'front') meaning 'forehead', which is etymologically suggestive of 'that which is in front' designated an area which was part of a whole, specifically that part which was ahead of the hinterland. Hence, it is often called the foreland or border land, or March. The Russian equivalent of the English 'March' is 'Ukraina' and that of French is 'Marche' and that of German is 'mark', all meaning literally 'border land' or 'margin'. Intrinsically, the word 'frontier' is indicative of the "spearhead of civilization (Adhikari 1997). Sometimes it is said that a 'frontier tract' is a boundary or buffer region, which generally witnesses many migrations, aggressions and conquests. Generally such a frontier, with all its backgrounds of the past, has to adjust with historical upheavals and to respond to and to absorb every knock of the waves of changes due to circumstantial exigencies (Bhowmick (1976)). The term has also been used in wide sense. It is stated that the prime function of a frontier is to mark off one area from another, one state from another, and the people of one state from those of another. On this view, the great Himalayan range of mountains is a great divide – the natural demarcation between Central Asia and South Asia (Rahul 1970).

Frontier villages indicate the village located very near to border line. In this present study, the frontier villages include some villages located very near to the Indo-Nepal border line in Indian Territory.

### **1.8.7: Family-Nuclear, Joint, and Broken**

The term family is normally used to mean a primary social group. It is found that the family, the institution in society consists of one or more women living with one or more men and their children. It has socially approved sex relationship. The family is characterized by various rights and obligations. The nuclear family consists of a married man and women with their offsprings although in individual cases one or more additional persons may reside with them (Jha, 1994). A joint family indicates a group of closely related conjugal-natal families into a single property holding, residential group (Hoebel and Frost, 1979).

### **1.8.8: Illiterate people and Literate People**

It refers to those people without any formal or informal education. A literate person refers to those people who have formal education and it also includes the people without any formal education but is able to read and write.

### **1.8.9: Marriage-Monogamy and Polygyny**

Marriage is a domestic institution. It is defined as a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in case of the parties entering the union and in case of the children born of it (Westermarck, 1926). Monogamy is a prevalent form of marriage in all societies for the good reason that the sex ratio is approximately 1:1 and not 1:2. Polygyny is a form of marriage in which a man has more than one wife at a time. It is the prevalent form of marriage among the tribal and backward peoples, as among the Eskimos who live on hunting (Bhattacharyya, 1994).

### **1.8.10: Migration and Immigration**

Dictionaries generally refer to migration as a change of residence from one place to another. It is generally a movement of a person or persons involving a permanent change of residence. It is mentioned that migration is a form of population movement which in the course of cultural evolution follows dispersion. The participants are sufficiently advanced in economy, culture,

intelligence and geographical knowledge so that they are conscious of a true destination. The movement is planned, purposeful and deliberate. The movement is as rapid as the available means of transportation make possible.

Immigration is used to indicate a population movement between two countries on approximately the same culture area, the former being relatively older, more densely populated and less attractive politically, economically or socially; the latter being relatively sparsely populated with definite attraction in the way of economic opportunity or political, religious and social liberty. True immigration is voluntarily on the part of the migrants, and in the majority of cases is on private resources, although there is frequently state's support or subsidy of some sorts. True immigration always crosses a political boundary. A country of destination may be an independent state or colony (Henry, 1970).

#### **1.8.11: Plural Society**

It is found that there will be a region that was formerly inhabited by a particular community with their own social structure. Then the literate people by peaceful or forceful means established control over the region. A new social structure comes into existence and then undergoes development. There grows a new political and economic structure in which the literates exercise dominating influence. Societies of this kind would be called composite societies or plural societies (Brown, 1964).

#### **1.8.12: Primary Education and Secondary Education**

Primary Education refers to the level of formal education from 1st to 4th class. Secondary education refers to the level of formal education from 5th to 10th class.

#### **1.8.13: Religious Syncretism**

Religious syncretism exhibits blending of two or more religious belief systems into a new system or the incorporation into a religious tradition of beliefs from unrelated traditions. This can occur for many reasons and the latter scenario happens quite commonly in areas where multiple religious tradition exists in proximity and function actively in this culture, or when a acute is conquered and the conquerors bring their religious beliefs with them, but do not

succeed in entirely eradicating the old beliefs or especially practices. In modern secular society, religious innovations some times create new religions syncretically as a mechanism to reduce inter-religious tensions and enmity, often with the effect of offending the original religion in question. Such religions, however do not maintain some appeal to a less exclusive audience (Webster's Revised Unbridged Dictionary, 1913).

#### **1.8.14: Sex-Ratio**

The sex ratio refers to the number of the females per 1000 males in a given area at a specified time period (Census of India 2001).

#### **1.8.15: Social Dynamics**

According to Comtean point of view the concept of dynamics involves the theory of progress, the law of three stages and the inevitable evolutionary development or order. In short, social dynamics studies the law of succession (Comte, 1966). But in present study, the term social dynamics is used to mean the social change that refers to any modification in the social organization of a society in any of its social institutions or patterns of social roles.

#### **1.8.16: Social Structure, Social Institution and Social Organisation**

It is stated that social structure can be described as identifiable patterns of roles that are organized primarily around the fulfillment of social function or activity, for example educational structure refers to the cluster of roles organized around the function of transmitting culture and forming social personalities. Social system refers to a set of patterned relation among structural elements so that changes in one element set up pressures for adjustment or other type of change in remaining units (Smelser, 1967). Social structure is also defined as a continuing arrangement of persons in relationships defined or controlled by institutions, i.e. socially established norms or patterns of behaviour (Brown, 1960). Social institutions are generally patterns of norms that define behaviour in social relationship. They define how people ought to behave in social relationship. It is said that an institution is an organised system of social relationship which embodies certain common values and procedures.

and meets certain basic needs of the society (Horton and Hunt, 1964). Organisation generally indicates a process which differentiates one part from another in a functional sense and at the same time creates an integrated complex of functional relationship within the whole. Social organization is used to mean the organization of a society into sub-groups, including in particular, those based on differences in age, sex, friendship, occupation, residence, property, privilege, authority and status. (Henry, 1970).

### **1.8.17: Tribe**

According to the Royal anthropological Association of Great Britain and Ireland (1974), a tribe may be defined as a political or social coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory. Imperial Gazetteers of India mentioned that tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and usually endogamous though originally it might have been so (Hunter et al, 1907). Weber's (1958) definition of the term 'tribe' includes the following elements; a fixed territory, lack of occupational specialization, lack of social ranking, with reference to a larger community, presence of political association, presence of exogamous sibs but no clear cut endogamy of the tribe as a whole absence of commensality rules. US History of Encyclopedia (2009) indicates the tribe as group of indigenous persons, families, or clans believed to be descended from a common ancestor and forming a close-knit community under a defined leader, chief or ruling council.

### **1.8.18: Village**

The term "village" attracts and simultaneously denounces any legal definition. It discards to be delimited by either size or population criteria. In India officially stands for the area demarcated as a mouza meaning "parcel of ground with definite boundaries, for revenue purposes. Obviously, village, gram and gaon are synonymous terms which denote a cluster of houses including the surrounding land almost self-sufficient and usually grouped at a convenient site (Singh, 1994). The definition provided by the Census of India, the term "village" used here means an administrative unit that having a parcel of land the boundaries of which are defined, cluster of houses, or more than

one such cluster and bearing a distinctive place name. Oxford University Dictionary (vol. 2, p.204) defines village as a collection of dwelling houses and other buildings, forming a centre of habitation in a country, district and inhabited place larger than a hamlet and smaller than a town or having a simpler organization and administration than the latter. According to the Notes and Queries on Anthropology, 1960, p.64, a village has been defined as a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted. Sometimes it is called that the village settlement, as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity different from that of the kin, the caste and the class and plays a vital role as an agency of socialization and social control (Dube, 1955).

## **1.9: Research Methodology**

### **1.9.1: Research Design**

The design of this research has been formulated on the basis of nature of this project. The study area, the people i.e. the informants or respondents of this study and the tools and techniques for data collection have been decided as per aims and objectives of the work. The main purpose of this study is to gain insights and experiences on the problem.

This research has been carried out mainly on the basis of structural functional approach. It is purely an exploratory study with diagnostic outlook, in some cases. The approach of this study is purely an analytical one. The comparative method synchronic as well as diachronic over space and time has been adopted for understanding the present village social structure in North Bengal frontier areas and the changes therein. The data for the study have been gathered both from primary as well as from secondary sources. Various published and unpublished materials have also been consulted for knowing the frontier area, people etc in historical retrospect. While the empirical facts have been collected through intensive field investigation in two border villages of Darjeeling district in northern region of West Bengal. For data collection, field study was conducted. Both extensive and intensive methods were adopted for

field study. Primary and secondary data pertaining to various aspects of village communities were collected.

### **1.9.2: The Locale of the Study**

The study has grown out of field research in two villages in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The villages Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote are located very near to the Indo-Nepal border line. These two villages are located in Indian frontier areas of North Bengal in the state of West Bengal. Both the villages are consisted by multi-ethnic groups. The village Chhoto Dilsaram jote has the Rajbanshis, the Santals and other Hindu caste groups (i.e. Potters and Hindu agricultural caste). The village Dulal Jote is also formed by multi-ethnic groups. They are the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis, the Haris and the Lepchas. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, though the Rajbanshis are major group, their interaction is not limited within them only and at the same time in the village Dulal Jote though the Nepalese are major group; their interaction is also not limited within themselves only. Even the interaction is also not limited within the two villages, it exceeds the border line. Due to the nearness of the Indo-Nepal border line the changes in their social, cultural, economic, political life are happened. In this research emphasis on village studies has been given because village is the most important unit of sociological and anthropological investigation in rural areas. Although most of the primary data were collected from above mentioned villages, yet many observations were made in course of the study related to wider areas.

### **1.9.3: Data Sources**

In this study the used data have been collected from two sources. These are (1) Collection of Primary Data and (2) Collection of Secondary Data.

#### **1.9.3.1: Collection of Primary Data**

This study on frontier villages is based on data gathered from the field studies in two villages located in Indo-Nepal frontier area.

### **1.9.3.2: Collection of Secondary Data**

For this study some necessary secondary data have been collected from the published materials like books, research papers having direct and indirect bearing on the subject.

### **1.9.4: Field Work**

Field work on the two frontier villages located near the Indo-Nepal border line was conducted between November 2001 to January 2003. At the beginning a survey was made in all the households found in two villages. After that an intensive field work was made in 40 percent households. So far villages are concerned these were purposively taking into consideration. The size of the villages, existence of social groups etc are necessary for this research. While selecting the villages certain adjacent villages were also included for the sake of this study. In addition to these demographic social and infrastructural characteristics, the physical and locational features of the villages were also taken into consideration to study those details. Although most of the primary data have been collected from those two villages, yet, many observations were made in course of the study related to wider areas. But before the starting the field work or at the initial stage, I had to encounter some difficulties in doing field work. The main difficulty faced was to convince the people about the purpose of this research. To tackle the problem, I had to convince the people by stating the fact that the data obtained from them will not be shown to any other concern or individual and their secrecy shall be strictly maintained. They were also convinced by stating that the object of this study was not to submit the report to government or to any other organization but for the academic purpose, with these assurances the people's resistance was diluted to a considerable extent and they extended co-operation enthusiastically.

### **1.9.5: Field Experience and Problems**

It is here notable that people in the frontier areas are very suspicious about any outsider. This suspicion is more effective among the latter migrants. They fear that their migrant identity may be disclosed to government. Even some more times were spent to convince the local leaders of migrant people. But after being convinced they become very friendly to others. It is also observed that when I went to Panitaki market regularly. I took launch and tiffin

there in a hotel, some people who acted as carrier of illegal goods; they looked at me with hesitation and suspicion. Another experience I gathered from the field is that one day, a young boy who worked as goods carrier through the Mechi River came to me and said that a man of S.S.B (Special Service Bureau) has come to near a house where I was surveying. Even the boy said that the man may come to me to know about me and my purpose. Then I answered the boy I need the man of S.S.B for my interview purpose. Then the boy left me with the man S.S.B. Latter on I came to know that the man of S.S.B was not originally a government employee. The man of S.S.B was a friend of the boy. Actually it was a planned game to make me feared. However gradually I established the rapport with the villagers and that helped to me to conduct my field studies in a smooth manner.

#### **1.9.6: Selection of Informants**

Informations on population structure i.e., the number of social groups etc. of the selected villages were obtained from the village officials i.e. the members of the panchayat and also from the knowledgeable senior persons of the villages and other villages. The other necessary basic informations, the actual census were conducted in all the villages. Thus, the data were collected from every household of the selected villages. Out of the total households of each of the villages a sample of 40 percent were selected for intensive study. Stratified random sampling technique was adopted to select the households as well as the informants or respondents. Rough lists of the households of high and low socio-economic categories in each of the villages were prepared on the basis of census data. Proportionate to total figures in each category the required number of households and informants (respondents) were selected from all the villages. The objectivity was maintained while selecting the households as well as the informants. The head of the household was the respondents in almost all the cases excepting in a few cases where the next persons in rank were selected as the heads of households were away for some time. In this context some females were also selected as respondents.

To obtain relevant information necessary for this research, informants were selected from both the villages. The informants were chosen on the basis

of stratified random sampling technique to represent every section of the village community with particular reference to their socio-economic strata in the rural society. To select the informants, it was decided to depend on their sincerity and reliability for giving correct information, fair appreciation regarding the questions they were asked to answer and their capability to serve the proper and correct information. The informants were both males as well as females and they were of two types viz. key informants and occasional helpers. The key informants were used for furnishing most of the data on the basis of sets of questions framed for this research. While the occasional helpers were mostly used for checking and verification of the collected facts.

#### **1.9.7: Tools and Techniques of Data Collection**

The informations for the study were collected both from the primary and the secondary sources. The data about the village study, village social structure were gathered from published materials. The informations furnished by several officials in the context of various aspects of this study have been taken into consideration. The empirical facts were collected through intensive field work on two selected villages in the Indo-Nepal Frontier area of Darjeeling district in West Bengal. The primary data were collected through conventional anthropological tools and techniques, viz. census survey, interviews, case studies, collection of genealogy, group discussions and observations.

A census schedule was prepared for collecting basic demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the selected villages. To obtain comprehensive data, standard interview schedules were prepared. The interview was taken with the heads of the families mainly and sometimes it was taken with other senior educated persons of the families. Though, the questions were in English, the informants were interviewed in local languages like Rajbanshi, Bengali, and Nepali. Informations were also obtained through informal discussion from other members of the family and of the locality who voluntarily took part in discussion. Formal group discussions were also arranged for data collection. These data were supplemented by participant and non-participant observations during the field work. Cross checks were done in a limited way to ensure accuracy of the collected data. Bulk of the data, for this study were collected

through census survey, direct observations, case studies and by interviewing the selected informants with the help of structured interview schedules. Besides the villagers of the selected villages, some leaders, intellectual persons were interviewed separately for the purpose of this study.

The interviews were conducted by taking prior appointment with the informants or respondents. The interviews were conducted at the residences and sometimes at the places of work. On an average each interview took about one and a half hour depending on the type and nature of the informants. To get maximum cooperation and good response during the first 15-20 minutes only general issues were discussed and then the formal interview was followed. Informants who were absolutely illiterate or had very little education expressed some difficulty in reporting certain factual information. In their case interview took a longer period. Difficulties were also faced with regards to the accumulation of data relating to past generation because of lapse of memory and recall.

#### **1.9.8: Data Processing and Analysis**

The data collected through field study were processed after checking and editing carefully. In course of data processing the completeness and accuracy of data was looked pinpointly. Tabulation was done manually. Data were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Simple statistical methods consisting mostly of percentages were calculated. The analysis of qualitative data was made through systematic and analytical descriptions of the collected facts. In course of analysis methods of comparison has also been used. The data were finally organized into relevant chapters.

#### **1.9.9: Presentation of Data and Chapterization**

The material has been presented into eight chapters.

Chapter-1 is on Introduction which deals with the statement of the problem, review of literature, aims and objectives of the proposed study with research questions, hypotheses, significance of the study, theoretical perspectives, and some important concepts used for the present study and methodology.

Chapter- 2 is on Profile of The Border Villages under Study which shows the history of the Tarai region, socio-cultural and demographic features of the villages under study. It specially highlights the settlement pattern, house type, economic pursuits, transport and communication, medical facilities, foot-habits and dress- pattern, population structure by age and sex, family structure, marital status, occupation, education, migration and language.

Chapter-3 is on Economic Profile of The Border Villages under study which reveals agrarian structure, major and other economic activities, and agricultural practices like agricultural implements, use of manure and chemical fertilizers, use of improved seeds and pesticides, irrigation and crop-pattern of the villagers. Inter-generational occupational mobility and participation of women in economic activities is also highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter-4 is on Social Structure, Social Institution and Social Organization of The Border Villages which is concerned about the social structure, social stratification, and family in terms of size, composition, types, and its relation with occupation, income, land-holding and education. It analyses marriage in terms of age at marriage, marriage distance and selection of marriage. Kinship system and informal and formal village organization are also discussed here.

Chapter-5 is on Religious Practices, Fairs and Festivals in the villages under study- Social Interaction among the villagers and the People of Either Sides of The Border which outlines the discussion of fairs and festivals, gods and goddesses of the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese and the syncretic tradition of their religious and cultural traits.

Chapter-6 is on Border Villages-Identities and Problems. It mainly highlights some important attributes of the border villages, some major problems faced by the people living in the border villages and some case studies have also been discussed.

Chapter-7 is on The Changing Scenario of the Two Border Villages under study which deals with historical, social, cultural, political, economic and infrastructural changes occurred in this setting. Factors of changes have also been highlighted.

Chapter-8 is on Major Findings, Concluding Remarks and Recommendations. The tables are presented in the relevant chapters and references are presented at the end of all the chapters.

### **1: Limitations**

The study has some major limitations. Since the empirical study on Indo-Nepal frontier villages of Darjeeling district in North Bengal or in northern part of the State of West Bengal is undertaken for the first time, benefits of earlier research studies were not available. This study is a new vista to know the life in frontier villages in North Bengal. This is an exploratory study. Hence as an exploratory study, it has its own limitations. This study was made in two villages in Indo-Nepal Frontier areas and the observation drawn from this study can not be generalized too far covering the whole state and its outside, though the study provides broad clues about the social, economic, demographic features of frontier villages elsewhere in the state and the country as well.

## **CHAPTER - 2**

### **Profile of The Border Villages Under Study**

This chapter is devoted to know the physical, infrastructural and demographic attributes of the villages located in Indo-Nepal frontier area. More especially this chapter highlights the location of the villages, village resources, economic pursuits, infrastructural facilities, food habits, dress-pattern, population structure, sex-ratio, family pattern, marital status, and migration etc. of the villages. A note on the tarai region in Darjeeling district of West Bengal has also been delineated.

#### **2: A Note on Tarai-A Frontier Region in the District of Darjeeling in West Bengal**

Darjeeling district is formed by the hill and plain lands. Tarai region is a part of Darjeeling district. Here very few lines about Darjeeling hill and tarai region are given below. The term "Darjeeling" is a Tibeto-Mongoloid word and means the abode of the followers of "Vajrayana" Buddhism. There is a primitive monastery of "Ninga-ma-pa" sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It was a working zone of internecine conflicts of several Indo-Mongoloid tribes in the past and subsequently attracted the attention of British imperialist, who was trying to explore a trade-route from India to China through Tibet. Subsequently, it won the attention of tourists and now it is the most attractive Himalayan centre of scenic charm and serenity (Ojha, 1997).

The area which today is called Darjeeling district, previously some parts of it was under the rules of Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and East India Company. It is said that the district of Darjeeling formed a part of the dominions of the Raja of Sikkim. During the reign of Chador Namgyal (1700-1716), areas in the southeast were lost to Bhutan. Chador Namgyal was able to clear much of the country under Bhutanese occupation. In 1706 what is now Kalimpong and Rhenock was lost. Towards the end of the eighteenth century (1788-89) the Gorkhas of Nepal overran Sikkim as far as the Tista and annexed the Tarai.

After the termination of the Anglo-Nepalese War (1816) the tract which Nepal had wrested from the Raja of Sikkim was ceded to the East India Company. The Raja who had been driven out from his dominions was reinstated. In 1817 a treaty was concluded between the British and Nepal at Titalia by which the whole of the country between the Mechi and the Tista was restored to the Raja of Sikkim, whose sovereignty was guaranteed by the company. The boundary between Sikkim and Nepal was laid along the Mahanadi and the Mechi rivers and the Singalila ranges (Sen.1989).

Under the above treaty, the Raja was forced to refer to arbitration of the British Government, all disputes between his subjects and those of neighboring states. It is also found that this did not conform to the Sikkimese wishes and left large tracts of land still in the hands of Nepal and did not restore Sikkim territories around Titalia which the British acquired from the Gorkhas but kept to themselves (Chronicle, 1963).

After ten years of the treaty when boundary dispute arose between Nepal and Sikkim, then in 1828 Captain Lloyd and J.W. Grant were deputed to settle the dispute. They were impressed by the possibilities of Darjeeling spur as a centre which would engross all the trade of the country and as a position of great strategic importance commanding the entrance into Nepal and Bhutan and on military purpose (Malley, 1907).

Finally in 1834 when certain Lepcha malcontents who took refuge in Nepal made a raid on the tract ceded in 1817. General Lloyd was deputed by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General, to enquire into the causes of the Lepcha incursion from Nepal. He availed himself of this opportunity in obtaining a deed of grant dated 1 February 1835 executed by the Raja of Sikkim. The translation of the deed was worded as follows:

The Governor General having expressed his desire for the possession of the hill of Darjeeling on account of its cool climate for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government suffering from sickness, to avail themselves of its advantages, the Sikkimputti Raja, out of friendship to the said Governor General hereby present Darjeeling to the East India Company that is all the lands south of the Great Rangeet river, east of the Balasun, Kahail and

Little Rangeet rivers and west of the Rungo and Mahanadi rivers (Dash, 1947).

Thus, the whole district excepting the area now covering Kalimpong was a part of Bhutan before becoming a part of India. Darjeeling and the patch of territory connecting it with the plain were annexed in 1835 from Sikkim through a grant obtained from the Raja (Biswas, 1985).

The tarai portion was annexed when the relation between Sikkim and the East India Company deteriorated much, when in November 1849 Sir, Joseph Hooker and Dr. Campbell were made prisoners, while traveling in Sikkim with the permission of the Raja and the British Government. Various demands were made as conditions of release but the Sikkimese eventually released both prisoners unconditionally on the 24<sup>th</sup> December 1849. In February, 1850, a small punitive force entered Sikkim and remained in the north bank of the Great Rangeet River for a few weeks. But the serious punitive action was the withdrawal of grants of Rs. 6000/- from the Raja's and the annexation of the Tarai and the portion of the Sikkim hills bounded by Ramman and the Great Rangeet on the north, by the Teesta on the east and by the Nepal frontiers on the west. The area annexed was 640 square miles in extent (Bed Prakash, 1985).

But owing to constant violation of the treaty of Titalia by Sikkim in 1860 an expeditionary force first under Dr. Campbell and then under colonel Gawler with Ashley Eden as envoy was sent. In March 1861 a treaty was concluded at Tumlong, the then Capital of Sikkim. This treaty put an end to the frontier disturbance with Sikkim and helped the flow of commerce beyond the frontier. The area lying on the east of the river Teesta of which Kalimpong is a part was annexed much later in 1865. During early sixties, the British started having differences with Bhutan. In 1863 Sir Ashley Eden led a mission to Bhutan to settle differences, but his mission failed and he was forced to sign a document by which the British had to give up all claims to the Bhutan Duars and their proximate hill territories with Darjeeling district. Expeditions which met with little opposition were sent to Bhutan in 1864 and they were stopped in November 1865. When the treaty with Sir Ashley Eden was replaced by a new

one called the treaty of Sinchula. By this treaty the present sub-division of Kalimpong the Bhutan Duars and passes leading into the Bhutan hills were ceded to the British. Kalimpong transferred to Darjeeling in 1866 giving the district of Darjeeling its present shape (Biswas, 1985).

The district was included into the Rajshahi Division until October 1905, when it was transferred to the Bhagalpur Division. With the rearrangement of the Provinces it was retransferred to the Rajshahi Division in March 1912. The district, whose boundaries were undisturbed during the partition of Bengal in 1947, was tagged with the presidency division after independence. At present it is under the Jalpaiguri Division of West Bengal (Mitra, 1951).

The district was formerly a non-regulation district, that is to say, acts and regulations did not come into force unless they were specifically extended to the district. Darjeeling had no representative in the legislative council constituted under the Government of India Act 1919. The administration of the district was then vested in Governor-in-Council and expenditure of the internal administration of the district was not subject to the approval of the legislation under the Government of India Act 1935, the district was made a partially excluded area. Under the Sec 92 of the Act of the provincial or the Central legislature applied to it unless the Governor by public notification so directed. Until the formation of the Gorkha Hill Council, the district of Darjeeling, especially the three hill sub divisions of Darjeeling Sadder, Kurseong and Kalimpong enjoyed special status so far as developmental activities were concerned (Yasin, 1990).

Geographically, the Darjeeling district lies in the northern most part of North Bengal in West Bengal. On the north, the district is bounded by Sikkim, Bhutan in the north-east, and Jalpaiguri district in the east, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur, Bihar, Bangladesh in the south and Nepal in the west. The shape of the district is rather triangular with the northern boundary of the hill areas being almost three times the size of the southern boundary. Apart from the hill subdivisions of the district, the Siliguri sub-division spreads out into the plains. The district consists of a portion of the outlying hills of the lower

Himalayas and a stretch of territory lying along their base known as tarai (Datta, 2003).

It is found that the population of Darjeeling is exceedingly heterogeneous. The majority of the people in the hills are of Mongolian origin, belonging chiefly to various Nepalese castes, but also including a large number of Lepchas, Bhotias and Tibetans. Together with this hill men are found the denizens of the plains, who have been attracted to the hills by the prospect of easily acquired wealth, the Madesias held in great contempt by the Stalwart Nepalese. Among them are Marwari merchants, the Jews of the Himalayas, Bengali clerks, Hindustani Mechanics, Punjabi traders and even Chinese carpenters. In the Tarai the mixture of races is equally great. Here the aboriginal Koches or Rajbanshis as they prefer to call themselves, are most numerous; numbering 29,460. But no less than 52 percent of the inhabitants were born elsewhere, and the Mundas and Oraons from Chotanagpur and the Santals from the uplands of the Santal Parganas have strength of nearly 14,000 (O'Malley, 1907). He also stated that the ancient form of organization which elsewhere dominates rural life is here unknown; and its absence makes us feel that when we enter the Tarai, we have passed the former limits of India and are entering upon those of the Mongolian race.

The linguistic scene of Darjeeling is very interesting. Here the smaller linguistic groups like Newari, Gurung, and Limbu etc have not merged with the dominant language of the state i.e. Bengali but with the official language of their state of origin viz., Nepali. Nepali or khas Kura is the language of the eastern Pahari group of the Indo-Aryan sub-family. But most of the languages it observed belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Even the autochthon Lepchas whose mother tongue is Rong-Ring-a sub-group of Tibeto-Chinese family has identified themselves with the Nepalese (Chaklader, 1972). According to Malley (1907), Darjeeling contains a polyglot population. In the hills Nepali, Hindi, and in the Tarai, Bengali are spoken by a great majority of the inhabitants, but there are a great number of other languages current." He also said that the plainsmen who have made their homes in Darjeeling speak Hindustani, while in Tarai tea gardens Oraon, Mundari and Santali are spoken by the coolies from the Chota Nagpur plateau.

The early settlers managed their living in this region by fighting against several adversities. The people had their indigenous methods and materials for house building to protect themselves from the killing by wild animals. Thus they made this region suitable for human settlement. According to Malley (1907), there is however, one race which inhabits this sickly region with comparative immunity the aboriginal Meches; and the Rajbanshis were also to certain extent free from fever, largely owing to their clearing away the rank jungles round their homesteads to the high platforms on which they erect their huts. Gradually, the district has become an important place of migration. The people have come from some other countries like Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh etc. Some have come from other states like Bihar, Sikkim etc and some have come from other districts like Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri and from some districts of South Bengal. Malley also said that almost all the people in Darjeeling district are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. In this connection Chaklader points out that the major cause of immigration was the employment opportunity created by the tea industry. Besides this, the increase of communication facilities, opening the railway between Siliguri and Darjeeling in 1881, the construction of hydroelectric power plant opening the schools for the Europeans and Anglo-Indians the utilization of forest resources etc, resulted in a large number of immigration from Nepal, Sikkim, Bihar, and Bangladesh. The British Government had also induced the Nepali cultivators to immigrate and cultivate fallow land given to them free. The Bengali immigrants who are generally settled in Tarai are mostly refugees uprooted from erstwhile East Pakistan.

Darjeeling district covers an area of 3149.00 sq.km, and out of which 30.77 sq.km are rural and 75.23 sq.kms are urban. Presently it has 12 blocks and out of which 8 blocks is situated in three hill sub-divisions and only four C.D. blocks are in Siliguri sub-division which formerly was known as Tarai Sub-division.

According to Chatterjee (1997), the East India Company first formed the Tarai subdivision with head quarters at Hanskura. At a later period, some portions from Jalpaiguri district (formerly Rongpur) were annexed to it and the name of the sub-division changed from Tarai sub-division to Siliguri sub-

division, with the headquarters at Siliguri in 1907. In whole Darjeeling district, there are 708 villages under 134 panchayats and the Siliguri sub-division has 366 villages under 22 panchayats. Within the Siliguri or Tarai sub-division, the block-wise distribution of the villages is as follows; The Matigara CD block has 79 villages, and Naxalbari CD block, Phansidewa CD block and Kharibari block have 98, 113 and 76 villages respectively. The sex ratio of the district is higher than the state and the country. The sex ratio of the district is 943 whereas the State, West Bengal and India have sex ratios 934 and 933 per thousand respectively. In the district the rural and urban sex ratios are 956 and 917. The literacy rate of the district is highest among other districts in North Bengal. Even it overtakes the literacy rate of the State of West Bengal and India. The literacy rate of the district is 72.87, whereas the literacy rates of West Bengal and India are 69.22 and 65 respectively. The rural and urban literacy rates of the district are 66.92 and 84.63 respectively (Census, 2001).

## **2.1: Village-*Chhoto Dilsaram Jote***

### **2.1.1: Physical and Infrastructural characteristics of the village**

#### **2.1.1.1: Location**

The village, Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is located in the west end of Siliguri Sub-division of Darjeeling district in the State of West Bengal. It lies between 26°31' and 27°13' north latitude and between 87°50' and 85°53' east longitude. This village is included in Gandogal Mouza (J.L.No.3) and the village is under jurisdiction of the Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayat and the Kharibari police station. The village is very adjacent to the Indo-Nepal Border line which covers the western side of the village. The history of origin of the village is known quite little. Only some of the local people say that previously there was one village named Dilsaram. The name is originated from the name of a local jotedar, Dilsaram Das. He had two sons. These two sons lived in the same village when Dilsaram Das was alive but after the death of Dislaram Das the two sons fragmented the village into two parts. The southern part where elder brother with his family members lived is known as Bara Dilsaram and the

northern part where the younger brother with his family members lived are known as Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Presently some of the descendants of the early settlers with latter settlers lived in the village. The size of the village is not large. It covers 85 acres of lands. But the village is surrounded by many other villages like Dulal Jote village which covers the northern and the eastern part; Bara Dilsaram lies in the southern part of the village. There is not a natural or man-made boundary line among the villages and the villagers of one village interact with villagers of other to meet their necessities. The Mechi River which marks the border line between India and Nepal is flowing in the western part of the village from north to south. The Naxalbari forest is located very near to the village towards north-east side.

#### **2.1.1.2: Village Resources**

The amount and the variety of the resources of the village are presently very short listed. It is because; the people living in the village have destroyed a larger quantity of resources. Presently no forest is found in this village. Here land is the main resource. The people produce a variety of vegetables like bringal, potato, cabbage, tomato, chilly, jute, rice wheat etc. Beside it the village has some trees like mango, guava, betel nut, banana etc. It is already mentioned that the village is located very near to the Mechi River. The individuals use the water of the river through a canal which passes in the middle portion of the village. The villagers use the water for agricultural lands. Beside it the village is located very near to the Naxalbari forest. From the forest the villagers bring some materials like fuel-woods, fruits etc.

#### **2.1.1.3: Settlement Pattern**

Generally it is found that the groups in traditional villages were divided into several enclaves which follow a definite arrangement. There the caste identity played the prime factor in shaping the distribution of the residential houses. Each separate enclave was identified by the name of the caste group living therein. The high caste and the prosperous sections of the peasants usually lived at the centre while the low castes lived at the periphery. According to Hiramani (1977) in the villages in Maharashtra the term 'Wada' besides referring to a spacious house, is often used to refer to the whole

residential area of a particular caste by using it as suffix to the caste name, such as Mahar-Wada, Mang-Wada which mean the residential areas of Mahars and Mangs respectively. The residential area of the Brahmans likewise is called as Brahma Wada, of the Dhors as Dhor-wada. In Golatgaon, a few residential areas of the Maratha landlords are known after the leading persons of the clan. They are as under: (i) the police Patil Wada - residential area of the police Patil and his kinsmen, (ii) the Mali-Patil Wada - the residential area of the Mali Patil and his Kinsmen, and so on .

The settlement pattern of the village Chhoto Dilsaram does not follow a particular pattern. The houses are scattered in both sides of the village path. In most of the cases the houses are attached with agricultural land. Categorically, the settlement pattern is more or less similar with lineally-clustered type. Three communities live in the village. They are the Rajbanshis, the Santals and other Hindu caste groups. Hence, the houses of the Rajbanshis are scattered in different parts of the village in one hand, and on the other hand, the houses of other Hindu caste groups and the Santals are largely concentrated in a particular portion of the village. The Santals live in the middle place of the village. The residential arrangement is regulated by the availability of lands not by the caste or community-identity. Even the occupations held by these groups do not differentiate much. But variations are looked in making their houses or in using the materials. Some of the Rajbanshis and other Hindu caste groups have made houses by using the combination of tins, woods and cements, but most of the Santals have made their houses using combination of straw, bamboo etc.

#### **2.1.1.4: Economic Pursuits**

The economic structure of the village is not confined to the traditional occupations only. It is characterized by multi-occupations. These occupations are agriculture, agricultural labour, business, government service, rickshaw pulling, and some other callings like work at bus syndicate, maruti and truck driving, circus showing etc. Till now the agriculture plays the major role in the occupational structure found in this village. It is found that the Rajbanshis living in this village are mainly found in agriculture, agricultural labour, and rickshaw pulling. Rickshaw pulling plays an important role in occupational structure of

the Rajbanshis living in this village. Very few persons of this community are associated with work at bus syndicate, and driving. The second largest community of this village is the Santals. The occupational structure of the community is characterized by agriculture and agricultural activities mainly. Very few of them work as wage labour. Actually they work as tea garden labour in nearby tea estate. The other Hindu caste groups living in this village is depended on agriculture and business mainly. All the communities have dependence on agriculture.

#### **2.1.1.5: Transport and Communication**

The village is located very near to the state highway. The highway passes through the eastern part of the village. It passes from the north to south direction. The distance between the village and the highway is near about 0.5 km. The villagers get buses mostly after the interval of half an hour. Besides, the state highway, another metalled road parallel with high way, passes very near to the village. From this metalled road, villagers enter into their village by a kachcha road. The kachcha road is not motorable, but rickshaw and small size four wheelers like maruti van can play. The village road creates some problems during rainy season.

The villagers can easily achieve the bus facility to reach other market places like Panitanki market, Naxalbari market, and Batabasi hut (weekly market) and Siliguri town etc. Cycle is used as an important means of transportation of sellable and purchasable commodities to their local markets. Four families have motor bikes which are recently purchased. Electricity connection is in gradual increase in this village. Here 30 out of 71 families have electricity connection.

The Naxalbari railway station is located at a distance of nearly 8 kms towards the north of the village. The railway also passes parallel with state highway very near to the village. The railway can directly reach people to Siliguri in the east and Bihar in the south of the village. The Bagdogra Airport is located at the distance of nearly 15 km in the north-east side of the village. The villagers can reach another nation (i.e. Nepal) by bus, cycling and walking also. Even, they go to Nepal by crossing the Mechi River during whole year

except rainy season. Many of the villagers enjoy modern communicative facilities. Seven families have Television and six families keep Bengali News paper in their houses. Many families have mobile phones. Some of the villagers read news paper at tea-shops in market places like Panitanki market, Dudh gate more etc and even some of them receive telephone-message from the telephone of nearby village. The villagers correspond to their letters through the post office located at nearby village. This village has no telephone booth within its boundary. But some villagers use telephone from Panitanki market. There are three telephone booths in the village. There is only one grocery shop in the village. The shop is very small in size. The shop keeps some daily useful goods like rice, wheat, chocolates, biscuits, bidi, matches, etc and other items useful for school children like exercise books, pen, pencils etc.

#### **2.1.1.6: Village Market-Daily and Weekly**

There is no market found in this village. But the village is located very near to two important daily markets. One of the two markets is the Panitanki and other one is Naxalbari market. The Panitanki market is a place where both the local and foreign goods are available. The people of Indian side and Nepal side are assembled in this market. The hotels, grocery shops, vegetable shops, tea shops and many other shops of stationary goods are found in this market. It is found that the people of Nepal side come to this market to purchase the vegetables mainly. It is said that the price of vegetables in different markets in Nepal side is very higher than the price of vegetables found in this market. During whole day many other mobile shops like small vegetable shops other than stationary shops are assembled in this market. The villagers sometimes go to the Naxalbari market. The market is much bigger in size than the Panitanki market. In terms of having the shops the market is very larger than the Panitanki market.

Besides these two markets the villagers sell and purchase their goods through a weekly market (i.e. Batasir hat). The market is also located near to the village. The market has very few stationary shops. Here a large number of shops are transitory in nature. The market is held twice in a week. It is held on Saturday and Tuesday. Through the market the villagers sell and purchase

various goods like food stuffs, cloths, vegetables, foot wears, fish and meat etc. The people of different castes, and communities like the Rajbanshis, the Nepalese, the Santals and others are assembled in this market. Even some people of Nepal side come to this market to purchase goods and sell. The people of Nepal side come with the shops of cosmetics, betel-nuts and leaf for selling in this market.

#### **2.1.1.7: Educational Facilities**

The villagers living in this village enjoy some educational facilities for the education of their children. For the primary education the villagers send their children to Dilsaram Jote Primary School. The school is situated in the northern part of the village. The school covers a land nearly 15 kata. The land with a tin planted room was donated by Lohar Sing, a man of the Rajbanshi community. Presently expansion of the school has been done and pucca walls are erected. Three teachers teach the students of this school. The teachers are outsiders to this village. One comes from Siliguri area and two come from Naxalbari market area. It is found that some of the children of the village take admission in other nearby schools like Batasi Shastriya High School, Shyamdhan Jote High School, and Krishna Kanta High school at Adhikari Bari, Kharibari High School, and Naxalbari Nanda Prasad High School nearby Naxalbari Market etc. Only one male student belonged to the Rajbanshi community is admitted at Siliguri College with Bengali Honours.

#### **2.1.1.8: Post Office**

Post office is one of the important means of communications to the villagers living in this village. The villagers of this village corresponds their letters through a post office located at Dulal Jote. It is informed that the villagers communicate both the private and official letters through this office. The post office is located very adjacent to this village. It is also informed that the peon serves the villagers very fast.

#### **2.1.1.9: Medical Facilities**

Disease and treatment are the universal features of human society. But the knowledge about the disease and the methods of treatment vary from group

to group and society to society. In case of rural areas, traditionally it is found that during illness, the villagers, specially the so called lower castes, do not go for any treatment for the first few days and watch its course. Later on if there is aggravation, they consult the local Ayurvedic Physician who prescribes medicinal herbs or roots. In complicated cases, the Gunin or magicians are also called for treatment. The Gunin suggests the probable cause of the disease, such as, influence of malevolent spirits hovering round the locality. He performs certain ceremonies. Sometimes he applies magical 'puffs' into the ears of the diseased man in order to ward off the supposed evil influence of the witch or spirit (Bhowmick, 1976). The villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote are not free from the diseases and the method of treatment is not completely traditional. It is found that in the village, 38 or 10.52 percent people suffer from different diseases like diarrhea, headache, body pain, fever, tuberculosis, discentry, malaria and some other diseases which affect the functioning of stomache, eyes, heart etc. This is also found that the people of the Rajbanshis and the Santals have much resisting capability against the diseases and they are not much careful about some of these diseases like fever, cough. Even in these cases, some of them do not disclose it and they become cured automatically. But other Hindu caste groups are more careful about diseases. When some of the villagers become ill by any serious disease, they take treatment from two hospitals located nearby to the village. One hospital is located in Naxalbari market at a distance of 10 kms towards the north and another hospital is located in the Kharibari market at a same distance towards the south east of the village. Besides these, the villagers consult with the homeopathic, allopathic, Aurvedic doctors with their medicine shops available in the Panitanki market located very near i.e. near about 2 kms to the village. In this village, there is no primary health centre. The villagers take treatment from a health centre located at Bata sir market. Besides these, there is a Non-Government Organization named Bhoruka located nearby the village. The workers of the NGO help the villagers in different ways. Sometimes they organize health camp nearby the village, and they also provide some medicine to the villagers without cost. In this village very few people believe in magical rites of the Ojhas, or Gunin. The kabiraji is not given much importance.

### **2.1.1.10: Sources of Drinking Water, Sanitation and Drainage System**

The villagers take water from wells and tube wells. In the village there are six wells and two tube wells. Except one well, all the wells and tube wells are given by government. Water obtained from the wells and tube-wells are used in various purposes like drinking, bathing, cooking, washing and religious activities. Sometimes, a few families wash their clothes with water of canal which passes in the eastern part of the village. The villagers are not very less careful about the purification of water. The use of germicides- like bleaching powder, etc is also observed. The location of the wells and tube-wells are as follows, one well is located in the northern part of the village. It is placed in the field of the primary school so the water can be used for the school children as well as other people. The people belonging to the Rajbanshi, other Hindu caste, use the water from this well. Another well is located in front of a Rajbanshi house and water is used by all the people living nearby the houses. Two wells are placed very near to the Santal houses. Wells are located beside the village path. The Santals use the water of the two wells mainly. Another two wells are placed very near to the Rajbanshi houses. It is informed that few years back the non-tribal people did not use water of the wells placed in Santal areas. It is stated that the Santals were not careful about the use of wells and some of their children would throw garbage into the wells. Presently this problem is overcome due to their gradual increase of consciousness about the use of wells and also due to increase the number of wells nearby. The villagers are not satisfied with the present number of wells and tube-wells. The use of latrine is very limited. In the village, only ten families have latrines. There is not a proper drainage system found in the village. During rainy season, the canal is used to carry garbages. It carries the garbages to some distant place from the household. Almost all the houses have very small size pits nearby their houses. They keep the garbages in the pits whole year. Beside it, a small pit is also found nearby the wells or tubewells. Sometimes, the disposed water is given to agriculture land by making a small drain.

### 2.1.1.11: House Type

The houses found in the Chhoto Dilsaram Jote are mainly kuchcha in type. In this village nine (9) houses are semi pucca. The floors, walls are made by cement materials and the roofs are constructed with tin plates with other materials. Here only two (2) houses are two stairs. The lower part of the room is used for keeping various household materials and sometimes a portion of the room is used for cooking purpose. Here fifty two (52) houses are kuchcha in type. The walls of the houses are made with a systematic combination of straw, bamboo, rope etc. Even some walls are made with muddy materials. The roofs of the kuchcha houses are made with a systematic combination of tin plates, bamboos. In this village the houses of the Rajbanshis are mainly kuchcha in type. And the houses of the Santals are made with muddy materials. The walls are made with a systematic combination of straw, bamboo, and rope mainly. The roofs of very few houses are made with tin plates. In this village, the houses of other Hindu caste are semi pucca in type. In this village, half pucca houses are new to the villagers. Thatched houses are also being modified. The roofs of some kuchcha houses are covered by tin plates.

### 2.1.1.12: Dress-Pattern

In case of dress-pattern, all the communities living in the villages are very much similar. During the time of festival they (basically the women and children) wear new and beautiful dresses with ornaments when they go out to enjoy fair. Normally the males wear pants, shirts, t-shirts, jackets, gamcha (i.e. towel), dhuti, lungis etc. and the married females wear shari, nighty, *chandar* (i.e. sheet of cloth to cover upper portion of body). Very few old widows of the Rajbanshi community wear patani (i.e. a sheet of cloth to cover a larger portion of body). The unmarried females wear frocks; churidar, two-parts, Shari etc. and the unmarried male children wear half-pants, shirts, t-shirts, ganji (i.e. Guernsey). The use of *dhuti* has been very limited. Only some old men use *dhuti* when they go to markets and the house of their relatives. Many Santhas males even old man wear half pants. In this village, the use of T-shirts, Jackets, Lungis, Nighty, Churidar etc. are new to the traditional dress-pattern of the villagers living in this village.

### 2.1.1.13: Food-Habits

Food habit among the villagers is very simple. It is informed that some of the Rajbanshis previously would take *Dahi-chura* (i.e. curd and flat rice) as breakfast and they would take rice thrice daily. They had not the habit of taking tea. Even they were not interested in taking biscuits. Presently, most of the Rajbanshis take rice twice daily. In the morning, they take tea, chura (i.e. flat rice), muri (fried-rice), chal-bhaja (i.e. fried rice), ruti (i.e. bread made of wheat), biscuit etc. In day time they take rice with vegetables. Sometimes, they take fish, meat, and at night they take rice with vegetables. Very few families having old persons take ruti (i.e. bread) at night. Many of the Rajbanshi families take some special food items occasionally. They take sweets, hospos, banana, milk, meat, fish etc. Some of the Rajbanshis take hariya, and some foreign liquor. Here, the rickshaw pullers take these things secretly. The members of their family do not know it openly. Some of the Rajbanshis have the habit of smoking of bidi, and cigarette. Some of them take kaini also. Most of the Rajbanshi children are very much interested to have chawmin and momo and they take those food-items at Panitanki market. The food-habit of the Santals is also very simple. They normally take rice thrice daily. Sometimes they take muri or chalbhaja (i.e. fried rice), ruti (i.e. bread), etc. In the morning and evening most of the families take salt tea. They also take chullu (i.e. locally made liquor) and they take meat of pig, hens and fish etc, during occasions. Here the *hariya*, foreign liquor, smooking cigarette, momo, chawming, biscuits etc. are new to the traditional foot habits of the people living in this village.

### 2.1.2: Basic Demographic Attributes of the Village

Demographic features are mainly to study the people in terms of age category, sex category, marriage, occupation, migration etc. To know the demographic features of this village analysis is made on the population in terms of age and sex categories, family structure, marital status, occupational status, educational status, migrational status and linguistic status of the people living in this village.

### 2.1.2.1: Population -Age and Sex Distribution

In this village the number of adult or active people is higher than others like children and old persons. The number of males and females of active or adult age is more or less equal. Table no.2.1 shows the people of the village on the basis of age categories. The village has 72 or 19.54 percent population under the age category of 1-6 years old and out of which 33 or 45.80 percent are males and 39 or 54.17 percent is female. Among the Rajbanshis 49 or 18.78 percent population is under this category and out of which the number of males is 22 or 37 percent and the number of female is 27 or 63 percent. In case of other Hindu caste groups, the number of persons under this category is 4 or this category occupies 16.67 percent in which the numbers of males and females are equal. Among the Santals, the number of persons under this category is 19 which occupy 25 percent in this community. Here the number of males is 9 and the number of females is 10. The number of persons under the age category of 7-14 years is 85 or which occupies 23.55 percent in the village. The male member under this category is 44 or 51.76 percent and the number of females is 41 or 48.24 percent. Among the Rajbanshis the number of persons under this category is 62 or 23.75 percent in which the number of males is little lower than the females. In case of other caste groups the number of the persons under this age category is 7 which occupies 29.17 percent and in which the number of males is higher than the females. In case of the Santals, the number of persons is 16 or which occupies 21 percent in this community. Here the number of males is higher than the females.

In the village 51 or 14.12 percent people are belonged to the age category of 15-22 years old. Here the number of male is 24 or 47.05 percent and the number of females is 27 or 52.95 percent in the total population under this category. Among the Rajbanshis, the number of the people under this age category is 39 persons or 15 percent, in which the number of male is 19 or 48.70 percent and the number of females is 20 or 51.30 percent. In case of other caste groups, the number of the persons under this age category is 2 or 8.3 percent in which the numbers of male and females are equal.

In the village the number of people under the age category of 23-50 years old is 124 or 34.35 percent in which the number of male is 64 or 51.61 percent and the number of females is 60 or 48.39 percent. Among the Rajbanshis, 91 or 34.90 percent people are categorized under this age group in which the numbers of males and females are more or less equal. In case of other caste groups, the number of the persons under this age category is 8 or 33.33 percent, in which the number of male is 5 or 62 percent and the number of females is 3 or 38 percent. The Santals have 25 or 32.89 percent population under this age-category in which the numbers of male and females are more or less equal.

In the village, the peoples under the age category of 51-60 years old are not totally depended on other family members. Their number is 11 or 03.04 percent in which the number of male is 5 or 45.45 percent and the number of females is 6 or 54.55 percent. Among the Rajbanshis the number of people under this age category is 6 or 2.30 percent in which the number of males is 2 and the number of females is 4. The other caste groups have not a single people under this age category. Among the Santals, the person under this age category is 5 in which the number of male is higher than the females.

In the village the number of the people under the age category of more than 60 years old is 18 or 5.0 percent in which the number of male is much higher than the females. Same trend is followed among the Rajbanshis. In this community 14 or 5.36 percent person is under this category and out of which the number of male is 11 or 78.57 percent and the number of females is only 3 or 21.43 percent. Among the other caste groups, the number of people under this age category is 3 or 12.5 percent in which the number of male is lower than the females. In case of the Santals they have only one male under this age category. Finally it can be stated that the number of people having age between 15 to 50 years is very high in this village.

**Table no.2.1: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Age.**

Age&Sex	Communities			
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik) (%)	Total (%)
1 - 6 yrs				
M	09	22	02	33 (45.83)
F	10	27	02	39 (54.17)
T	19 (25.00)	49 (18.78)	04 (16.67)	72 (19.54)
7 - 14 yrs				
M	10	30	04	44 (51.76)
F	06	32	03	41 (48.24)
T	16 (21.05)	62 (23.75)	07 (29.17)	85 (23.55)
15 - 22 yrs				
M	04	19	01	24 (47.05)
F	06	20	01	27 (52.95)
T	10 (13.16)	39 (14.94)	02 (8.33)	51 (14.12)
23 - 50 yrs				
M	13	46	05	64 (61.61)
F	12	45	03	60 (48.39)
T	25 (32.89)	91 (34.86)	08 (33.33)	124 (34.35)
51 - 60 yrs				
M	03	02	00	05 (45.45)
F	02	04	00	06 (54.55)
T	05 (6.58)	06 (2.30)	00	11 (03.04)
Above 60 yrs				
M	01	11	01	13 (72.22)
F	00	03	02	05 (27.78)
T	01 (1.35)	14 (5.36)	03 (12.50)	18 (5.00)
Average (in '00)	76(100)	261(100)	24(100)	361(100)

### 2.1.2.2: Sex-Ratio

The population structure of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote presents pluralistic character and the number of males is higher than females. The table no.2.2 shows that the population of the village is divided into two broad categories. They are tribals and non-tribals. The tribals include the Santals and the non-tribals include the Rajbanshis, and other caste groups. The number of village population is 361 persons and out of which the number of males is 183 or 50.7 percent and the number of females is 178 or 49.8 percent. Hence the number of males is slightly higher than the females. The sex ratio of the village is 972 (per 1000). In the village, the Rajbanshis are numerically largest in number than other communities. The number of the Rajbanshis is 261 persons or they occupy 72.30 percent in the existing population structure. The number of males is lesser than females. The number of males is 130 or 49.90 percent, and the number of females is 131 or 50.10 percent. The sex-ratio in this community is 1007 (per 1000) which is higher than the village sex ratio. The number of other caste groups is 24 persons or they occupy 6.65 percent in the existing population structure. In this community, the number of males is higher than females. The number of males is 13 or 54 percent and the number of the females is 11 and 46 percent. The sex ratio is 846 (per 1000) which is lower than the village sex ratio. The second largest community in the village is the Santals. The number of Santals is 76 or they occupy 21.05 percent in the village population structure. In this community, the number of males is higher than the females. The number of males is 40 or 52.6 percent and the number of females is 36 or 47.40 percent. The sex-ratio is 900(per 1000) which is lower than the village sex-ratio. Therefore it can be said that the sex-ratio in this village is quite high.

**Table no. 2.2: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Sex.**

Sex	Communities			Total (%)
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik) (%)	
Male	40 (52.60)	130 (49.90)	13 (54.00)	183 (50.76)
Female	36 (47.40)	131 (50.10)	11 (46.00)	178 (49.30)
Total	76 (100)	261 (100)	24 (100)	361 (100)

### 2.1.2.3: Family Structure

Family is one of the most important social organizations of human society. It is a primary unit of society. In this village, family structure is mainly characterized by nuclear family though it has some other types of families. From the table no.2.3 it is found that in the village, 57 or 80.28 percent out of 71 families are nuclear and only 9 or 12.68 percent families are joint. Here only 5 or 7.04 percent families out of 71 families are broken.

The table also shows that the number of nuclear families is very high among all the communities living in the village. In case of the Rajbanshis, it is found that the Rajbanshis live in 54 families, and out of 54 families 44 or 81.40 percent families are nuclear and 6 or 11.11 percent families are joint. Only 4 or 7.4 percent out of 54 families are broken. The number of the nuclear families is also higher among the Santals. In this community, 10 or 76.93 percent families are nuclear and 2 or 15.38 percent families are joint. Only one (1) or 7.69 percent family is broken. Among other caste groups, it is found that 3 or 75 percent people live in nuclear families. Therefore, it can be concluded that the nuclear family is the dominant pattern in this village.

**Table no.2.3: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Family Types.**

Communities	Types of Families			Total (%)
	Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Broken & incomplete (%)	
Santals	10 (76.93)	02 (15.38)	01 (7.69)	13 (76.06)
Rajbanshis	44 (81.40)	06 (11.11)	04 (7.4)	54 (18.31)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	03 (75.00)	01 (25.00)	00	04 (5.63)
Total	57 (80.28)	09 (12.68)	05 (7.04)	71 (100)

#### 2.1.2.4: Marital Status

Marriage is an important social institution to understand the social status of villagers. In this village, the number of unmarried persons is higher than the number of married and widow and widower persons. Table no.2.4 shows the people of the village by categorizing as married, unmarried, widow and widower. In this village, out of the total population 154 or 42.66 percent are married in which the numbers of the Rajbanshis, other caste groups and the Santals are 116 or 75.32 percent, 10 or 6.50 percent and 28 or 18.18 percent respectively. The number of unmarried people is 190 or 52.63 percent which include 132 or 69.47 percent Rajbanshis, 11 or 5.79 percent other caste groups and 45 or 23.64 percent Santali people. The village has 8 or 2.22 percent widow people and out of which the number of the Rajbanshi widow is 5 and the number of widows among other caste groups and the Santals are 2 and 1 respectively. In the village, the number of widowers is 11 or 3.49 percent which include 8 of the Rajbanshis, 1 of other caste groups and 2 of the Santals.

From the table it is observed that the number of unmarried persons is higher than the married persons. It indicates the higher age at marriage of unmarried peoples. Here the gradual introduction of dowry, necessity of education and economic insufficiency lead this situation. And the villagers normally respect their widows or widowers. The widows and widowers play their role in domestic works and even sometimes some of them take part in outside work. Some of them have land-ownership also.

The more or less similar situation is found among all the communities living in this village. In case of the Rajbanshis the number of unmarried persons is higher than the married persons. The number of unmarried people is 132 or 69.47 percent. Among other caste groups, the number of unmarried persons is slightly higher than the married persons. The number of unmarried persons is 11 or 5.79 percent and the number of married persons is 10 or 6.50 percent. In case of the Santals the number of unmarried persons is also higher than the married persons. The number of unmarried persons is 45 or 23.64 percent and the number of married persons is 28 or 18.18 percent. The village does not show any instance of separated or divorced person. Finally, it can be stated that the number of the unmarried people is higher than the number of married people and there is not a single instance of divorced and separated person is found in this village.

**Table no.2.4: Distribution of the Population of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Marital Status.**

Status	Communities			
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik) (%)	Total (%)
Married				
M	14	58	05	77
F	14	58	05	77
T	128 (18.18)	116 (75.32)	10 (6.50)	154 (42.66)
Unmarried				
M	25	67	06	98
F	20	65	05	92
T	45 (23.64)	132 (69.47)	11 (5.79)	190 (52.63)
Widow	01 (12.50)	05 (62.50)	02 (25.00)	08 (2.22)
Widower	02. (18.18)	08 (72.73)	01 (9.09)	11 (3.49)
Total	76 (21.05)	261 (72.30)	24 (6.65)	361 (100)

### 2.1.2.5: Occupation-Primary and Secondary

In the village, economic life of the people is characterized by occupational diversification. The family members are mainly engaged in the following occupations like agriculture, agricultural labour, rickshaw pulling, business, government service and some other occupations like truck-driving, maruti driving, masonry, circus showing, works at petrol pump etc as primary as well as secondary occupation. Here it is very difficult to identify the secondary occupations of the villagers separately. All the members of a family do not depend on a particular occupation. In case of agricultural family it is found that some members of the family earn from business and some earn from service. Table no.2.5 shows that the villagers are distributed among the 71 families and out of which the Rajbanshis have 54 or 76.05 percent, other caste groups have 4 or 5.63 percent and the Santals have 13 or 18.32 percent families. In the village, all the communities depend on agriculture. Here 34 or 47.89 percent families depend on agricultural labour which includes some of the families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals. Rickshaw pulling is accepted as main occupation by 10 or 14.08 percent families which include some of the Rajbanshi families only, 2 or 2.81 percent families depend on business which is found among some families of other caste groups, 1 or 1.41 percent family has dependence on government job which is accepted by a family of the Rajbanshis, and 10 or 14.08 percent families depend on other occupations, which include all the communities living in the village,

The table also shows that the occupation of the Rajbanshis is diversified. Here out of total 54 families 24 or 44.45 percent families are depended on agriculture, 11 or 20.37 percent families depend on agricultural labour, 10 or 18.52 percent families depend on rickshaw pulling. In terms of agriculture, almost all the family members except children and very old persons take part in it directly. Here the role of women is much important. Here some of the women work as agricultural labourer also. In case of rickshaw pulling, some families accept it as their main occupation due to lose of their lands under the encroachment of Mechi River. One man works as a peon at Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayat Office. In case of other occupations 4 families depend on masonry, one family depends on truck driving, one family depends on maruti

driving, one family depends on works of contractor on labourers in house building, and one depends on kabiraji. Among the Santals, out of total 13 families, 9 or 69.23 percent families depend on agriculture, 3 or 23.07 percent families depend on agricultural labour, and only 1 or 7.70 percent family depends on earning from work at petrol pump. An adult man works as labourer at a petrol pump located in the district. In case of agriculture and agricultural labour both the males and females take part in it. Sometimes they earn some money by working in tea-gardens nearby the village. In case of other caste groups it is found that all the families have knowledge on cultivation but due to lack of lands, they take other occupations as their main source of income. Here only 1 or 25 percent family depends on agriculture and some members of a family depends on the earning from circus showing activity. A head of the family works at a circus party. And out of total families 2 or 50 percent families depend on business. One family has a grocery shop at home and another family has a vegetable shop at Panitanki market. It can be concluded that the diversification of occupations is very common among almost all the communities living in this village.

**Table no.2.5: Distribution of the Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Primary and Secondary Occupation.**

Communities	Primary and Secondary Occupation						Total (%)
	Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	Rickshaw Pulling (%)	Business (%)	Govt Service (%)	Others (%)	
Santals	09 (69.23)	03 (23.07)	00	00	00	01 (7.70)	13 (18.31)
Rajbanshis	24 (44.45)	11 (20.37)	10 (18.52)	00	01 (1.85)	08 (14.81)	54 (76.06)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	01 (25)	00	00	02 (50.00)	00	01 (25.00)	04 (5.63)
Total	34 (47.89)	14 (19.71)	10 (14.08)	02 (2.81)	01 (1.41)	10 (14.08)	71 (100)

### 2.1.2.6: Literacy and Education

From the table no. 2.6, it is found that the literacy status of the villagers is not very high. Here the number of literate people is 181 or 50.14 percent and

the number of literate males is much higher than the number of literate females. The numbers of literate males and females are 113 or 62.43 percent and 68 or 37.57 percent respectively. In this village, the number of illiterate people is more or less same with literate persons. The number of illiterate people is 180 or 49.86 percent. Here the number of illiterate females is much higher than the number of illiterate males. The number of illiterate females and males are 110 or 61.11 percent and 70 or 38.89 percent respectively. In this village, the number of literate males is higher than the number of illiterate males. It is found that there are 183 or 50.69 percent are males and out of which the number of literates and literates males are 113 or 61.75 percent and 70 or 38.25 percent respectively. But the number of illiterate females is very much higher than the number of literate females living in this village. Here the number of females is 178 or 49.31 percent and out of which the number of illiterate and literate females are 110 or 61.79 percent and 68 or 38.21 percent respectively. Finally, it can be stated that the males have more literacy status than the females.

**Table 2.6: Distribution of the Villagers in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of their Literacy Status.**

Gender	Illiterate (%)	Literate (%)	Total (%)
Male	70 (38.89)	113 (62.43)	183 (50.69)
Female	110 (61.11)	68 (37.57)	178 (49.31)
Total	180 (49.86)	181 (50.14)	361 (100)

Education is an important criterion for the development of human society. It is acquired by the people on the basis of social, economic and cultural necessities. Education is also used as a means of transmission of cultural traits among individuals of different communities. Initially education was very limited within certain groups or individuals of society. But gradually, due to various social, cultural and economic changes, it is spreading among the people of different groups in society. It is not limited within a particular caste or community. The table no.2.7 shows that the educational status of people of the village, Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is not pleasing. Only 50.14 percent or 181

persons are educated through different levels of education. Out of the total educated persons, 46.41 or 84 persons are educated through the primary level of education, 44.20 percent or 80 persons are educated through secondary level, and 2.67 percent or 5 persons are educated through Higher Secondary Level. In this village, 12 persons or 6.63 percent are simply literate and 19.94 percent or 72 persons are under the school going age. The participation of males in education is higher than the females. In case of primary level the numbers of male and female are 44 or 52.38 percent and 40 or 47.62 percent respectively. In case of secondary level the numbers of male and female are 59 or 73.75 percent and 21 or 26.25 percent respectively. There is dissimilarity between the number of educated persons and the educational level that is when the levels of education increase, the number educated persons decreases. Due to economic insufficiency the people can not continue their study. In most of the cases, the male students of the village leave their education within the secondary level and take part in various economic activities in border areas and nearby towns. The female students help their parents in doing various works inside and outside the house. Some of them take part in transplantation of paddy saplings and their replacement in agricultural lands and many other works. It is informed that previously the parents were not interested in the education of their children, but due to influence of some well wishers of education, and some teachers of the primary school, they gradually become interested in it. The students of the school are belonged to all the communities living in the village. Some students also come from other nearby villages. It is also found that the children of poor families (i.e. rickshaw pullars) do not come to school regularly. The children help to their family members in various ways. The children of the rickshaw pullers sometimes go to Panitanki market to fetch the rice and vegetables. The rickshaw pullers come back home just before the time of taking lunch. Thus, the children are used to carry those daily necessary items before the time of return of the rickshaw pullers. The teachers also say it sympathetically that some of the children come to school without having sufficient food. Some of them come to school taking very small amount of Mundi (fried-rice), Chalbha (roasted rice) and they feel sleeping. The teachers also say that the introduction of mid-day meal programme influences the villagers positively but the

attendance of the students is characterized by up and down scoring. Finally it can be concluded that the educational status of the villagers is quite low.

**Table no.2.7: Distribution of the Villagers in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Their Educational Standard.**

Gender	Simply Literate(%)	Primary (I-IV Class) (%)	Secondary (IV-X Class) (%)	H. Secondary (XI-XII Class)(%)	Total (%)
Males	06 (50.00)	44 (52.38)	59 (73.75)	04 (80.00)	113 (62.43)
Female	06 (50.00)	40 (47.62)	21 (26.25)	01 (20.00)	68 (37.57)
Total	12 (6.63)	84 (46.41)	80 (44.20)	05 (2.67)	181 (100)

### 2.1.2.7: Migration and Immigration

The population structure of the village is not framed by the Rajbanshis and the Meches only. Due to passage of time and changing socio-political situation, the immigration of many other groups of people has been an important fact. The table no.2.8 shows that the population structure of the village Chhoto Dilsaram is mainly characterized by various types of migrants and non-migrants. It is found that the village has 71 families and out of which the Rajbanshis have 54 or 76.05 percent, other Hindu caste groups have 4 or 5.63 percent and the Santals have 13 or 18.32 percent families. The village has 15 or 21.16 percent village level migrant families which include some of the families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals. The village has 11 or 15.50 percent district level migrant families which include some families of all the communities. In this village only 2 or 2.81 percent families are characterized by state level migration which incorporates some families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals. The number of national level migrant families is 10 or 14.08 percent which include all the communities. In the village the number of the non-migrant or early migrant families is 33 or 46.55 percent which include some families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals. These families are categorized as non-migrant as the heads of those families do not know the exact date of settlement of their families because they have been living in this village from very past or from few generations.

The table also makes it clear that migration is usual among all the communities. In case of the Rajbanshis, the number of migrant families is lower than the non-migrant families. The number of non-migrant families is 30 or 55.67 percent and the number of migrant families is 24 or 44.33 percent. And out of total migrant families the number of village level migrant families is 10 or 18.51 percent. These migrant families have come from some other neighbouring villages like Antaram, Bara Dilsaram, Bata sir, and Kharibari etc under the jurisdiction of same block. It is stated that the encroachment of Mechi River forced some families of Antaram village to migrate in this village. In this community 7 or 12.96 percent families have migrated to this village from Jalpaiguri and other district of North Bengal. Only 1 or 1.85 percent family has migrated to this village from Bihar. Among the Rajbanshis 6 or 11.11 percent families are identified as national level migrant. Out of 6 families 4 have come from Nepal and 2 families have come from Bangladesh (i.e. from undivided Dinajpur of Bangladesh). Among other caste groups, 2 or 50 percent families are identified as district level migrant. These two families have migrated to this village through step-migration. These families, coming from Bangladesh, firstly settled at Coochbehar and then Malda district. Finally, they have come to this village. In this community another 2 or 50 percent families have come to this village from Bangladesh. Among the Santals only 3 or 23.19 percent families are early-migrants. Here more than 75 percent families are migrant. Out of the total migrant families, 5 or 38.46 percent families have come from some nearby villages within this district. Here 2 or 15.38 percent families have come to this village from Jalpaiguri district and 1 or 7.69 percent family has come from the Jharkhand especially from Dumka of Santal Pargana. In this community one out of two families has migrated from Bangladesh and one has come from Nepal. From the table it may be stated that this village is inhabited by both the migrant and non-migrant people and the number of migrant families is not very high.

**Table no.2.8: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Migration.**

Levels of Migration	Communities			
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik) (%)	Total (%)
Migration from other villages	05 (38.46)	10 (18.51)	00	15 (21.16)
Migration from other districts	02 (15.38)	07 (12.96)	02 (50.00)	11 (15.50)
Migration from other States	01 (7.69)	01 (1.85)	00	02 (2.81)
Migration from other countries	02 (15.38)	06 (11.11)	02 (50.00)	10 (14.08)
Total Migrants	10 (76.81)	24 (44.33)	04 (100)	38 (53.45)
Non-Migrant/ Early Migrant	03 (23.19)	30 (55.67)	00	33 (46.55)
Total	13 (100)	54 (100)	04 (100)	71 (100)

### 2.1.2.8: Language Spoken

In this village, the peoples are conscious about their mother tongue and the members of each community interact with each through their mother tongue. Due to multi-cultural settlement pattern a large number of population in each community have been multi-lingual. In this village, the Rajbanshis are not certain about their mother tongue. Some of them mention Rajbanshi, some other say Kamatapuri, some other mention Bengali as their mother tongue. In case of the Santals, and other Hindu caste groups, Santali and Bengali are mentioned as their mother tongues respectively.

Table no.2.9 shows that the total number of population of the village is 361. The population is categorized into five linguistic groups. In the village 126 or 34.90 percent people speak through one language (i.e. their mother tongue only). Here the number of females is higher than the males. The number the population using two languages is 140 or 38.78 percent which includes all the communities. Hence the number of female is also higher than the males. The number of population using three languages is 57 or 15.79 percent which includes all the communities and but here the number of females is lower than the males. In the village, the number of population using four languages is 23

or 6.37 percent which includes all the communities except other Hindu caste groups. Here the number of females is lower than the males. In case of population using five languages, the number of population is very small. Here only 15 or 4.16 percent population is categorized under this group. In this connection, the number of Santals is very high.

The table also reveals that the concentration of population using two languages is highest among the Rajbanshis. The number is 125 persons or 48.00 percent in which the number of males and females is more or less equal. Here the second largest number of population uses only one language. The number of this population is 94 or 36.01 percent. Here the number of female is nearly double than the males. Three languages are used by 29 or 11.11 percent population in which the number of male is higher than the females. In this community only 10 or 3.83 percent males use four languages and only 3 or 1.15 percent males use five languages. Among other Hindu caste groups, 15 or 62.50 percent members use only one language. Here the number of female is higher than the males. Only 1 or 4.17 percent males can speak in Hindi beside his mother tongue. Here 8 or 33.33 percent members use three languages. The number of males is higher than the females. Among the Santals, it is found that they have more or less equal participation in using several languages. Here 17 or 22.37 percent people use their mother tongue only and 14 or 18.42 percent members use two languages. In this field, the number of females is higher than the males. The highest number of population (i.e. 20 or 26.51 percent) is found in speaking three languages. The number of females is also higher than the males. This participation in using four and five languages is also higher than other communities. From the table it can be stated that the villagers do not speak in their mother tongues only and the number of the people speaking in more than their mother tongues is very high.

**Table no.2.9: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Languages Spoken.**

Language Spoken	Communities			
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik) (%)	Total (%)
<b>One Language</b>				
M	07	32	06	45
F	10	62	09	81
T	17 (23.37)	94 (36.01)	15 (62.50)	126 (34.90)
<b>Two Languages</b>				
M	03	63	01	67
F	11	62	00	73
T	14 (18.42)	125 (48.00)	01 (4.17)	140 (38.78)
<b>Three Languages</b>				
M	08	22	06	36
F	12	07	02	21
T	20 (26.31)	29 (11.11)	08 (33.33)	57 (15.79)
<b>Four Languages</b>				
M	11	10	00	21
F	02	00	00	02
T	13 (17.10)	10 (3.83)	00	(23) (6.37)
<b>Five Languages</b>				
M	11	03	00	14
F	01	00	00	01
T	12 (15.80)	03 (1.15)	00	15 (4.16)
<b>Total</b>	76 (100)	261 (100)	24 (100)	361 (100)

## 2.2: Village-Dulal Jote

### 2.2.1: Physical and Infrastructural characteristics of the village

#### 2.2.1.1: Location

The village, Dulal Jote is a part of the Gondogol mouza. It is placed under the jurisdiction of Raniganj Panishali Grampanchayat of Kharibari police station and Kharibari block in Siliguri sub-division of Darjeeling district. The

village is situated in a place which is covered by river, forest and some other villages. The Naxalbari forest covers the eastern part of the village, the western part is attached with Antaram village and with the Mechi river which marks the Indo-Nepal border line, the southern part is covered by Chhoto Dilsaram village, Shyamdhan Jote village, and the northern part is covered by Bazaru Jote and Gondagol Jote. It is a say that the village-name (i.e. Dulal Jote) is derived from a name of a local joteder named Dulal Singh. The formation and growth of the village is marked after the third decade of twentieth century. A large number of populations come to the village after 1950. At the beginning, very few families of the Rajbanshis, and the Haris lived. The Nepalis and other Hindu caste groups come much later.

#### **2.2.1.2: Village Resources**

Dulal Jote has no remarkable resources. It is found that the village is located very near to the Naxalbari forest. Many people bring forest products like fuel woods, fruits. Some of the villagers bring some woods for house construction. Some villagers use the water of the Mechi River through a canal which passes in the middle portion of the village. The land and land products are the main resource of the village. Here the villagers produce different kinds of rice, vegetables. The villagers produce paddy, chilly, brinjal, tomatoes, cabbage which are sellable in some local markets like Bata sir hat, Panitanki market etc. One important thing observed in this village is that some of the houses basically the front side of the houses are covered with gardens which is not found in Chhoto Dilsaram. Beside it, the village has some bamboo groves, mango trees, and banana plants.

#### **2.2.1.3: Settlement Pattern**

In this village, the settlement pattern is not guided by caste, religious and economic discrimination. The availability of lands for household construction is the general norms for the villagers. The Nepalese are the largest group in the village. The settlement of the houses of different communities does not follow a particular type. The houses are located very closely and the houses are placed in both sides of the village path. The settlement pattern categorically may be termed as cluster type. From the location of the houses,

the whole village is seemed to be divided into two clusters. The larger cluster is formed by the Nepalese the Lepcha, and the Haris, and the smaller cluster is formed by the Rajbanshis, and the Nepalese. Here, inter-mixing of the communities in case of household settlement is followed. And even concentration of the houses of the communities does not follow economic hierarchy and the houses of rich and poor families are located side by side. The houses of different religious groups are placed side by side. No discrimination is observed in this context.

#### **2.2.1.4: Economic Pursuits**

The economic life of the villagers is not only traditional in nature. The villagers have accepted many new occupations. The villagers are associated with various occupations. The major occupations accepted by the villagers are agriculture, agricultural labour, business, government service, rickshaw pulling, work at bus syndicate, factory etc. It is also found that agriculture is accepted as major occupation by a large number of families of the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis. Agricultural activities are done with both the traditional and modern ways of cultivation and the production is characterized by market oriented production in some extent. Beside the agriculture, agricultural labour is accepted by a large number of families of the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis and the Haris. Government service in this village is accepted as main source of livelihood by very few families of the Nepalese only. Rickshaw pulling has an important part in the occupational structure of the village economy. Here some families of the Rajbanshis and the Haris are associated with this economic activity. The business of the people of this village is concerned to vegetables, betel nuts etc. Beside this some people of the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis are found in some other occupations like work at bus syndicate, masonry, basket making etc.

#### **2.2.1.5: Transport and Communication**

The village is well connected with outside surroundings. The villagers use a metalled road to reach Panitanki market. From the market, people can reach Naxalbari, Siliguri and some places of Nepal and Bihar through bus communications. The state high way passes through the village. Even the people

reach to Nepal with the help of other means of communications. Some reach Nepal by bicycles, rickshaws and also by walking. The village is very near to the small railway station located at Naxalbari market and the railway passes through the village. The use of the railway or rail communication is very rare to the villagers. They mainly use the road or bus communication because; buses are easily availed to them at Panitanki market. The villagers can reach Bagdogra Airport very easily by bus communication within half an hour. Besides, the use of bus-communication, the villagers enjoy some other means of communication like television, newspapers, telephone, radio, bicycle, motor cycle, mobile etc. There are 19 televisions found in the village, out of which the Nepalese have 10, the Rajbanshis have 7 and the Lepchas and other Hindu caste groups have only one television each. Four families of the Nepalese keep Nepali newspapers and four families of the Rajbanshis keep Bengali newspaper. Four families of the Nepalese, have telephone. Besides, this some of the villagers use a telephone owned by a NGO Centre (i.e. BHORUKHA) located in the eastern part of the village. Bicycle, van and rickshaw are used as important means of transportation and communication for local markets. Almost all the families have bicycles. In the village, there are four bikes. Three are possessed by the Nepalese and one is possessed by the Rajbanshis. In the village, a post office is found through which the villagers communicate with outsiders. Here radio, tape recorder and C.D. players are also used by many. The Mechi River is also used as an important means of communications to the villagers who work as carriers of commodities for illegal trade. Here more than 60 percent families have electric connection in their houses.

#### **2.2.1.6: Village Market-Daily and Weekly**

The villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote are located side by side. In terms of market facilities the villagers enjoy more or less similar facilities. The villagers similar with the Chhoto Dilsaram Jote depend on some daily markets like the Panitanki, the Naxalbari markets and they sell and purchase goods through some other weekly markets like Batasir hat. Some times the villagers go to Siliguri market to purchase necessary goods.

### **2.2.1.7: Educational Facilities**

Some of the villagers are more educated and conscious about the education of their children. Here the location of the schools, colleges, and universities is important to impart education to their children of the village. It is found that a primary school named Dulal Jote Nepali Prathamik Patshala is located in this village. A large number of children of the Nepalese take education from this school. Here the medium of instruction is Nepali. Even two teachers are also the inhabitants of this village. After completing the primary education the children take admission in some other junior and high schools located in tarai and hill region of Darjeeling district. Some other Nepali medium schools from which the students take admission are the Monjai Jote Junior Nepali School, the Naxalbari High School. Here some of the children of this village take admission in some schools and colleges located at hill areas of this district for their education. Some of the children of other communities take primary education from the Dilsaram Jote Primary school which is situated at Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Very few of them take admission in some other schools like the Bata sir Shastriya High School, Shamdhan Jote High School, and Krishna Kanta High School at Adhikari Bari.

### **2.2.1.8: Post Office**

The villagers enjoy more facility in terms of having a post office within its own boundary. A post office is located at the southern part of the village. Beside this all the service like sending and receiving letters is more or less equal to the villagers of both the villages. It is informed that the villagers of Dulal Jote correspond to their letters more frequently than the villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. This office is located in a house owned by a family of other Hindu caste groups. The family gets some rents from the office.

### **2.2.1.9: Medical Facilities**

No doctor or medical practitioners live in this village and the beliefs on Dhama or Ojha is decreased largely. The people are careful about the diseases and their treatment. The people sometimes when suffer from some diseases like fever, black fever, cough, headache, pain in stomach, and skin diseases etc take medicines from some medicine shops located at Panitanki market. In serious

cases, they take treatment from Naxalbari and Kharibari hospitals. There is no primary health centre in the village. For the service of primary health centre, they go to Batasir hat. In case of the Nepalese, the people except four families believe in allopathy treatment, and in need, most of them take medicine. And four families in this community believe in Dhama or Ojha. After making treatment by Dhama, they take the patients to doctors. The person of the Rajbanshis living in the village is also careful about the diseases and their treatment. Some of them suffer from similar types of diseases mentioned above. Most of them believe in allopathic treatment. Even very few of them believe in magical practices done by Ojha. The Hari people take kabiraji treatment first then take medicine. The Lepchas are also same with Nepalese. But other Hindu caste groups depend on allopathy treatment. In short, due to establishment of two hospitals and the medicinal shops at Panitanki market the awareness about the bad effect of diseases and dependence on medicine man is in increase in place of Ojha or kabiraj. In this regard, some workers of a NGO named BHORUKHA located at the eastern part of the village help the villagers to be conscious in some extent. Sometimes they make camps in some nearby villages and provide medicines without cost in some cases.

#### **2.2.1.10: Sources of Drinking Water, Sanitation and Drainage System**

Wells, tube wells are used as the sources of drinking water. Besides this, water taken from wells and tube wells is used in some other purposes like washing cloths, cooking rice, and ritual activities. Among the Nepalese, the total number of wells is six. Here one well is personally owned and all others are provided by Panchayat office. The number of tube wells is 24. Here only four tube wells are personally owned and all others are provided by the Panchayat office. Even in this community, more than 50 percent families use latrines in their houses. Among the Rajbanshis the use of water from wells is more than water of tube wells. In this community, the numbers of wells and tube wells are 10 and 2 respectively. Hence larger numbers of wells are provided by the Panchayat office. The use of latrines is observed among the Rajbanshi families. Here 7 or 25 percent families have latrines. Haris, and the Lepchas use water from wells and they have no latrines. In case of use of water of wells or tube wells, no discrimination is observed. Drainage system in this

village is also improper. No systematic drain is found to carry the garbage of the houses. Mud pits are used as storage of garbage. Sometimes small and narrow drain is made near the wells or tube-wells. The drains carry the disposed water to agricultural lands mainly.

#### **2.2.1.11: House Type**

The house of the villagers is characterized by kuchcha and semi pucca types. Most of the houses of the village are made with tin plates. The number of the thatched houses is very small which is very high in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In this village 22 houses out of 107 houses are semi pucca in construction. Here the floors, walls are made with concrete materials but the roofs are made with tin plates. Here the people of 90 out of 107 houses live in kuchcha houses. The floors of these houses are made with mud and the walls are made with the systematic combination of bamboo, straw and rope. And the roofs are made with tin plates. Sometimes it is made with systematic combination of plastic, bamboo, and rope. The type of the house of the Nepalese is better than the others. The semi pucca houses are owned by the Nepalese. The houses of the Rajbanshis are kuchcha in construction and very few of the Rajbanshis have tin plated kuchcha houses. Even three houses of the Nepalese are two stairs in type. Each house has two portions. These are the lower and upper portions. The lower portion is used for keeping various materials like agricultural implements, manures, fuel woods etc. In some cases it is used as kitchen and bed room also. The upper portion is mainly used as bed room. One of the important features of the house of the Nepalese is that the fronts of most of the houses are covered with some flower plants. In this village, most of the houses are made by using modern materials like, tin plates, cement, sand, etc.

#### **2.2.1.12: Dress-Pattern**

It is already mentioned that the village is inhabited by two major groups. These are the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis. Here both the communities use some modern dresses. Among the Nepalese, the males use pant, shirt, towel; T-shirt, half-pant, etc. and the females wear saree, nighty, kurta-sural, churidars, etc. Kurta sural is a traditional dress of the females. In this village most of the

married women wear this dress. The upper portion of the dress is called choubandi and the lower portion is called *Dhoka jhari*.

More or less similar dress pattern is observed among the Rajbanshis. It is found that the uses of traditional dress like *patani*, or *bukani* for females and *Lenti* (i.e. small piece of cloth) for males are obsolete. Only two old widow women use their saree as *patani*. The males normally wear pants, shirts, dhuti, lungi, gamcha, towel, T-shirt, etc. and the female wear saree, blouse, nighty, churidar, frock etc. The unmarried girls mainly wear churidar, frock etc. The use of nighty among the Rajbanshi women is very recent. Only some of the rickshaw pullers' wives and very few of other women use the dress.

### 2.2.1.13: Food-Habits

The habit of taking main meals thrice in a day is a general norm among the people of the Rajbanshi and Nepali communities. But due to lack of time and food items some families of both the communities take main meal twice daily. It is found that 50 out of 73 families take main meals thrice daily and 23 out of 73 take main meals twice daily. The Nepalese use the term *khaja* to mean the breakfast and *khana* to mean the lunch and dinner. They normally take rice, roti, maize, vegetables. During the festival, they take meat, fish curd, pollaw, sweet, *khir*, *bhujia* etc. Besides these, *momo* and *chowmin* are the important items of their food habits. Most of the houses procure *momo* and *chowmin*. Smoking of *biri*, *ganja* is largely found among the males. Some of the males take *khaini* also.

The food habit of the Rajbanshis is more or less similar with the Nepalese. The Rajbanshis living in this village also take rice thrice daily. But due to lack of time and food items, some (i.e. 10 out of 27 families) take meals twice daily. The Rajbanshis use the term *jalpan* to mean the breakfast and *Dupurer khabar* and *Rater khabar* to mean lunch and dinner respectively. They normally take rice, roti, (bread), vegetable etc and during the special occasion they take meat, fish, sweet, curd etc. Most of the Rajbanshi families make *Bhaka Pitha* (made by rice powder) during winter season. Presently, some of the Nepalese can procure this pitha also. Smoking of *biri* and *ganja*, chewing *khaini* are very common among the males. Some of the Rajbanshi males have

drinking habit also. This is very new to them. And even some of the Rajbanshi children are very much interested to have momo and chowmin. In this village, *bhaka pitha* is new to the Nepalese and the chowmin, momo and drinking liquor are new to the others living in this village.

### **2.2.2: Basic Demographic Attributes of the Village**

Demographic features in any village study are necessary to understand the people in terms of age category, sex category, marriage, occupation, migration etc. To know the demographic features of this village, analysis is made on the population in terms of age and sex categories, family structure, marital status, occupational status, educational status, migrational status and linguistic status of the people living in this village.

#### **2.2.2.1: Population, Age and Sex Distribution**

In the village, the number of adult people is much higher than the other peoples and the number of females is increasing in the new generation. The table no. 2.10 shows the distribution of population under various age categories. The number of people under age category of 1-6 years old is 66 or 12.15 percent. They are children. The number of the people under the age category of 7-14 years old is 99 or 18.23 percent in the village and the number of people under the age category of 15-22 years old is 118 or 21.73 percent. Here some of the people under this age category are students. The number of the people under the age category of 23-50 years old is 203 or 37.38 percent and the number of old people is not very high. The people under the age categories of 51-60 years, and more than 60 years constitute 35 or 6.45 percent and 22 or 4.06 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females marks variation. In case of age category of 1-6 years, the numbers of males and females are 32 or 48.48 percent and 34 or 51.52 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females under age category 7-14 years are 53 or 53.54 percent and 46 or 46.46 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females under the age category 15-22 years are 67 or 56.78 percent and 51 or 43.22 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females under the age category of 23-50 years old are 99 or 48.77 percent and 104 or 51.23 percent. The numbers of males and females under the age category of 51-60 years old are 18 or 51.43

percent and 17 or 48.57 percent respectively. And the numbers of males and females under the age category of 60 and more than 60 years old are 13 or 59.09 percent and 9 or 40.91 percent respectively.

The table also shows that the community-wise distribution of the population is more or less similar with the village situation. In case of the Nepalese, it is found that they have 30 or 8.33 percent people under the age category of 1-6 years, 57 or 15.83 percent people under the category of 7-14 years, 86 or 23.88 percent people under the age category of 15-22 years, 145 or 40.28 percent people under the age category of 23-50 years, 26 or 7.22 percent people under the age category of 51-60 yrs, and 16 or 4.44 percent people under the age category of above 60 years old. In this community, except the people under the age category of 23-50 years, the number of female is lower than the males. The numbers of males and females under the age category of 1-6 years are 16 or 53.33 percent and 14 or 46.67 percent respectively, the numbers of males and females under the age category of 7-14 years, are 31 or 54.39 percent and 26 or 45.61 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females under the age category of 15-22 years are 51 or 59.30 percent and 35 or 40.70 percent respectively, the number of males and females under the age category of 23-50 years are 65 or 44.83 percent and 80 or 55.17 percent respectively, the numbers of males and female under the age category of 51-60 years are 15 or 57.70 percent and 11 or 42.30 percent respectively and the numbers of males and females under the age category of above 60 years are 9 or 56.25 percent and 7 or 43.75 percent respectively.

In case of the Rajbanshis, the situation is more or less similar. Here, the number of people under the age category of 1-6 years is 25 or 16.56 percent, the number of people under the age category of 7-14 years is 40 or 26.50 percent, the number of people under the age category of 15-22 years is 26 or 17.32 percent, the number of people under the age category of 23-50 years is 49 or 32.45 percent, the number of people under the age category of 51-60 years is 5 or 3.31 percent, and the number of people under the age category of above 60 years is 6 or 3.96 percent. In this community, the number of adult people is highest. In this community, the number of females is

lower than the males. In case of people under the age category of 1-6 years, the numbers of males and females are 11 or 44 percent and 14 or 56 percent respectively, the numbers of males and females under the age category 7-14 years are 22 or 55 percent and 18 or 45 percent, the numbers of males and females under the age category of 15-22 years are equal, the number of males and females under the age category of 23-50 years, are 29 or 59.18 percent, and 20 or 40.82 percent respectively, the numbers of males and females under the age category of 51-60 years are 1 or 20 percent and 4 or 80 percent respectively. The numbers of males and females under the age category of above 60 years are 4 or 66.67 percent and 2 or 33.33 percent respectively. The number of female is much higher under the age category of 1-6 years.

**Table no. 2.10: Distribution of Villagers of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Age.**

Age & Sex	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Harish	Lepchas	Other Hindu caste groups (Banik)(%)	
1 - 6 yrs						
M	16	11	05	00	00	32
F	14	14	06	00	00	34
T	30 (8.33)	25 (16.56)	11 (39.30)	00	00	66 (12.15)
7 - 14 yrs						
M	31	22	00	00	00	53
F	26	18	02	00	00	46
T	57 (15.83)	40 (26.50)	02 (7.14)	00	00	99 (18.23)
15 - 22 yrs						
M	51	13	02	01	00	67
F	35	13	03	00	00	51
T	86 (23.88)	26 (17.32)	5 (17.86)	01 (33.33)	00	118 (21.73)
23 - 50 yrs						
M	65	29	05	00	00	99
F	80	20	04	00	00	104
T	145 (40.28)	49 (32.45)	09 (32.14)	00	00	203 (37.38)
51 - 60 yrs						
M	15	01	01	01	00	18
F	11	04	00	01	01	17

Contd...

T	26 (7.22)	05 (3.31)	01 (3.57)	02 (66.67)	01 (100)	35 (6.45)
Above 60 yrs						
M	09	04	00	00	00	13
F	07	02	00	00	00	09
T	16 (4.44)	06 (3.96)	00	00	00	22 (4.06)
Total	360 (100)	151 (100)	28 (100)	03 (100)	01 (100)	543 (100)

Among the Haris, the number of females is higher than the male which is reflected in each category of people. The number of population under the age category of 1-6 years is 11 or 39.30 percent in which the numbers of males and females are 5 or 45.55 percent and 6 or 54.55 percent respectively. The number of people under the age category of 7-14 years is 2 or 7.14 percent which is consisted by only females, the number of people under the age category of 15-22 years is 5 or 17.86 percent in which the numbers of males and females are 2 or 40 percent and 3 or 60 percent respectively and the number of people under the age category of 23-50 years is 9 or 32.40 percent in which the numbers of males and females are 5 or 55.65 percent and 4 or 44.44 percent respectively. Finally, it can be stated that in this village, the number of people belonging to the ages between 15-50 years is very high.

**2.2.2.2: Sex-Ratio**

The population structure of the village is also composite in nature. It is found that the number of population varies from community to community. Five communities live in this village. They are the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis, the Haris, the Lepcha and other Hindu caste groups (i.e. the Banik). The number of the families of the Nepalese is 73, the number of families of the Rajbanshis is 27, and the Haris are distributed among five families. The other Hindu caste groups and the Lepcha have one family each. In this village, the Nepalese are the largest community and the Rajbanshis occupies the second largest position. In this village the number of females is lower than the males. The table no.2.11 shows that the population structure is formed by 543 persons and out of the total population the number of males is 282 or 51.93 percent and the number of female is 261 as 48.07 percent. Here, the sex ratio of the village is 925 (per 1000). The Nepalese are the highest in number. The number of the Nepali people is 360 or 66.30 percent in the village. The number of the Rajbanshis is

151 which occupy 27.80 percent in the population structure. The Haris have only 28 or 5.16 percent population and the numbers of other Hindu caste groups and the Lepcha are very meagre. They are 3 or 0.56 percent and 1 or 0.18 percent respectively. Even the number of females is lower than the males among all the communities except the Haris.

The table also shows that the sex-ratios vary from community to community. In case of the Nepalese the number of males is 187 as 51.94 percent and the number of female is 173 or 48.06 percent. The sex-ratio in this community is 925(per 1000) which is same with village sex ratio. Among the Rajbanshis, the number of males is 80 which occupy 52.98 percent of the community and the number of females is 71 or 47.02 percent. The sex ratio is much lower than the village sex ratio. It is 887 (per 1000 males). The sex-ratio among the Haris is highest among all the communities. This is 1153 (per 1000). Among the Lepcha it is counted as 500 (per 1000). Actually the number of the Lepcha is very small. The number of males and females are 2 or 66.67 percent and 1 or 33.33 percent respectively. The sex-ratio of the village is very lower than the sex-ratio of the district as a whole. The sex-ratio of the district is 937 (per 1000). In case of rural areas of Darjeeling district the sex-ratio is 956 which are also higher than the village sex ratio. And it is compared with the sex ratio of the state, West Bengal the village sex ratio shows lower position than it and even it is lower than the rural sex ratio of the state. The sex ratio of the state as a whole is 934 and the sex ratio of the rural area of the state is 950. (Census of India, 2001). Finally it can be concluded that sex ratio-of this village is not very high.

**Table no.2.11: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Sex.**

Sex	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other HinduCaste Groups (%)	Total (%)
Male	187	80	13	02	00	282
	(51.94)	(52.98)	(46.43)	(66.67)	00	(51.93)
Female	173	71	15	01	01	261
	(48.06)	(47.02)	(53.57)	(33.33)	(100)	(48.07)
Total	360	151	28	03	01	543
	(66.30)	(27.80)	(5.16)	(0.56)	(0.18)	(100)

### 2.2.2.3: Family Structure

Nuclear family is one of the most important features of the family organization found in this village and the size of the family is not very large. From the table no.2.12 is observed that this village has 107 families. Here the number of nuclear families is 76 or 71.02 percent and the number of joint families is 20 or 18.69 percent. Very small portion of the family structure is characterized by broken family. The number of broken families is 11 or 10.29 percent. The Banik family is formed by one widow only.

The table also shows the number of nuclear families is very high among all the communities living in this village. The Nepalese have 73 families. Among them, the numbers of nuclear and joint families are 49 or 67.12 percent and 14 or 19.18 percent respectively. Here, the number of broken families is 10 or 13.70 percent. In this village, the Rajbanshis live in 27 families and out of which the number of nuclear and joint families are 22 or 81.48 percent and 5 or 18.52 percent respectively. The number of nuclear families among the Haris is also high. They have 4 or 80 percent nuclear families. Even the size of the largest number of families lies within 4-6 members. Finally it can be concluded that nuclear family is major family type and it is very high among almost all the communities living in this village.

**Table no.2.12: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of the Types of Families.**

Communities	Types of Families			Total (%)
	Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Broken and Incomplete (%)	
Nepalese	49 (67.12)	14 (19.18)	10 (13.70)	73 (100)
Rajbanshis	22 (81.48)	05 (18.52)	00 (00)	27 (100)
Haris	04 (80.88)	01 (20.00)	00 (00)	05 (100)
Lepchas	01 (100)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)	01 (100)
Total	76 (71.02)	20 (18.69)	11 (10.29)	107 (100)

#### 2.2.2.4: Marital Status

In the village the number of unmarried persons is higher than the number of married and widow and widower persons. Table no.2.13 shows that the population of the village is formed by married, unmarried, and widow and widower persons. In the village, there is no single case of separated or divorced person found. In the village, the number of married persons is 246 or 45.30 percent, the number of unmarried persons is 279 or 51.38 percent, the number of widowers is 3 or 0.55 percent and the number of widows is 15 or 2.77 percent.

The table also shows more or less similar situation in each communities. Among the Nepalese, the number of married persons is 166 or 46.00 percent in which the numbers of males and females are equal. The number of unmarried persons is 180 or 50 percent in which the number of males is higher than females. In this community, the number of widowers is lower than the widows. The number of widower is 3 or 0.84 percent whereas the number of widows is 11 or 3.06 percent. It is also noticed that the largest number of widows live in this community which occupies 73.33 percent in total number of widows found

**Table no.2.13: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Dulal****Jote on the Basis of Marital Status.**

Status	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
Married						
M	63	33	06	01	00	123
F	83	33	06	01	00	123
T	166 (46.00)	66 (43.70)	12 (42.86)	02 (66.67)	00	246 (45.30)
Unmarried						
M	101	47	07	01	00	156
F	79	35	09	00	00	123
T	180 (50.00)	82 (54.30)	16 (57.14)	01 (33.33)	00	279 (51.38)
Widower	03 (0.84)	00	00	00	00	03 (0.55)
Widow	11 (3.06)	03 (1.00)	00	00	01	15 (2.77)
Total	360 (100)	151 (100)	28 (100)	03 (100)	01 (100)	543 (100)

in the village. In case of Haris, more or less similar situation is observed. In this community the number of unmarried persons is also higher than the married persons. It is found that the number of married persons is 12 or 42.86 percent which comprises equal number of males and females. The number of unmarried persons is 16 or 57.14 percent in which the number of males is lower than the females. This community has no widow, widower, separated and divorced persons. Therefore it can be stated that the number of unmarried persons is higher than the number of married persons and it is high among almost all the communities living in this village.

**2.2.2.5: Occupation-Primary and Secondary**

The economic life of people living in the village is characterized by occupational diversity. It is found that the communities living in the village were traditionally associated with agriculture. The occupation in most of the areas was used to determine their caste identity. But presently, the people are not depended on their traditional occupation only. They accept some new

occupations, as the demands of the situation. The table no.2.14 shows that the village has 64 or 59.81 percent families where agriculture is the main occupation. The agriculture is found among some of the families of the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis. The agricultural labour is accepted as primary occupation by 8 or 7.48 percent families, which is found among the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis and the Haris. In case of agricultural labour both the males and females take part in it. Females work as agricultural labourer because during the periods of paddy plantation and harvesting the male labourers are not available enough. They are more interested in other sources of income. The male agricultural labourers mainly cultivate the lands and the plantation of paddy is done by some females living in the village or in some other nearby villages. In this village, 7 or 6.54 percent families depend on government service. Some of the families of all communities except the Rajbanshis and the Haris have dependence on service. The service structure is consisted by teaching in primary schools, work in power house etc. The business plays an important role in occupational structure of the village. Here, 9 or 8.41 percent families have accepted it as main occupation. The business does not include very high amount of capital oriented activities. It includes grocery shops, tea shops, rice-selling shop, betel-leaf selling shop, tailoring etc. Rickshaw pulling is accepted as primary occupation by 10 or 9.35 percent families. Some families of the Rajbanshis and the Haris are depended on it. And other occupations are accepted as primary sources by 9 or 8.41 percent families living in the village. Here, the other occupations include several occupations like factory work, carpentry, jeep driving, work at bus syndicate and illegal trading activities. Some families of the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis accept these occupations as secondary source of livelihoods also.

The table also reveals the fact that the occupational diversity is found in almost all the communities living in the village and the acceptance of new occupation is the tendency. In case of the Nepalese, the number of families depending on agriculture is 53 or 72.60 percent, and the number of families depended on agricultural labour is 4 or 5.48 percent. Here 5 or 6.85 percent families are associated with government jobs in which three families serve in Indian Army and two families depend on teaching job in primary school located

in the village. The number of families depended on business is 5 or 6.85 percent. There are three families depended on the shops, one has grocery shop and one has tailoring shop. Except two tea shops, all the shops are located at Dudh gate more in the eastern part of the village. Other occupations are accepted as primary occupation by 6 or 8.22 percent families. Here out of total families, three families depend on factory works, one depends on carpentry, one depends on truck driving, and one depends on works of bus syndicate at Panitanki more. Among the Rajbanshis, 11 or 40.74 percent families depend on agriculture, and only 2 or 7.41 percent families depend on agricultural labour. In this community, 4 or 14.81 percent families accept business as primary occupation. One family has a tea-shop, one has betel-leaf-selling business, and two have rice selling business. The rice and betel leaf sellers have business with Nepal. Here 7 or 25.73 percent families depend on rickshaw pulling as their primary source of income. Among the Haris, two families depend on agricultural labour and three families depend on rickshaw pulling as main source of income. The other caste Hindu groups and the Lepcha families depend on government jobs. The family of other Hindu caste groups depends on teaching job in primary school and the family of Lepcha depends on works of power house office. Therefore the diversification of economic activities is observed among almost all the communities living in this village.

**Table no.2.14: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Their Primary and Secondary Occupations.**

Occupations	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
Agriculture	53 (72.60)	11 (40.74)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	64 (59.81)
Ag.Labour	04 (5.48)	02 (7.41)	02 (40.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	08 (7.48)
Govt.Service	05 (6.85)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)	01 (100)	07 (6.54)
Business	05 (6.85)	04 (14.81)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	09 (8.41)
Rickshaw pulling	00 (00)	07 (25.73)	03 (60.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	10 (9.35)
Other Occupations	06 (8.22)	03 (11.11)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	09 (8.41)
Total	73 (100)	27 (100)	05 (100)	01 (100)	01 (100)	107 (100)

### 2.2.2.6: Literacy and Education

The table.2.15 makes clear that the literacy status of the villagers is not very low. The number of literates is higher than the number of illiterates. The numbers of literate and illiterate persons are 321 or 59.12 percent and 220 or 40.88 percent respectively. Among the literate persons, the number of males is slightly higher than the females. Here the numbers of literate males and females are 173 or 53.90 percent and 148 or 46.10 percent respectively. Similarly, the number of literate females is slightly higher than the males. Here the number of literate males and females are 107 or 48.64 percent and 113 or 51.36 percent respectively. In this village, among the literate males the number of literates is higher than the illiterates. The numbers of literate and illiterate males are 173 or 61.34 percent and 107 or 38.66 percent respectively. Similarly, the number

of literate females is higher than the illiterate females. Here the numbers of literate and illiterate females are 148 or 56.70 percent and 113 or 43.30 percent respectively. If it is compared with literacy rates of the state and the district, it marks lower than the literacy rates of the state and the district. The literacy rates of the state (i.e. West Bengal) and the district (i.e. Darjeeling) are 68.64 percent and 71.79 percent respectively. The literacy rate of the village is also slightly higher than the literacy rate of rural Darjeeling district. The literacy rate of rural Darjeeling is 66.00 percent (Census of India, 2001).

**Table 2.15: Distribution of the Villagers in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Their Literacy Status.**

Gender	Illiterate (%)	Literate (%)	Total (%)
Male	107 (48.64)	173 (53.90)	282 (51.93)
Female	113 (51.36)	148 (46.10)	261 (48.07)
Total	220 (40.88)	321 (59.12)	543 (100)

From table 2.16 it is found that in this village 10 or 3.21 percent people, out of the total educated people are simply literate. They did not take any formal education but they can read and write. Here the number of simply literate males and females are equal. Even the number of males and females are more or less equal in case of primary level of education. Here, out of 116 or 36.14 percent, 59 or 50.86 percent are males and 57 or 49.14 percent females are educated in primary level of education. In this village the number of total educated males are 173 or 53.89 percent and, out of 1 or 0.57 percent is found in Graduation level of education, 17 or 9.83 percent are found in Higher Secondary level of education, 91 or 52.60 percent are found in Secondary Level of Education and, 59 or 34.10 percent are found in primary level of education. Among the females, out of 148 or 46.11 percent educated females, the number of females found in Graduation level of education is 3 or 2.02 percent, the number of females found in H.S. level of education, is also 3 or 2.03

percent, the number of females found in Secondary level education is 80 or 54.05 percent and number of females found in Primary level of education is 57 or 38.51 percent. Therefore, it can be stated that the educational status of the females is not very lower than the males.

**Table no. 2.16: Distribution of the Villagers in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Their Educational Standard.**

Gender	Simply literate (%)	Primary (I-IV) Class (%)	Secondary (V-X) Class (%)	H.S. (XI-XII) Class (%)	Graduation B.A. (%)	Total (%)
Male	05 (50.00)	59 (50.86)	91 (53.22)	17 (85.00)	01 (25.00)	173 (53.89)
Female	05 (50.00)	57 (49.14)	80 (47.78)	03 (15.00)	03 (75.00)	148 (46.11)
Total	10 (3.12)	116 (36.14)	171 (53.27)	20 (6.23)	04 (1.25)	321 (100)

#### 2.2.2.7: Migration and Immigration

Migration is one of the important features of this village. The village has both the internal and international migrants. The table no.2.17 is framed to show the population structure by the levels of migration. Here, the birth place of family head is considered to understand the levels of migration. From the table it is found that the village has 107 families. These families are characterized by five levels of migration. These are village level migration, district level migration, state level migration, nation level migration and non-migrant families. In case of non-migrant families, the heads were born in the village. In the village the number of migrants is larger than the non-migrants. The numbers of migrant and non-migrant or early migrant families are 83 or 71.77 percent and 24 or 22.43 percent respectively. The number of village level migrant families is higher than other levels. This level includes all the communities except the Haris. The heads of these families have come to this village from some other villages located within the district. The number of the families under this level is 59 or 55.14 percent. The number of district level migrant families is 5 or 4.67 percent which include some families of the

Nepalese and the Rajbanshis. These families have migrated to this village from Jalpaiguri district. The family under the state level migration is very small. The number is a 3 or 2.80 percent family which is found among the Nepalese only. The families immigrated from other countries are found among the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis. The number of the families under this level is 16 or 14.96 percent. And the number of early migrant or non-migrant families is 24 or 22.43 percent which include some families of the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis and the Haris.

The table also presents the fact that almost all the communities except the Haris have migrant families under various levels. Among the Nepalese the number of migrant families is higher than the non-migrant families. The number of migrant families is 66 or 90.41 percent and the number of non-migrant families is 7 or 9.59 percent. The heads of 48 or 65.75 percent families have come to this village from some other villages located under the Kalimpong subdivision in Darjeeling district. It is informed that due to frequent land slides in some areas of Kalimpong, and the availability of lands in Indo-Nepal border areas they have come to this village. In this community 2 or 2.74 percent families have migrated to this village from Jalpaiguri district. Here 3 or 4.11 percent families have migrated from Assam. In this community, the number of international migrant families is 13 or 17.81 percent. These families have come to this village from Nepal. Several socio-economic problems lead them to migrate here. It is stated that among the inter-country Nepali migrants the economic factors were visible as the important reasons behind their initial decision for migration. Considering economic factors, poverty was one of the vital reasons which initially pushed many people to migrate to new place for seeking better prospects. In Nepal, there was no employment and along with lack of employment the wage was also very low, due to which the income of the people was very low. Besides, these people owned very small portions of land which were not at all adequate to their livelihood. Because of poverty, they were not in a position to buy winter dresses to protect them from extreme cold and snowfall in their places of origin in Nepal. All these together relatively pushed them to leave their places of origin and move to India for seeking better life (Datta, 2003). In case of the Rajbanshis, the number of migrant families is

much higher than the non-migrant or early migrant families. The numbers of migrant and non-migrant families are 15 or 55.55 percent and 12 or 44.45 percent respectively. The village level migration in this community includes 10 or 37.04 percent families. The heads of these families have come to this village from some other neighbouring villages under Siliguri sub-division. The district level migrations include only 2 or 7.40 percent families. These two families have come from Jalpaiguri district. The number of families immigrated from other countries 3 or 11.11 percent. Here out of the 3 families 2 have come from Bangladesh and one has come from Nepal. The Lepcha family has come from a village under Kalimpong sub-division. Finally it can be stated that this village has been a living place of the migrant people mainly.

**Table no.2.17: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Levels of Migration.**

Levels of Migration	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
Migration from other Villages	48 (65.75)	10 (37.04)	00 00	01 (100)	00 00	59 (55.14)
Migration from other Districts	02 (2.74)	02 (7.40)	00 00	00 00	01 (100)	05 (4.67)
Migration from other States	03 (4.11)	00 00	00 00	00 00	00 00	03 (2.80)
Migration from other countries	13 (17.81%)	03 (11.11%)	00 00	00 00	00 00	16 (14.96)
Total migrants	66 (90.41)	15 (55.55)	00 00	01 (100)	01 (100)	83 (77.57)
Non-migrant Or Early migrant	07 (9.59)	12 (44.45)	05 (100)	00 00	00 00	24 (22.43)
Total	73 (100)	27 (100)	05 (100)	01 (100)	01 (100)	107 (100)

### 2.2.2.8: Language Spoken

The assimilation of languages and the use of multi-languages are the important features among the people living in the village. The people learn several languages through their day to day interaction. The table no.2.18 shows that in case of using languages, the people of the village are distributed into five categories. These are the people using one language, the people using two languages, the people using three languages, the people using four languages and the people using five languages. Here one language includes the mother tongue only. In this village, the number of people, using one language is 294 or 54.14 percent; the number of people using two languages is 130 or 23.94 percent. Here 100 or 18.42 percent people use three languages and 16 or 2.95 percent people speak in four languages. Only 3 or 0.55 percent people speak in five languages. Actually, the number of population is highest in using one language. The table also reveals the fact that both the males and females use many languages. Here the numbers of males and females using one language are 120 or 40.82 percent and 174 or 59.18 percent respectively and the numbers of males and females using two languages are 76 or 58.46 percent and 54 or 41.54 percent respectively. Here, 70 or 70 percent and 30 or 30 percent people out of the total population using three languages are males and females respectively. The number of females speaking in four languages is lower than the males. The number of males is 13 or 81.25 percent and the number of female is 3 or 18.75 percent respectively. In the village only 3 or 0.55 percent males use five languages.

From the table it is also found that the person using several languages is not limited to a particular community and it is not limited to a particular sex-group. Among the Nepalese, the number of people using one language is 203 or 56.39 percent in which the numbers of males and females are 83 or 40.89 percent and 120 or 59.11 percent respectively. Here, 96 or 26.67 percent people can speak in two languages in which the numbers of males and females are 62 or 64.58 percent and 34 or 43.42 percent respectively. In this community the people using three languages is 48 or 13.33 percent in which the numbers of males and females are 32 or 66.67 percent and 16 or 33.33 percent respectively. And the number of people using four languages is very small. In

the community, 10 or 2.78 percent people can speak in four languages in which the numbers of males and females are 7 or 70 percent and 3 or 30 percent respectively. In the community only 3 or 0.83 percent males can use five languages. In case of the Rajbanshis, the situation is more or less similar. Here, the number of people using one language is 76 or 50.33 percent in which 30 or 39.47 are males and 46 or 60.53 percent are females. The number of people using two languages is 29 or 19.20 percent in the community in which the numbers of males and females are 13 or 44.83 percent and 16 or 55.17 percent respectively. In the community 44 or 29.14 percent people can use three languages in which the number of males is much higher than the females. The number of males is 35 or 67 percent and the number of female is 09 or 33.33 percent. Only 2 or 1.33 percent males can use four languages. In case of the Haris, the situation is much different. Their knowledge on more than two languages is also high and the number of females using many languages is not very small. It is found that in this community 12 or 42.86 percent people use only one language in which the numbers of males and females are 5 or 41.67 percent and 7 or 58.33 percent respectively. The number of people using two languages is 4 or 14.29 percent which includes 1 or 25 percent male and 3 or 75 percent female. In the community, 8 or 28.57 percent people can use three languages in which the number of females is higher than the males. The number of males is 3 or 37.50 percent and the number of females is 5 or 62.50 percent. In the community only 4 or 14.28 percent peoples can use four languages. Here the number of people using languages more than three is very small. It can be concluded that the people living in this village do not speak in their mother tongue only; they speak in some other languages also.

**Table no.2.18: Distribution of Population of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Languages spoken.**

Languages Spoken	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
<b>One Language</b>						
M	83	30	05	02	00	120
F	120	46	07	01	00	174
T	203 (56.39)	76 (50.33)	12 (42.86)	03 (100)	00 (00)	294 (54.14)
<b>Two Languages</b>						
M	62	13	01	00	00	76
F	34	16	03	00	01	54
T	96 (26.67)	29 (19.20)	04 (14.29)	00 (00)	01 (100)	130 (23.94)
<b>Three Languages.</b>						
M	32	35	03	00	00	70
F	16	09	05	00	00	30
T	48 (13.33)	44 (29.14)	08 (28.57)	00 (00)	00 (00)	100 (18.42)
<b>Four Languages</b>						
M	07	02	04	00	00	13
F	03	00	00	00	00	03
T	10 (2.78)	02 (1.33)	4 (14.28)	00 (00)	00 (00)	16 (2.95)
<b>Five Languages</b>						
M	03	00	00	00	00	03
F	00	00	00	00	00	00
T	03 (0.83)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (0.55)
<b>Total</b>	360 (100)	151 (100)	28 (100)	03 (100)	00 (100)	543 (100)

### 2.3 : Comparison of Two Villages

The following table may help us to understand the similarities as well as differences between the two border villages under study in respect to their physical, infrastructural and demographic attributes.

**Table no.2.19: Comparison of Physical and Demographic Attributes of the Border Villages Under Study –Similarities and Dissimilarities.**

Village-1 : <i>Chhoto Dilsaram Jote</i>	Village-2 : <i>Dulal Jote</i>
<b>Similarities</b>	
1. This village is located very near to the Mechi river, Naxalbari forest, Bus stoppage, Railway station, daily and weekly market, and Indo-Nepal border line.	1. This village is also located very near to the Mechi river, Naxalbari forest, Bus stoppage, Railway station, daily and weekly market, and Indo-Nepal border line.
2. Adoption of other occupations is followed among the villagers living in this village.	2. Adoption of other occupations is also followed among the villagers living in this village.
3. Educational facilities are not enough for the villagers. Here is only one Primary School.	3. Educational facilities are also not enough for the villagers. There is one Primary School in this village.
4. Food-habit is very simple and, acceptance of new food items is observed	4. Food-habit is very simple and, acceptance of new food items is also observed
5. Dress-pattern is very simple and, use of modern dresses is noticed.	5. Dress-pattern is very simple and, use of modern dresses is also noticed.
6. The number of people under the age category of 23 – 50 is very high.	6. The number of people under the age category of 23 – 50 is also very high.
7. The number of nuclear families' is very high.	7. The number of nuclear families is very high.
<b>Dissimilarities</b>	
1. The settlement pattern is similar with lineally – cluster type.	1. The settlement pattern is similar with cluster type.
2. The villagers are less careful about	2. The villagers are more careful

diseases and their treatment.	about diseases and their treatment.
3. Wells are used as major source of drinking water for large number of families and use of latrine is very limited.	3. Tube-wells are used as major source of drinking water for large number of families and use of latrine is very wide.
4. The number of kuchcha houses is more than half pucca houses.	4. The number of half pucca houses is more than kuchcha houses.
5. Population structure is characterized by multi-communities and the Rajbanshis are major in number.	5. Population structure is characterized by multi-communities and the Nepalese are major in number.
6. Literacy rate of this village is not very high and the numbers of literate and illiterate people are more or less same.	6. Literacy rate is quite high and the number of literate people is higher than illiterate people.
7. The number of migrant people is higher than non-migrant or early migrant people.	7. The number of migrant people is higher than the number of non-migrant or early migrant people.
8. The number of people speak, in more than one language is maximum.	8. The number of people speak, in more than one language is minimum.

## 2: Findings

The above noted facts make it clear that Darjeeling district is formed by hill and plane areas. The hill area of the district is a combination of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong Subdivisions. It has eight Blocks. The hill areas of the district is famous for healthy and tourist spots. The population structure of the hill areas is characterized by heterogeneity. Majority of the people living in the areas are Mongolian in origin, belonging chiefly to various Nepali castes, but also including a large number of Lepchas, Bhutias and Tibetians. Beside them, there are some other people like, Marwari marchents, Jews, Bengali clerks; Punjabi traders, Chinese carpenters and others found to live. In hill areas of this

district Nepali and Hindi languages are mainly used by the people. Tarai Darjeeling is a very small part of this district. The area was formerly known as Tarai sub-division. Presently, it has been termed as Siliguri sub-division. The Siliguri sub-division is created mainly after annexation of some portions of Jalpaiguri district (formerly Rongpur). In this area, there are four C.D. Blocks. These are Matigara C.D. Blocks, Kharibari C.D. Block, Naxalbari C.D. Block and Phansidewa C.D. Block. There are 366 villages under 22 Panchayats found in this area and the blockwise distribution of the people is as follows-

Matigara C.D. Block has 79 villages, Naxalbari C.D. Block has 98 villages, Phansidewa C.D. Block has 113 villages and Kharibari C.D. Block has 76 villages (Census of India, 2001). The Rajbanshis, the Koches, and the Meches are the aboriginal groups in this area. They had high immunity to protect themselves from several adversities. They had indigenous methods and materials for household building to protect themselves from killing by wild animals. Gradually this area has been the living place of different groups of people. Here some of them have come from other countries like, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and some have come from other States like, Bihar and Sikkim ; and some have come from other districts like, Jalpaiguri, Coochbehar and Maldah. Beside them, some tribal groups like, Santal, the Mundas live in this area for long past. Here, agriculture was an important source of income for the people live in this area. In this area, Bengali is spoken by a great majority of the people.

The studied villages bear some remarkable features. The settlement pattern does not follow a particular shape. The houses are scattered in both sides of village path. The residential arrangement of the households is categorically more or less similar with linearly cluster and cluster types. Here, the availability of lands and the nature of lands determine the arrangement of the houses. The role of caste identity in determining the residential arrangement is not measurable. The economic life of the people is characterized not only by their traditional occupation. Beside, their traditional occupation, the acceptance of new occupations is also followed. The occupational structure of these villages is largely regulated by the border markets located in this frontier area. The communication system is characterized by both the metalled and kuchcha roads.

The state highway passes nearby the villages. The villagers reach to the bus stand by both kuchcha and metalled roads. Some of the villagers enjoy some modern means of communication, like telephone, television, newspapers, electricity, motor bike etc. Bus stoppage, railway station are very near to the villages. Food-habit and dress-pattern are also simple. Acceptance of new food items is observed among the people living in both the villages. Traditional and modern dresses are also used by the villagers. The people living in these villages are very careful about the diseases and their treatment. In some serious cases people take treatment from medicine practitioners and doctors. And in some cases, people take treatment from Naxalbari and Kharibari hospitals. In these villages, the wells and tube wells are used as the source of drinking water and most of these wells and tube wells are provided by the Panchayat office. The use of latrines is also observed in these villages. In case of some poor families, open field and the river side are used for morning evacuation. In using the water of the wells and tube wells, no discrimination is observed among the villagers living in the frontier villages.

The population structure is framed by multi-cultural communities. Tribal and non-tribal people live in the villages. According to caste - hierarchy, the peoples living in these villages are belonged to lower stratum. The number of males and females do not differ much but the sex-ratio varies from community to community. The sex ratio in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is higher than the sex ratio found in Dulal Jote. In these villages, the number of adult people is much higher than other categories of people. This group of people takes part in several economic activities. The people in these villages are not married at very younger age and the number of unmarried persons is higher than the married and other groups of people. Marriage between the Rajbanshi male and the Nepali female is observed. In this village nuclear type of family is the general form and the size of the joint families is not very big. The educational status of people living in these villages is not very high. It is much lower than the literacy rates of the state (i.e. West Bengal) and the Darjeeling district. Presently, a large number of people are conscious about the need of education and they send their children to schools located within the village and nearby villages. Here, no discrimination is made on the basis of caste and gender

identity. But sometimes, the nature of occupations like rickshaw-pulling etc. and poor economic conditions make the parents compelled to aloof their children from educational institutes. Migration of people in these villages is one of the important features. Both the internal and international migrants are found in these villages. Many people have migrated to these villages from Nepal and Bangladesh and many people have migrated to these villages from Assam and Bihar. The people living in these villages have bi or multi lingual status. A large number of people, except their mother tongue, can speak in other languages. There are many people who can not read or write their mother tongues but can speak in other languages very clearly. It is occurred due to existence and interaction of multi-linguistic communities who live side by side. It has been noted that the villages-Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote bear some similar characteristics in terms of location, adoption of some non-traditional occupation, educational facilities, dress-pattern, food habits and family type. At the same time, the villages bear some dissimilar characteristics in terms of settlement pattern, awareness about diseases and treatment, use of wells, tube-wells, latrins, literacy status and capacity of spoken language.

## **CHAPTER- 3**

### **Economic Profile of The Border Villages Under Study**

In this chapter, the economic profile of the border villages has been discussed with the understanding of various aspects like major economic activities, which include agriculture, business, government service, agriculture labour, livestock etc, and other economic activities which include driving, work at bus syndicate, livestock etc, and agrarian structure. Here inter-generational occupational mobility and participation of the village women in the economic activities have also been discussed.

#### **3.1: Village-*Chhoto Dilsaram Jote***

##### **3.1.1: Major Economic Activities**

The economic activities of the border villages have been discussed dividing the activities into two categories. First category is major economic activities and other economic activities. The major economic activities include the activities from which the villagers get larger income and other economic activities include activities which provide the villagers very less amount of income. The villagers are not totally depended on this economic activity permanently and regularly. The major economic activities followed by the villagers are discussed below.

##### **3.1.1.1: Agriculture and Agricultural Practices**

In the economic life of the people living in this border village is characterized by major and other economic activities. In this village agriculture plays a major role in the economic pursuits of the people. Table no. 3.1 shows that in this village the highest number of the people is depended on agricultural activities. In this village 48 or 67.61 percent families out of 71 families are depended on agricultural activities. In this village 34 or 47.89 percent families are depended on agriculture. Even this activity occupies the highest position among all the communities living in this village. Among the Rajbanshis 24 or 44.44 percent families out of total 54 families are depended on this activity.

Among the Santals the dependence on agriculture is very much high. Here 9 or 69.23 percent families are found in this activity. But the participation of the families among other Hindu caste groups is very low in agriculture. Here an only 1 or 25 percent family is depended on agriculture. It may stated that though the villagers have dependance on non-agricultural activities but agriculture is accepted as major source of income among almost all the families living in this village. Agricultural labour is an important occupation in the economic life of the people living in this village. In this village the number of the families depended on this occupation is also much higher. From the above table it is found that 14 or 19.71 percent out 71 families are depended on agricultural labour. Here almost all the communities have dependence on agricultural labour. Among the Rajbanshis 11 or 20.37 percent out of 54 families are depended on this activity. Here among the Santals 3 or 23.07 percent out of 13 families are depended on this economic activity. Not a single family of other Hindu caste groups is found in this occupation as their major economic activity.

**Table no.3.1: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of their Major Economic Activities.**

Economic Activities	Communities			Total (%)
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (Banik)(%)	
Agriculture	9 (69.23)	24 (44.44)	01 (25)	34 (47.89)
Agricultural Labour	3 (23.07)	11 (20.37)	00 (00)	14 (19.71)
Agr.Activities	12 (92.31)	35 (64.81)	01 (25)	48 (67.61)
Rickshaw pulling	00 (00)	10 (18.51)	00 (00)	10 (14.08)
Business	00 (00)	01 (1.85)	02 (50)	03 (4.22)
Govt. Service	00 (00)	02 (3.70)	00 (00)	02 (2.81)
Other activities	01 (7.69)	06 (11.11)	01 (25)	08 (11.26)
Non-agricultural Activities	01 (7.69)	19 (35.19)	03 (75)	23 (32.39)
Total	13 (100)	54 (100)	04 (100)	71 (100)

### 3.1.1.2: Agricultural Implements

The introduction of new implements for agricultural activities is related to some many other factors like landholding size, pattern of production, purpose of production etc. It is found that the introduction of new implement for agricultural activities is very meager. The villagers have been using their traditional implements for long time. The implements used for agricultural activities are wooden plough (*langal*), ladder or *moi*, *kurshi*, *hal*, *Beda*, *jonyal*, and sickle, spade, hoe etc. Here the wood and bamboo made implements are mainly prepared by some of the villagers with the help of indigenous technology. But in preparing some wood and bamboo made implements, the villagers bring some iron parts from local markets. Even they are depended on market for some other iron-produced implements used for cultivating operation. Besides these necessary implements, some other tools used in agriculture or agricultural activities are purchased from local markets. These tools are kula, chela, axe, dao, basila etc. Sometimes, the villagers purchase some bamboo made tools like, Kula etc from a Hari family living another nearby village. In this village under study, there is not a single family which has modern agricultural implements like tractor, power tiller, and some other seed-spraying machines. Only even the possession of bullocks in each cultivating family is not noticed. The village has 31 pairs of bullocks possessed by 30 families as their own. It is also found that there are two families in the village having small quantity of land for cultivation hire out their pairs of bullock in different times during whole year and there is another family having no lands for cultivation hires out its pair of bullocks in different times during whole year.

### 3.1.1.3: Use of Manure and Chemical Fertilizers

The use of manures and chemical fertilizers is in gradual increase in the village. Manures occupy an important part in the production system in the village. The lands in the village are not very fertile. The common form of manure is cow-dung cake. It is found that most of the landholding families have cow-dung pits nearby their houses. In some cases, children are used to fetch the cow-dung cake from lands. The cow-dung cake is used in almost all varieties of

production. Previously, the villagers were interested in producing paddy, jute, *jawar*, *cowni* etc. and some vegetables for home consumption which do not need chemical fertilizers largely. Here they produced those products using manures mainly. But recently, the villagers show interest in using chemical fertilizers to increase soil fertility. The growing interest of the villagers in using chemical fertilizers is the result of their participation in vegetable-production for selling purpose. Even some of them use chemical fertilizers in the fields of jute and paddy etc. in recent times. They use urea, phosphorus, DAP etc to increase the fertility of lands. It is stated that few years back, most of the villagers were dubious about the use of chemical fertilizers, but they get inspiration of using chemical fertilizers in agricultural lands through their interaction with some Bangladeshi people living in nearby village (i.e. Ramdhan Jote). This people are quite proficient in agricultural activities. They use chemical fertilizers and manures largely for huge production. It is found that in the village 28 or 58.33 percent families out of total landholding families (i.e. 48 families) are the users of chemical fertilizers with manures in larger extent and only 10 to 41.67 percent families use chemical fertilizers in a limited way. However, it is clear that the tendency of using chemical fertilizers is in gradual increase.

#### **3.1.1.4: Use of Improved Seeds and Pesticides**

The use of chemical fertilizers and manures is related to the use of improved seeds and pesticides in the village. Traditionally, the cultivators used home-protected seeds of paddy, potatoes, jute, chilly, brinjal etc. But due to growing need of market oriented production, the use of improved seeds and pesticides becomes necessary to the cultivators. And the large size landholding families use some of improved seeds and pesticides in producing products in some large amount. It is found that the agricultural activities are mainly run by the Rajbanshis and the Santals. Here, the Rajbanshis are more advanced in using the improved seeds and pesticides. The use of improved seeds and pesticides is very limited among the Santals. Most of the Santals use home-stored seeds of paddy, jute, *jawar* etc. in their cultivating field. But presently, very few of the Santals use improved jute seeds in their field. The use of pesticides in saving products is not new to the cultivators. But the method of

application of the pesticides is not same and similar. Few years back, some of the cultivators used kerosene oil, gamaxin powder in killing the pests. But due to wider needs of production some of the cultivators use some pesticide medicines like monocil, mirakulan etc in saving vegetable products. The tendency of using improved seeds and pesticides is not similar with the use of machines. There are only three spray machines in the village. The spray machines are used by almost all the cultivating families without any conditions. But during the pick period of spray, some of the cultivators use the pesticide in a different way. They firstly dilute the medicines in a bucket and with the help of broom they spray the medicines on the plants like chilly, potatoes etc. The cultivators normally do not use pesticide medicine in paddy and jute fields.

#### **3.1.1.5: Irrigation and Crop-Pattern**

Any kind of production needs water. The dependence of the cultivators on rain water is normally observed in different parts of our country. But, the cultivators of the village are not completely depended upon the rain water for cultivation. It is already stated that the village is located very near to the Mechi River and the river is passing nearby the western side of the village. There is a canal made by the government few years back. The canal is started from the Mechi River and flows in the village north to south. The canal also covers the lands of several villages. It is informed that the canal is made cleaned or reformed by the Panchayat authority annually or biannually. Even sometimes, the villagers made the canal cleaned collectively just before the starting of rainy season. The cultivators get water from the canal during their necessary periods. The water of the canal is used in paddy field mainly. Beside this, the water is also used in other fields like brinjal, potatoes, chilly, wheat etc. The canal supplies water during the whole year except few months. It is a boost for the cultivators living in the village.

In the production of variety of crops, no remarkable change is noticed, but change in quantity of production is followed. The cultivators of the village are mainly stricken to the production of traditional crops like paddy, jute, jawar, and some vegetable like brinjal, potatoes, tomatoes etc. The villagers also produce some green-leaves plants like kancha, lafa, dhuniya, shalluk etc.

Even due to lower market price, some of the cultivators reduce the production of jawar. Previously, they produced jawar as major food-crops and they meet a larger demand of food for the family members and sell some amount of the products. Due to same reason, the cultivators lessen the production of cowni, poyra which are used as food crops produced during June and July. The production of Tisi and Rai is newly introduced in the village. Presently five families produce these products. According to the villagers, the production of Tisi is very easy. It needs less labour and does not need any irrigation, any chemical fertilizers. Therefore, it can be stated that the introduction of new products with traditional crop pattern is followed in a certain extent.

### **3.1.1.6: Sale of Agricultural Products and Economic Transaction**

In selling the agricultural products village hats (i.e. weekly or bi-weekly markets) and Bazaars (daily markets) play an important role in the life of the villagers. It is informed that when the population of the village was scant then the number and size of the markets were comparatively smaller than the present. The villagers presently sell their products through some local markets. Panitanki bazaar (daily market) is located very near to the village. It is also informed that some of the big size landholding cultivators sell their products like jute, paddy and some of vegetables like brinjal, tomatoes, etc at home. Because, there are some known businessmen who come to those houses seasonally. Small landholding cultivators sell their products in those markets mainly. It is found that 41 or 57 percent out of 71 families do not sell their products. These families consume their products for own purpose and 30 or 43 percent families sell their products through local markets or local businessmen 8 or 26.67 percent families out of 30 families sell their products at home, and 22 or 73.33 percent families sell their products in local markets. It is revealed that previously bullock carts were used to carry the products but presently due to increase of production and quick transportation, rickshaws, vans and cycles etc are used for the same purpose. The economic transition is not limited among the people living in this village only. It exceeds the Indo-Nepal border also. In this connection, the horticultural production like ginger, onion, garlic, betel nuts and leafs etc is very important. Many people of Nepal

mainly from Jhapa district come to Panitanki market and Batasir hat and purchase various goods.

The people of the village interact with the people of other group or countries through some markets. The people of different groups like the Nepalese, the Santals, the Rajbanshis, and other Hindu caste groups are assembled in those markets. This is also an important cause of growth of bilingual or multilingual group of individuals in the village. Therefore, it can be concluded that the village or villagers are not self-sufficient, some of the families produce surplus rice but they are depended on other people for other things like cloths, slippers, ornaments, etc.

### **3.1.1.2: Agrarian Structure and Agrarian Relation**

The agrarian structure of this village is mainly based on land holding possession. The existence of some classes of people like landlords, tenants, etc is not found in this village agrarian structure in their original sense. It is observed that the land holding possession is cauterized by inequality in terms of holding lands. Here some of the villagers are landless or they have homestead lands only and the land holders are the owner of very small quantity of lands. In case of the Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that few years back some of the Rajbanshis were big land holders and locally they were known as Jotedars. This group of people controlled the economic relation of the village in a large extent. Some of them invited the Santals to settle in this village. It is said that previously the frontier area was covered with forests, and this area was less populated. The lives of the villagers were not secured. The villagers were attacked by various animals like tigers, elephants, snakes etc. and the villagers suffered from Kala Jar (Black Fever). Then the Santals were given lands for cultivation. Then they were tenants to some of the local Rajbanshi jotedars. Presently the Santals do not act as tenants to the Rajbanshis living in this village but they pay respect to some of the Rajbanshi families of this village. Presently the traditional Jotedary system is obsolete. But the inequality remains in the present agrarian structure as it was earlier. The agrarian structure is related to the land holding possession of the villagers. Table no.3.2 shows the distribution of the families of the communities in relation to the possession of landholding.

The table shows that the ownership pattern of land is unequal and the number of families decreases when the size of land-possession increases. It is found that in the village, the number of families having only homestead lands is 33 or 46.48 percent, the number of families having lands 1 to 3 bighas and 3-6 bighas are 8 or 11.26 percent and 18 or 25.35 percent respectively. The number of families having lands 6 to 9 bighas is 4.4 or 5.63 percent and equal numbers of families have lands 12-15 bighas. The number of families having lands 9 to 12 bighas is 2 or 2.81 percent and equal number of families have highest amount of lands i.e. 15 to 18 bighas.

The table also shows that the Rajbanshis possess a large amount of land in the village. But the number of families having only homestead lands is more than the half of the total Rajbanshi families. The largest numbers (i.e. 13 or 24.07 percent) of families have 3-6 bighas of land. The number of families having lands 1 to 3 bighas is 3 and the number of families having 6-9 bighas and 12-15 bighas is 3 in each. Among Rajbanshis, only 2 or 3.70 percent families have land 15 to 18 bighas and equal number of families has lands 9-12 bighas. Among the Santals, only one or 7.69 percent family has lands 12 to 15 bighas. Here, the larger number families have small amount of lands. The number of families having lands 1-3 bighas and 3 to 6 bighas are 4 or 30.77 percent and 3 or 23.08 bighas respectively. Here only one or 7.69 family has lands 6 to 9 bighas. The number of families having only homestead lands is 4 or 30.77 percent. The number of families having only homestead land is very lower among other Hindu caste groups. Here one or 25 percent family has only homestead land and equal number of family has lands 1 to 3 bighas. Only two or 50 percent families have lands 3 to 6 bighas. It is very clear that the land-owning structure of the village is characterized by inequality and it is followed in each group.

**Table no.3 .2: Distribution of the Families of the Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of the Possession of land.**

Size of land (In bighas)*	Communities			Total (%)
	Rajbanshis (%)	Santals (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
0 - 1	28 (51.85)	04 (30.77)	01 (25.00)	33 (46.48)
1 - 3	03 (5.56)	04 (30.77)	01 (25.00)	08 (11.26)
3 - 6	13 (24.07)	03 (23.08)	02 (50.00)	18 (25.35)
6 - 9	03 (5.56)	01 (7.69)	00 (00)	04 (5.63)
9 - 12	02 (3.70)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (2.81)
12 - 15	03 (5.56)	01 (7.69)	00 (00)	04 (5.63)
15 - 18	02 (3.76)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (2.81)
Total	54 (100)	13 (100)	04 (100)	71 (100)

\* 1 bigha indicates 33 decimal.

### 3.1.3: Business

The participation of the people in business is not very high among the villagers living in this village. Table no.3.1 makes it clear that in this village only 3 or 4.22 percent out of 71 families found in this economic activity. The business in this village is confined to other Hindu caste groups and the Rajbanshis only. Among the Rajbanshis 1 or 1.85 percent out of 54 families is engaged in this activity. Here one head of a family among the Rajbanshis is depended on a grocery shop located at Panitanki market. Here 2 or 50 percent families of other Hindu caste groups are depended on business activity. Among other Hindu caste groups, one family has a grocery shop located in this village and another family has a vegetable shop at Panitanki market. The grocery shop is very small in size. There are some daily useful goods like rice, wheat, chocolates, biscuits, biri, matches etc. and other goods useful for the school children like exercise books, pen, pencils etc found in this shop.

### **3.1.4: Government Service**

The participation of the people in government service is very low. From the table no.3.1. it is found that only 2 or 2.81 percent out of 71 families are depended on this economic activity. Here 1 out of 2 families is depended on this activity as a fourth grade staff. The head of the family works as a peon in their local Gram Panchayet Office and another head of other family are engaged as a clerk in the same Gram Panchayat Office. Here both the families have some amount of lands but the more earnings come from salary. In this village except the Rajbanshis not a single individual of any communities is depended on this economic activity. It is found that the Rajbanshis are the non-migrant or early migrants in this village. Due to their long settlement here some of them have achieved education and have been appointed in those jobs.

### **3.1.5: Rickshaw Pulling**

Rickshaw pulling is an important source of income of large number families. Table no.3.1 shows that in this village 10 or 14.08 percent out of 71 families are depended on this economic activity. Here all the rickshaw pulling families are belonged to the Rajbanshi community only. Among the Rajbanshis 10 or 18.51 percent out of 54 families get major earnings from this economic activity. It is informed that the rickshaw pulling families are the latter migrants in this village. These families have come from the Antaram village. The Antaram village was located very near to the Mechi River. Due to land encroachment of the river these families have come to this village and accepted this economic activity.

### **3.1.2: Other Economic Activities**

Driving is a new economic activity among the villagers living in this village. In this village two families are partly depended on the income derived from driving of maruti car and truck. Here two young men are associated with this activity. One of the two earns from truck driving, and other gets earning from maruti driving. Here the drivers are belonged to different communities. The truck driver is belonged to the Santal community and the maruti driver is belonged to the Rajbanshi community. The construction of the house building is also accepted as a major economic activity of the villagers living in this village.

Here one young man among the Rajbanshis works as the contractor of house building construction. The man supplies the labours in the construction of any buildings. In this village very few individuals of the Rajbanshi community earn some money from masonry. In this village one family is depended on circus showing activity and earns some money. Here the man is belonged to other Hindu caste groups. The man works with any circus company if the company calls him. The man stays at home during the rainy season mainly. It is found that the man is very interested to work at any circus company. Due to nearness of the Panitanki more, some families get some earnings from the work at bus syndicate. In Panitanki more there are several bus syndicates. Many young people of this village get some income from this economic activity. One man of this village works at bus syndicate which is located at Panitanki more. It is said that it is a comfortable way of earning, but due to having more members in the bus syndicate every man does not get chance to work at the bus syndicate. Here a man of Rajbanshi community is associated with the work at bus syndicate. According to the man, he earns nearly Rs 4000 per month.

### **3.1.2.1: Livestocks**

Livestock is an important source of economic benefits among the villagers living in this frontier village. The livestock structure of this village is consisted of bullocks, goats, hens, ducks, and pigeons mainly. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote it is found that 52 out of 71 families possess livestock and only 19 families have no livestock. Here the numbers of bullocks, cows, goats, ducks, hens and pigeons are 46, 20, 16, 12, 40, and 10 respectively.

### **3.1.2.2: Cross -Border Trading Activities**

Illegal trading activity is one of the important features in economic life of the people living in this border village. Many people mainly the rickshaw pullers of all the communities living in this village, are engaged in this trading activity. In day time, they carry many commodities from Nepal keeping in different parts of their rickshaws. Some of them carry some valuable commodities keeping in packets of their pants and shirts. In most of the cases, the businessmen or women come with the rickshaw pullers sitting on the rickshaw and sometimes, the rickshaw pullers bring the commodities alone. The

rickshaw pullers actually work as carriers of the commodities. They are paid some more money for this carrying activity. Even sometimes in evening and in early morning, some of them carry those commodities through the Mechi River during whole year except rainy season. Beside the rickshaw pullers, some of the young boys also work as carrier of those commodities. This trading activity is held by those people as secondary occupation. It is also stated that many people of Nepal use the river for the purpose and they are associated with this trading activities. Many women mainly some married women living in Panitanki area are involved in this carrying activity. The participation of migrant and immigrant people is high. It is noted that although some women are involved in illegal trading activity, but no instance of girl child trafficking is found from this village. The trafficking of girl child is a fact and even this area is used as a corridor for the purpose (Centre for Women Studies, 2006).

### **3.1.3: Village Women and Their Economic Activities**

The division of labour in frontier villages is not very clear. It is very difficult to draw any demarcation in the division of labour of the males and females, children and adults. There are many household activities which are done by both the males and females. Even the children and adults do the same activity. Here the old persons perform many economic activities. It is found that in case of agricultural activities both the males and females take part. The females in this frontier village perform very important roles at the time of paddy plantation and harvestation. The males mainly cultivate the lands and all the necessary activities like uprooting of the paddy saplings, planting the uprooted saplings in the paddy field, and harvesting of the plants etc are done by the women. It is found that although the women prepare rice normally but sometimes the male members of the family do the same work. Some of the women from poor families work as agricultural labourer. Due to lack of the male labourers, the women are engaged in agricultural labour. They also take part in other agricultural activities like clearing of weeds in vegetable field. But the women are not found in business. In this village one woman of the Rajbanshi community works as Anganwary worker. The role of the women in rearing livestock is very much remarkable. They take care much for their cows, hens, ducks goats etc. The earning from the agricultural labour and earnings

from livestock are sometimes used for their personal purpose. The women most of the cases use the earnings for the welfare of family; basically they use the money to fulfill the needs of their children.

### **3.1.4: Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility**

Table no.3.3 is constructed to present the distribution of families of different communities on the basis of the occupation followed by the heads and their parents. In the village, the mobility of occupations between two generations is noticed. The table shows that presently the heads living in the village are engaged in various occupations. It is found that out of the total family-heads 34 or 47.89 percent heads are depended on agriculture and 14 or 19.72 percent heads are depended on agricultural labour. The number of heads associated with rickshaw pulling, business, government service and other occupations are 10 or 14.09 percent, 3 or 4.23 percent, 2 or 2.82 percent and 8 or 11.27 percent respectively. But the fathers of those heads were engaged in agriculture, agricultural labour, and other occupations only. Here the largest numbers of fathers of the present heads were associated with agriculture. The number of the fathers associated with agriculture is 56 or 78.87 percent and the number of the fathers followed agricultural labour and other occupations like pottery, tea-garden labour etc are 11 or 15.49 percent and 4 or 5.63 percent respectively.

The table also shows the fact that inter-generational occupational mobility is followed among several communities. It is found that among the heads of the Rajbanshi families 24 or 44.44 percent are associated with agriculture, and 11 or 20.37 percent are associated with agricultural labour activities. The number of family heads associated with business and government job is very small and the number of heads engaged in other occupations like driving, masonry etc is 6 or 11.11 percent. But a large number of fathers of the heads were found in agriculture and only 10 or 18.52 percent fathers were found in agricultural labour activities. Among the Santals, presently 9 or 69.23 percent heads accept agriculture as their mainstay and the number of heads accepting agricultural labour as their major occupation is 3 or 23.08 percent. It is found that few years back the fathers of the heads were largely engaged in

agricultural activities and some of them worked as tea garden laborer in some tea gardens located in the district and only 1 or 7.69 percent was engaged in agricultural labour activities. Presently 1 or 25 percent head of other Hindu caste groups is associated with agriculture and the business and other occupations are accepted by 2 or 50 percent and 1 or 25 percent heads respectively. But the fathers of the present heads were associated with some different occupations like pottery and circus showing. Therefore, participation of the heads of different communities in the occupations like rickshaw pulling, government service and masonry, etc. is the new introduction and the occupational mobility of other caste Hindu groups is comparatively higher than others.

**Table no.3.3: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of their Occupation Followed in Last Two Generations.**

Communities	Total no. of families (%)	Heads' Occupations						Fathers' Occupations		
		Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	Rickshaw-Pulling (%)	Business (%)	Govt. Service (%)	Others (%)	Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	Others (%)
Rajbanshis	54 (100)	24 (44.44)	11 (20.37)	10 (18.52)	01 (1.85)	02 (3.70)	06 (11.11)	44 (81.48)	10 (18.52)	00 (00)
Santals	13 (100)	09 (69.23)	03 (23.08)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (7.69)	12 (92.31)	01 (7.69)	00 (00)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	04 (100)	01 (25.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (50.00)	00 (00)	01 (25.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	04 (100)
Total	71 (100)	34 (47.89)	14 (19.72)	10 (14.09)	03 (4.23)	02 (2.82)	08 (11.27)	56 (78.87)	11 (15.49)	04 (5.6)

### 3.2: Village-Dulal Jote

#### 3.2.1: Major Economic Activities

The economic activities of the frontier villages have been discussed dividing the activities into two categories. First category is major economic activities and other economic activities. The major economic activities include the activities from which the villagers get larger income and other economic

activities include activities which provide the villagers very less amount of income. The villages are not totally depended on these economic activities permanently and regularly. The major economic activities followed by the villagers are discussed below.

### **3.2.1.1: Agriculture and Agricultural Practices**

Agriculture is one of the important major economic activities found in this village. From the table 3.4 it is found that 60 or 56.07 percent families out of 107 families are depended on agriculture as major source of livelihood. In this village, the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese are depended on agriculture only and the Haris, the Lepchas, and other Hindu caste groups have no land for cultivation. Among the Rajbanshis 6 or 22.22 percent out of 27 families have lands for cultivation. The Rajbanshis living in this village are mostly landless. Many of them have come to this village later than the Rajbanshi people living in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In case of the Nepalese, a large number of families have dependence on agriculture. Here 54 or 73.97 percent out of 73 families are depended on agriculture. The Nepalese living in this village is mainly cultivators and most of the Nepalese were traditionally engaged in agricultural activities. Due to having small size of lands for cultivation the people living in this village are depended on agricultural labour largely. The table no.3.4 shows that only 3 or 2.80 percent out of 107 families accept agricultural labour as a major source of earning. These 3 families are belonged to the Rajbanshi community. Due to landlessness and poor educational background, these families are depended on this economic activity. Here 3 or 11.11 percent families of the Rajbanshi community accept this activity as a major source of pursuit. Therefore it can be stated that though the villagers are engaged in many non-agricultural activities but a large number of villagers are depended on agriculture for their main source of livelihood.

**Table no.3.4: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Their Major Economic Activities.**

Occupation	Communities					Total (%)
	Rajbanshis (%)	Nepalese (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
Agriculture	06 (22.22)	54 (73.97)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	60 (56.0)
Ag.Labour	03 (11.11)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (2.80)
Ag.Occupation	09 (33.33)	54 (73.97)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	63 (58.8)
Wage labour	04 (14.81)	02 (2.73)	02 (40.0)	00 (00)	00 (00)	08 (7.47)
Rickshaw Pulling	07 (25.93)	00 (00)	03 (60.0)	00 (00)	00 (00)	10 (9.34)
Business	05 (18.53)	05 (6.84)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	10 (9.34)
Service	01 (3.70)	06 (8.23)	00 (00)	01 (100)	01 (100)	09 (8.41)
Other Occupations	01 (3.70)	06 (8.23)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	07 (6.54)
Non-Agr. Occupations	18 (66.67)	19 (26.03)	05 (100)	01 (100)	01 (100)	44 (42.03)
Total	27 (100)	73 (100)	05 (100)	01 (100)	01 (100)	107 (100)

### 3.2.1.2: Agricultural Implements

In case of introduction of modern agricultural implement the villagers are not more equipped. The villagers still now follow the traditional tools and techniques for cultivation in larger extent. They use some traditional implements in agricultural field. These are *langal* (wooden plough), *moi* (ladder), *hat-beda*, *jonyal*, and sickle, spade, hoe, axe etc. It is informed that the villagers purchase the iron made implements from local markets and the wood-made implements

are made by some villagers themselves within the village. Besides, these implements, villagers use some bamboo made tools like dheki, kula, chela, khachari etc in several other activities operated in their daily life. The uses of modern implements like tractor, power tiller, pump set, etc are not introduced in the village. Only five spray machines are purchased by five families. But it is also noticed that some of the villagers use pesticides in a traditional way. Actually, they spray the pesticides diluting it in a bucket and spray upon the plants with a broom. Till now, bullocks are the main means to cultivate the lands in the village. There are 26 pairs of bullocks found in the village. It is also found that some of the villagers possessing very small quantity of land hire out their bullocks for cultivating purpose.

#### **3.2.1.3: Use of Manure and Chemical Fertilizers**

The use of manure and chemical fertilizer is very limited among the villagers living in the village. Cow-dung cake is the main item of manures using in different products. It is noticed that each cultivating family keeps a pit for storing cow-dung nearby the house. But gradual change in using manures and chemical fertilizers is followed. Previously, the villagers produced some products like paddy, cowni, makai etc for household consumption mainly. Here the use of chemical fertilizers was not needed. But, presently, many of the families are associated to the cultivation of vegetables for selling purpose. In this case some of the families use chemical fertilizers to produce some more production. The use of chemical fertilizers is mainly done by the large land-holding families. Even it is found that the villagers are not much conservative in using chemical fertilizers. They are mostly doubtless in using the fertilizers but due to shortage of agricultural land and capital some of the villagers fail to use those fertilizers. Recently almost all the cultivating families use chemical fertilizers in the fields of paddy, jute, etc. other than vegetable products.

#### **3.2.1.4: Use of Improved Seeds and Pesticides**

The cultivators of the village previously used home-preserved seeds in their lands and the use of pesticides was very limited among them. Previously, the Rajbanshis preserved the seeds of chilly, jute, brinjal, wheat etc in their own method. They protected the seeds of those plants wrapping in a piece of

garment or in some cases they protected those seeds putting in bamboo piece and use timely. But presently, very few cases, the seeds are preserved for future use. Presently, the seeds of paddy, millet, linseed etc are preserved at home mainly. Besides this some of the indigenous variety of jute, (Desi or Suti pat), payra, etc have been extinguished. Here, the villagers are mostly depended on market supplied seeds for cultivation. It is observed that the use of pesticides is mainly done by the vegetable producing families. Here very few of the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese are engaged in vegetable products, the Nepalese mainly produce millet (makai), wheat, linseed, paddy etc and green vegetable like rai, chilly, cabbage etc. in measurable quantity.

### 3.2.1.5: Irrigation and Crop-Pattern

The use of water of the Mechi River in irrigation purpose is done by the villagers in the village. The villagers are also depended on rain and canal water. The villagers use water from the same canal which is used by the villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. It is already mentioned that the village is located very near to the Mechi River. The villagers can use the river-water for agricultural purpose during the whole year. But due to lack of enough number of pump sets and some other irrigation facilities, they can not use the water rightly. So, they use the water during the rainy season only.

It is stated that previously crop-pattern of the village was very simple and the produced crops were used for household consumption mainly. Very small quantity of products was sold in local markets. The crop-pattern was mainly structured by the production of paddy, wheat, jute (*deshi or suti pat*), cowni, poyra, millet etc and by some vegetables like brinjal, potatoes, chilly, onion, tomatoes, garlic, gourd, pumpkin etc and by some other green leafs like lafa, palan shakh, arum etc. But due to change of demand, the crop-pattern of the village changes largely. Some new varieties of products are added to the old pattern and some previous varieties get more importance in cultivation. Here chilly, potatoes, tomatoes, brinjal, rai, cucumber etc are produced both for household and selling purpose. Cabbage and potatoes are also produced by some of the villagers for selling purpose. Here, it is observed that the cultivators of nearby villages produce some vegetable products in larger

quantity for selling purpose. They use the irrigation facilities and other fertilizing elements. The land of this village is not very less fertile but the cultivators are not much careful about the development of cultivation.

### **3.2.1.6: Sale of Agricultural Products and Economic Transaction**

It is already mentioned that the village is located very near to some bi-weekly or weekly markets. In this connection the Kharibari hut, Batasir hut, Adhikary hut, Panitanki and Naxalbari bazaar etc play important role in the economic life of the villagers. The villagers sell and purchase their agricultural products with the people of other villages. The assemblance of different communities of people is observed. In those markets, the Rajbanshis, the Nepalese, the Santals etc assemble with their agricultural products. Here, the van, rickshaw, cycle etc are used to carry the products. Economic transition is very wide in this frontier area. The people of different parts of this district and many people from Nepal also come to the markets located in this area. Many people from Jhapa district come to panitanki market Batasir hat to purchase various necessary goods. In this connection, horticultural products play important role. Due to higher price of vegetables in Nepal, many people from Nepal come to the markets and purchase some vegetables and zinger, garlic, betel nuts and leaves etc.

### **3.2.2: Agrarian Structure and Agrarian Relation**

The agrarian structure of this village is not completely same with the agrarian structure of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Actually this village was a part of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The lands of the Dulal Jote are the seized lands of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The families found in the Dulal Jote are later migrants in large extent. Here the agrarian relation based on landlords and tenants is obsolete. But inequality among the families found in Dulal Jote is remained. Here the existent of families having lands of some large size, landless and the families having small quantity of lands are found. Table no.3.5 is formulated to show the distribution of lands in the village and among the communities living in the village. The table shows that amount of landholdings among the families is not very large. The concentration of families is more in holding lands in smaller size. It is revealed that 38 or 35.51 percent families have 0-1 bigha

lands in their possession and only 1 or 0.94 percent family has lands up to 9 - 12 bighas. Here, 33 or 30.84 percent families have land up to 1-3 bighas and 31 or 28.97 percent families have lands up to 3-6 bighas. Only 4 or 3.74 percent families have lands up to 6-9 bighas. In the village, the average amount of lands possessed in a family is very low. Here, per family possesses 2.48 bighas of lands. The village has 265 bighas land under its possession.

Similar land-owning structure is observed among all communities living in the village. In case of the Rajbanshis, the number of families is more in case of holding small quantity of lands. It is noticed that 13 or 48.14 percent families have lands up to 1 bigha and only 1 or 3.71 percent family has lands up to 9-12 bighas. Here, 9 or 33.33 percent families possess lands up to 1-3 bighas and 3 or 11.11 percent families have lands up to 3 to 6 bighas. Only 1 or 3.71 family has 6-9 bigha lands in its possession. This community possesses 56 bigha lands in total and the average landholding size is also very small. Each family in this community possesses lands 2.07 bighas. The Nepalese possesses lands 204 bighas in its possession. Here, the concentration of more families is found in possessing lands up to 3-6 bighas. It is estimated that 28 or 38.36 percent families have lands up to 3-6 bighas and only 3 or 4.11 percent families possess lands up to 6-9 bighas. In this community, 19 or 26.02 percent families have lands up to 0-1 bighas and 23 or 31.50 percent families have lands up to 1-3 bighas. Here, the average amount of landholding per family is also very small. It is counted that per family in this community possesses lands 2.79 bighas. The Haris are mainly belonged to landless families or they have homestead lands only. Only 1 or 20 percent family has lands up to 1-3 bighas and 4 or 80 percent families have lands up to 0-1 bigha. The Lepchas and other Hindu caste groups have homestead lands only. Finally, it can be concluded that the families having large quantity of lands is in gradual decrease and the families possessing small quantity of lands is large in this village.

**Table no.3.5: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Their Land Possession.**

Size of lands ( in bigha)	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
0 - 1	19 (26.02)	13 (48.14)	04 (80.00)	01 (100)	01 (100)	38 (35.51)
1 - 3	23 (31.50)	09 (33.33)	01 (20.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	33 (30.84)
3 - 6	28 (38.36)	03 (11.11)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	31 (28.97)
6 - 9	03 (4.11)	01 (3.71)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	04 (3.74)
9 - 12	00 (00)	01 (3.71)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (0.94)
Total	73 (100)	27 (100)	05 (100)	01 (100)	01 (100)	107 (100)

### 3.2.3: Business

The role of business is important in the economic life of the people living in this village. From the table no.3.4 it is observed that 10 or 9.34 percent families out of 107 families are depended on business activity as a major source of livelihood. Even the business activity is confined to the families of the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese only. The number of the Rajbanshis living in this village depended on this economic activity is larger than the Rajbanshis living in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Here 5 or 18.53 percent are depended on this economic activity. Here the landlessness is the leading factor for the Rajbanshis to accept this activity. Their business is concerned to vegetables, betel and betel nuts etc. Here one family has tea shop at Dhud gate more within its house boundary. Two families of the Rajbanshis have vegetable shops at Panitanki more and other two families of them have dependence on betel leaf business with Nepal mainly. Among the Nepalese, 5 or 6.84 percent families out of the total 107 families accept business as their major source of economic activity. Here two families have tea shops within the village boundary and one has grocery shop at Dhut gate more within the village boundary. Here other two

families have vegetable shops at Panitanki market. It is found that the families of the Rajbanshi community have newly accepted the business as their major source of income and the families of the Nepali community found in business activity were traditionally engaged in business activity.

#### **3.2.4: Government Service**

Government service leads the economic structure in a certain extent. From the table no.3.4 it is observed that 9 or 8.41 percent out of 107 families are depended on this activity as their major source of earnings. Here the people are employed in various services. Some of them are employed in police department, and some are employed in teaching profession. The participation of the Nepalese in Government service is the highest among all the communities living in this village. In this community, 6 or 8.23 percent out of 19 families accept government service as major economic activity. It is found that out of six, two families accept primary school teaching as their major economic activity. Other two families are depended on the service of defense and one family is depended on the service of NGO. One member of a family earns money as a Calcutta police. The higher educational qualifications lead the Nepalese to accept the government service in larger number than others. In this village only one family of the Rajbanshi family is depended on government service as main source of income. Here the head of the family is employed in a lower grade post in SSB.

#### **3.2.5: Rickshaw Pulling**

In this village the people having lower educational status and poor economic condition are depended on rickshaw pulling as their major economic activity. The table no 3.4 makes it clear that here 10 or 9.34 percent families depended on this activity. The participation of the Rajbanshis is very high in this economic activity. Here 7 or 25.93 percent out of 27 families accept this activity as major source of livelihood. These families are the later migrants in this village. Beside it this village has another three families which accept rickshaw pulling as major economic activity. Among the Haris, 3 or 60 percent out of 5 families are depended on this activity.

### 3.2.2: Other Economic Activities

In this village the nature of other economic activity bears some differences from Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. It is found that some of the people of this village get earnings from some standard economic activities like private tuition, land survey (work of an Amin) etc. From the table no 3.4 it is found that 7 or 6.54 percent out of 107 families are engaged in the above mentioned economic activities. Here the numbers of 6 or 8.23 percent out of 73 families are depended on other economic activities. Among the Nepalese one member of a family out of six families is depended on work at factory located in Delhi. One woman earns some money from tuition and one member of a family works as carpenter. In this community, three members of three families work at bus syndicate located at Panitanki market. In case of the Rajbanshis one family is depended on land survey activity. The head of the family works as a non-government land surveyor (Amin). The women of the Haris get some income from basket making activity and the males of this community seasonally work as the members of band party team at the time of marriage and other ceremonies.

#### 3.2.2.1: Livestocks

The possession of livestock is one of the important features of rural society in India. But in case of the frontier village, the importance of livestock possession is not very much notable. It is observed that there are many cultivating families in this village but they do not possess any bullock. It is also found that in the village 75 families out of 107 families have livestock possession and 32 families have no livestock possession. In case of the Nepalese, 60 out of 73 families have livestock possession and 13 families have no livestock. Among the Rajbanshis, 10 out of 27 families have livestock and 17 families have no livestock possession. Beside it, the families of the Haris and the Lepchas have livestock measurably. It is estimated that the village has 35 pairs of bullocks, 25 cows, 40 goats, 10 ducks, 12 pigeons and 140 hens.

### **3.2.2.2: Cross-Border Trading Activities**

A Cross-border trading activity plays an important role as secondary occupation in the economic life of the villagers. The people mainly some of the youths of all the communities and some of rickshaw pullers living in this village are associated with this activity. Here the use of the Mechi River makes this activity easier. Most of the cases, the people carry the commodities through the Mechi river. It is said that two or three sets of people make this carrying activity successful. One set of people carries the goods up to the bank of Mechi River in Nepal frontier and another set of people brings the goods in Indian frontier. Then some of them carry the goods in some markets located at Bagdogra and Siliguri and sometimes, some women carry the goods to those markets. Here, the river is used for this purpose during whole year except rainy season. Beside them, some of the rickshaw pullers living in this village carry some goods keeping the goods in some secret parts of their rickshaw. Sometimes, they carry those goods putting in packets of their pants and shirts with the main carrier. Thus, these groups of people earn some more money. Very few of Nepali women with other women living in Panitanki market area are involved in this cross-border trading activities. It is noticed that this area is used as a zone of trafficking of girl child but not a single instance is informed to be trafficked from this village. Many girl child living in other parts of North Bengal and Nepal have been trafficked through this area (Centre for Women Studies, 2006).

### **3.2.3: Village Women and Their Economic Activities**

In case of frontier villages it is very hard to define the separate role of males and females in terms of economic activities. Because there are several activities which are done by both the males and females. Even the old men and women, school going children also play important role in economic activities. In case of agriculture, some activities are done by the males and a larger number of works are done by the women. Here the males cultivate the lands mainly. In this village the participation of the women in agricultural activities is remarkable. The women take part in production of vegetables, production of paddy with the males. In case of transplantation of paddy saplings and

harvestation, women of all the communities living in this village perform their roles in almost all the activities except the ploughing the field. In this village one woman of the Nepali community works as a primary school teacher. A large number of women among all the communities take part in grazing the cows and fetching the cows from the grass lands. The women of the Haris make baskets and sometimes they sell those baskets in local markets. Sometimes they supply the baskets in marriage, death and other ceremonies and some women of the Haris work as *Dai* also (a person who cuts the umbilical cord of new born baby). The following table may be helpful to understand easily the economic profile of the villages under study.

#### **3.2.4: Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility**

Table no.3.6 is made to show the distribution of families of different communities on the basis of their occupations followed in last two generations. The table shows that the number of families in accepting the occupations like wage labour, rickshaw pulling, business and government service at heads' generation is increased than heads' father's generation. It is found that the number of families following wage labour during heads' fathers' generation was 5 or 4.67 percent and the number of the families taking part in the same occupation is 8 or 7.48 percent in heads' generation. In case of rickshaw pulling, the number of families following the occupation during the heads' fathers' generation was only 1 or 0.93 percent and the number of the families of present heads depending on the same occupation is 10 or 9.34 percent. In case of business, the number of families of the heads' generation is also increased than the heads' fathers' generation. The number of the families in this occupation during the heads' fathers' generation was 7 or 6.54 percent and the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is slightly higher. The number is 10 or 9.34 percent. The number of families accepting government service during the heads' fathers' generation was 7 or 6.54 percent and the number of families having the same occupation during the heads' generation is 9 or 8.41 percent. On the other hand, the number of families accepting agriculture, agricultural labour and other occupations during the heads' generation is decreased than the number of families following those occupations during the heads' fathers' generation. During the heads' fathers'

generation the number of families following agriculture was 65 or 60.74 percent and the number of families following the same occupation during the heads' generation is 60 or 56.71 percent. And in case of agricultural labour, the number of families following the occupation during the heads' fathers' generation was 12 or 11.21 percent but the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 3 or 2.80 percent only. Similarly, the number of families in other occupations during the heads' fathers' generation was 10 or 9.34 percent and the number of the families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 7 or 6.54 percent. Therefore, it can be stated that the occupations like agriculture, agricultural labour and other occupations are losing their traditional importance than the other occupations like business, rickshaw pulling, government service etc in the village. The table also makes it clear that the changing pattern of occupations during two generations found in the village is supported by the pattern of occupational change occurring in different communities living in the village. In case of the Rajbanshis, it is found that the number of families following agriculture, agricultural labour, wage labour, and rickshaw pulling at present heads' generation directly supports the occupational change of the village economy. Here, the number of families in agriculture during the heads' fathers' generation was 14 or 51.85 percent and the number of families in the same occupation during heads' generation is only 6 or 22.22 percent. And the number of families in agricultural labour during the heads' fathers' generation was 8 or 29.63 percent and the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 3 or 11.11 percent. In case of wage labour, the number of families was 2 or 7.41 percent during the heads' fathers' generation and the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 4 or 14.81 percent. But the occupational change among the Nepalese during two generations is slightly different. The change in occupational structure is similar with the change in village occupational structure in terms of agricultural labour, government service, etc. Among the Nepalese, the number of families following government service during the heads' fathers' generation was 4 or 5.48 percent and the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 6 or 8.22 percent. The number of families in agriculture at the heads' generation is little higher than

the number of families following the same occupation during the heads' fathers' generation. The number of families in agriculture during the heads' father's generation was 51 as 69.86 percent and the number of families in the same occupation during the heads' generation is 54 or 73.97 percent. The Hari families were engaged in other occupations during the heads' fathers' generation and during the heads' generation, they have been engaged in wage labour and rickshaw pulling occupation. These occupations are new to them. In case of Lepchas and other Hindu caste groups, no change is found in accepting the occupation during two generations. Finally it can be stated that in case of occupation, both the upward and downward mobilities are happened among the villagers living in this village.

**Table no.3.6: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of their Occupations Followed in Last Two Generations.**

Communities	Total Families (%)	Heads' Occupations							Fathers' Occupations						
		Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	Wage labour (%)	Rickshaw pulling (%)	Business (%)	Govt. Service (%)	Others (%)	Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	W. labour (%)	Rickshaw pulling (%)	Business (%)	Govt. Service (%)	Others (%)
Nepalese	73 (100)	54 (73.97)	00	02 (2.74)	00	05 (6.85)	06 (8.21)	06 (8.22)	51 (69.86)	04 (5.48)	03 (4.11)	01 (1.37)	06 (8.22)	04 (5.48)	04 (5.48)
Rajbanshis	27 (100)	06 (22.22)	03 (11.11)	04 (14.81)	07 (25.93)	05 (18.53)	01 (3.70)	01 (3.70)	14 (51.85)	8 (29.63)	02 (7.41)	00	01 (3.70)	01 (3.70)	01 (3.70)
Haris	05 (100)	00	00	02 (40)	03 (60)	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	05 (100)
Lepchas	01 (100)	00	00	00	00	00	01 (100)	00	00	00	00	00	00	01 (100)	00
Other Hindu Caste Groups	1 (100)	00	00	00	00	00	01 (100)	00	00	00	00	00	00	01 (100)	00
Total	107 (100)	60 (56.71)	03 (2.80)	08 (7.48)	10 (9.34)	10 (9.34)	9 (8.41)	7 (6.54)	65 (60.74)	12 (11.21)	05 (4.67)	01 (0.93)	07 (6.54)	07 (6.54)	10 (9.34)

### 3.3 : Comparison of Two Villages

The following table may help us to understand the similarities as well as differences between the two border villages under study in respect to their economic attributes.

**Table no.3.7: Economic Profile of the Two Villages-Inter Village Similarities and Dissimilarities.**

<i>Village - 1 : Chhoto Dilsaram Jote</i>	<i>Village-2 : Dulal Jote</i>
<b>Similarities -</b>	
1. Agriculture plays very important role in the economic life of the villagers.	1. Agriculture also plays very important role in the economic life of the villagers.
2. The use of both traditional and	2. The use of both traditional and

modern agricultural tools is noticed and land holding size of the families is not very big.	modern agricultural tools is noticed and land holding size of the families is not very big also.
3. The use of manures and chemical fertilizers is observed.	3. The use of manures and chemical fertilizers is also observed.
4. The use of improved seeds and pesticides is in gradual increase.	4. The use of improved seeds and pesticides is in gradual increase also.
5. Both the canal water and rain water are used for irrigation purpose and both traditional and modern varieties of crops are produced.	5. Both the canal water and rain water are used for irrigation purpose and both traditional and modern varieties of crops are also produced.
6. Sale of agricultural products and economic transaction is very wide. It crosses the Indo-Nepal border-line.	6. Sale of agricultural products and economic transaction is also very wide. It crosses the Indo-Nepal border-line.
7. There is a lack of agricultural labour India this village.	7. There is also lack of agricultural labour in this village.
8. Participation of the villagers in cross border trading activities is observed.	8. Participation of the villagers in cross border trading activities is observed also.
9. Inter-generational occupational mobility is followed among the villagers, living in this village.	9. Inter-generational occupational mobility is also followed among the villagers living in this village.
10. The role of women in economic activities is very much important.	10. The role of women in economic activities is also very much important.

### Dissimilarities

1. The participation of villagers in business is very low.	1. The participation of villagers in business is much high.
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2. The number of people in govt. service is very few.	3. The number of people in Govt. service is very slightly higher.
3. The number of people in rickshaw pulling activity is very high.	3. The number of people in rickshaw pulling activity is very low.
4. The number of people taking part in factory work inside and outside of West Bengal is not found.	4. The number of people taking part in factory work inside and outside of West Bengal is found.
5. Participation of women in cross-border trading activities is not found.	5. Participation of women in cross-border trading activities is found.

### 3: Findings

From the above noted facts it is found that in frontier areas, the villagers are largely depended on agricultural activities and at the same time the dependence on non-agricultural activities is also in increase. The change in occupation is observed in almost all the communities living in the village. The introduction of non-agricultural economic activities is followed among all the communities. Here, the Rajbanshis are mainly agricultural community. Their participation in business and government job is very small. The Santals are also depended on agricultural activities. Other Hindu caste groups are mainly associated with non-agricultural activities and very few of them accept agriculture as main occupation. The dependence on agricultural activities is very high among the Nepali people. Unequal distribution of landholding is observed in both the villages. Here, the difference of land holding ness among the landholding families is not very large and the average size of landholding is also very small in both the villages and even it is small among all the communities. Occupational mobility of the communities living in both the villages is a general fact. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, occupational mobility is higher among the Rajbanshis and other Hindu caste groups than the Santals. Occupational mobility is higher among the peoples accepting agriculture as main occupation during heads' fathers' period. In Dulal Jote, it is found that the participation of the present villagers in agriculture and agricultural labour and other occupation is lower than the participation in those occupations during the heads' fathers'

period. Again the participation of families of the present heads' in wage labour, rickshaw pulling, business, government service, is much higher than the number of occupants during the heads' fathers' periods. In the economic life of the people living in the frontier villages, the role of women is very much high. They take part in several agricultural and non-agricultural activities. In both the villages, the villagers are in the stage of gradual agricultural development. The villagers are mainly associated with their traditional cultivating methods. And a large number of the cultivators use their traditional implements in agricultural operation. The lands in the villages are not very much fertile. The villagers do not get proper irrigation facilities and the use of improved seeds, chemical fertilizers is very limited. It is also observed that the crop-pattern is characterized by both the traditional and new variety of products. Here, the new products mainly vegetables get more importance and these products are produced for selling purpose mainly. The market places are not the meeting ground of the needs of the people living in one country; these meet the needs of the people of other country (i.e. Nepal) also. It has been noted that both the villages - Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote bear some common features. It is found that agriculture plays important role in the economy of both the villages. The use of traditional and modern agricultural tools, use of manures and chemical fertilizers, use of improved seeds are found more or less similar way in both the villages. Wide economic transaction, inter-generational occupational mobility and participation in cross border trading activities of the villagers living in both the villages are also found. At the same time the villages bear some differences. It is found that the participation of the villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote in business, Govt. service is very low. Even the villagers do not take part in factory work inside and outside of West Bengal and women do not take part in cross border activities. But the participation of the villagers living in Dulal Jote is much higher in above fields.

## **CHAPTER - 4**

### **Social Structure, Social Institution And Social Organization of The Border Villages**

This chapter is to discuss the social structure, social institution and organization of the studied villages through the study of composition by castes, tribes, and social stratification, family, marriage, kinship and other informal and formal social organization of the villages under study.

#### **4.1: Village-*Chhoto Dilsaram Jote***

##### **4.1.1: Social Structure**

Social structure of the village under study is mainly characterized by multi-cultural groups. The village social structure has been controlled by three communities. They are the Rajbanshis, the Santals and other Hindu groups (i.e. the Potters). The Santals are belonged to tribal group. The village is the living place of two caste groups. The Rajbanshis are Kshatriya by caste and the Potters are Baishya by caste. The structure is also framed by multi-clans. The Rajbanshis are belonged to Kashyap gotra and the Aliman is the gotra of the Potters. The clans of the Santals are Tudu, Marandi, Murmu, and Soren. Lineage structure of the individuals living in this village is also characterized by multi-lineage groups. The Rajbanshis have several lineage identities. Some of the Rajbanshis say that their lineage is Roy and some say their lineage is Burman. In terms of ethnic identity, the social structure of the village is formed by the Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid group of individuals. The Rajbanshis are belonged to the Mongoloid group and the Potters and the Santals are belonged to non-Mongoloid groups. Territorial affinity is an important element of social structure of this village. In this connection, the structure of the village is formed by the individuals of different villages, districts, states and countries also. The individuals of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Utter Dinajpur district and the state of Bihar and Bangladesh are found to live here with assimilation of their cultural traits. In case of religion, the structure has multi-religious groups. The

Rajbanshis and the Potters believe in Hinduism and the Santals believe in animistic form of religion. Some of them believe in Christianity and Hinduism also. Class differences among the villagers is not very clear. On the basis of landholding possession, some of them can be categorised as land-owner and landless mainly.

#### **4.1.2: Family**

##### **4.1.2.1: Family Size**

The size of a family is used to mean the number of persons that constitutes the family. On the basis of size, the families found in the village have been classified into four categories. These are (a) small family consisting of two to three members, (b) medium size family consisting of 4 to 6 members, (c) the large family consisting of 7 to 9 members and (d) very large family consisting more than 10 members.

The table no.4.1 shows the gradual decrease of large size families in rural areas. It is found that out of the total families, the number of small size family is 15 or 21.14 percent; the number of medium size families is 44 or 61.67 percent. The numbers of large size families and very large size families are 9 or 12.67 percent and 3 or 4.22 percent respectively. Here the numbers of large and very large size families are lower than the middle size families. The number of medium size families is the highest among four categories. And the variation is also found among the communities living in the village. The Rajbanshis have 54 families and out of which the number of small size families is 14 or 25.93 percent, the number of medium size families is 33 or 61.11 percent which is equal with the portion of medium size families of the village. And the numbers of large and very large size families are 5 or 9.26 percent and 2 or 3.70 percent respectively. Here the number of medium size family is highest in this community and the number of large and very large size families is lower than other categories. Same tendency is also found among the Santals and the Potters. Among the Santals, the number of small size and medium size families are 01 or 7.70 percent and 8 or 61.54 percent respectively. The number of large size families is 4 or 30.76 percent. Among the Potters, the number of medium size families is 3 or 75 percent and only 1 or 25 percent

family is very large in size. From the above table, it can be concluded that the village as well as the communities have the largest number medium size families. In this category, some of the family heads are aware of the family planning and this category also includes some of newly separated families.

**Table no.4.1: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Family Size.**

Communities	Size of the Families with members				Total
	Small (2-3)	Medium(4-6)	Large (7-9)	Very Large (10+)	
Santals	01 (7.70)	08 (61.54)	04 (30.76)	00 (00)	13 (100)
Rajbanshi	14 (25.93)	33 (61.11)	05 (9.26)	02 (3.70)	54 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	00 (00)	03 (75.00)	00 (00)	01 (25.00)	04 (100)
Total	15 (21.14)	44 (61.67)	09 (12.67)	03 (4.22)	71 (100)

Note: The figure in parenthesis indicates the percentage of family sizes.

#### 4.1.2.2: Family Types

The authority structure of the families is patriarchal. The village has largest number of nuclear families. The number of nuclear families is more than the combination of other types of families. The table no.4.2 shows that the families found in the village are three types; these are the nuclear, the joint and the broken families. The numbers of the nuclear families is 57 or 80.28 percent. The numbers of the joint and the broken families are 9 or 12.68 percent and 5 or 7.04 percent respectively. The number of the nuclear families is also higher than other types of families among all the communities. Among the Rajbanshis, the number of the nuclear families is 44 or 81.49 percent, and the number of the joint and the broken families are 6 or 11.11 percent and 4 or 7.40 percent respectively. Among the Santals, the number of the nuclear families is also higher than the other types. The number of the nuclear families is 10 or 76.93 percent of the total families and the numbers of the joint and the

broken families is 2 or 15.38 percent and 1 or 7.69 percent respectively. The number of the nuclear families is also higher among other Hindu caste groups. The number of the nuclear families is 3 or 75 percent and the number of joint families is 1 or 25 percent. It can be concluded that the nuclear family is the main family structure among the communities living in the village.

**Table no. 4.2: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Family Types.**

Communities	Types of Families			Total (%)
	Nuclear ((%)	Joint (%)	Broken and Incomplete (%)	
Santals	10 (76.93)	02 (15.38)	01 (7.69)	13 (100)
Rajbanshis	44 (81.49)	06 (11.11)	04 (7.4)	54 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	03 (75.00)	01 (25.00)	00 (00)	04 (100)
Total	57 (80.28)	09 (12.68)	05 (7.04)	71 (100)

#### 4.1.2.3: Family Composition

The composition of the families indicates that the depth of generations is not very wide. The table no. 4.3 shows that most of the cases, the composition of the families includes mainly two generations. In case of the nuclear family, the number the family consisting husband and wife is 3 or 5.26 percent. The families are found among the Rajbanshis only, the number of families consisting husband, wife, and unmarried children is 43 or 75.44 percent. These families are found among all communities. The number of families consisting husband, wife, unmarried children with widower father is 3 or 5.26 percent this is also found among all the communities. The number of families consisting husband, wife, unmarried children, and widow mother is 6 or 10.53 percent. This is observed among the Santals and the Rajbanshis. The number of families consisting husband, wife, unmarried children and unmarried brother is 1 or 1.75 percent which is found among the Santals only. And some other family consisting by husband, wife, widower son and grand-children is only 1 or 1.75

percent which is found among other Hindu caste groups. And even the depth of generations is not very wide among the joint families. The number of families consisting husband, wife, married and unmarried son with unmarried grand-children is 5 or 55.56 percent, which is found among the Rajbanshis and the Santals. The number of families consisting two married brothers with their wives, unmarried children and widow mother is 1 or 11.11 percent which is found among other Hindu caste groups. And the number of families consisting husband wife, married sons and unmarried grand-children is 3 or 33.33 percent which include some families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals. Here the joint families are consisted collaterally and lineally and the depth of generations is limited within three generations only. And the number of the broken family consisting widow mother with her unmarried children and widow mother, widower son with grand-children is 4 or 80 percent and 1 or 20 percent respectively which include some families of the Rajbanshis and the Santals.

**Table no.4.3: Distribution of Different Types of Families of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Composition.**

Family types and composition	Santals	Rajbanshis	Other Hindu Caste Group	Total with percent
<b>Nuclear Families</b>	10	44	03	57 (100)
1. Husband with his wife	00	03	00	03 (5.26)
2. Husband with his wife and unmarried children	07	35	01	43 (75.44)
3. Husband with his wife, unmarried children and widower father	01	02	00	03 (5.26)
4. Husband with his wife, unmarried children and widow mother.	01	04	01	06 (10.53)
5. Husband with his wife, unmarried children and unmarried brother.	01	00	00	01 (1.75)
6. Husband with his wife, widower son and unmarried children.	00	00	01	01 (1.75)
<b>Joint Families</b>	02	06	01	09 (100)
1. Husband with his wife, married and unmarried children and unmarried grand-children.	01	04	00	05 (55.56)
2. Married brothers with their wives, unmarried children and widow mother.	00	00	01	01 (11.11)
3. Husband with his wife, married sons and unmarried grandchildren	01	02	00	03 (33.33)
<b>Broken and Incomplete Families</b>	01	04	00	05 (100) Contd..

1. Widow mother with her unmarried children.	01	03	00	04 (80.00)
2. Widow mother with her widower son and unmarried grandchildren	00	01	00	01 (20.00)
Total	13	54	04	71 (100)

Finally it can be stated that the nuclear families are mainly composed by husband, wife with their unmarried children and the joint families are composed by husband, wife with their married, unmarried and grand children.

#### 4.1.2.4: Family Types and Occupation

It is found that the family-type is not determined by the occupations found in the village. The table no.4.4 shows that the joint families do not depend on agriculture only. Here, out of total joint families 3 or 33.34 percent families depend on agriculture and more than 50 percent families depend on some other occupations available in the village. Here 1 or 11.11 percent family depends on agricultural labour, and the number of families depending on rickshaw pulling is 3 or 33.34 percent. And 2 or 22.11 percent families depend on other occupations like masonry and circus showing. Among the nuclear families more than 50 percent families are found in agriculture and other families depend on some other occupations available in the village and outside. Here, 14 or 24.56 percent families depend on agricultural labour, and the number of rickshaw pulling, govt. service, business and others are 7 or 12.29 percent, 1 or 1.75 percent, 2 or 3.50 percent, 3 or 5.27 percent respectively. Larger numbers of broken families depend on agricultural sector. Therefore, it can be stated that the participation of joint families is very low in agricultural activities, rickshaw pulling, govt. service and business.

**Table no.4.4: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Occupation Accepted by Heads of the Families.**

	Agriculture (%)	Agricultural labour (%)	Rickshaw pulling (%)	Govt. Service (%)	Business (%)	Others (%)	Total (%)
Nuclear	30 (52.63)	14 (24.56)	7 (12.29)	01 (1.75)	02 (3.50)	03 (5.27)	57 (100)
Joint	03 (33.34)	01 (11.11)	03 (33.34)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (22.11)	09 (100)
Broken and Incomplete	02 (40.00)	03 (60.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	05 (100)
Total	35 (49.30)	18 (25.35)	10 (14.08)	01 (1.41)	02 (2.82)	05 (7.04)	71 (100)

#### 4.1.2.5: Family types and Income

To understand the relation between the family type and income of the families, the annual incomes of the families are shown dividing into six levels of incomes – (I) Rs. 9-20 thousand; (ii) Rs. 20.1 to 30 thousand; (iii) Rs. 30.1 – 40 thousand; (iv) Rs. 40.1 – 50 thousand ; (v) Rs. 50.1 – 60 thousand.

The table no.4.5 shows that concentration of larger families is noticed in the lower levels of income. Here out of the total families, 24 or 33.80 percent and 26 or 36.62 percent families have income under the levels of 9-20 and 20.1-30 thousands respectively. Very few families have income more than 50 thousand yearly. Here only 2 or 2.82 percent families are included in this level of income. In this village, 11 or 15.50 percent families have annual income between 30.1 – 40 thousands and the number of families having annual income of 40.1 – 50 thousands is 8 or 11.26 percent.

The table also shows the similar trend in different types of families found in the village. In case of nuclear families, the number is larger in small income levels. The numbers of nuclear families having annual income up to levels of 9-20 and 20.1-30 thousands are 21 or 36.84 percent and 22 or 38.60 percent respectively. The numbers of families having annual income up to levels

of 30.1 – 40 and 40.1 – 50 thousands are 9 or 15.79 percent and 4 or 7.02 percent respectively. In case of joint families, the number of families having income upto level of 20.1-30 thousand and 30.1 to 40 thousand are 4 or 44.44 percent and 2 or 22.22 percent respectively. The broken families are found in the annual income level up to 9-20 thousand. Here both the nuclear and the joint families having the highest level of income (i.e. 50.1 – 60 thousands) are very small. And the broken families do not have highest level of income. Therefore it can be concluded that the types of families are not determined by the levels of income and it can also be stated that higher and highest level of income is not limited within the joint families only and it is more in nuclear families.

**Table no. 4.5: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Levels of Income.**

Type of families	Levels of Income (in thousand per year)					Total
	9-20	20.1-30	30.1- 40	40.1-50	50.1-60	
Nuclear family	21 (36.84)	22 (38.60)	09 (15.79)	04 (7.02)	01 (1.75)	57 (100)
Joint family	00 (00)	04 (44.44)	02 (22.22)	02 (22.22)	01 (11.11)	09 (100)
Broken and Incomplete family	03 (60.00)	00 (00.00)	00 (00)	02 (40.00)	00 (00)	05 (100)
Total	24 (33.80)	26 (36.62)	11 (15.50)	08 (11.26)	02 (2.82)	71 (100)

Note: The figure in parenthesis indicates the percentage of families.

#### 4.1.2.6: Family Types and Land Holding

To show the relation between family types and land holding, all the families found in the village are categorized into 10 levels. These are, (i) landless or having homestead lands only, (ii) families having lands up to 0-1 bigha, (iii) family having lands up to 1.1 – 3 bighas, (iv) families having lands up to 3.1-6 bighas, (v) families having lands up to 6.1-9 bighas, (vi) families having lands up to 9.1 – 12 bighas, (vii) families having lands up to 12.1-15 bighas, (viii) families having lands up to 15.1 – 18 bighas (ix) families

having lands up to 18.1-21 bighas, and (x) families having lands up to 21.1-25 bighas.

The size of landholding found in this village is very small. From the table no.4.6 it is clearly observed that the number of families having large quantity of lands is smaller than the number of families having small quantity of lands. Here 2 or 3.50 percent families have lands up to 21.1-25 bighas, and one (1) or 2.27 percent families have lands up to 15.1-18 bighas. The number of families having lands up to 12.1-15 bighas, 9.1-12 bighas and 6.1-9 bighas are 3 or 6.82 percent, 4 or 9.1 percent and 3 or 6.82 percent respectively. The number of families having lands up to 3.1-6 bighas is highest. Here the number of families having lands up to 3.1 - 6 bighas is 19 or 43.18 percent and 9 or 20.45 percent families have lands up to 1.1-3 bighas. Only 3 or 6.82 percent families have lands up to 0-1 bigha. And in the village, the numbers of land holding and landless families are 44 or 61.97 percent and 27 or 38.03 percent respectively. The size of the landholding families is very small. The table also shows that the numbers of families possessing highest quantity of lands are found among nuclear families. Here 2 or 3.50 percent families have lands up to 21.1- 25 bighas. The concentration of the largest number of families is found having lands from 3.1 to 6 bighas and out of the total nuclear families 2 or 3.5 percent families have lands up to 0-1 bigha, 5 or 8.77 percent families have lands up to 1.1- 3 bighas, 3 or 5.26 percent families have 6.1 to 9 bighas, and 3 or 5.26 percent families have lands up to 12.1 to 15 bighas. In this type of families, only 21 or 36.84 percent families are landless as they have lands for homestead only. In case of joint families only 1 or 11.11 percent family has lands up to 15.1 to 18 bighas, and the number of the families having lands up to 1.1 to 3 bighas and 3.1 to 6 bighas are 3 or 33.33 percent and 1 or 11.11 percent respectively. Here the number of total landless and land holding families are 4 or 44.44 percent and 5 or 55.56 percent respectively. The broken families have very small amount of lands. They are distributed in the levels up to 6 bighas of lands, and the number of landless families is 2 or 40 percent. Therefore it can be stated that the joint families having large size lands is not very high and the nuclear families have more lands in each size of land holding.

**Table no. 4.6: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Landholding Size.**

Family Types	Size of Landholding								Total land Holding families	Total Landles s Families	Tot
	0-1 (bigha )	1.1-3 (bigha)	3.1-6 (bigha)	6.1-9 (bigha)	9.1-12 (bigha)	12.1-15 (bigha)	15.1-18 (bigha)	21.1-25 (bigha)			
Nuclear Families	02 (3.5)	05 (8.77)	17 (29.83)	03 (5.26)	04 (7.00)	03 (5.26)	00 (00)	02 (3.50)	36 (63.16)	21 (36.84)	57 (100)
Joint Families	00 (00)	03 (33.33)	01 (11.11)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (11.11)	00 (00)	05 (55.56)	04 (44.44)	09 (100)
Broken & Incomplete Families	01 (20)	01 (20)	01 (20)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (60%)	02 (40%)	05 (100)
Total	03 (6.82)	09 (20.45)	19 (43.18)	03 (6.82)	04 (9.10)	03 (6.82)	01 (2.27)	02 (4.54)	44 (61.97)	27 (38.03)	71 (100)

Note : Figure in parenthesis indicates percentage ; 1 bigha indicates 33 decimal.

#### 4.1.2.7: Family types and Education

The table no. 4.7 shows that the village has 37 educated heads and out of the 37 heads , 33 or 89.19 percent heads live in nuclear families and 3 or 8.11 percent heads live in joint families and 1 or 2.70 percent head live in broken and incomplete families. Here, 8 or 21.62 percent heads complete primary level of education, 27 or 32.97 percent complete Secondary education and the number of heads completing H.S. education is 2 or 5.41 percent. In this village, 6 or 75 percent out of 8 heads live in nuclear families and 2 or 25 percent heads live in joint families. In case of Secondary level of education, the numbers of heads living in nuclear and joint families are 25 or 92.59 percent, and 1 or 3.70 percent respectively. In case of H.S. level of education, the number of heads living in nuclear families is 2 or 100 percent. From this table, it can be concluded that the number of educated heads is larger in nuclear families than joint families.

**Table no. 4.7: Distribution of the Heads of Different Types of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Levels of Education.**

Type of Families	Levels of Education			Total
	Primary level (1-IV Class)	Secondary level (V-X Class)	H. S. level (XI-XII Class)	
Nuclear	06 (75.00)	25 (92.59)	02 (100)	33 (89.19)
Joint	02 (25.00)	01 (3.70)	00 (00)	03 (8.11)
Broken and Incomplete	00	01 (3.70)	00 (00)	01 (2.70)
Total	08 (100)	27 (100)	02 (100)	37 (100)

Note: The figure in parenthesis indicates percentage.

### 4.1.3: Marriage

#### 4.1.3.1: Age at Marriage of Married Men

Table no.4.8 reveals that the larger number of males is married below the legal age at marriage (i.e. 21 years). Here the number of married males is 44 or 57.14 percent, and the number of married males marrying at the legal age at marriage is 33 or 42.86 percent. In the village out of total married males 3 or 3.91 percent are married at the age between 12 - 14 years and the number of males married at the age between 15 - 17 years, is 20 or 25.97 percent. In the village 21 or 27.27 percent males are married at the age between 18-20 years. The age category of 21-25 years includes 20 or 25.97 percent married males and the number of males in the higher age categories is very small. The number of married males under the age categories of 26-30 years and 31-40 year include 12 or 15.58 percent and 1 or 1.30 percent respectively. The average age at marriage of the males is 20.64 years.

Here except the Santals, the number of males married below the legal age at marriage among the Rajbanshis and the Potters is higher than the number of males married within or above the legal age at marriage. Among the

Rajbanshis the number of married males below the legal age at marriage is 33 or 56.90 percent and the number of males married within or above the legal age at marriage are 25 or 43.10 percent. Hence the numbers of married males under the age categories of 12-14 years, 15-17 years and 18-20 years are 2 or 3.44 percent, 15 or 25.86 percent and 16 or 27.59 percent respectively. The numbers of males married under the age categories of 21-25 years and 26-30 years are 16 or 27.59 percent and 9 or 15.52 percent respectively. The average age at marriage in this community is 20.52 years. Among the Santals, the average age at marriage is 22.11 years which is more than the average age at marriage found in the village. Here 4 or 28.57 percent and 3 or 21.43 percent are married under the age categories of 15-17 years and 18-20 years respectively. Among the Potters, the number of males married below the legal age at marriage is very higher than the males married within or above the legal age at marriage. The number of males married below the legal age at marriage is 4 or 80 percent and the number of males married within or above the legal age at marriage is only one or 20 percent. The average age at marriage found in this community is lower than the average age at marriage in the village. The average age at marriage of the married males in this community is 18 years. Therefore it can be concluded that the number of men married below the present legal age at marriage is higher than the number of men married above or within the legal age at marriage and it is high among all the communities living in this village.

**Table no.4.8: Distribution of Married Men of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Age at Marriage.**

Marital age at marriage (In group of yrs)	Communities			Total (%)
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
12 - 14	00 (00)	02 (25.44)	01 (20.00)	03 (3.91)
15-17	04 (28.57)	15 (25.86)	01 (20.00)	20 (25.97)
18-20	03 (21.43)	16 (27.59)	02 (40.00)	21 (27.27)
21-25	03 (21.43)	16 (7.59)	01 (20.00)	20 (25.97)
26-30	03 (21.43)	09 (15.52)	00 (00)	12 (15.58)
31-40	01 (7.14)	00 (00.00)	00 (00)	01 (1.30)
Total	14 (100)	58 (100)	05 (100)	77 (100)
Average age at marriage (In years.)	22.11	20.52	18	20.64

#### 4.1.3.2: Age at Marriage of Married Women

The marriage of females below the legal age at marriage (i.e. 18 years) is the general feature of this village. Table no.4.9 shows that the number of females married below the legal age at marriage is very much higher than the females married within or above the legal age at marriage. The numbers of females married below the legal age at marriage and within or above the legal age at marriage are 60 or 77.92 percent and 17 or 22.08 percent respectively. Here 30 or 38.96 percent female are married at the age category of 12-14 years, and equal number of females is married at the age category of 15-17 years. The number of females married at the age category of 19-21 years is 15 or 19.48 percent. One or 1.30 percent female is married at the age category of 22-25 years and equal number of female is married at the age category of 26-30

years. The average age at marriage in the village is 15.66 years which is also lower than the legal age at marriage. The number of married females below the legal age at marriage is high among all the communities. In case of the Rajbanshis, the number of married females below the legal age at marriage is 47 or 81.03 percent, and the number of females married within or above the legal age at marriage are 11 or 18.97 percent. Here, out of the total married females 22 or 37.93 percent are married under the age category of 12-14 years, and 25 or 43.10 percent are married under the age category of 15-17 years. The age category of 18-21 years includes 10 or 17.24 percent females. Only one or 1.73 percent female is married under the age category of 26-30 years. The average age at marriage of married women in this community is 15.59 years which is lower than the average age at marriage of married women living in the village. Among the Santals, the average age at marriage is 15.64 years which is more or less similar with the average age at marriage of the married women living in the village. In this community, 7 or 50 percent and 3 or 21.43 percent females are married under the age categories of 12-14 years and 15-17 years respectively. The age category 18-21 includes 3 or 21.43 percent females. Only one or 7.14 percent female is married under the age category of 22-25 years. Here 10 or 71.43 percent females are married below the legal age at marriage. Among other Hindu caste groups, the numbers of the females married under the age categories of 12-14 years, 15-17 years and 18-21 years are 1 or 20 percent, 2 or 40 percent and 2 or 40 percent respectively. The number of females married below the legal age at marriage is 3 or 60 percent. Here the average age at marriage is 16.60 years which is slightly higher than the average age at marriage of the women found in the village. Finally it can be concluded that the number of married women below the present age at marriage is higher than the number of women married within or above the present legal age at marriage and it is found among all the communities living in this village.

**Table no.4.9: Distribution of Married Women of Different Communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Age at Marriage.**

Age at marriage (In group years.)	Communities			Total (%)
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
12-14	07 (50.00)	22 (37.93)	01 (20.00)	30 (38.96)
15-17	03 (21.43)	25 (43.10)	02 (40.00)	30 (38.96)
18-21	03 (21.43)	10 (17.24)	02 (40.00)	151 9.48
22-25	01 (7.14)	00	00	01 (1.30)
26-30	00	01 (1.73)	00	01 (1.30)
31-40	00	00	00	00
Total	14 (100)	58 (100)	05 (100)	77 (100)
Av. Age at marriage (In years)	15.64	15.59	16.60	15.66

#### 4.1.3.3: Married Men-Their Present Age and Age at Marriage

Table no.4.10 shows the relation between the present age of the married males and their age at marriage. The table reveals the fact that the marriages below the legal age at marriage and above the legal age at marriage are found among both the younger and older males. Here, 44 or 57.14 percent males are married below the legal age at marriage. These males found in different age categories starting from 16 to 50 years. Presently the males under the age category of 16-20 years are married below the legal age at marriage. The number of males married below the legal age at marriage is very high among the individuals who are categorized under the age category of 21-25 years. The numbers of males in this category married below and above the legal age at marriage are 5 or 71.43 percent and 2 or 28.57 percent respectively. The

numbers of males under the ages between 26-35 years married below and above the legal age at marriage are 12 or 57.14 percent and 9 or 42.86 percent respectively. The number of males married above the legal age at marriage under the age category of 36-40 years is higher than the males married below the legal age.

In this age category the numbers of the males married below and above the legal age at marriage are 5 or 38.46 percent and 8 or 61.54 percent respectively. Under the age category of 41-50 years, the number of males married above the legal age at marriage is much higher also. The numbers of males married above and below the legal age at marriage are 10 or 62.50 percent and 6 or 37.50 percent respectively. But the number of males under the age category of 50 years above'married above the legal age at marriage is very low. In this age category, the numbers of males married below and above the legal age category are 10 or 71.43 percent and 4 or 28.57 percent respectively. Here it can be concluded that the marriage of males below and above the legal age at marriage is more or less equally happened today as it was happened 30 years back.

**Table no.4.10: Distribution of the Married Men in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Present Age and Age at Marriage.**

Marital age At marriage (in group years)	Present age at the married males (in group years)						Total
	16-20	21-25	26-35	36-40	41-50	50+	
12-14	00 (00)	01 (14.39)	02 (9.52)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (3.91)
15-17	5 (83.33)	2 (28.57) *	3 (14.29)	2 (15.38)	2 (12.50)	6 (42.86)	20 (25.97)
18-20	1 (16.67)	2 (28.57)	7 (33.33)	3 (23.08)	4 (25.00)	4 (28.57)	21 (27.27)
21-25	00 (00)	2 (28.57)	8 (38.10)	06 (46.16)	03 (18.75)	01 (7.14)	20 (25.97)
26-30	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (4.76)	02 (15.38)	07 (43.75)	02 (14.29)	12 (15.58)
31-40	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (7.14)	01 (1.30)
Total	06 (100)	07 (100)	21 (100)	13 (100)	16 (100)	14 (100)	77 (100)

Note: The figure in parenthesis indicates percentage.

#### 4.1.3.4: Married Women – Present Age and Age at Marriage

Table no.4.11 shows that the numbers of married females below and above the legal age at marriage among different ages starting from 12 to 50 and above years. Here the number of females married below the legal age at marriage is very high. The numbers of females married below and above the legal age at marriage are 60 or 77.92 percent and 17 or 22.08 percent respectively. In the village one woman under the age category of 12-15 years is married below the legal age at marriage and the twelve females under the age category of 16-20 years are also married below the legal age at marriage. The numbers of females under the age category of 21-25 years married below and above the legal age at marriage are 21 or 91.30 percent and 2 or 8.70 percent respectively. The equal numbers (i.e. 4) of females under the age category of 26-30 years are married below and above the legal age at marriage respectively. The numbers of females under the age category of 31-40 years married below and above the legal age at marriage are 18 or 81.82 percent and 4 or 18.18 percent respectively. Under the age category of 41-50 years, the numbers of married females below and above the legal age at marriage are 4 or 66.67 percent and 2 or 33.33 percent respectively. But all the females under the age category of 50 years above are married above the legal age at marriage. Therefore, it can be stated that the marriage below the legal age at marriage is found today as it was found more than 30 years before.

**Table no.4.11: Distribution of Married Women on the Basis of Present Age and Age at Marriage.**

Marital age At marriage (In group yrs.)	Present age at the married women (in group years)							Total
	12-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	50+	
12-14	1 (100)	6 (50.00)	12 (52.17)	2 (25.00)	8 (36.36)	1 (16.67)	00 (00)	30 (38.96)
15-17	00 (00)	6 (50.00)	9 (39.13)	2 (25.00)	10 (45.45)	3 (50.00)	00 (00)	30 (38.96)
18-20	00 (00)	00 (00)	2 (8.70)	4 (50)	4 (18.18)	2 (33.33)	3 (60.00)	15 (19.48)
21-25	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	1 (20.00)	1 (1.30)
26-30	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 1(1.30)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	1 (20.00)	1 (1.30)
31-40	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)
Total	1 (100)	12 (100)	23 (100)	8 (100)	22 (100)	6 (100)	5 (100)	77 (100)

Note: Figure in parenthesis indicates the percentage.

#### 4.1.3.5: Types of Marriage

Traditionally in rural society monogamy, polygamy and group marriage were the conventional types of marriage. In this village not a single case of group marriage or polygamy is found. Here all the families are consisted by monogamous type of marriage. Here both, the love and negotiation marriage among the villagers mainly among the Rajbanshis living in this village is observed. But the number of the love marriage is higher than the number of negotiation marriage. The love marriage among the Rajbanshis is not looked in a positive way. Except these there is another type of marriage is observed in

this frontier villages. This can be termed as cross-border marriage. It adds an important feature to the socio-cultural situation of this village. Table no.4.12 shows that in the village, 19 or 26.77 percent out of 71 families are characterized by cross-border marital relationship and 52 or 73.23 percent families marry within Indian Territory. Hence, 14 or 73.69 percent out of 19 families establish their marital relationship with the males of Nepal and Bangladesh. Only 5 or 26.31 percent families out of 19 families establish their marital relationship with the females of Nepal.

#### **4.1.3.6: Cross-Border Marriage**

The cross-border marriage is also found among all the communities living in the village. Among the Rajbanshis it is revealed that 15 or 27.77 percent out of 54 families have this type relationship and a large number of families (i.e. 39 or 72.23 percent families out 54 families) do not have cross-border marital relationship with Nepal or any other country. In this community 10 or 66.64 percent families out 15 families have marital relationship with Nepal. Here six (6) males of Nepal out of 10 are married with the females of India and four (4) males of Bangladesh, out of ten (10) families are married with the females of this territory. Here 5 or 33.33 percent families out of 15 families of this village are related to the families of Nepal through the marital relationship of some of their females with the males of this territory. Among the Santals, two (2) or 15.39 percent families out of 13 families are characterized by the cross-border marital relationship, and very largest number of families (i.e. 11 or 84.61 percent out of 13 families) is married within Indian Territory. And among other Hindu caste groups, two (2) or 50 percent families out of four (4) families have cross-border marital relationship. In this community, two (2) males of Bangladesh are married with the females of two families living in Indian Territory. Therefore it can be concluded that the role of cross-border marriage is quite important and it is found among all the communities living in this village.

**Table no-4.12: Distribution of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Cross-Border Marital Relationship.**

Communities	Male of Nepal/ Bangladesh married with female of India (%)	Female of Nepal married with male of India (%)	Total families (%)	Other families (%)	Total (%)
Santals	02 (100)	00 (00)	02 (15.39)	11 (84.61)	13 (18.30)
Rajbanshis	10 (66.64)	05 (33.33)	15 (27.77)	39 (72.23)	54 (76.05)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	02 (100)	00 (00)	02 (50.00)	02 (50.00)	04 (5.65)
Total	14 (73.69)	05 (26.31)	19 (26.77)	52 (73.23)	71 (100)

#### 4.1.3.7: Marriage Distance

Table no.4.13 shows the physical distance of the married couples living in the village. It is clearly observed that the individuals of the village do not follow any physical endogamy in case of marital alliances. Because the bridegrooms of this village married brides who are not born in this village only, some of them are brought from other villages, districts and states, and other nations also. But most of the brides are the inhabitants of the same district. The number of brides born in this district is 41 or 53.25 percent. Here the brides are born in some villages under Phansidewa, Naxalbari blocks. In the village, 5 or 6.49 percent brides are born in some villages under the Kharibari block and 36 or 46.75 percent brides are born in some other villages in the Phansidewa and Naxalbari blocks. The number of brides born in some villages in Jalpaiguri district is 7 or 9.09 percent. The number of brides born in Bihar is 10 or 12.99 percent. Here 6 or 7.79 percent brides born in Nepal are married with the

bridegrooms of this village. The village has some brides who come to this village being married in other district, state and other nations. Among the Rajbanshis, the number of brides born in some nearby villages in the block are married with the bridegrooms of this village is 4 or 6.90 percent. The largest number of brides born in nearby blocks like Phansidewa, Naxalbari blocks, are married with the bridegrooms of this village. The number is 26 or 44.83 percent. In this community, 5 or 8.62 percent brides are born in Jalpaiguri district and 9 or 15.52 percent brides are born in Bihar state. The number of brides born in Nepal and married with the bridegrooms of the village is 5 or 8.62 percent. In this community 8 or 13.79 percent brides have come to this village being married in other district, other state on other nation and are living here. Among the Santals, nearly 80 percent or 11 brides are born in some villages in Darjeeling district and married with the bridegrooms in the village. Only one or 7.14 percent bride is born in Jalpaiguri district and is married with a bridegroom of this village. Among the Santals, one bride is born in Bihar and other one is born in Nepal. Among other Hindu caste group, only one bride is born in Malda district and other 4 or 80 percent brides have come to this village being married in Coochbehar, Murshidabad, and Bangladesh. Therefore it is clear that the selection of brides and bridegrooms is not limited within Indian Territory only, it crosses its national boundary also.

**Table no.4.13: Distribution of Married Individuals in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Physical Distance in Married Alliances.**

Location of the Selected brides	Number of wives in Communities			Total (%)
	Santals (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
Within the villages of same block	01 (7.14)	04 (6.90)	00 (00)	05 (6.49)
Within two blocks Of same district	10 (71.44)	26 (44.83)	00 (00)	36 (46.75)
Within two Districts	01 (7.14)	05 (8.62)	01 (20.00)	07 (9.09)
Within two states	01 (7.14)	09 (15.52)	00 (00)	10 (12.99)
Within two nations	01 (7.14)	05 (8.62)	00 (00)	06 (7.79)
Others	00 (00)	09 (15.51)	04 (80.00)	13 (16.88)

#### 4.1.3.8: Selection of Mates

In this village, the selection of brides depends on the beauties, family background, and education of the brides and in case of the bridegrooms, the physical fitness is mainly considered and the economic background in terms of land-holdings, business etc and educational background is also taken into consideration. In some cases, the capability of providing dowry of the bride's family is also considered. In this village, marriage is happened in various ways of marriage like with dowry and without dowry and with bride price. From the table no.4.14 it is found that out of total couples 42 or 54.55 percent are married with dowry price. Here, the amount is varied beginning from Rs. 1000 to 10,000 with some other commodities like television; cycles, Khat-palang (Couch), watch, etc. These couples are found among some of the Rajbanshis and the Potters. Among the Rajbanshis as well as in the village 16 or 20.78 percent are married without dowry. Actually, they are married under love relation. In the village 19 or 24.67 percent couples are found who are married with bride price. In case of the Rajbanshis, the bride-price ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 previously. And in case of the Santals Rs. 72 .50 to 197.50 are paid as bride price. Finally it can be stated that the number of couples married with bride price is lower than the number of couples married with dowry.

**Table no. 4.14: Distribution of Married Couples in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Acceptance of Dowry and Bride-Price.**

Categories of	Number of couples	Percentage
Determinants		
With Dowry	42	54.55
Without Dowry	16	20.78
With Bride Price	19	24.67
Total	77	100

In this village a large number of parents select the brides and bridegrooms for their sons and daughters respectively. The role of uncle, brother is also measurable. But in most of the cases, the parents also consult

with the son and daughter indirectly and opinion of sons or daughters is given importance. In the village, self-selection also plays an important role. Table no.4.15 shows the distribution of the couples on the basis of pattern of selection. It is found that 31 or 40.26 percent couples are married under selection made by their parents, 8 or 10.39 percent couples are married under the selection made by uncle. Here, both paternal and maternal uncles are given importance till now also. Only 5 or 6.49 percent couples are married under the selection made by elder brothers of the brides. And 33 or 42.86 percent couples are married by the selection made by both the brides and grooms. This self selection marriage is found among the Santals and among the Rajbanshis. Therefore, it is clear that the males and females married through self selection, is very high in this village.

**Table no.4.15: Distribution of Married Couples in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote According to the Persons in respect to Selection of Mates.**

Choice of mate made by	No. of choices	Percentage
Parents	31	40.26
Uncle	08	10.39
Brothers	05	6.49
Self	33	42.86
Total	77	100

In the village, though some of the villagers inform that previously polygamy was practiced by some of the villagers but presently, monogamy is mainly observed. In the village, cross-cousin marriage is not found. But marriage alliances are observed among the relatives in some extent. The individuals do not give attention to gotra distinction also. Marriage between two gotras and also in same gotra is found in all the communities. Table no.4.16 shows that 47 or 61.04 percent marriage alliances do not bear any kind of prior marital relationship before their marriage. Most of the cases, individuals want to make marital relation with non-relatives. Here 30 or 38.96 percent alliances

had prior relation before their marriage. And they were known to each other before marriage also. Therefore, the marriage among the non-relatives is largely preferred by the villagers.

**Table no.4.16: Distribution of Married Couples in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Relation Prior to Marriage.**

Relation of the couples prior marriage	Number of couples	Percentages
Having prior relation	30	38.96
Having no prior relation	47	61.04
Total	77	100

#### 4.1.4: Kinship Relation

Kinship network of the villagers is very wide. It crosses the national boundaries of India. Both the affinal and consanguinal kins are found to live in Nepal and Bangladesh. From the table no.4.17 it is found that in case of this village the largest number of families (i.e. 57 or 80.28 percent families out of 71 families) have affinal kins living within Indian territory and a small number of families (i.e. 14 or 19.72 percent families out of 71 families) have their affinal kins living in Nepal and Bangladesh. The families having kins within same district is highest among the families having kins within Indian Territory. It is found that 37 or 64.92 percent families out of 57 families have kins living in Darjeeling district and the kins of 11 or 19.29 percent families out of 57 families live in other states. These kins live in Bihar. In this village kins of 9 or 15.79 percent families out of 57 families live in Jalpaiguri, Uttar Dinajpur and Coochbehar districts, and the kins of 7 or 12.29 percent families out of 57 families live within the boundary of this village.

The table also shows that the kinship structure of all the communities except the Santals is characterized by cross-border affinal kins. Among the Rajbanshis, it is found that the kins of 43 or 79.63 percent families out of 54 families live within Indian national boundary and the kins of 11 or 20.37 percent families out of 54 families live outside Indian national boundary. They live in Nepal and Bangladesh. In this community nine (9) families out of 11

families have affinal kins in Nepal and two (2) families have kins in Bangladesh. Here, the affinal cross-border kinship structure is framed by the marital relation of 5 males of Nepal with the females of this village. And four (4) males of this village are married with the females of Nepal and two (2) males of Bangladesh have come to this village marrying with the females of this village. In this community the affinal kinship structure within Indian Territory is largely characterized by the kins living in same district. It is found that the kins of 27 or 62.80 percent families out of 43 families live in Darjeeling district, and the kins of the second largest number of families (i.e. 10 or 23.25 percent families out of 43 families ) live in the state of Bihar. In this community, the kins of 6 or 13.95 percent families out of 43 families live in Jalpaiguri, Uttar Dinajpur and Coochbehar districts, and the kins of 5 or 11.64 percent families out of 43 families, live in this village under study.

The kinship structure of the Santals is consisted by their marital relationship within Indian Territory. In this community, the kins of most of the families live in Darjeeling district. It is found that the kins of 10 or 76.92 percent families out of 13 families live in the district and two (2) or 15.38 percent families out of 13 families live in the village under study. The kins of one(1) or 7.69 percent family out of 13 families live in the State of Bihar, and the kins of two(2) or 15.38 percent families out of 13 families live in Jalpaiguri district. The cross-border affinal kinship relation is observed among other Hindu caste groups living in this village. Here the kins of three(3) or 75 percent families out of 4 families have come to this village after being married in Bangladesh and other two(2) males of Bangladesh have come to India and married the females of India. These males are living in this village. In case of internal affinal kinship relation, only one (1) family has kins in Coochbehar and Malda. It is informed that this family has migrated to this village from Coochbehar. The male has married a female of Malda district. In terms of consanguinal kinship relations, the kins of the families living in the village are equally wide as the affinal kinship network is. At the time of marriage ceremony, beginning from selection of bride and bridegrooms, many people of this area go to Nepal and many people of Nepal come to this frontier area and take part in different ceremonies. Therefore, it can be concluded that the kinship

network of the villagers is not limited within Indian Territory; it exceeds the Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh border lines.

**Table no. 4.17: Distribution of Families in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote on the Basis of Affinal and Consanguinal Kinship Relation.**

Communities	No. of families living kins in same village (%)	No. of families having kins in same district (%)	No. of families having kins in other district (%)	No. of families having kins in other state (%)	Total no. of families having kins in India (%)	Total no. of families having kins outside India (%)	Total (%)
Santals	02 (15.38)	08 (61.55)	02 (15.38)	01 (7.69)	13 (100)	00 (00)	13 (100)
Rajbanshis	05 (11.64)	22 (51.16)	06 (13.95)	10 (23.25)	43 (79.63)	11 (20.37)	54 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	00	00	01 (100)	00 (00)	01 (25.00)	03 (75.00)	04 (100)
Total	07 (12.29)	30 (52.63)	09 (15.79)	11 (19.29)	57 (80.28)	14 (19.72)	71 (100)

#### 4.1.5: Village Organization

##### 4.1.5.1: Informal Village Organization

In this connection, the role of caste in determining the political structure of the villages under study is examined. Actually, the people living in frontier villages are not very much interested about politics or political ideology. They support political parties to get some economic benefits mainly. So the role of caste on the political life of the people is very weak. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote it is found that previously one of the local big land owners named Nimlal Roy was very influential in village socio-political field. Initially he was the supporter of Congress, and then he becomes the supporter of BJP. Till now he remains the supporter of the BJP. He also tells that once he talked with Atal Behari Bajpai, the former Prime Minister of India. He played an important role

in favour of BJP. He then worked as unwritten leader of the village. He then was supported by all the villagers. His educational qualification is not very high. He passed class VII only. He provided the people land for cultivation, and some times provided different helps (i.e. money, materials for making house etc.) to the poor people. Due to his influence, most of the villagers were the supporters of BJP. But presently, the political situation has changed. There is not any association of such informal village organization in this village. Here the people of formal panchayat members with others take part in any decision making occasion if necessary.

#### **4.1.5.2: Formal Village Organization**

At present, the existence and function of informal village organization is not found so active in this village. Now-a-days, the people in formal position apply their power on the villagers. Here the people of different communities take part in dispute solving occasion. In this village another leader named Sailendra Nath Singha is found as the active worker of CPI (M). He studied up to Higher Secondary. Previously he was also elected as Gram Panchayat member and his father had some large quantity of lands. It was already mentioned that his father donated some plots of land for a primary school which is known as Dilsaram Jote Primary school. According to Sailendra Nath Singha, he was elected as a Gram Panchayat member due to his helpful activity. He was supported by all caste people. The most of the Rajbanshi and the Santal, the Nepalese and the Hari caste their votes in favour of him. Till now, he is working in favour of CPI (M). Presently fraction among the Rajbanshis is manifested very clearly. According to him some of the Rajbanshi people have been the supporters of KPP. But due to his personal helpful activity, they are coming under his political platform. Even he is called for to attend the local meeting for mitigation some familial disputes occurred among some of the villagers. He with other leaders of the Nepalese tries to solve the problem neutrally. Even he is called to attend meeting to solve any dispute occurred between the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis and between the Rajbanshis and the Santals. Due to his influence, almost all the villagers have been his supporters. Another important favorable factor for his political support is his kinship network. It provides him some more support. A large number of families living

in this village and in Dulal Jote village are his relatives. He has five married sisters who with their families have been living in this village for years. Beside this, he has many other relatives who are his socio-political supporters. But he is supported by the villagers due to his good behavior and the migrant status of some families living in this village.

## **4.2: Village- *Dulal Jote***

### **4.2.1: Social Structure**

Social structure of the village has multi-cultural elements. Many communities and caste people live in this village. Five communities live in this village. They are the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis, the Haris, the Lepchas, and other Hindu caste groups (i.e. Banik). The Nepalese are numerically dominant than others. Ethnically the structure of the village is framed by Mongoloid and non-Mongoloid groups. Here the Rajbanshis are belonged to Mongoloid group and. The Nepalese living in this village are belonged to the Tibeto-Nepalese group. Here both the high and low caste people live in this village. Some of the people of the Nepalese are belonged to higher caste. They are Thakuris, Bhattarai, Nirola and Adhikari. Beside them, there are some other caste people. They are Chhetri, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Bhujel, Prodhan, Bahadur, Thapa, Basnet, Khati, Ghatani, and Biswakarma. Here the number of the individuals of lower caste is very much higher than the higher caste. The Rajbanshis are belonged to Kshatriya by caste and the Baniks is belonged to Vaishya by caste. It is found that there is caste and community distinction among the villagers, but the caste or community discrimination is not observed or it is very less in this village. The individuals of the village believe in various religious faiths. The Hindu religious belief is practiced by the largest number of individuals living in the village and very few of the villagers practice the Christianity.

### **4.2.2: Family**

#### **4.2.2.1: Family Size**

Table no. 4.18 shows the distribution of the families on the basis of size. The table makes it clear that the village has the largest number of medium size

families having 4 to 6 persons. The number of the medium size families is 67 or 62.63 percent out of the total families found in the village. In the village, the number of large size families is 20 or 18.69 percent having members 7-9 persons per family. And third position is occupied by the small size families having 1 to 3 members. The very large size family having more than 10 persons is very small. The number is 3 or 2.80 percent out of the total families found in the village. The table also shows the highest concentration of medium size families is observed among all the communities. Among the Nepalese, the number of medium size families is 49 or 67.12 percent which is larger than the number of medium size families found in the village. The number of small size families is 12 or 16.44 percent which is also higher than the number of the total small size families found in the village. The number of very large size families is lower than the number of large size families. The numbers of the large and very large size families are 11 or 15.07 percent and one or 1.37 percent respectively. In case of the Rajbanshis, the similar trend is followed. The number of medium size families is highest among all other family sizes found in this community. The number of medium size families is 16 or 59.26 percent in this community. Only 2 or 7.41 percent families have members 1 to 3 persons, and 7 or 25.92 percent families have members 7 to 9 persons. In this community only two or 7.41 percent families have 10 and above members. Here, the number of the very large size families is much higher than the number of members of the very large size families found in the village. Among the Haris, the medium and large size families are equal. Here the number of families found under this category is 2 or 40 percent in each. It can be stated that the number of the very large size families is in gradual decrease among all the communities living in the village and the number of medium size families is very high.

**Table no. 4.18: Distribution of Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Family Size.**

Communities	Size of the families (in persons)				Total
	Small (1-3)	Medium (4-6)	Large (7-9)	V.Large (10 and above)	
Nepalese	12 (16.44)	49 (67.12)	11 (15.07)	01 (1.37)	73 (100)
Rajbanshis	02 (7.41)	16 (59.26)	07 (25.92)	02 (7.41)	27 (100)
Haris	01 (20.00)	02 (40.00)	02 (40.00)	00 (00)	05 (100)
Lepchas	01 (100.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups (i.e. Banik)	01 (100.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)
Total	17 (15.88)	67 (62.63)	20 (18.69)	03 (2.80)	107 (100)

Note: The figure in parenthesis indicates the percentage.

#### 4.2.2.2: Family Types

Table no.4.19 shows the distribution of the families on the basis of the types of families. From the table it is clear that the nuclear family pattern is dominant in the village. In the village, the number of nuclear families is 76 or 71.02 percent out of the total families. The number of joint families is very lower than the number of nuclear families. The number of joint families is 20 or 18.69 percent. Only 11 or 10.29 percent families in the village are broken family. It is observed that the nuclear families are found among almost all the communities. The higher tendency of nuclear families is due to two reasons mainly. Firstly, the migration of small size families and secondly disintegration of some joint families. The table also shows that the number of nuclear families is largest among all the communities living in the village. Among the Nepalese, the number of nuclear families is 49 or 67.12 percent out of the total families. The number of joint families in this community is little lower than the number of joint families found in the village. In this community, 14 or 19.18 percent family members live in joint families. The number of broken families is 10 or 13.7 percent. This community has highest number of broken families found in the village. Here the higher number of broken families is the result of migration

of individuals and the death of a partner of a couple. In some broken families unmarried younger persons are found to live. Among the Rajbanshis, the number of nuclear families is very high. The number of nuclear families is 22 or 81.48 percent out of the total families, found in this community. The number of joint families in the community is 5 or 18.52 percent which is more or less equal to the number of joint families found in the village. Among the Haris, the number of nuclear families is also higher than other types of families. The number of nuclear families is 4 or 80.00 percent. From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the joint families are losing their previous importance and in place of it, the nuclear families are getting more popularity.

**Table no.4.19: Distribution of the Families of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Family Types.**

Communities	Types of Families			Total (%)
	Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Broken and Incomplete (%)	
Nepalese	49 (67.12)	14 (19.18)	10 (13.70)	73 (100)
Rajbanshis	22 (81.48)	05 (18.52)	00 (00)	27 (100)
Haris	04 (80.00)	01 (20.00)	00 (00)	05 (100)
Lepchas	01 (100)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)
Other Hindu Caste Groups	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)	01 (100)
Total	76 (71.02)	20 (18.69)	11 (10.29)	107 (100)

#### 4.2.2.3: Family Composition

Table no.4.20 shows the composition of the different types of families. The generational depth in the families is very short. The number of families having three or more than three generations is very small. In the village, out of total number of nuclear families, 3 or 3.95 percent families are formed by husband and wife only. The number of nuclear families having composition of

husband wife, and unmarried children is very high. The number of it is 65 or 85.53 percent. The families having composition of a couple, unmarried children with widower father of the head, is very small. Only one or 1.32 percent family has such composition. Here, 6 or 17.88 percent families are comprised by the families having composition of husband, wife, and unmarried children with widow mother. Here, only one or 1.32 percent family is found under that composition consisting a couple, unmarried children and unmarried brothers of the husband. The depth of generations among the joint families does not exceed three generations. In the village, 11 or 55 percent families are framed by husband, wife, with married, unmarried sons and grand children. Here only one or 5 percent family is arranged by widow mother with her married sons and unmarried grand children. The number of families having husband, wife, with married and unmarried children is 5 or 25 percent. Here one or 5 percent family is consisted by husband and wife with married sons and 2 or 10 percent families are formed by two married brothers and their unmarried children. In the village, out of total broken families, 6 or 54.55 percent families are comprised by widow mother and her unmarried children and only 2 or 18.18 percent families are consisted by widower father and with his unmarried children. In the village, 3 or 27.27 percent families have no pair or any other member.

The table also shows the variation in the composition of different types of families is found among the communities. Among the Nepalese, largest number of nuclear families is formed by husband and wife, with their unmarried children. It is 43 or 87.76 percent out of total nuclear families found in this community. The number of nuclear families having husband and wife with unmarried children and widow mother of the husband is 3 or 6.12 percent. In this community, the number of nuclear families consisted by husband with his wife, with unmarried children and widower father, and husband and wife with unmarried children and unmarried brothers is very low. Only one or 2.04 percent family is found in each pattern. In this community, the number of joint families having husband and wife with married, unmarried children and grand children occupy the highest position. There 7 or 50 percent families are found under this composition. The number of joint families having composition of

husband and wife with married and unmarried children is 5 or 35.71 percent and only one or 7.14 percent family is formed by the composition having widow mother with her married sons and grand children. In this community, the number of broken families having widow mother with her unmarried children is 6 or 60 percent which is more or less equal to the number of families having same composition in the village and the number of families having composition of widower father and unmarried children is very low. In case of the Rajbanshis, the number of nuclear families having composition of husband with his wife and unmarried children is 17 or 77.27 percent which is lower than the number of families having same composition in the village. Out of the total nuclear families found in this community, the numbers of families having combination of husband and wife, and husband and wife, unmarried children and widow mother are 2 or 9.09 percent and 3 or 13.64 percent respectively. In this community, out of total number of joint families 4 or 80 percent families are consisted by husband and wife with married and unmarried children and grand children and only one or 20 percent family is arranged by the composition of two married brothers and unmarried children. The nuclear families found among the Haris is mainly consisted by the combination of husband with his wife and unmarried children and only one joint family is formed by the two married brothers and unmarried children. From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the joint families are mainly composed by husband with wife, married, unmarried children and grand children and the nuclear families are composed by husband with wife and their unmarried children.

**Table no. 4.20: Distribution of Different Types of Families of the Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Composition.**

Family types And composition	Communities					Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	Other Hindu Caste Groups (%)	
<b>Nuclear families</b>	<b>49</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>22</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>04</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>01</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>76</b> <b>(100)</b>
1. Husband and wife	01 (2.04)	02 (9.09)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (3.95)
2. Husband with with his wife and unmarried children	43 (87.76)	17 (77.27)	04 (100)	01 (100)	00 (00)	65 (85.53)
3. Husband and wife with unmarried children and widower father	01 (2.04)	0 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (1.32)
4. Husband and wife with unmarried children and widow mother	03 (6.12)	03 (13.64)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	06 (17.88)
5. Husband and wife with unmarried children and and unmarried brother	01 (2.04)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (1.32)
<b>Joint Family</b>	<b>14</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>05</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>01</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>20</b> <b>(100)</b>
1. Husband and wife with married and unmarried children and grand children	07 (50.00)	04 (80.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	11 (55.00)
2. Widow mother with married sons and grand children	01 (7.14)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (5.00)
3. Husband and wife, married and unmarried children	05 (35.71)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	05 (25.00) contd.
4. Husband and wife with married sons	01 (7.14)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (5.00)
5. Two married brothers and unmarried children	0 (00)	01 (20.00)	01 (100)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (10.00)
<b>Broken &amp; Incomplete Families</b>	<b>10</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>00</b> <b>(00)</b>	<b>01</b> <b>(100)</b>	<b>11</b> <b>(100)</b>
1. Widow mother with unmarried children	06 (60.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	06 (54.55)
2. Widower father with unmarried children	02 (20.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (18.18)
3. One member only	02 (20.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (100)	03 (27.27)
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>107</b>

#### 4.2.2.4: Family Types and Occupations

Table no.4.21 shows the relation between family type and occupations. Here, the main occupation of the family head is considered to understand the relation. The table points out that though the larger portion of families are mostly depended on agriculture, but the dependence of families on other non agricultural occupations is also in increase. It is found that the number of families depended on agriculture is 65 or 60.74 percent in the total families living in the village. The number of families depended on agricultural labour is 4 or 3.74 percent. Here both the males and females work as agricultural labour mainly within the village. Rickshaw pulling is an important occupation of a large section of the families. Here 10 or 9.35 percent families depend on this occupation. In this village 5 or 4.67 percent families are depended on government service. Here, some individuals are engaged in teaching job in primary school, jobs in defense, and powerhouse. In the village, 6 or 5.61 percent families are depended on business activities. Some of them have tea-shop, grocery shop and some of them are engaged in business of betel-leaf with Nepal. Other works is used to mean the different non-agricultural activities like maruti driving, factory works, pension, etc. The number of families depending on other occupations is comparatively high. Here 17 or 15.89 percent families are depended on other occupations for their livelihood. In the village, a large number of nuclear families are depended on agriculture for their main occupation and the number of families depended on some other occupations except agriculture found in the village is very low. Here only 2 or 2.63 percent families are depended on agricultural labour and 9 or 11.84 percent families are found in rickshaw pulling occupation. The participation of nuclear families of the Rajbanshis is higher in rickshaw pulling than the number of families of other communities engaged in this occupation. The participation of the nuclear families in service, business and other occupations is also observed. The numbers of nuclear families in government service, business and other occupations are 4 or 5.26 percent, 5 or 6.58 percent and 13 or 17.11 percent respectively. Here 16 or 80 percent families out of total joint families are found in agriculture and only one or 5 percent joint family is depended on agricultural

labour. Here, equal number of joint families is depended on rickshaw pulling as main occupation. And in the broken families, 6 or 54.55 percent are depended on agriculture as main occupation. The number of broken families depended on agricultural labour and other occupations like government service, business is very small. It is also found that 43 or 66.15 percent families, out of 65 agricultural families are belongs to nuclear families and the number of joint families having agriculture as main occupation is 16 or 24.62 percent. Similarly, the number of nuclear families in agricultural labour, rickshaw pulling, government service, business etc. is higher than the numbers of joint families found in this occupation. Therefore, it can be concluded that the participation of the nuclear families in agricultural activities is in gradual increase than the joint families.

**Table no.4.21: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Occupations Accepted by the Heads of the Families.**

Type of Families	Occupations						Total (%)
	Agriculture (%)	Ag. Labour (%)	Rickshaw Pulling (%)	Govt. Service (%)	Business (%)	Others (%)	
Nuclear	43 (56.58)	02 (2.63)	09 (11.84)	04 (5.26)	05 (6.58)	13 (17.11)	76 (100)
Joint	16 (80.00)	01 (5.00)	01 (5.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (10.00)	20 (100)
Broken and Incomplete	06 (54.55)	01 (9.09)	00 (00)	01 (9.09)	01 (9.09)	02 (18.18)	11 (100)
Total	65 (60.74)	04 (3.74)	10 (9.35)	05 (4.67)	06 (5.61)	17 (15.89)	107 (100)

#### 4.2.2.5: Family Types and Income

Table no. 4.22 shows the relation between families and levels of incomes. The table reveals the fact that the annual income of different types of families ranges from 5 to 75 thousands mainly. It is found that 69 or 64.44 percent out of the total families have income rupees 5 to 15 thousands and the number of families having annual income of rupees 15.1 to 25 thousand is 16 or 19.95 percent. The number of families having annual income of rupees

25.1 to 35 thousand is 6 or 5.00 percent. The number of families having income of rupees more than 35 thousand and below 75 thousand is very low. Only 4 or 3.74 percent families have annual income rupees more than 75 thousand and equal number of families have annual income rupees 35.1 to 45 thousands, the number of families having annual income of rupees 45.1 to 55, 55.1 to 65, and 65.1 to 75 thousands are 5 or 4.67 percent, 2 or 1.87 percent, and only 1 or 0.93 percent respectively. The table also indicates that the number of nuclear families having annual income of rupees below the 15000 is largest. Here the number of nuclear families having income of rupees 5-15000 per year is 55 or 72.35 percent. Here, 11 or 14.47 percent nuclear families have income of rupees 15.1 to 25000 annually and the number of families having annual income of rupees 25.1 to 35, and 35.1 to 45000 are 4 or 5.26 percent and 3 or 3.96 percent respectively. The number of families having annual income more than 45000 rupees is very low. But the number of joint families having higher level annual income is little different. Here, 3 or 15 percent joint families have income of rupees more than 75000 annually and 6 or 30 percent and 4 or 20 percent families have annual income under the levels of 5 to 15000 and 15.1 to 25000 respectively. Among the joint families, the number of the families having annual income of rupees 45.1 to 55000 is 5 or 25 percent. Here, almost all the broken families have annual income of rupees 5 to 15000 and only three families have annual income rupees more than 15000. It is also observed that the number of nuclear families having income between 5-15 000 and 15.1-25000 is higher than the numbers of joint families found in these levels of income. Here the number of nuclear families having income between 5-15 and 15.1-25 thousands are 55 or 79.71 percent and 11 or 68.75 percent out of total 69 families respectively. But the number of joint families having income more than 75 thousands is higher than the number of nuclear families. Here the number of joint and nuclear families having income more than 75000 are 3 or 75 percent and 1 or 25 percent, out of the total four families respectively. Finally it can be said that the joint families have more income than the nuclear families.

**Table no.4.22: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Levels of Income.**

Type of families	Levels of income ( in thousand per year)								Total
	5-15	15.1-25	25.1-35	35.1-45	45.1-55	55.1-65	65.1-75	75+	
Nuclear	55 (72.35)	11 (14.47)	04 (5.26)	03 (3.96)	00 (00)	01 (1.32)	01 (1.32)	01 (1.32)	76 (100)
Joint	06 (30.00)	04 (20.00)	01 (5.00)	01 (5.00)	05 (25.00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (15.00)	20 (100)
Broken & Incomplete	08 (72.73)	01 (9.09)	01 (9.09)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (9.09)	00 (00)	00 (00)	11 (100)
Total	69 (64.44)	16 (19.95)	06 (5.00)	04 (3.74)	05 (4.67)	02 (1.87)	01 (0.93)	04 (3.74)	107 (100)

Note: The figure in the parenthesis indicates percentage.

#### 4.2.2.6: Family Types and Land Holding

Table no.4.23 reveals the relation between landholding and family types. The table makes it clear that although the size of lands is not very large but most of the families have lands under their own possession. It is found that out of the total families found in the village, 75 or 70.09 percent have land for cultivation and 32 or 29.91 percent are landless or they have homestead lands only. The number of families is higher in having lands from 2.1 to 4 bighas. And the number of families is lower in having lands more than 6 bighas. More specially, it is revealed that the number of nuclear families having lands under the levels of 1 - 2 bighas, 2.1 - 4 bighas and 4.1 - 6 bighas are 20 or 26.32 percent, 21 or 27.63 percent and 9 or 11.84 percent respectively. Here, only 1 or 1.32 percent and 2 or 2.63 percent nuclear families have lands from 6.1 - 8 bighas and 8.1 - 10 bighas respectively. In this type of families nearly 70 percent or 53 out of the total nuclear families have lands for cultivation and 30 percent or 23 families have no lands for cultivation. The joint families found in the village are mostly land holders. Here the numbers of landholding and landless families are 17 or 85 percent and 3 or 15 percent respectively. The number of landholding joint families is much higher than the

number of landless families found in the village. The landholding size in the joint families is also not very large. The number of joint families having lands under the levels of 1- 2 bighas, and 2.1-4 bigha are 3 or 15 percent and 5 or 25 percent respectively. Here, the highest numbers of joint families have land under the levels of 4.1 to 6 bighas only. In the village, more than 50 percent or 6 out of 11 broken families have no lands for cultivation. In the village the number of landless broken families is higher than the number of broken families having land for cultivation. Among the broken families, the largest numbers (i.e. 3 or 27.27 percent) of families have lands of 1-2 bighas only. In this village, out of total nuclear families (i.e. 76 families), the number of land holding and landless families are 53 or 69.74 percent and 23 or 30.26 percent respectively. The numbers of land holding and landless joint families are 17 or 85 percent and 3 or 15 percent respectively. Finally, it can be said that the number of joint families having large size lands is in gradual decrease and the number of nuclear families is in gradual increase in holding large size land.

**Table no.4.23: Distribution of Different Types of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Landholding Size.**

Type of families	Size of land holding (in bigha)					Total land holders	Total landless families	Total
	1-2	2.1-4	4.1-6	6.1-8	8.1-10			
Nuclear	20 (26.32)	21 (27.63)	09 (11.84)	01 (1.32)	02 (2.63)	53 (69.74)	23 (30.26)	76 (100)
Joint	03 (15.00)	05 (25.00%)	06 (30.00)	02 (10.00)	01 (5.00)	17 (85.00)	03 (15.00)	20 (100)
Broken	03 (27.27)	01 (9.09)	01 (9.09)	00	00	05 (45.45)	06 (54.55)	11 (100)
Total	26 (24.30)	27 (25.23)	16 (14.96)	03 (2.80)	03 (2.80)	75 (70.09)	32 (29.91)	107 (100)

Note: 1) The figure in the parenthesis indicates percentage. (2) 1 bigha = 33 decimal.

#### 4.2.2.7: Family Types and Education

Table no.4.24 is framed to point out the relation between educational levels and types of families. Here, the educational background of the heads is considered. It is found that in the village, the large numbers of heads are educated up to secondary level and the number of heads educated up to higher secondary level is very low. Here 43 or 40.19 percent are educated up to secondary level and only 3 or 2.80 percent are educated up to higher secondary level of education. In this village 15 or 14.02 percent heads are educated up to primary level of education. And the educated heads are mainly found in primary and secondary levels of education. The number of educated heads up to primary level is 12 or 15.79 percent and 31 or 40.79 percent heads are educated up to secondary level. In these nuclear families 3 or 3.95 percent heads are educated up to higher secondary level of education. In case of the joint families 10 or 50 percent heads are educated. Here, 35 percent or 7 heads are educated up to secondary level, and 3 or 15 percent are educated up to primary level. In this village, the number of educated heads living in nuclear families is higher than the number of heads living in joint families. Here the numbers of educated heads living in nuclear and joint families are 46 or 75 percent and 10 or 16 percent out of total 61 families respectively. In this context, it can be concluded that the educational status of the heads in nuclear families is higher than the heads living in joint family.

**Table no.4.24: Distribution of the Heads of Different Types of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Levels of Education.**

Type of families	Levels of Education			Total
	Pri. Level (I-IV)	Secondary (V-X)	H.S.level (XI-XII)	
Nuclear	12 (15.79)	31 (40.79)	03 (3.95)	46 (60.53)
Joint	03 (15.00)	07 (35.00)	00 (00)	10 (50.00)
Broken & Incomplete	00 (00)	05 (45.45)	00 (00)	05 (45.45)
Total	15 (14.02)	43 (40.19)	03 (2.80)	61 (57.01)

Note: The figure in the parenthesis indicates percentage.

### 4.2.3: Marriage

#### 4.2.3.1: Age at Marriage of Married Males

Table no.4.25 is framed to show the age at marriage of the males living in the village. The table shows that the average age at marriage is more or less equal to the legal age at marriage. The average age at marriage of the males living in the village is 20.94 years. In the village, the number of married males below the age at marriage is 69 or 58.47 percent which is higher than the number of married males within and above the legal age at marriage. The number of married males within and above the legal age at marriage is 49 or 41.53 percent. In the village the number of married males under the ages between 18 to 20 years is highest. Here 36 or 30.51 percent males are married under the ages between 21 to 25 years. Here 12 or 10.77 percent males are married under the ages between 15 to 17 years and 10 or 8.47 percent males are married under the ages between 26 to 30 years. The table also shows that the average age at marriage of the males among the Nepalese is 19.28 years which is lower than of that the average age at marriage found in the village. Here the number of males married below and above the legal age at marriage are 47 or 60.26 percent and 31 or 39.74 percent. Among the Nepalese, the number of married males under the ages between 18-20 years is 39 or 50 percent and 24 or 30.77 percent are married under the ages between 21 to 25 years. Here the number of males married under the age categories of 15 to 17 years and 26 to 30 years are 5 or 6.41 percent each and the age categories of 12 to 14 years and 31 to 40 years include 3 or 3.85 percent and 2 or 2.56 percent respectively. Among the Rajbanshis the average age at marriage is 20.87 years which is more or less equal to the average age at marriage found in the village. Here the numbers of males married below and above the legal age at marriage are 18 or 54.55 percent and 15 or 45.45 percent respectively. The number of married males under the ages of 18 to 20 is 12 or 36.36 percent which is highest in this community. Hence the numbers of married males under the age categories of 15 to 17 years and 21 to 25 years are 6 or 18.18 percent and 11 or 33.34 percent respectively. Here only 4 or 12.12 percent males are married under the age category of 26 to 30 years.

Among the Haris, the average age at marriage is 23.91 years which is higher than that the average age at marriage found in the village. Here the numbers of males married below and above the legal age at marriage are 3 or 50 percent in each. One Lepcha male among the others is married under the age category of 15 to 17 years. Finally, it can be stated that the number of males married below the present legal age at marriage is higher than the males married within or above the present legal age at marriage.

**Table no.4.25: Distribution of Married Men of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Age at Marriage.**

Age at marriage (In group yrs.)	Communities				Total
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Others Hindu Caste Gr. (%)	
12-14	03 (3.85)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (2.54)
15-17	05 (6.41)	06 (18.18)	00 (00)	01 (100)	12 (10.17)
18-20	39 (50.00)	12 (36.36)	03 (50.00)	00 (00)	54 (45.76)
21-25	24 (30.77)	11 (33.34)	01 (16.66)	00 (00)	36 (30.51)
26-30	05 (6.41)	04 (12.12)	01 (16.67)	00 (00)	10 (8.47)
31-40	02 (2.56)	00 (00)	01 (16.67)	00 (00)	03 (2.55)
Total	78 (100)	33 (100)	06 (100)	01 (100)	118 (100)
Ave. age at marriage (in years)	19.28	20.87	23.91	16	20.94

#### 4.2.3.2: Age at Marriage of Married Women

Table no.4.26 is made to point out the age at marriage of the married women living in the village. From the table it is found that the average age at marriage of the women living in the village is 16.46 years which is lower than the legal age at marriage. In the village the numbers of women married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 57 or 48.30 percent and 61 or

51.70 percent respectively. Here the number of married women within or above the legal age at marriage is higher. The numbers of married women under the age categories of 12 to 14 years and 15-17 years are 12 or 10.17 percent and 45 or 38.14 percent respectively. And the number of married women under the age categories of 18 to 20 years and 21-25 years are 53 or 44.92 percent and 7 or 5.92 percent respectively.

The table also shows that among the Rajbanshis the average age at marriage is 17.87 years which is slightly higher than the average age at marriage of women found in the village. Among the Nepalese the numbers of married women below and within or above the legal age at marriage are 33 or 42.30 percent and 45 or 57.70 percent respectively. Here, the numbers of women married under the age categories of 12 to 14 years and 15-17 years are 6 or 7.69 percent and 27 or 34.62 percent respectively. In this community, 39 or 50 percent women are married under the age category of 18 to 20 years. And 5 or 6.41 percent and only 1 or 1.28 percent women are married under the age categories of 21 to 25 years and 26 to 30 years respectively. Among the Nepalese, the average age at marriage is 16.82 years which is more or less equal to the average age at marriage of women found in the village. In this community, the number of women married below the legal age at marriage is higher than the number of women married above or within the legal age at marriage. The numbers of women married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 21 or 63.63 percent and 12 or 36.37 percent respectively. Here the number of women married under the age category of 15 to 17 years is 18 or 54.55 percent and the numbers of women married under the age categories of 12 to 14 years and 18 to 20 years are 3 or 9.09 percent and 12 or 36.36 percent respectively. Among the Haris, the average age at marriage of women is 18.33 years which is higher than the average age at marriage of women living in the village. Here the number of women married under the age categories of 12 to 14 years and 18 to 20 years is equal. Only 2 or 33.33 women are married in each category. Only one woman among the Lepchas in other groups is married under the age category of 12 to 14 years. Therefore it is clear that the number of women married below the present legal age at

marriage is lower than the number of women married within or above the present legal age at marriage.

**Table no.4.26: Distribution of Married Women of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Age at Marriage.**

Age at marriage (in group yrs)	Communities				Total (%)
	Rajbanshis (%)	Nepalese (%)	Haris (%)	Lepcha (%)	
12-14	06 (7.69)	03 (9.09)	02 (10.17)	01 (33.33)	12 (100)
15-17	27 (34.62)	18 (54.55)	00 (00)	00 (00)	45 (38.14)
18-20	39 (50.00)	12 (36.36)	02 (33.33)	00 (00)	53 (44.92)
21-25	05 (6.41%)	00 (00)	02 (33.34)	00 (00)	07 (5.92)
26-30	01 (1.28)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (0.85)
Total	78 (100)	33 (100)	06 (100)	01 (100)	118 (100)
Av. Age at marriage (in years)	17.87	16.82	18.33	13.00	16.46

#### 4.2.3.3: Married Men- Present Age and Age at Marriage

Table no.4.27 is framed to show the relation between present age and age at marriage of the married males of different communities living in the village. The table illustrates the fact that the village has 2 or 1.69 married males whose present age is between 16 to 20 years and they are married at the age between 18 to 20 years. In the village, 16 or 13.56 percent married males are under the age category of 21 to 25 years. Out of the total married males (i.e. 16) 3 or 18.75 percent males are married at the age between 15 to 17 years, 8 or 50 percent are married at the age between 18-20 years, and 5 or 31.25 percent are married at the age between 21 to 25 years. Here the number of married males below the legal age at marriage is higher than the number of

males married above the legal age at marriage. Present age of 24 married males is in between 26-35 years. Here one or 4.16 percent male is married at the age between 12 to 14 years, 13 or 54.17 males are married at the age between 18 to 20 years and 10 or 41.67 percent are married at the age between 21-25 years. In total, the numbers of married males below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 14 or 58.33 percent and 10 or 41.67 percent respectively. In this village, the present age of 16 or 13.56 percent males are under the age category of 31 to 40 years. Among them 10 or 62.50 percent out of 16 males are married at the age between 18 to 20 years, 4 or 25 percent are married at the age between 21 to 25 years and 2 or 12.50 percent males are married at the age between 26 to 30 years. The numbers of males married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 10 or 62.50 percent and 6 or 47.50 percent respectively. Present age of married males under the age category between 41 to 50 years is 15 or 12.71 percent in the village. Here the number of males married at the age categories of 15 to 17 years, 18 to 20 years and 21 to 25 years are 3 or 20 percent, 5 or 33.33 percent respectively. Here the numbers of males married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 8 or 53.33 percent and 7 or 46.67 percent respectively. Present age of married males under the age category of more than 50 years is 45 or 38.14 percent. Here, 2 or 4.44 percent males are married at the age between 12-14 years, 6 or 13.33 percent males are married at the age between 15-17 years, 16 or 35.56 percent males are married at the age between 18 to 20 years, 12 or 26.67 percent are married at the age between 21 to 25 years, 6 or 13.33 percent are married at the age between 26 to 30 years and only 3 or 6.67 percent are married at the age between 31 to 40 years. The numbers of males married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 24 or 53.33 percent and 21 or 46.67 percent respectively. Therefore, it can be concluded that the marriage below the legal age at marriage is not new to them. Many of the male members of the village practiced it previously and even today some of the villagers are married below the present legal age at marriage.

**Table no. 4.27: Distribution of Married Men of Different Communities in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Present Age and Age at Marriage.**

Age at marriage (In group of yrs.)	Present age of the married males (age groups in years)						Total
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	50+	
12-14	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (4.16)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (4.44)	03 (2.54)
15-17	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (18.75)	00 (00)	03 (20.00)	06 (13.33)	12 (8.47)
18-20	02 (100)	08 (50.00)	13 (54.17)	10 (62.50)	05 (33.33)	16 (35.56)	54 (45.76)
21-25	00 (00)	05 (31.25)	10 (41.67)	04 (25.00)	05 (33.33)	12 (26.67)	36 (30.51)
26-30	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	02 (12.50%)	02 (13.34)	06 (13.33)	10 (8.47)
31-40	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	03 (6.67)	03 (2.54)
Total	02 (100)	16 (100)	24 (100)	16 (100)	15 (100)	45 (100)	118 (100)

Note: The figure in the parenthesis indicates percentage.

#### 4.2.3.4: Married Women – Present Age and Age at Marriage

The table no.4.28 shows the relation between the present age and age at marriage of the married women living in the village. The table makes it clear that the village has 11 or 9.32 percent married women whose present age is under the age category of 16 to 20 years and 1 or 9.09 percent out of 11 is married at the age between 12 to 14 years, 4 or 36.36 percent are married at the ages between 15-17 years, and 6 or 54.55 percent are married at the age between 18 to 20 years. Here the numbers of women married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 5 or 45.45 percent and 6 or 54.55 percent respectively. The village has 20 or 16.95 percent out of 118 women whose present age is found under the age category of 21 to 25 years and 3 or

15 percent out of 20 women are married at the age between 12 to 14 years, 4 or 20 percent women are married at the age between 15 to 17 years, 12 or 60 percent are married at the age between 18 to 20 years and only one or five percent women is married at the age between 21 to 25 years. Here the numbers of married women below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 7 or 35 percent and 13 or 65 percent respectively. In the village, the present age of 31 or 26.27 percent women out of 118 married women is under the age between 26 to 30 years. And 2 or 6.45 percent out of 31 are married at the age between 12-14 years, 11 or 35.48 percent are married at the age between 15-17 years, 16 or 51.61 percent women are married at the age between 18 to 20 years and very negligible number of women is married under the age categories of 21 to 25 years and 26 to 30 years. Here the numbers of women married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 13 or 41.93 percent and 18 or 58.07 percent respectively. In the village, the number of women presently under the age category between 31 to 40 years is 20 and 11 or 55 percent out of which are married at the age between 15 to 17 years, 7 or 35 percent are married at the age between 18- 20 years and only one or 5 percent is married at the age between 21 to 25 years. Here the numbers of women married below and above or within the legal age at marriage are 12 or 60 percent and 8 or 40 percent respectively. The village has 16 or 13.56 percent married women whose present age is under the age category of 41 to 50 years. Here, one or 6.25 percent women is married at the age between 12-14 years, 9 or 56.25 percent are married at the age between 15-17 years, 5 or 31.25 percent women are married at he age between 18 to 20 years and only one or 6.25 percent woman is married at the age between 21 to 25 years. In the village, the number of married women presently under the age more than 50 years is 20 or 16.95 percent Here, 4 or 20 percent out of 20 women are married at the age between 12-14 years, 6 or 30 percent are married at the age between 15 to 17 years, 7 or 35 percent are married at the age between 18-20 years and 3 or 15 percent women are married at the age between 21-25 years. Here the number of women married below and above the age at marriage is equal. Therefore, it can be stated that the practice of marriage below the

legal age at marriage is not new to them. It was found previously and even it is observed today among the women living in the village.

**Table no. 4.28: Distribution of Married Women in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Present Age and Age at Marriage.**

Age at marriage (In group yrs.)	Present age of the married women (in group years)						Total
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41-50	50+	
12-14	01 (9.09)	03 (15.00)	02 (6.45)	01 (5.00)	01 (6.25)	04 (20.00)	12 (10.17)
15-17	04 (36.36)	04 (20.00)	11 (35.48)	11 (55.00)	09 (56.25)	06 (30.00)	45 (38.13)
18-20	06 (54.55)	12 (60.00)	16 (51.61)	07 (35.00)	05 (31.25)	07 (35.00)	53 (44.51)
21-25	00 (00)	01 (5.00)	01 (3.23)	01 (5.00)	01 (6.25)	03 (15.00)	07 (5.93%)
26-30	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (3.23)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	01 (0.86)
Total	11 (100)	20 (100)	31 (100)	20 (100)	16 (100)	20 (100)	118 (100)

Note: The figure in the parenthesis indicates percentage.

#### 4.2.3.5: Type of Marriage

In this village monogamy is the general norm. There is a single case of polygyny is found. Here except one case of marriage, all the families are consisted by monogamous type of marriage. It is found that in this village, one family is characterized by polygynous type of marriage. Here one Rajbanshi man has two wives. One of these two is Rajbanshi and other is Nepali by caste. Here the number of love marriage is very high. The number of negotiated marriage is small. In this village love marriage is preferred by the present

generation largely. The parents of the present generation mainly of the Nepali and the Hari communities do not look it negatively as it is looked by a large number of Rajbanshi people living in this and Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. An interesting type of marriage is noticed in this area which can be termed as cross-border marriage.

#### **4.2.3.6: Cross-Border Marriage**

One of the important features of the marital relationship in the frontier villages is the cross-border marital relationship. Due to open border system, the villagers establish their marital relation among the people living in both sides of the border. From the table no.4.29, it is observed that in this village 38 or 38.00 percent out of 100 families have the cross-border marital relation and 62 or 62.00 percent families are consisted by the relatives living within Indian Territory. In this village 12 or 31.59 percent out of 38 females are married with the males of Nepal. Hence, 26 or 68.4 percent out of 38 males are married with the females of Nepal.

The table also shows that in case of the Nepalese, 30 or 42 percent out of 73 families are framed by the cross-border marital relations and 43 or 58.90 percent families are framed by marital relationship within Indian Territory. Hence, 6 or 20 percent females out of 30 are married with the males of Nepal and only two males of Nepal come to India through marital relation. Twenty four (24) or 80 percent out of 30 females of Nepal are married with the males of this village.

In case of the Rajbanshis, the cross-border marital relationship is followed. Among the Rajbanshi families, 8 or 29.63 percent out of 19 families are characterized by cross-border marital relationship. In this community, 6 or 75 percent females are married with the males of Nepal and only 2 or 25 percent males of this village are married with the females of Nepal. Finally it can be stated that the marital relationship of the villagers is not limited within Indian Territory only, it crosses the national border also.

**Table no.4.29: Distribution of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Cross-Border Marital Relation.**

Communities	No. of families having male of Nepal/ Bangladesh married with female of India (%)	No. of families having female of Nepal married with male of India (%)	Total families (%)	Total no of families married within India (%)	Total (%)
Nepalese	06 (20.00)	24 (80.00)	30 (42.00)	43 (58.90)	73 (73.00)
Rajbanshis	06 (75.00)	2 (25.00)	08 (29.63)	19 (70.37)	27 (27.00)
Total	12 (31.59)	26 (68.41)	38 (38.00)	62 (62.00)	100 (100)

#### 4.2.3.7: Marriage Distance

Table no. 4.30 is made to reveal the physical distance between males and females' houses. From the table it is found that the villagers do not maintain a particular distance between males and females' houses. Some of the females are born in same village. Some are born in other villages, blocks, districts, states and nations also. It is found that 32 or 27.13 percent out of 118 females are born in other villages within the same block. In the village 11 or 9.33 percent females are born in some nearby blocks like Naxalbari and Phansidewa, and 6 or 5.08 percent females are born in Bihar, 13 or 11.01 percent females are born in Nepal, and Bangladesh. In the village, 56 or 47.45 percent couples have come to this village being married in other places.

The table also shows that the physical distance between the houses of males and females is more or less similar among the Nepalese living in this village. It is found that 6 or 7.69 percent females are born in Dilsaram and Ramdhan Jote villages under the same block and 11 or 14.10 percent females are born in other blocks (i.e. Kalimpong and Matigara), 1 or 1.28 percent female is born in Arunachal Pradesh. In this community, the number of married brides brought from Nepal is 11 or 14.11 percent and a large number of couples (i.e. 49 or 62.82 percent) come to this village after being married in other places. Among the Rajbanshis, 23 or 69.70 percent females are born in some nearby villages (i.e. Gagaru Jote, Antaram, Jharu Jote, Manjai Jote, Dilsaram, Manipal Jote, Dibiganj, Batasi, Buraganj and Kharibari) under same

block. In this community, only 2 or 6.06 percent females are born in Bihar and equal number of females is born in Nepal. Here 6 or 18.18 percent couples have come to this village being married at Buraganj and Fouji Jote and some other places. Among the Haris, three females are born in Debiganj and another three females are born in Bihar. And among the others, one couple of Lepchas has come to the village being married at Kalimpong. Here, the female was born in Nepal. Therefore, from the above table it can be stated that the villagers do not practise any particular endogamous rule in physical distance between the houses of females and males. Here both the village endogamy and exogamy are observed.

**Table no.4. 30: Distribution of Married Individuals in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Physical Distance in Married Alliances.**

Location of the Selected brides	Number of wives in communities				Total (%)
	Nepalese (%)	Rajbanshis (%)	Haris (%)	Lepchas (%)	
Within villages in same block	06 (7.69)	23 (69.70)	03 (50.00)	00 (00)	32 (27.13)
Within two blocks of same district.	11 (14.10)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	11 (9.33)
Within two districts	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)	00 (00)
Within two states	01 (1.28)	02 (6.06)	03 (50.00)	00 (00)	06 (5.08)
Within two countries	11 (14.11)	02 (6.06)	00 (00)	00 (00)	13 (11.01)
Others	49 (62.82)	06 (6.06)	00 (00)	01 (100)	56 (47.45)
Total	78 (100)	33 (100)	06 (100)	01 (100)	118 (100)

marriage partners within own caste group. It is informed that among the Nepalese, the caste-endogamy previously was maintained rigidly that Chhetris will marry another Chhetri, Sharma with Sharma but, this is not rigidly followed presently. The marital relation between Chhetri and non-Chhetri is also established. Monogamy is the general norm of marriage and widow-remarriage is also not found here. In this village one case of inter-community marriage is found. Here a Rajbanshi male marries two women. Here one of them is Nepali and other is Rajbanshi.

The role of dowry and bride price in shaping the marital relationship is very low. Table no.4.32 shows the fact that 15 or 12.21 percent couples are married with dowry. These couples are belonged to the Rajbanshis only. Dowry is not found among the Nepalese and the Haris. In the village the number of married couples without dowry is 91 or 77.12 percent. Here 27 out of the 33 couples of the Rajbanshis, all the couples among the Nepalese, Haris are married without dowry. But some parents provide their daughters some amount and other materials willingly. In the village 12 or 10.17 percent couples are married through bride price, and it is found among the Rajbanshis only. From the table it can easily be said that the villagers are married with dowry and bride price also. Here the number of couples married without dowry is quite high.

**Table no.4.32: Distribution of Married Couples in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Acceptance of Dowry and Bride-Price.**

Categories of Determinants	Number of Couples	Percentage
With Dowry	15	12.21
Without Dowry	91	77.12
With Bride price	12	10.17
Total	118	100

#### 4.2.4: Kinship Relation

Kinship structure of the villagers is widely spread. It is not limited within Indian Territory only. It spreads above the national boundary of India. In case of affinal kinship relation, the table no.4.33 shows it clearly that 44 or 44 percent out of 100 families are related with the kins living in other countries specially with the relatives living in Nepal and 56 or 56 percent out of 100 families are related with the kins living in Indian territory. Hence 25 or 44.64 percent out of 56 families are related with the kins living in Darjeeling and 18 or 32.15 percent families have kins living within the village under study. Only 5 or 8.93 percent families' kins live in other states. They live in Assam, Tripura, Sikkim and Bihar and 8 or 14.28 percent families are related with kins living in other districts. They live in Jalpaiguri and Uttar Dinajpur.

The table also makes it clear that the Nepalese living in the village bear more or less similar characteristics in case of affinal kinship relation. In this community, 36 or 49.32 percent families have kins in other countries mainly in Nepal and 6 out of 36 families have come being married in Nepal. Most of their affinal and consanguinal kins live in Nepal. 37 or 50.68 percent out of 73 families are related with the kins living in Indian Territory. A large number of families (i.e. 15 or 40.54 percent) have their affinal kins within Darjeeling district, and 12 or 32.43 percent out of 37 families have kins within the village under study. In this community 6 or 16.21 percent out of 37 families have kins living in Jalpaiguri district, and only 4 or 18.82 percent families have kins in Assam, Tripura and Sikkim.

The Rajbanshis living in the village possess more or less similar features in terms of kinship relation. In this community, 8 or 29.62 percent out of 27 families have kins in Nepal and 19 or 70.38 percent out of 27 families have kins within Indian Territory. In this regard, a large number of families (i.e. 10 or 52.63 percent out of 19 families) have kins living in Darjeeling district, and the kins of 6 or 31.59 percent out of 19 families live in Dulal Jote. Here 2 or 10.52 percent out of 19 families' kins live in other districts. They live in Jalpaiguri, and Uttar Dinajpur and only one family has its kins living in Bihar. The consanguinal kinship relation among the villagers is more or less similar

with the spread of affinal kinship structure. Therefore it can be concluded that the kinship relation of the villagers is not limited within Indian Territory only, it crosses the national boundary also and the kins living outside Indian border is very high among the Nepalese living in this village.

**Table no.4.33: Distribution of Families in Dulal Jote on the Basis of Affinal and Consanguinal Kinship Relation.**

Communi- ties	No. of families having kins in the same village (%)	No. of families of families having kins in the same district (%)	No. of families having kins in other district (%)	No. of families having kins in other states (%)	Total no. of families having kins in India (%)	Total no. of families having kins in other nations (%)	Total (%)
Nepalese	12 (32.43)	15 (40.54)	06 (16.21)	04 (18.82)	37 (50.68)	36 (49.32)	73 (100)
Rajbanshis	06 (31.59)	10 (52.63)	02 (10.52)	01 (5.26)	19 (70.38)	08 (29.62)	27 (100)
Total	18 (32.15)	25 (44.64)	08 (14.28)	05 (8.93)	56 (56.00)	44 (44.00)	100 (100)

## 4.2.5: Village Organization

### 4.2.5.1: Informal Village Organization

The informal village organization is very active in this village. But the formation of the organization is not clear. At the time of arising situation, some Nepalese sit for a secret meeting. Here, most of the people of this community go to Sarbajit Ghatani and Ram Kumar Chhetri, local leaders, for their problems. Beside this, Sarbajit Ghatani and Ram Kumar Chhetri go for a secret meeting with some Nepalese, at the time of election. They discuss on various issues for the coming election. The others accept the decision unanimously. The secret meeting held among the Nepalese except other communities. The Rajbanshis and the Haris of this village take help from Sailendra Nath Singha, a local leader of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, for their problems.

#### 4.2.5.2: Formal village Organization

The role of formal village organization is very much important in the life of the people living in this village. In this village, the impact of caste in determining village political power structure is not remarkable. Even no fraction is observed among the Nepalese living in this village. All the Nepalese living in this village believe in one political party. It is already mentioned that Dulal Jote has two leaders. Sarbajit Ghatani, a primary school teacher and a member of CPI (M) presently works as a Gram Panchayat member and Ram Kumar Chhetri works as the President of Zonal Committee and a member of Zilla Committee of CPI (M). Both of them passed secondary education. In this village, almost all the families of all caste groups cast their votes in favour of CPI (M). According to the supporters, it is informed that they support CPI (M) because; they have got many facilities with the help of the local leaders of CPI (M). The local leaders of CPI (M) have helped them to obtain ration cards, voter identity cards, and loans. It is found that Sarbajit Ghatani is supported due to the nature of his profession and the migrant status of the villagers living in this village. The role of castes council is not observed. Here some of the local leaders with Gram Panchayat members and sometimes Pradhan of the Gram Panchayat area are called for bringing solution to any dispute occurred between families among the Nepalese and others. Here they, most of the cases try to call the local leaders of all the communities to assemble in that type of meeting.

#### 4.3 : Comparison of Two Villages

The following table may help us to understand the similarities as well as differences between the two villages under study in respect to their social structure, social institution, and social organization.

**Table no.4.34: Comparison of Social Structure, Social Institution and Social Organization of the Villages Under Study – Similarities and Differences.**

Village-1 : <i>Chhoto Dilsaram Jote</i>	Village-2 : <i>Dulal Jote</i>
<b>Similarities -</b>	
1. Social structure of the village is characterized by several communities (the Rajbanshis, the Santals etc.)	1. Social structure of the village is characterized by several communities (the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis, the Haris etc.) contd...

2. The number of medium size families having 4-6 members is very high.	2. The number of medium size families having 4-6 members is very high also.
3. The number of nuclear families having composition of husband, wife and unmarried children and, the number of joint families having composition of husband, wife with their married and unmarried children, is very high.	3. The number of nuclear families having composition of husband, wife and unmarried children and, the number of joint families having composition of husband, wife with their married and unmarried children, is very high also.
4. The participation of joint families in agricultural activities, government service, business, is not very high.	4. The participation of joint families in agricultural activities, government service, business, is not very high.
5 The number of joint families is not very high in case of income level, land holding possession and educational status.	5 The number of joint families is not very high also in case of income level, land holding possession and educational status.
6. The men married below the legal age at marriage, cross border marital relationship, and the marriage with bride-price and dowry etc. are the major features of this village.	6. The men married below the legal age at marriage, cross border marital relationship, and the marriage with bride-price and dowry etc. are the major features of this village also.

### Differences

1. The villagers are mainly belonging to low castes and tribes..	1. The villagers are mainly belongs to both the high and low castes.
2. The women below the legal age at marriage are very high.	2. The women below the legal age at marriage are not high.
3. The informal village organization is not very active.	3. The informal village organization is very active.

#### 4: Findings

From the above discussion, it can be stated that villages in Indo-Nepal Frontier area bear some special features in case of social structure, social institutions and social organizations. The average size of the families found in these villages is not very large. It is more or less similar with the average size of families found in India, and West Bengal. And even the size of joint families is not very large. The number of medium size families having 4 to 6 persons is larger in both the villages. The families having more than 6 members are in decline. In these two villages, nuclear family is highest. The number of joint families is very small. The size of nuclear and joint families does not vary largely. The joint families are paternally and lineally joined. Here, the number of linearly joint families is little higher. The death of any one of the parents plays an important role in disintegration of joint families. The occupational structure of both the nuclear and joint families is characterized by adoption of new occupation. They are not depended on their traditional occupation only. The income level, land holding, and educational status of the nuclear and joint families is more or less similar. Comparatively educational status of individuals found in nuclear family is higher than the individuals living in joint families.

It is found that the present legal age at marriage is not strictly maintained by the villagers and the violation of legal age at marriage among the males and females indicates more or less similar situation in present time with the situation of 40 years back. But presently marriage between males and females within very younger age (i.e. below 12-14 years age) is not preferred largely. Here, selection of marriage partners is done by the parents or elder members mainly. But self-selection marriage is not given very less importance. The influence of love marriage among the Nepalese and the Haris is more than others. The introduction of love marriage among the Rajbanshis is not very old. The villagers do not follow particular physical distance in selecting marital partners. Here marital relation is not limited within the village only. It exceeds the boundary of district, state, and nation. The villagers like to establish marital relation with known persons. The amount of land holding, physical fitness, occupational background, and education are considered in selecting the bridegrooms and the beauties, physical fitness are considered in selecting the

brides. It is informed that education of the brides and bridegrooms are given more importance recently. But in terms of selecting marital partners, gotra is also not given much importance. Inter-community marriage is found in one of these two villages. The dowry and bride-price are accepted by many of the villagers. It is found that the dowry price is new introduction among the Rajbanshis.

The kinship relation (i.e. both the affinal and consanguinal) is not limited within the village, district, state and nation only. It exceeds the national boundary in large extent. In case of village organization, it is found that political activities in the frontier area are not influenced by the caste in large extent. The leadership is influenced by personal, relational, educational qualifications, and migrational status and economic gain. The role of kinship relation is very small in this context. Even the role of informal village organization is also remarkable in both the villages. Presently the village leaders with Gram Panchayat members and Pradhan take decision in democratic way. In case of Dulal Jote, the individuals mainly the Nepalese do not show their personal interest about politics. They depend upon the decision of their leaders. It is happened due to migrational status of the Nepalese. It is noted that social structure of both the villages is characterised by multi-ethnic group. The number of families having 4-6 members is very high in both the villages and participation of joint families in agriculture, govt. service, landholding possession, educational status and income level is not very high. Cross border marriage and marriage below the legal aged marriage is happened in both the villages. But at the same time, both the villages show some differences also. It is found that Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is formed by low caste and tribal people. Here the number of women married below the legal aged marriage is very high and informal village organization is not very active. But Dulal Jote is formed by both the high and low caste people. Here the informal village organisation is very active.

## **CHAPTER-5**

### **Religious Practices, Fairs and Festivals in the Villages Under Study- Social Interaction Among The Villagers and The People of Either Sides of The Border**

This chapter is devoted to know the fairs and festivals observed by the people living in two border villages under study. It is found that the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese are the major communities in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote respectively. Here the religious practices of these communities are discussed to understand the religious interaction among the people living in the border villages.

#### **5.1: The Rajbanshis and Their Religious Practices**

Religious structure of the Rajbanshis is manifested by the observance of several festivals and puja of several gods and goddesses. In this connection Sanyal (1965) mentioned several gods and goddesses. These are Baruni Sinan, Bhandani Puja, Bisua, Bisuba, Charak puja, Dharam Thakur Puja, Dham, Dhan Kata puja, Devi Puja, Gorakhanath Puja, Hudum Deo Puja, Jaganath Puja, Jitua Puja, Kali Puja, Lokhi Puja, Madam Kam Ouja, Mecheni Puja, Monasa Puja, Naya Khawa, Othai-Pothai Puja, Royagara puja, Satya Narayan Puja, Shiva Ratri, Silua, and Utthan Ekadoshi. The Rajbanshis living in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote show their respect to almost all the above mentioned gods and goddesses but they do not observe all the fairs and festivals. Here most of the times they take part in some fairs and festivals observed in the houses of their relatives living in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Uttar Dinajpur districts. It is found that the Rajbanshis traditionally believed in many gods and goddesses and observed several festivals. But presently the number of the festivals and the importance of the festivals are decreasing gradually. Even the changes of names of the traditional festivals are observed. At the same time the acceptance of regional festival is also observed. Some of the important fairs and festivals observed by the Rajbanshis and some of the gods and goddesses believed by them are discussed here.

### 5.1.1: *Ashari -Ghasari*

The festival of Ashari-Ghasari falls in the month of June or Ashar in Hindu calendar. Here, the Ashari-Ghasari is an agricultural goddess. It has no idol. The goddess is symbolized by a banana plant, jute plant and arum. The festival is observed at the beginning of agricultural activity when land is prepared for paddy plantation. At the time of worship of the goddess Ashari-Ghasari, some other gods and goddesses are also worshipped. They worship Kali, Mahadeva, Chaitanya or Nityananda (household gods), Bishahari etc. The goddess Ashari-Ghasari is worshipped in a corner of a prepared land for paddy plantation. Here, a banana plant with jute plant, arum and some paddy saplings are placed in the corner and vermilion is pasted on the body of the plants and saplings. Special food items like banana, milk, khai (fried rice), chira (flat rice) with insence strict are also put in the corner. The goddess is worshipped by the male head mainly. The land holding Rajbanshi families living in the villages observe the festival. It is also found that some families worship some other gods and goddesses inside their house and some other worship those gods and goddesses at Gram than (i.e. living place of village gods and goddesses). The villagers mainly children and old persons without any caste and community distinctions come to the house or the Gramthan and take prasad (i.e. the food-items offered to the gods and goddesses). It can be stated that the festival of Ashani-Ghasan is similar to the festival of Roa-gara puja or Gotsu Pana Puja which was observed by the Rajbanshis elsewhere.

### 5.1.2: *Bisua, Bisuba*

On the last day of the month of Chaitra (March - April) a spring hunt is arranged by the Rajbanshis. It is called Bisua or Bisuba. During the whole month of Chaitra the Rajbanshis eat or drink decoction of some bitters (e.g. Brihati, Basak (Adhatoda Vasica) etc. On the last day of Chaitra none will eat rice. They eat fries Bhadza Bhudza (fries) which contains chura (flattened rice) curds, fried dal (lentils), while eating fries it is a custom to spit out the first morsel without swallowing it. This means that an enemy is to be killed. On the Bisua day some able bodied Rajbanshi males especially some young boys go out

for a hunt with any weapon, bamboo pole, spear, sword, Katari, etc. They must kill an edible animal and eat its meat either roasted or cooked in the forest area. If they fail to kill an animal the Rajbanshis believe that the coming year would be bad. In the same night of the hunt a Gram puja is held. The Mahadev, the presiding deity of the village residing in the nearby bamboo grove on a hut is worshipped in order to drive away evil spirit that may cause disease in the village and bless the villagers with good crop in the field. No woman is allowed to attend this ceremony.

### **5.1.3: Biswakarma**

Belief on Biswakarma is not new to the Rajbanshis but the importance on the puja is not given equally by all the Rajbanshis. All the families of the Rajbanshis living in the villages do not worship the god Biswakarma at a same time. It is said that Biswakarma is worshipped as a creator of instruments. Here the cultivating families worship the god to keep their agricultural implements well during whole year. Most of the Rajbanshi families worship it during the Durga puja. They wash their plough, yoke, some other iron and bamboo made implements. They use vermilion on those washed implements. The male members mainly the head of a family with the help of an *Odhikari* (i.e. local Rajbanshi priest) worship the god. These villagers believe that if the god Biswakarma is pleased, they will continue agricultural activities successfully whole year and will produce enough. Very few Rajbanshis living in these villages under study worship the god in the month of September or Ashwin in Hindu calendar. They are the Rickshaw pullers. They worship the god to keep the rickshaws very well and to earn expectantly. On the day of puja a special item of foods made by banana, curd or milk, khai (fried paddy); chira (flattened rice) is offered to the god. Nobody is invited for this puja. But the children of most of the families come and take the special food items and enjoy it.

### **5.1.4: Buraburi**

The Rajbanshis living in these villages believe on the goddess Buraburi. This goddess is worshipped by the Rajbanshis mainly. They worship the goddess for the well being of new born baby. The goddess is worshipped within few months after the birth of the baby. The goddess has not particular idol.

During the puja, a small part of courtyard is used for this purpose. It is covered by temporary tent made by bamboo and jute sticks within the boundary of the house. A Deosi (i.e. a local Rajbanshi priest) is needed to worship it. On the day of Puja, the parents of the new-born baby remain starved before the puja is over. At the time of puja, a full bunch of banana with other food items like *Khai* (fried paddy) chura (flattened rice), sugar etc. are offered. The sacrifice of pigeon and male goat is done. The Deosi worships the goddess performing many activities. He takes the baby in his lap and dances in the courtyard. Finally, he in the name of the goddess blesses the baby. At the end of the puja the Deosi requires a new saree for him by the name of the goddess. It is stated that the well being of the new baby depends on the happiness of the goddess. In this puja, the Deosi is assisted by a drum-beating. Not a single person is invited for the occasion, but after starting of drum-beating, many villagers like children, women and others come and enjoy the occasion.

#### **5.1.5: Chorok Puja**

In the month of Chaitra (March-April) the puja of Mahadeva is performed in an open field. Gomira songs are sung and subscriptions rose from every house. Men dressed as Hara and Parbati and Yoginis sing and dance with music of dhol and Kansi. The villagers normally go to Batasi market to enjoy the Chorok Puja. This puja is arranged by a puja committee. This committee collects subscriptions from the local peoples of all the communities living in nearby villages.

#### **5.1.6: Dhan Kata Puja**

This is the first paddy-cutting ceremony generally held on the first day of Agrahayan (Nov. – Dec.). When the paddy is ripe in the field, the Githani, the wife of the owner of the field takes an earthenware lamp, a scythe, a little vermilion on a plantain leaf and goes to the field. She cuts a few ears of the paddy, sprinkles some vermilion on them, moves the lamp in front of the cut ears several times and comes back with the paddy branches and fixes them over the doorway of the sleeping hut. After this ceremony, regular harvesting of paddy begins. The sheaves are kept in the field for two days and then brought home and stacked on the Kholan, the thrashing floor in the outer yard of the

house. After reaping the winter paddy, there is Khet Uttam puja where a cow or buffalo horn is mounted on a stick. The pointed end of the stick is driven into earth. The other end holding the horn remains above. The horn is covered with paddy straw tied to the horn. The structure is allowed to remain in the field.

#### **5.1.7: Dharam Thakur Puja**

It is the puja of the sun-god and sometimes it is called that this puja is of Shiva. It is celebrated in the month of Baisakh. It is the puja performed by the women. They do not eat fish, meat, or egg in the month of Baisakh and do not take any food on the day of celebration until it is completed. Throughout the month of Baisakh the women bathe every morning before the sun rises. This is called Uchron. The puja is performed on any Sunday, as it is considered to be the day of the sun. The votaries must also remain without food on the previous Sunday. The priest is an Odhikary. A goat preferably of white colour is brought to the spot; some vermilion is smeared on its horns. It is then offered to Dhoram Thakur and let off without killing. Ducks if offered are also similarly let off. Eggs, ripe plantains are also offered.

#### **5.1.8: Durga Puja**

The festival of Durga falls in the month of October or Ashwin in Hindu calendar. It is found that the Rajbanshis traditionally worshipped a goddess named Devi. The goddess, the Devi is similar to the goddess Durga. At present days, most of the Rajbanshis use the term Durga for Devi. During the festival, the Rajbanshi families worship many other gods and goddesses with Durga. They worship Kali, Bishahari, Chaitanya, Nityananda, Biswakarma etc. on the Bijaya Dashami. In this village not a single Rajbanshi family worships Durga making an idol of the goddess. They worship the goddess on the mud floor in a corner of their house. Special food items (i.e. prasad) with Dhup (i.e. incense stick) etc are required for the purpose. And in this connection an Odhikari is also called for. Another special occasion is performed on the day also. The Rajbanshis, whose parents were died, observe the occasion of pindadan. The Rajbanshis worship their dead parents through pindadan ceremony. The Rajbanshis believe that during the festival, the soul of the dead parents and

grand parents come in earth and take departure after getting respect through Pindadan. They also believe that if they are not worshipped, they feel sad, and may cause unwanted results upon family. During the festival, some of the Rajbanshis purchase new dresses and distribute the dresses among the near relatives. On the day of puja, nobody goes to another house, because all the families worship the goddess in the same day. But the children enjoy it by going house to house.

#### **5.1.9: Ganga Puja**

Belief on the goddess Ganga is very old. But the Rajbanshis did not worship the goddess by the name Ganga previously. Some of the Rajbanshis worshipped it as Tistaburi elsewhere. The Rajbanshis in this areas worship this goddess due to fear of land encroachment made by the Mechi River located very near to these villages. It is already mentioned that many families have migrated to this villages from some nearby villages due to land encroachment of the Mechi River. The Rajbanshis begin the worship of the goddess to get rid off from that type of natural calamity. The family members mainly the women worship it every evening. No idol is established in their houses. They worship it by offering a pair of Dhup (incense sticks). Besides this, the female worship it annually with festive mode at the last day of Chaitra month (i.e. April) in Hindu calendar. On the day some women making a group go to the Mechi River with some special food-items like banana, curd, sugar etc and flowers with a Bhura (i.e. a boat made with banana plants). They worship the goddess in the bank of the river and then sail the Bhura in the water of the Mechi River. Here the women and children of all communities take part in it.

#### **5.1.10: Hanuman Puja**

Worship of Hanuman is new to the Rajbanshis living in this village. Many Rajbanshis living in these villages worship it as god. They worship it as the king of monkeys. It is found that once upon a time, these areas were covered with jungles, forests. The forests, and jungles were the living place of several animals like monkey, snakes etc. Some animals were very fearful and dangerous for human life and property. Some of the animals entered into the houses and wasted the property and human beings also. It is already mentioned

that the villages are located nearby to the Naxalbari forest. In this situation, the villagers began the worship of Hanuman. The village has no idol of the Hanuman made of mudball. Some villagers keep the photos of Hanuman in their houses. They worship it at every evening when they worship other gods and goddesses in their houses. The females mainly worship it.

#### **5.1.11: *Hudum Deo Puja: Hudma***

It is special puja .When there is protracted drought, the women in the village each with a sharp knife in hand, as a protection against 'bhuts (ghosts), go in dark night, into a distant paddy field. They make a small image of the rain-god with plantain leaf stalk and install him on the field. As some places, a plantain tree is planted. Then the women stip off their cloths, untie the hair of the head allowing the hair to hang freely on the back. Thus being completely nude they dance and sing (mostly obscene songs) to abuse the rain god. Two women kneel on the ground like cows and draw a plough to scratch a few feet of the land and they spread some paddy seeds or plants or a few paddy seedlings. They then put on their cloths, tie the hair and come back. It is the general belief that rain invariably falls shortly after this puja is done. No men are allowed to go near the dancing place. If somebody ventures to go there, no one will abuse the women if they attack the man with the daos (knives) they possess or even kill him. Presently this festival is rarely observed in this village.

#### **5.1.12: Kali Puja**

The Kali puja is common to all the villagers. The goddess Kali is worshipped by the Rajbanshis from very past. It is believed that the Kali is a goddess of energy. It provides individuals energy to fight against evil aspects and it saves them from any kind of evil aspects or it saves them from the attack of other unwanted incidences. It is already mentioned that there are three Kali temples located in these villages. The puja of the two temples are organized by villagers collectively and another one is organized by a Bengalese family individually. It is informed that the first two temples were founded by two Rajbanshi jotedar families and initially they maintained all the expenditures of the puja. They established these temples for the goddess to drive away the fear

of ghosts, from the mind of the tenants or landless people who were used to work in the agricultural lands. But, presently the organization of the puja is not in the hands of the Rajbanshi families only. The villagers now manage the puja collectively. Here, the landowning Rajbanshi families have left their authority to others to organize the puja, due to lessening of the amount of their lands or shifting of their houses from this village to other villages. During the Kali puja in the month of October, this goddess is worshipped by the villagers with great enthusiasm. A Brahman priest is called for the purpose. The puja is normally performed at night. The sacrifice of goats and pigeons is an important feature of the worship of the Kali. At the end of worship, hospos is distributed among the villagers. People of all castes, tribes come to enjoy the puja.

Beside it, the Rajbanshis of these villages worship some other household gods and goddesses with lighting of candles or deeps (i.e. earthen lamps). The deeps show light with help of mustard oil and wick. Sometimes the deeps are kept on some banana plants with the help of bamboo sticks. They believe that this lighting helps the souls of their dead parents and ancestors to reach heaven safely. Some of the Rajbanshis call it the festival of Dewali. Next day of the puja, the Rajbanshis worship their household animals – like cows and bullocks. They fed Bhakhar (i.e. a special item of fodder made of a local plant named pundy). The males of the families wash the body of the animals with water and use white vermilion for bullocks and red vermilion for cows.

#### **5.1.13: Lokhi Dak: Gochor Pana**

This puja is held in the evening on the month of Aswin (Sept- Oct) .This puja is held in the paddy field when the paddy is flowering and ears are opened. A small hut about three feet high is erected with jute stricks. Two small earthen balls are placed on the roof. The balls are then worshipped with milk and ripe plantain but without incantations. There is no priest. The owner (i.e. headman) of the field takes khoil ( powder containing mustard cake) and dzomura (dried leaves of pumolo) in a small basket and lights a torch made at *sinja* (dried jute sticks) and then moves about in the paddy field holding up the burning torch and shouting the following-‘Sor-ha’ Sogare dhan tona mona, mor dhan motha

tsaul'. It means if the paddy of other does not fruit properly; let me have in bomber crop. Most of the cultivators do this puja.

#### **5.1.14: Laxmi Puja**

Laxmi puja is common to all the communities living in the villages. They believe that the Laxmi is the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The Rajbanshis living elsewhere celebrate the festival by the name as Lokhai dak. The Rajbanshis of these villages say it as Laxmi puja. The worship of Laxmi is held few days after the festival of the Durga. In these villages, the goddess Laxmi is worshipped by two ways— firstly, the females worship the goddess every Thursday in their houses. In this regard, no priest is required and nobody is invited for this purpose. Secondly, the goddess is worshipped in October or in the month of Ashwin in Hindu calendar, just few days after the festival of Durga puja. In this connection, an Odhikari is called and the villagers of other castes, tribes, are invited. In these villages two Rajbanshi families observe this worship in this way. On the day of puja, the females worship the goddess after fasting whole day. At night after completing the worship, hospos is distributed among the people attended there.

#### **5.1.15: Manosa Puja: Manosa Pudza**

This is a puja for the snake goddess. The puja is usually performed in the month of Kartick (Oct-Nov). An Odhikary is engaged for the puja. Milk and ripe plantains are the main items of the offering as it is believed that the snakes are very fond of those articles of food. Songs and dances in honour of the goddess are held and enjoyed. A special type of bamboo flute is played. This flute is called mokha or mukha Basi. It has a separate wider mouth piece of bamboo called Kupa. It produces a moaning monotonous sound which is liked most by the snakes. This is the puja to save men from the attack of snakes. Manosa and Bisahari are synonymous. Beside this, Manosa or Bisahari is worshipped at the time of marriage of any member of a family.

#### **5.1.16: Mechini Khela: Bhedei Kheli**

This puja starts from the first day of Baisakh. Though the term khela is used, it is essentially the puja of the goddess of the river Tista called "Tista

Buri' or Mechini. It is said that the worship had its origin from the Mech who inhabited in this part of the country before the Rajbanshis settled in this area. The river Tista is held in high esteem by the local people and is as sacred as the Ganga. In the month of the Baisakh, when the snows of the hills melt and flow into the river Tista, the water becomes holy due to admixture with the water of the heaven. This is the time when the monsoon is about to start and the presiding deity of the Tista, must be propitiated to save the lands from disasterous floods. Only the women take part in this worship. On the first day of Baisakh the women take a bamboo basket, wrapping it in red cloth, place it on the crossing of a road under an open umbrella and worship the Tista Buri with flowers and vermilion without any incantation. The basket is then taken to the house of Maroani (the head of the party) and places it in the Bastu ghar or under the basil plant of the house. From the second day, the women move from house to house in a party with the bamboo basket holding an umbrella over it. They sing, dance and collect subscriptions. On the last day of the month they come to the side of a tank or river and perform the Tista Buri puja with the help of a priest. The priest is an Odhikary by Rajbanshi caste. After the worship the flowers are thrown into the water, the basket is washed and brought house for the next year. It is also mentioned that it is the worship to prevent an attack of small pox and so the goddess is placed on the first day on the crossing of road so that the evil spirit causing the disease can not enter the village. This festival is very popular in this village. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, Renuka Singha, a 55 years old widow, acts as a Maroani (i.e. the head of the party).

#### **5.1.17: *Naya Khawa***

On an auspicious day in the month of Agrahayana (Nov-Dec), some new paddy is husked and the new rice is boiled with milk and offered to the sacred basil, and then all the members of the house eat the new rice. An Odhikary is called to act as a priest for the offering. He is also invited to dine. Beside these cows, birds, dogs are also fed with some respects.

#### **5.1.18: *Pitha Bechi Puja***

Pitha Bechi is a new goddess of the Rajbanshis living in the villages. This goddess is worshipped in the month of February or Falgun in Hindu

calendar. The goddess is introduced in the religious structure of the Rajbanshis by a Rajbanshi family living in Chhoto-Dilsaram Jote. In this village Renuka Singha, a widow acts as a Maroani (i.e. head worshipper) who keeps fasting on the day of worship. The goddess is worshipped to save the villagers from the suffering of Kalajar (i.e. Black fever) and from the encroachment of lands by the Mechi River. It is stated that the family had lands in a larger amount and some tenants also. Once when a portion of lands was under the encroachment of the Mechi River and the tenants were leaving the place then the widow began to worship the goddess. Afterwards gradually the encroachment lessened. From this time, the villagers believe on the goddess and they also began to worship. The goddess has no idol. Many gods and goddesses are worshipped under a Banian tree. They put some stones and flags to represent the gods and goddesses. Though the worship of the goddess begun by a Rajbanshi family, but gradually it influences all the caste, tribes living in these villages, and some other nearby villages.

#### **5.1.19: *Roa Gara Puja or Gotsu Puna***

In the first week of the month of Jaistha (May-June) the cultivators celebrate the first transplantation of paddy if there is sufficient rain for the purpose. Otherwise it is delayed. This ceremony is called Roa gara puja or gotsu puna puja or Maodhotir puja (i.e. the puja of Mother Earth). The owner of the field carries a small plantain tree, five paddy seedling and some weeds to the sacred basil plant in the house. Some vermilion is sprinkled on the plants. They are then carried to the field. The five paddy seedlings are planted in the field. The plantain tree is sown in one corner of the plot and the weeds are thrown away with the prayer that they should spare the field from their ravages. Prayer is also offered to plantain tree to be on guard over the land. Then some milk and a few ripe plantains are thrown in the field for appeasement of the mother earth.

#### **5.20: Shiva Ratri**

The puja of Mahakal or Mahadev is performed throughout the month of Magh (Jan-Feb). The women bathe before the sun rises and abstain from meat, fish and eggs for the whole month. On the shiva ratri day, Mahadev or Mahakal

is worshipped through the whole night. Both men and women bathe four times at night and make offerings after each bath.

Beside the above important festivals and fairs, the Rajbanshis observe some other festivals with less importance. Some of these festivals are Rath-yatra, Saraswati puja etc. In this regard they do not arrange any worship in their house, but participate in those festivals organized in other places like schools, markets, etc. They also believe on those gods and goddesses. Even some of the Rajbanshi families observe the festivals of Rakhi Bandhan, Bijay Dashami, Holi, etc. The religious practices of the Rajbanshis can be easily understood from the following table.

**Table No. 5.1 : Calender of Religious Practices of the Rajbanshis.**

Duration	Religious Practices
Daily	Hanuman Puja, Kali Puja, Laxmi Puja.
Weekly	-
Monthly	-
Yearly	Biswakarma puja, Charak puja, Durga puja, Ganga Puja, Kali puja, Manasa puja, Pitha Bechi puja, Shiva Ratri
Occasional	Ashari Ghasari, Bisua, Bura Buri, Dhan Kata puja, Ganga puja, Hanuman puja, Lakshi Dhak, Mechini Khela, Nayakhawa, Roagara puja,

## 5.2: The Nepalese and Their Religious Practices

Nepali people observe many fairs and festivals in the Nepali dominated areas in India and Nepal. Their belief on gods and goddess is similar among the Nepali people of both the countries. Regmi (1999) in his study says that the entire year is a series of festival in Nepal. The celebrations mark religious events, life cycle ceremonies and the marking of historical events and seasons. Time is divided between work and worship and hardly a week passes without some festivals being celebrated somewhere in the country. Festivals are the

main attraction of Nepali life. They preserve their religious beliefs, the social customs and the economic well-being of the people of Nepal. He also says that the festivals represent various phases and outlooks of the life to the Nepalese. Festivals as a whole are the outcome of the three Rina Philosophy of Hindu life- the Deva Rina, the Rishi Rina and the Pitri Rina. During the festivals the people of Nepal pay the debts of their gods and preachers. According to his study some important festivals observed in Nepal are the Maha Shivaratri, Holi festival, Teej, Gai Jatra (the festival of cows), Dasain (the festival of joy), Tihar, Bhai Tika and the festival of light. Shrestha (1997) in his study mentions some more festivals. These are the festival of new year and Bisket Jatra, Red Mchchhendranath Jatra, Sithinakha or Sithijatra, Ghantakarna Jatra or Gathamuga, Nagapanchami – the day of the Snakes gods, Pnachadana, Janai Purnima, Gai Jatra (the cow festival), Krishnasthmi or Krishna Jayanti, Teej or Haritalika, Rishipanchami, Indra Jatra and Kumari Jatra, Dasain or Durga puja, Deepavali or Tihar, Makar Sankranti, Shree Panchami or Basanta Panchami, Shivaratri (the sacred Night of Lord Shiva), Holi, Ghode Jatra and Pisacha Chaturdasi, Chaitra Dasain, Ramnawami and Lhuti Pooni or Balaju Jatra. He also stated that all the above mentioned festivals are still observed in Nepal with the same rituals and customs. The Nepali people living in this village know almost all the festivals and gods and goddesses mentioned above. But in this village they do not observe all the festivals. Here some popular festivals observed by the Nepali people living in this village are discussed.

### **5.2.1: Dasain or Durga Puja**

The most popular festival of the Nepali people is the Dasain. It starts from the first day of bright moon fortnight of Aswain i.e. Sept-Oct. and it continues for ten days. The festival is also called Dusahara, Durga Puja, Navaratri, Bijaya Dasami etc. During the whole period of the Dasain, the Shakti or Goddess Durga, otherwise known as Bhawani or Bhagabati is worshipped. The Navaratri is commenced from the first day of worshipping the goddess and it means worship of nine nights, each of which is very special to the devotees of Devi. The tradition of nine days bathing in the holy rivers bore the same significance, as to emphasize the importance of nine long days of devotion to the Devi, known to the entire Hindu community as Navaratri Vrata.

Dasain or Bijaya Dasami during its entire period of glorifying the triumph of good over evil commemorates Goddess Durga's slaying of the terrible demon Mahisasura. Therefore, in the eyes of the Hindus, Dasain recalls essentially the victory of Rama over the evil demon king Ravana, who according to the epic poem called Ramayana kidnapped Rama's wife, Sita and imprisoned her in the island of Srilanka. Another important feature of the festival is sacrifice of animals. They sacrificed different animals like chickens, ducks, and goats mainly at the eight and ninth days of the festival.

### **5.2.2: Deepavali/Tihara**

One of the most enjoyable festivals next to Dasain is the Deepavali, which meant the festival of lights. This festival is also known as Tihara and it is celebrated every year throughout the kingdom with great pomp and grandeur. The festival of light is commenced on and from thirteenth of the dark half of Kartik and ended of the 2nd of the bright half of the same month. This festival is celebrated continuously for five days. Because of this unbroken chain of celebration, it is also known by the name of Panchak meaning thereby five days. The first day of Tihara is dedicated to the crows. The homage is paid to the birds by spreading rice-grains at the street crossing and corners. The second day is the 'day of the dogs' (kukur Tihar). To celebrate the dogs, a garland of flowers is put around the neck of each domestic dog. Third day of Tihara i.e. Laksmi Puja is of vital importance, for on this day the sacred cow is worshipped in the morning and the goddess of wealth is worshipped in evening. From the very early morning of Lakshmi puja ceremony the doors and windows of every house are thoroughly cleaned and are decorated with garlands of flowers. Throughout the night, every house is graced by rows of lights, the traditional Nepalese lamp of twisted cotton wick in a small bowl of mustard oil as well as candles. The fourth day of Tihara is celebrated in many ways and it varied from community to community. Many families also worship their bullocks. This day is known as Gobardhana puja. The fifth day called Bhai Tihar or Kija puja is the day of brothers and sisters. On this day sisters worship their brother and put teeka on their forehead. They are also garlanded them as well as fed them with delicious dishes. The brothers in return give some presents like money, clothes and ornaments.

### **5.2.3: Ghode Jatra and Pisacha Chaturdashi**

This festival takes place on the fourteenth of dark half of Chaitra. In this festival, the people worship the gods and goddess and eat and drink happily for three days. On the first day, the Nepali people worship Bhadrakali, Raktakali, Swetakali, Kankeswari, Indrani, Bhairaba and Ganesha. On Pisacha Chaturdashi, the lord Shiva himself becomes a Pisach (evil spirit) and he is worshipped as Luku Mahadeva, the Hidding Shiva, depicted in the usual form of a small linga curiously kept hidden in filthy, unclean place such as the neighbourhood's garbage dumb. Luka Mehadeva is worshipped by the Hindu and Buddhists alike.

### **5.2.4: Krishnashtami or Krishna Jayanti**

This festival is celebrated on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the dark lunar fortnight in the month of Bhadra, and it is observed to commemorate the birthday of lord Krishna, who is the eight incarnation of Vishnu, the deitified hero of the great Hindu epic Mahabharata. On the mid night of this day Lord Krishna was born from the womb of Devaki, the sister of the Demon King, Kansa and wife of Vasudeva. The birth of Krishna heralded the death of Kansa, who planned in various ways to slay him. But the attempt of Kansa failed on all occasions. At last, Krishna dragged the King by his hair and killed him then and there. The Nepalis also observe fast on the birthday of Krishna and worship Lord Krishna at home and in the temples.

### **5.2.5: Makar Sankranti**

According to the Nepalese solar calendar, Makar Sankranti is celebrated in the month of Magh first and it is also known as Magha Sankranti. This Sankranti is observed by all the Hindus and Buddhists of Nepal. On this day, the Nepalese visit the holy places in and outside Nepal and took bath in the holy rivers. All the Nepalese give dan to the Brahmans and men ate ghee, molasses; balls made of seasome, meat and flattened fish. The elderly member of the family are given a simple massage of mustard oil on the head of the junior member of the family and give blessings to them. On this day also, a married daughter comes to the house of her parents, and the mother blesses her by patting the head with mustard oil.

### **5.2.6: Nag Panchami**

Nagpanchami is the annual day set aside for the worship of snakes, but many people perform small pujas throughout the year at places where the snake gods lived. This special festival is held all over Nepal on the fifth day of the increasing moon fortnight of the month of shrawan (July). On this particular day the serpent is worshipped by posting colourful portraits of the serpent deity on the door-frames of the house. Sweets, cereals, and cows' milk are offered to the Nagas for the bestowal of peace and prosperity to the people.

### **5.2.7: Ramnavami**

Ramnavami is a great festival which falls generally on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. This is celebrated by all the Nepalese with great enthusiasm and devotion. The religious minded people undertake fast on the occasion of the birth day of Lord Rama and worship Him in the temple. In this festival, the people from different parts of Nepal and India go to Janakpur, the birth place of Sita, in order to pay homage to Ramachandra, the symbol of perfection. Many people of this village worship the image of the Lord Rama in their houses.

### **5.2.8: Rishi Panchami**

The fifth of the bright fortnight of Bhadon is normally declared as the day of Rishi Panchami. This is the day when all married women except those who cross the age of motherhood observe the ritual of bathing and cleaning or taking 'Brata' of Rishi Panchami. The married girls, who have not yet reached puberty, do not celebrate this festival of Panchami. The women rise very early in the morning of Panchami, and while still it is dark, as they do not want to be seen the performing of the rituals of bathing by the passersby, they take bath to worship the saints. Here fasting is also essential. The worship of Rishi Panchami purifies the women from all sins.

### **5.2.9: Shivaratri, the Sacred Night of Lord Shiva**

The festival of Shivaratri is observed in honour of Lord Shiva or Mahadeva. It occurs on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Falgun. It lasts only for one day, and it is a festival of fasting and not a feast.

The millions of Hindus and Buddhists of Nepal worship Lord Mahadeva as their guardian deity. A big fair is also held at Pashupati. Pashupatinatha is one of the most sacred bathing places as well as important pilgrimage centres, where the saints, rishis and ascetics make pilgrimages. Many pilgrims from outside Nepal visit the Pashupatinatha temple on the day of the festival. Many people of this village go to Nepal to enjoy the fair.

#### **5.2.10: *Sithinakha or Sithji Jatra***

The Sithinakha day is celebrated on the sixth day of the birth of Kumar, who is the son of Mahadeva and god of warfare. In this festival the Kumar is a symbol of God Sithi, Son of Mahadeva. On the occasion of the festival a red circle is drawn on the threshold of the house and inside the circle offerings are placed in the shape of flowers, sweets, seeds, eatable cereals, such as Nepali dish made of 'mass' (a kind of black beans), mugi (Kidney beans) and Bodi (a kind of beans). After worship, the offerings were distributed among the inmates of the house and those are relished by all.

#### **5.2.11: *Teej or Haritalika***

Every year on the third day of the bright fortnight of Bhadon is observed the festival of Teej or Haritalika, a festival celebrated by only women. Actually the festival is observed by all married women and even by the girls who do not attain puberty. It is compulsorily observed by the Brahman and Chhetri ladies. The women, who observe festival, put on their beautiful and costly dresses, especially red colour. They decorate themselves with ornaments. Fasting is essential part of the festival. Some women set up a small Siva shrine in the house and worship the deity whole night with the help of a Brahman. The object of observing the festival is to bring prosperity to their husbands. On the next day, they give up the fast by worshipping Lord Ganesh and offer charities to Brahmans who conduct the rituals and worship.

The religio-festive structure of the Nepali people living in this village under study is characterized by several practices and beliefs on many gods and goddesses. These are the Dasain or Durga, Dushara, Diwali, Krishna Astami, Laxmi, Nagpanchami, Ganesh, Shiva, Sithinakha, and Rath Jatra. Besides, their belief on the above gods and goddesses they worship some of new local

gods and goddesses. These are Hanuman, Pitha Bechi, and Ganga. And many people of Nepali and Non-Nepali communities of these villages take part in several fairs held in Jhapa district of Nepal. These fairs are Devi Mela at Garamani, Shiva mela at Mykhola, Kechak Badh Mela and Ramdhanu Mela etc. Huge number of Nepali and non-Nepali people of these villages go to Nepal and take part in these fairs. The religious practices of the Nepalese can be easily understood through the following table.

**Table No. 5.2 : The Calendar of Religious Practices of the Nepalese.**

Duration	Religious Practices
Daily	Hanuman Puja, Laxmi Puja
Weekly	-
Monthly	-
Yearly	Dosain, Diwali, Pichasachaturdashi, Nagpanchami, Krishna Asthami or Krishna Jayanti, Makarsankranti, Ram Navami, Shiva Ratri, Sithi noka, Tej or Hari talika, Pitha Bechi puja,
Occasional	Gode Yatra,

### 5.3: Fairs (*Mela*) and Festivals

It is found that the fairs held on the occasions like Durga puja, Kali puja and Pitha Bechi Puja etc. are organized collectively. Previously these were organized by the Rajbanshis mainly. Though these fairs are held in small areas but the participation of the people is very wide. The people from other countries like Nepal also participate in these fairs. To understand the situation, some fairs are discussed here.

#### 5.3.1: *Mela* (Fair) on the Occasion of Durga Puja

Though the size of the fair is not large, but a pleasing fair is organized at Batasi Hat (weekly market). The market is located very near to the villages under study. The fair is organized in October in every year. It is found that Shamlal Singh, a local jotedar established the fair few years back. By his name the fair is known as Shamlal Singh Mela. The fair continues for more than three days. It is stated that at the beginning of the fair all the expenditures were

managed by the family-members of Shamlal Singh. But now, the fair is organized collectively. The remarkable feature of the fair is that though the fair was established by a Rajbanshi family in a Rajbanshi dominated area, but presently, the management, organization of the fair is not limited within them only. The people of other communities are also the members of the fair organizing committee. Even the participation-structure is also not limited within the community people only. The people of different communities like the Santals, the Nepalis, the Lepchas, the Bengalees and others assemble in the fair and enjoy it. It is also found that the participants are not inhabitants of India only. With the people of some nearby villages, some of the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis and the Santals take part in the fair coming from Nepal also. Many stalls like foodstalls, cloth-stall, stall of foreign goods, stall of utensils, etc are available in the fair. The stall owners are not the Indians only; many of them come from Nepal also. During the time, people forget the bindings of the border and the concept of our country and their country become valueless to them. The people of India and Nepal enjoy the festival equally. It is stated that one third participants comes from Nepal.

### **5.3.2: *Paitrish Hat Kalibari Mela***

In these areas, the worship of the goddess Kali is not limited within the families or within the village. It gets regional importance. A fair is held at Kalibari nearby Batasir Hat. This fair is known as Paitrish Hat Kalibari Mela. This fair is very popular among the people in this region. It is said that when the worship is began, the length of the image was 35 hands or feets. For this reason this fair is known as Paitrish Hat Kalibari Mela. It is informed that the fair is begun by a Rajbanshi family. The family was a local jotedar or big landowner. But presently, the fair is organized by the villagers collectively. According to a saying, it is found that the head of the Rajbanshi family once faced a problem of losing lands. A large number of lands of the family were under the encroachment of the Mechi River and the economic condition of the family was deteriorated gradually. The head of the family thought the cause of deterioration deeply. Finally he got the answer of his deterioration of economic condition in a dreamy night. The goddess, Kali told him to worship the kali establishing a temple beside the road. For this reason, the man established the temple and began the worship. Presently the length of the image has been curtailed largely. The length of the present image is 18 feet. From other source, it is found that once, the area was disturbed very much by the criminal activities. The people mainly the agricultural labourers, tenants did not like to stay for long time. Due to this reason, the lands were not cultivated properly. Keeping these aspects in mind, one of the local jotedar families established the temple and began the worship of the goddess Kali.

The fair continues more than three days. The shopkeepers come to the fair from different parts of India and elsewhere. Some shopkeepers come from Bihar, Uttar Dinajpur, and Nepal also. Even the people of different caste, tribes, come to the fair and enjoy it. Some of the people worship the goddess and pray blessing. Arrangement of singing local songs and showing dance is also made at night. Beside this, the gambling and some other forms of games like Ghatghatia (i.e. one kind of lottery) are held. In the fair, at the time of

worship, many goats, pigeons are sacrificed and at the last day hospos is distributed among the people who are assembled in the fair.

### 5.3.3: *Mela on the Occasion of Pitha Bechi Puja*

Pitha Bechi puja was started by a Rajbanshi family living in Chhoto Dilsaram jote. But gradually it has been very popular in this area. To celebrate the puja, a fair is held every year in the month of March-April under a banyan tree. Here though the puja was started by a Rajbanshi family living in Chhoto Dilsaram jote but *pujathan* (place where gods and goddesses of Pitha Bechi are located) had been chosen at Dulal jote. Actually this pujasthan is located in the middle portion of the villages of these two jotes. The fair continues for two days. The fair is enthusiastically organised by the villagers of these villages. Even the people from Nepal, participate in this fair. Here the shopkeepers come from different parts of the district. In the fair, pigeons and goats are devoted in the name of the goddess.

### 5.4 : Comparison of Two Villages

The following table may help us to understand the similarities as well as differences between the two communities living in two villages under study in respect to their religious practices.

**Table no. 5.3 : Comparison of Religious Practices of Two Communities Living in the Border Villages.**

The Rajbanshis	The Nepalese
<b>Similarities -</b>	
1. The female folk perform the religious activities and the males are less attentive to religious activities.	1. The female folk perform the religious activities and the males are less attentive to religious activities also.
2. The Rajbanshis take part in different fairs and festivals held in India and Nepal.	2. The Nepalese take part in different fairs and festivals held in India and Nepal also.
3. The acceptance of new gods and goddesses is noticed among the Rajbanshis.	3. The acceptance of new gods and goddesses is noticed among the Nepalese also.
<b>Differences</b>	
1. The Rajbanshis mainly take part in the fairs and festivals in Indian territory.	1. The Nepalese take part mainly in the fairs and festivals in Nepal.
2. The number of gods and goddesses worshiped by the Rajbanshis larger.	The number of gods and goddesses worshiped by the Nepalese is fewer .

## 5: Findings

From the above discussion it is found that both the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese observe several religious practices and believe on several gods and goddesses. Both the communities have left some of their previous religious practices and the number of gods and goddesses have also decreased. But the decreasing number of the religious practices is higher among the Rajbanshis than the Nepalese living in these villages. Here Hanuman puja, Ganesh puja and Pitha Bechi puja are new to both the communities. The worship of gods and goddesses during whole month and week is in gradual decrease in both the communities. The worship of gods and goddesses held occasionally and yearly is mainly noticed in these villages. The devotion of goats and pigeons is very common in their religious practices. Initially the fairs were organized by the Rajbanshis mainly but presently these are organized collectively. Adoption of some new local gods and goddesses in their religio-festive structure is also common to both the communities. More interesting thing is that during any festival organized and celebrated by any of the communities, the participation of some persons of other community is unrestricted and even no restriction is maintained by the Nepali people of Nepal at the time of observance of any fair held in India. Similarly, non-Nepali and Nepali people of these villages go to fairs held in Nepal mainly in the fairs held in Jhapa district without any restriction. In case of religious field, acculturation and assimilation of cultural traits are observed among the people living in these frontier villages. In short, a new type of cultural situation (i.e. syncretic tradition of culture) is emerged in these villages of the frontier area. It is found that the people living in frontier villages are not free from tension, suspicion, and quarrelsome relation but due to religious factor mainly at the time of observance of fairs and festivals at the frontier villages of India and Nepal, not a single incidence of the above mentioned behaviour is found among the people of different communities.

## CHAPTER-6

### Border Villages – Their Identities And Problems

The chapter is devoted to know the identities of the border villages through the discussion of social structure and social stratification, settlement pattern, dress and ornaments, food habits, economic profile, family, marriage, kinship, migration and language, religious practices and village political structure. Major problems with case studies have also been discussed in this chapter.

#### 6.1: Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern of the villages is not influenced by caste identity. It is guided by community identity in some extent. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that there are three communities, like, the Rajbanshis, the Santals and other Hindu caste groups (i.e. Potters) live in northern most part parts of the village. The houses of the potters are covered by the houses of the Rajbanshis. The Santals live in the middle place of the village. The houses of the Santals are also covered by the houses of the Rajbanshis from two sides. In the North, there are some houses of the Rajbanshis and in the South; there are some other houses of the Rajbanshis also. Beside it, the houses of the Rajbanshis are scattered in whole village. In Dulal Jote, more or less similar situation is observed. The Nepalese, the Rajbanshis and the Harish are the major communities live this village. Here the houses of the Nepalese are scattered in whole the village. The Haris live in the southern part of the village and the Rajbanshis live in the eastern part of the village.

#### 6.2: Social Structure and Social Stratification

The border villages are used as living place of the people of lower castes and communities. It is noted that in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote the Rajbanshis are belonged to the Kashyab gotra, the Potters are belonged to the Aliman gotra and the Santals are belonged to several gotras. These gotras are Soren, Marandi, Tudu and Murmu. It is stated that theoretically these gotras are

associated with some particular occupations, and the social status is regulated in that order, but practically, social position is not maintained on that order rigidly. It is stated that the members of Soren gotra are to serve as soldiers, the members of Tudu are to work as ironsmith, and the members of Murmu are to work as priest. In this village, the social position is indicated by some demographic, cultural and economic dimensions. Here among all the communities living in the village, the social status of the Rajbanshis is slightly higher than the Santals and the Potters. The Rajbanshis are numerically dominant and some of them have more lands than others. Most of the Rajbanshi families have settled in this village earlier than other communities. Even the participation of the Rajbanshis in government jobs and educational institutes is also higher. On the other hand, the social status of the Santals living in the village is lower than the Rajbanshis. Many of them work as agricultural and day labourer in the houses of the Rajbanshis. It is already mentioned elsewhere that the Santals were brought in the village to work as tenants in the lands of the Rajbanshis. Their participation in government jobs and educational institute is very low. The numerical strength of the Santals is also low. Similar social status is enjoyed by the Potters. But, not a single member works as agricultural labourer in the lands of others and their educational status is slightly higher than the Santals. Here the Potters are the later migrant. It is very hard to categorize the people in terms of class position. But some of the Rajbanshis have some more socio-economic position than others. Due to this higher position of the Rajbanshis in the socio-economic strata, some of them use some ethnic terms to identify others. They use the term *refugee para* to indicate the locality where some of the refugee peoples coming from Bangladesh live. They use the term *Nepali Para* to indicate the locality where the Nepali people live and they use the term *Santal Para* to indicate the locality where the Santals live.

The social stratification of the villagers living in Dulal Jote is not similar with the stratification found in other rural societies in India. Here social status is not determined by caste, and clan identity in a large extent. The villagers are not much conscious about their clan, and caste identity. Most of the people do not know their clan identity. It is very hard to consider any clan as higher as or lower than others. The Rajbanshis living in this village ethnically categorized as

the Mongoloid group. According to some of them, the Kashyap is their gotra or clan name and some of them identify them as Kshatriya by caste. In case of the Nepalese living in this village are ethnically belonged to the Tibeto-Nepalese and Indo-Nepalese groups. A larger number of people say that they are belonged to the Kaoshila gotra and very few of them say that the name of their gotra is Kashyap. In this context, one important thing is that the Nepali peoples are internally divided into many divisions but they are not stratified on the basis of those divisions. They are much integrated among themselves. None of them makes any discriminatory words against others on the basis of clan and caste identity. Even they are much adaptive to other communities like the Rajbanshis and the Haris. In this village the Nepalese are numerically dominant and their position in education and government service is comparatively higher than others. Due to their numerical and educational status, they play an important role in local politics. Even most of the cases, some of them are invited with others to mitigate any dispute happened in any other community living inside and outside this village. Finally it can be concluded that the socio-cultural and political status of the villagers is not based on clan, caste and ethnic identity. It is guided by economic and educational position.

### **6.3: Dress, Ornaments and Food Habits**

Dress pattern of the people live in both the villages in this frontier area is characterized by more or less similar pattern. The people living in both the villages use cotton and synthetic dresses. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the males wear *dhoti*, full-pants, half-pants, *lungi*, *ganji*, shirt, T-shirt, *gamchhaa* (napkin). The females wear saree, churidar, two-parts, frocks, nighty etc. The use of pathani or bukani for the females is very limited. In this village, one widow wears a saree as pathani. In Dulal Jote, the use of pant, shirt, half-pant, T-shirt, jacket etc. are very common among the males, and the use of saree, nighty, and churidar are very common among the females. Beside this, the married women of the Nepali community use kurta sural -a traditional dress. During the fairs and festivals almost all the villagers wear new dresses.

In this frontier area, the use of ornaments is very limited. Here not a single man is found to use any ornaments in their village. The female folk lead

very simple life. Some women use silver made *mala*(necklace), *churi* (ring used for hands), *kanring*(ring used for ears), *nakerfool* (ring used for nose). Some women, girlchild and widow use *suter mala* (necklace made by cotton thread), and *puthi mala* (necklace made by one kind of plastic or glass). The use of gold made ornaments is very limited. Very few women use gold-made *mala*, *churi* and ring at marriage ceremony. Besides this, many women who do not use any ornaments in their day-to-day life.

In case of food habit, the exchange of the skill for making new food items among the villagers of almost all the communities is very common. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the villagers take food items twice daily and some of the Rajbanshi women are expert in making *bhaaka pitha*. Previously the women of Nepali community could not make this pitha. Now-a-days, some of the Nepali women have learnt the skill for making the bhaka pitha. They like it very much. On the other hand, the Rajbanshis, mainly the children like momo and chowmin very much. Previously, the Rajbanshi women could not procure momo and chowmin, but now many of the Rajbanshi women can make it. The people live in Dulal Jote; also take food items, twice daily. Beside this, the villagers live in both the villages take some special food items at the time of marriage and religious practices. They take khir, dohi-chura, sweets, etc during the fairs and festivals held in this area and in their houses.

#### **6.4: Economic Activities**

Economic profile of the villages under study is characterized by occupational diversity. The introduction of some occupations in their traditional occupational structure (i.e. agriculture). It is very common. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that the villagers traditionally were depended on agriculture mainly. But presently rickshaw pulling, driving of Maruti and truck, massonry, work at bus syndicate etc. have been important economic activities of the villagers living in this frontier villages. Similarly, in Dulal Jote, it is found that the villagers previously were depended on agriculture. But presently they are not completely depended on agriculture only. Many of the villagers are depended on work at bus syndicate, work at factories in Delhi and Gujarat, business and government service etc. The role of livestock is not given much

importance. The illegal cross-border trading activity has been an important part of the economic life of the villagers living in this frontier area. Some people basically some males of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and some males and females of Dulal Jote are found in this economic activity. They work as career of goods.

### **6.5: Family, Marriage and Kinship**

Nuclear family is general family pattern in this frontier area and the joint families are small in number and size. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of nuclear families is high in all the communities and the nuclear families are largely composed by husband, wife with their unmarried children. The joint families are composed by husband, wife and their married, unmarried sons and grand children. Even the size of the families, found in this village is not very large. The families having 4-6 members are high. Similarly, in Dulal Jote, the nuclear are much higher than the joint families. The number of nuclear families is very high among all the communities living in this village. The nuclear families are mainly composed by husband, wife with their unmarried children. Average size of the families found in this village is also not large in size. The families having 4-6 members are very high.

In this frontier area, monogamy is general form of marriage and inter-community marriage (marriage between Rajbanshi males and Nepali female) is also found in both the villages.

Cross-border marriage is a remarkable feature of this frontier area In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote; nearly 30% families have cross-border marital relationship with the families living in Nepal and Bangladesh. But in Dulal Jote, the number of families having cross-border marital relationship is much high. Here nearly 40 percent families have marital relationship with the families living in Nepal.

Kinship relation of the villagers living in this frontier area is very wide. It is not limited within some villages, some districts and States only; it crosses the international border lines. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, nearly 20 percent families have kins living in Nepal and Bangladesh, but in Dulal Jote, the number of families having kins living in other countries mainly in Nepal is much high. Here nearly 45 percent families have kins living in Nepal. Actually,

this frontier area is the living place of some extended communities of Nepal, Bangladesh and India.

### **6.6: Migration and Language**

The villagers living in this frontier area are migrated from different places of Indian Territory and immigrated from other countries like, Nepal and Bangladesh. Due to side by side living of different linguistic groups in this frontier area, a large number of villagers can speak in several languages. Bengali, Nepali, Santali, Hindi, Rajbanshi are commonly spoken by a large number of villagers. Free flow of mass media, specially, the television and participation of males of different communities in some sports like, Cricket etc. make the villagers able to speak in several languages.

### **6.7: Religious Practices, Fairs and Festivals and Cultural Syncretism**

The number of religious practices and the worship of gods and goddesses daily, weekly, monthly are in gradual decrease. Here the worship of gods and goddesses yearly and occasionally is quite high in this frontier area. In this frontier area, the worshipping of gods and goddesses is mainly done by the female folk. Acceptance of new gods and goddesses is common among almost all the communities living in this frontier area. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the worship of Pitha Bechi and Hanuman Puja are new and these are new to the Nepalese also. The villagers enthusiastically enjoy several fairs held in this frontier area and in Nepal also. Many people of Nepal come to several fairs held in this frontier area also. Beside it, syncretism is followed in terms of dress-pattern, food-habits, use of ornaments, language spoken and also in rites and rituals.

### **6.8: Political Affairs**

The formal and informal social organizations are found in village political structure in this frontier area. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, previously the informal village organization was very active. Nimlal Roy, a local Jotedar was very influential in this village. He would decide the political party in favour of which all the villagers would cast their votes. He would settle any dispute occurred among the villagers. But presently he has been inactive and the villagers have been divided into several groups. Even the Rajbanshis have been supporters of several political parties. Some have been the supporters of CPI

(M), some have been supporters of KPP (Kamtapur Poples' Party) etc. The villagers take their personal decision in selecting political parties and casting their votes. Actually the villagers are politically conscious in some extent. Now-a-days, some villagers take help from Sailendra Nath Singha, who was a former Gram Panchayet member. Sailendra Nath Singha always tries to bring solution of any dispute with some others Panchayat members and Pradhan.

But the informal village organization is very active in Dulal Jote. Sarbajit Ghatani and Ramkumar Chhetri are the dominant figures in this village politics. Although both of them are associated with CPI (M) but they play more important role in motivating the people as informal leaders. They make secret meeting with their community people before the election. They take several decisions about the selection of political parties. Most of the cases they without other leaders of other communities they solve any dispute raise among their community people and sometimes they make solution with Sailendra Nath Singha if any dispute is occurred between the Nepalese and the Rajbanshis, Nepalese with others. Actually the villagers living in Dulal Jote select political party and candidates on the basis of the benefits they are given. However, in recent times, village organization, particularly its political character has been gradually changing due to the influence of TMC Law and order situation in this frontier area is not very strong. The violation of rules and regulations is very common in this area. The kidnapping of girl child, illegal cross border trading activities are not controlled strongly and even the authorised personnels do not always take these issues seriously.

## **6.2: Major Problems Identified**

Through investigation of the physical, socio-cultural, and demographic aspects of the Indo-Nepal frontier villages it is found that the villagers face burning problems in their day-to-day life. The backwardness of these villages and the villagers is mainly due to their poor economic condition. Here I honestly try to point out the problems faced by the villagers and several reasons are identified as the major constrains for the development of their day-to-day and the area also.

### **6.2.1: Historical Problems.**

Historically the people living in this area faced several problems. The backwardness or the less development of the frontier area located near to the Indo-Nepal Border line in Darjeeling District of West Bengal is historical. Due to being frontier area, the development of this area has not been given much attention by the development authority or organizations properly. The political parties most of the cases look at the development of the core areas first and then they take the development of the frontier or peripheral areas. Beside it the demographic transition of this area also affects the backwardness of the frontier villages. It is found that the settlement of the people in this area is not very old. Initially 50 to 70 years back, these villages were sparsely populated. But now the population structure of these villages is changing day by day due to immigration of the people from different parts of India, Nepal and Bangladesh. Even many people died by unnatural incidences like death by snake bite and death by different diseases like kalajar (black fever) etc. Even the transition of the population structure is also affected by some other natural reasons. It is found that the nearness of the Mechi River acts as an important means of the backwardness of the villagers. Due to land encroachment by the river, the people have been alienated from their own lands and they have taken shelter in the lands of others. They have taken shelter in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Historically and politically the ownership of this frontier area is a matter of debate. Because the government of Nepal has demanded its authority on some portions of this frontier area in several times and at the same time the authority of Indian government is also not less important on this area. Even the previous glory of this area has been lessened due to shifting of the head quarters from the Tarai region to Siliguri. Therefore the development of any area obviously needs political, demographic stability which are not rightly available in this area.

### **6.2.2: Infrastructural Problems**

The people living in this frontier area face many infrastructural problems. Infrastructure in terms of the means of communication, educational facilities, health facilities are not well. It is right that the people of these

villages enjoy the bus communication at a short distance from the villages, and they enjoy rail communication from Naxalbari market which is located near to the villages but these are not very well. The bus communication with Nepal is done through one way and rail communication with Nepal is not started. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, internal road condition is very bad. The villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote have only one kuchcha road for their entrance and out going. The road is not truck able, only van, rickshaw can play through the road. The villagers get local train to reach to Siliguri. The rail way is narrow gauge. The villagers living in this frontier area suffer from health facilities. At the time of necessity the villagers go to Naxalbari and Kharibari hospitals but the internal condition of the hospitals is not satisfactory to the villagers. The lack of medicines, doctors, staffs, beds etc is the general features in the hospitals. Even the primary health centres are not enough in both the villages. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, there is only one primary health centre. This is not enough to make the people conscious about some general problems and their treatment. Beside this a large number of villagers take drinking water from wells mainly and the number of the tube well is very short. Even the villagers are not conscious about the need of the tube well. In both the villages mainly in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote there is a lack of use of latrines. A large number of the villagers use the open field for morning evacuation. The number of the primary and secondary schools is also not sufficient in this frontier area and the villagers are mainly the poor people are not conscious about the need of education for their new generation. Due to lack of the sufficient number of the schools, many children do not take admission and it is also found that after taking admission mainly after completing one or two classes leave the schools. It is also informed that the primary schools have shortage of teachers.

### **6.2.3: Economic Problems**

Economic life of the people living in this frontier area is very backward. They are economically very poor. The poor economic condition is the result of instability of income, deviation from traditional occupation, and acceptance of new occupations, natural disaster (i.e. the land encroachment) created by the Mechi River etc. It is found that the traditional occupation of almost all the families was cultivation. The villagers mainly the males living in this frontier

area are not interested in their traditional occupations. It is happened due to their failure of introducing of modern agricultural tools like power tiller, pump set and other means of irrigation facilities. It is a matter of fact that most of the villagers accepted some lower prestigious occupation like rickshaw pulling, driving of truck and maruti, participation in illegal trading activities, circus showing etc leaving after their traditional occupation. Due to the acceptance in these types of economic activities, the villagers fail to earn money regularly. For this reason they fail to 'maintain family budget properly and brings imbalanced situation in case of the education of their children and other field of economic calculation.

Due to this deviation of some villagers mainly the males from their traditional occupation, the production in agricultural has lessened largely. Here the agricultural activities except ploughing all other agricultural activities are done by the women folk. And for the same reason, the vegetable production is not enough to meet the need for the villagers and also for selling purpose.

#### **6.2.4: Socio-cultural Problems**

The villagers living in this frontier area in Darjeeling District of West Bengal have some socio-cultural problems. In both the villages the question of identity in terms of purity-pollution, untouchability, religious orthodoxy etc do not create any problem in this area. No conflict is informed on the basis of those issues. In this regard one of the important problems is that the people living in this frontier area are very suspicious to outsiders. Initially the people suspect any outsider but gradually they accept the outsider. It is found that the suspicion in the mind of the people living in this area is the result of many reasons. A large number of the villagers are suspicious because of their migrant status. Here most of the families are immigrant in some extent. The villages have village level migrants, district level migrants, block level migrants, district level migrants, state level migrants, and migrants immigrated from other countries. This kind of identity issues make the villagers suspicious about others. Even some of the early migrants feel pride to say that they are non-migrants and they also call the area as Nepali Basti where some Nepali people live and refugee Para where some of the Bangladeshi migrants live.

In this frontier area, the relationship among the family members is not very well. Initially one or two families settled in a village, and then another relative comes to the previous family. Most of the cases it is found that all the members live in a same family. But after some months when the family members make separate house, the previous relationship turns into quarrelsome and mainly the sons become separated after being married.

In case of marriage it is informed that many people mainly the younger generation does not obey the caste rule in case of selecting the marital partners. Some marriageable boys and girls marry by their own choice. Till now there is a single case of inter community marriage is happened in Dulal Jote. The people of this frontier village do not take care about the legal age at marriage. The violation of legal age at marriage is noticed in some cases of couples living in this frontier area. The dowry among the Rajbanshis has been an important factor in making marital relationship. Some of the younger Rajbanshi boys say that they will demand dowry at the time of their marriage.

The people living in this frontier area are less conscious about the importance and the need of education for their children. Several factors are responsible for their less consciousness about the education of their children. There are many uneducated parents who do not think it seriously. There are some other families which have not sufficient economic condition and consciousness to send their children. And due to the poor economic condition of some families, the parents can not continue the education of their children. And some times it is also found that male students leave their education after passing six or seven class and accept some economic activities to meet their family need. They sometimes take part in illegal trading activities for income. One of the important reasons of leaving of education among some of the Nepali students is that they make love marriage before there marriageable age. Their parents normally avoid their further education again.

Alcoholism is also a burning problem in the villages under study. It is found that this habit is very much active among the Nepali and the Santals living in the villages. This habit is increasing among the Rajbanshis also. Here most of the rickshaw pullers of the Rajbanshis have addiction of alcoholism. Due to this

habit and poverty among this group of people, the family members mainly the males become indifferent about the development of the family and the family members. There are some educated leaders who are also addicted in this kind of addiction. Even this habit is not limited only among the males among the Nepalese and Santals only; some of the female of these groups have also this habit. This kind of situation has negative impact upon the children.

#### **6.2.5: Politico-Administrative Problems**

Due to open border system, this area has been the open field for illegal cross-border trading activity, habit of alcoholism etc. Even the participation of some males and females of young generation in these activities is in gradual increase. It is found that many people carry goods illegally through these villages coming from other villages and nation. Here the custom officers fail to take proper step against this kind of activity or they do not take proper step always against it. Even the governments of both the countries (i.e. India and Nepal) always do not take forceful action to stop it. There are S.S.B. camps in this frontier area, but the deployment of S.S.B. Officers and Staffs is not always equal and enough.

Due to this situation, the people, basically the later immigrants take the opportunity to use the political parties. They cast their votes on the basis of political advantages provided to them and not on the basis of ideology of the political parties. Most of the cases, the development of oneself is given priority and the priority of development of the areas as a whole is not given. And the political leaders use the villagers for their own benefit also.

Here the following table may be helpful to understand easily the problems faced by the villagers living in the frontier villages.

**Table No. 6.1: Problems faced by the Villagers living in the Border Villages under Study.**

Historical Problems	Infrastructural Problems	Economic Problems	Politico-Administrative problems	Socio-Cultural Problems
<p>1. The villages are not very old.</p> <p>2. This frontier area was sparsely populated.</p> <p>3. The ownership of this area between the governments of India and Nepal is a matter of debate.</p> <p>4. The governments take the development of this frontier area as secondary issue; they firstly take the development of core area.</p> <p>5. The shifting of head-quarter from Tarai region to Siliguri.</p>	<p>1. Internal flow of transport and road communication is very bad.</p> <p>2. Internal condition of two hospitals (i.e. Kharibari and Naxalbari hospitals) is not satisfactory. The number of Primary Health Centres is not enough in the villages.</p> <p>3. The use of water, tube-wells is very limited. Wells are used as major source of drinking water, the use of latrine is very limited.</p> <p>4. The number of Primary and Secondary Schools and Colleges is not enough.</p>	<p>1. The villagers are poor in economic condition.</p> <p>2. Acceptance of non-agricultural economic activities is not beneficial to all agricultural families.</p> <p>3. Acceptance of new occupations shows the instability of income.</p> <p>4. The male folk are not very interested in agricultural activities.</p> <p>5. The production of vegetables is not enough to meet the need of the markets.</p>	<p>1. Government officials i.e. custom officers fail to take proper steps or can not take proper step to vigilance this border area properly.</p> <p>2. Untoward activities like illegal cross-border trading activity, alcoholism, and girl-child trafficking are not controlled always.</p> <p>4. The later migrant people get more political benefits for the development of area.</p> <p>5. Political parties, leaders use the villagers for their own benefits also.</p>	<p>1. The people living in this frontier area are very suspicious about outsiders.</p> <p>2. The relationship among family members mainly among the family members of joint family is largely quarrelsome in nature.</p> <p>3. Love marriage is in gradual increase among the indigenous people. It makes conflicting relation between son and parents, daughter-in-law and parents-in-law.</p> <p>6. A huge number of parents are not conscious about the education of their children.</p> <p>7. The habits of alcoholism make some villagers indifferent about the development of their families and family members.</p>

### 6.3: Some Case Studies

Here, 20 case studies have been made to understand the problems, changes and the existing situation found in the Indo-Nepal frontier villages under study. Here 11 case studies are taken from Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and 9 case studies are taken from Dulal Jote.

#### Village-1: *Chhoto Dilsaram Jote*

##### Case study-1

Dhandulal Singha is belonged to Rajbanshi caste. He is 40 years old. He is born in Dulal Jote and he has been immigrated to this village through Antaram Jote in 2000. He has a joint family. His wife is Sabe Singha. He has three married sons with daughters-in-law and three grand children. He was married at the age of 20 years old and his wife was 16 years old at the time of her marriage. His eldest son (Jiten Singha) was 13 years old and his eldest daughter-in-law (Sumitra singha) was 9 years old at the time of their marriage. His second son (Siten Singha) was 13 years old and second daughter-in-law (Sunita Singha) was 12 years old when they were married. His second daughter-in-law was born in Nepal. His third son Jatin Singha was 16 years old and the daughter-in-law (Sanu Singha) was 11 years old at the time of their marriage. No dowry price was claimed in the marriage of his sons. His father's main source of income was cultivation. He accepts rickshaw pulling as main source of income. He accepts this occupation as main source income for various factors. His father had some amount of lands near the Mechi River. Previously they lived in Antaram Jote which is located very near to the river. Due to land encroachment of the river, he shifted his family to the present village under study. Here he has homestead land only. In this situation when he came to this village, he had no work for the survival of his family members and in this way he accepted rickshaw pulling as main source of income. He also said that due to Panitanki market and cross-border trading activity through the Mechi River, he earns some more money. There is only one kuchcha road to enter the village. The road condition of the village becomes very bad during the rainy season. It becomes very difficult to carry his rickshaw at night. Except his eldest son all the members are illiterate. His son left study after reading class six only. He

said that due to lack of enough money, he failed to continue the study of his son. Due to some literate position of his daughter-in-law, his grandchildren are admitted to the Dilsaram Jote Primary school. His family members are not very serious about the diseases and their treatment. Fever, body-pain are the main diseases for some of his family members. In these cases they take allopathic medicines from Panitanki market. But at the time of delivery of his daughter-in-law, he admitted her to Naxalbari Hospital. He said that there were some problems in the hospital. The doctors and the nurses were not available and a large quantity of necessary medicines were purchased from outside. Even there was shortage of beds for the patients in the hospital. He also said that the quality of drinking water is not good in the village and even there is a shortage of the sources of drinking water. His family members bring water from a tube-well. This tube-well is given by the government and this tube-well is used by other ten families also. Sometimes quarrel is began among the females who go to bring water from the tube-well. He has no latrine in his house. Again he said that he has habit of taking alcohol. Most of the days, he takes alcohol at evening.

#### Case Study-2

Prata Kanta Singha, a Rajbanshi man is of 64 years old. He was born in this village .He has a joint family. His family has six members. His wife Haleswari singha is 50 years old. His eldest son (Nilkanta Singha) was married Tultuli Singha who was born in Bihar. He has two grandsons. Prata Kanta singha was 20 years old and his wife was 18 years old when they were married. His son was 24 years old and his daughter-in-law was 14 years old at the time of their marriage. He said that he did not claim any thing as dowry price. But his son gets some money and some furniture as dowry price. His son is given those things and money willingly. He has 12 bigha on lands. He produces paddy, pulses mainly. He produces very small quantity of vegetables like chilly, tomatoes, potatoes etc for household consumption mainly. His lands are not very fertile but not barren. He is conscious about the fertility of the lands. He is trying to learn the skills of producing high yielding products from the refugees who have come from Bangladesh and have been living in nearby village. But he is not producing high yielding products in a large quantity. He has no capacity

to purchase some modern machines like power tiller, pump set etc for more production. In case of producing jute and tomatoes he purchases high yielding seeds. He opines that high yielding breeding requires more care. It requires pesticides which is also costly. In Panitanki market there is only one shop of pesticides located. The rate of pesticides is also high. He uses both the cow dung cake and chemical fertilizers in production of paddy, jute, chilly and tomatoes. He sells some of his agricultural products in local markets. In this regard he uses canal water for irrigation purpose in his agricultural field. He said that there is a canal passing through the middle part of the village. The canal becomes useless in most of the time in a year. Water of the canal is used for paddy fields mainly. The canal needs to be washed every year but it is not done properly and timely. Most of the times, the canal is washed by the villagers collectively. Sometimes it is washed by the panchayat authority. Beside it, there is a shortage of agricultural labourers in this village and due to this reason he has to depend on some non-permanent labourers who come from some distant places. They come from Uttar Dinajpur district. Sometimes he has to depend on the females for agricultural and other household activities. Here the males are not very interested in agricultural activities. Many of them have accepted rickshaw pulling as main source of income but they are not interested to work as agricultural labour.

### Case study -3

Sailendra Nath Singha is a man of 38 years old. He belongs to the Rajbanshi community. He lives in a nuclear family. He has an old widow mother. His mother is of 55 years old. He married Pratiba Singha. He was 28 years old and his wife was 19 years old at the time of their marriage and his mother was married at the age of 15 years old. He has taken rupees 14000 and some other things (i.e. khat, gold made chain etc) as dowry. He has one daughter and one son. The names of his daughter and son are Debashree Singha and Manish Singha. His mother is illiterate. He has studied up to class XII and his wife studied up to class X. His daughter is admitted in a missionary school. She reads in K.G.1. His parents' occupation was cultivation. But presently he is not dependent on agriculture only. He works at bus syndicate at Panitanki more. Very recently he left the work of bus syndicate and joined in a government job.

He joined as a clerk at Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayat office. Thus he changed his occupation. He has five bigha lands under his possession. He fails to utilize his lands properly. He can provide enough time in agricultural activities. For the cultivation of his lands, he is depended on agricultural labourers. Here the labourers are not available in this village during the whole year. He faced the crisis of agricultural labourers at the prime time of paddy plantation and harvesting of the plants. The local male labourers are not enough to meet the need of the local area. Beside this many married, unmarried and widows work as agricultural labourers in his lands in different times. During the peak situation of the agricultural activities, some labourers come from other district (i.e. Uttar Dinajpur district) also. In addition to this he faces the problem in irrigation system. A canal passes through the village. Water of the canal is used for the irrigation purpose. The maintenance of the canal is not done by the panchayat authority regularly and timely. The villagers sometimes take care about the maintenance of the canal collectively. Few years back he was elected as panchayat member under the Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayat office. As a member of the Panchayat he gets support from the voters belonging to several communities and castes. He said that the population in this area is increasing rapidly and many people are taking part in cross-border trading activities. His father was a lover of education. His father donated some lands for the establishment of the Dilsaram Jote Primary School located in this village. He said that before it, there was not a single school is found in this area. Previously the number of students and teachers was very small. But gradually the number of students and teachers are increased. He also said that many of the guardians of the students are not enough careful about the study of their children and there are some careful guardians about the study of their children but due to poor economic condition they fail to take proper steps for study of their children. Many children of this village come to the school to take mid day meals only.

#### Case Study-4

Romen Singha is a man of 26 years old. He is belonged to the Rajbanshi community. He with his family members has been immigrated to India from Nepal and he has been living in this village since 1993. He was born

in Nepal. His wife Memni Singha was also born in Nepal. They have been immigrated to this village after being married in Nepal. At the time of marriage he was 20 years old and his wife was 17 years old. He did not claim any dowry price at his marriage. He has two sons and one daughter. He and his wife are illiterate. His eldest son Shyamal Singha is admitted in class one at Dilsaram Jote Primary School located at this village. His parental occupation was cultivation. His father had some lands in Nepal. Due to quarrelsome relation with his father, he came to this village and has accepted rickshaw pulling as main source of income. Presently he has homestead land only. He faces some difficulty to enter in his house at night during the rainy season. The road through which he carries his rickshaw to his house is very narrow and muddy. He is conscious about the study of his children. But his eldest son is not very interested in his study. His son goes to school for midday meals mainly. Beside this he calls his son at Panitanki market to fetch rice, vegetables from the market during school time. He comes home just before the lunch. Due to this reason his son fails to attend the school regularly. Initially he was not interested in cross-border trading activity. But many of his rickshaw pulling friends encouraged him to take part in this activity. Now he is involved in this activity. He carries many goods keeping in his pockets of pants and shirts. He carries goods from Nepal to India and India to Nepal. He gets some more money for this activity. Initially he had no addiction to alcoholism. But for his company with some other rickshaw pullers he has been addicted to it. Due to this habit many times he creates quarrel with wife and his children dislike him.

#### Case Study-5

Santosh Singha, a man of Rajbanshi caste is of 35 years old. He lives in a nuclear family. In his family he has widower father of 70 years old and his wife Sun Singha is of 25 years old. He was 15 years old and his wife was 13 years old at the time of their marriage. His wife was born in Nepal. He did not claim any dowry price at his marriage. But some money and some commodities were given to him willingly. He has one son and two daughters. They are Gopal Singha, Alpana Singha and Ganga Singha. His economic condition is very poor. Previously he was depended on agriculture. And they had 6 bigha lands in Antaram village. But presently he is not depended on agriculture and

he has homestead lands only. He is completely depended on rickshaw pulling. This change in his occupation is occurred due to the land encroachment of the Mechi River. Due to this poor economic condition he can not take enough care for the study of his children. His eldest son reads in class two and his eldest daughter reads in class one. He takes part in cross-border trading activity. He carries various goods keeping in different parts of his rickshaw and sometimes he carries some of goods keeping in pockets of his pants and shirts. He carries some of those goods from Nepal to India and India to Nepal. He has alcoholic habit in a small extent. Sometimes he with other rickshaw pullers takes part in drinking of alcohol. He takes alcohol at outside home. He always try to keep it secrete to his family members. He takes alcohol to remove his tiredness mainly.

#### Case Study-6

Dharmeswar Singha is a man of 35 years old. He is belonged to Rajbanshi community. He is born in this village. His wife Mina Singha is a woman of 23 years old. He has two sons and one daughter in his family. The sons are Bhaben Singha and Amrit Singha. The name of his daughter is Dipika Singha. He was married at the age of 22 years old and then his wife was 12 years old. At the time of his marriage he did not claim any goods or money as dowry price. But he has obtained some money and goods as gifts. He studied upto class eight and his wife is illiterate. His two sons read in class eight and his daughter reads in class two. His sons are not very good in study but due to his inspiration they are improving gradually. None of his sons fails at any class. He can speak in Bengali, Nepali and Adivasi beside his mother tongue. His father's occupation was cultivation. Presently he has 5 bigha lands for cultivation. At the same time he works as a peon in Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayet Office. Previously he produced paddy, jute, and very small quantity of vegetables for household consumption mainly. But presently he produces many other products like chilly, brinjal, potatoes etc in his lands for selling purpose. Sometimes he produces mustard oil and tisi also. He uses chemical fertilizers for more production. Due to lack of enough money he fails to purchase any of the modern machines like power tiller, pump set etc for cultivation of lands. The irrigation system in this village is not enough also.

### Case Study-7

Jharu Singha is a man of 65 years old. He is Rajbanshi by caste. He has come to this village through the marital relationship with Mad Singha who is an inhabitant of the village under study. He was 21 years old and his wife was 18 years old when they were married. He was born in Bangladesh. He came to this village in 1950. He has only one son named Anil Singha. His son is married with a lady named Pramila Singha who was born in Nepal. Actually his son married Pramila through love relationship. Initially he and his wife were not happy with the marriage of his son. But after nine months he accepted the relation. At the time of their marriage his son was 16 years old and his daughter-in-law was 12 years old. He and his son did not claim anything as dowry. He and his wife are illiterate. He can speak in Nepali and Bengali beside his mother tongue. His son and daughter-in-law can speak in Nepali, Bengali and Hindi beside their mother tongue. His father was a cultivator and his father had some amount of lands cultivation. But he has no land under his possession. Now he is depended on agricultural labour activities. He also works as a maker of thatched houses and repairer of old houses. Due to lack of lands for cultivation, he has accepted agricultural labour activity as main source of income. Previously before coming to this village he lived in Antaram Jote which is located very near to the Mechi River. He had some lands in that village also. Due to land encroachment by the river, he left the village and shifted his family into this village. He has no own well or tube-well in his house. His family members with others take drinking water from a well provided by the government authority. He has no latrine in his house also.

### Case Study-8

Koli Singha is a man of 65 years old. He is belonged to Rajbanshi community. He was born in Bangladesh. He has immigrated to this village in 1950. He married Kado Singha who is a woman of 50 years old. She is an inhabitant of the village under study. He has a joint family. He has one son and one widowed daughter in his family. He has two granddaughters and two grandsons and the widow daughter has two unmarried children in his family. At the time of marriage he was 16 years old and his wife was 13 years old. In his

marriage he did not claim anything as dowry. He has come to this village not from Bangladesh directly. Initially he has come to Gandogol Jote which is located very near to this village. He stayed there more than 40 years and then he has come to this village. He has been living in this village since 1993. His son Sadadhar Singha married Renuka Singha who was born in Nepal. His son married her through love relationship. Initially he and his wife were not happy with the marriage of their son. They expected that they will select their daughter-in-law and will demand some money and other things as dowry. But when his son married Renuka without any dowry, then it makes him and his wife very unhappy. This unhappiness continues more than one year. After that he has accepted the couple. His father was a cultivator and his father had some lands for cultivation in Bangladesh. But he has no lands for cultivation in this village. Presently he and his son are accepted masonry as main source of livelihood. Due to the change of his occupation from cultivation to masonry makes him less proficient in new occupation. He and his wife are illiterate. But he is conscious about the education of his grandchildren. All his grand children are admitted in Dilsaram Jote Primary School located at the village under study. Koli Singha, his wife, his son and his son-in-law can speak in Nepali, Bengali and Hindi beside their mother tongue. His son has alcoholic habit. His son takes alcohol when he can not earn enough money for his family members. Even sometimes his son does not return home from outside. He has no own well as a source of drinking water. He has no latrine in house also.

#### Case Study-9

Kartik Paddar, a man of 35 years old. He was born in Coochbehar. He has a joint family. His family is consisted by ten members. His wife is Parul Paddar is a woman of 25 years old. He has one son and one daughter. Beside this, he has married elder brother, wife of elder brother, two sons and one daughter of his elder brother and widow mother in his family. His wife was born in Malda. His family has immigrated in this village from coochbehar to this village in 1995. He was 20 years old, his wife was 17 years old, and his elder brother (Raju Paddar) was 14 years old and wife of his elder brother (Mamata Paddar) was 13 years old at the age of their marriage. His mother was married at 12 years old. He and his elder brother did not claim any prize or

thing as dowry price at the time of their marriage. His father's occupation was cultivation. Presently he has two bigha lands and he is not completely depended on cultivation mainly. He earns some money as hocker of utensils and in this village he has a grocery shop within his house boundary. His elder brother earns money working at a circus showing company. Due to having very small quantity of lands he fails to produce vegetables in a large quantity for selling purpose. He produces paddy, jute, brinjal, potatoes, chilly etc for selling as well as household consumption. All his family members except the children of the family are illiterate. He knows the necessity of education of their children. But due to shortage of income he can not take more care for the education of children. There is a lack of private tutors in this village. He can speak in Nepali, Hindi, beside his mother tongue.

#### Case Study-10

Patrash Murdi is belonged to the Santal community. He is of 35 years old. He lives in a nuclear family. His wife Niri Murdi is of 25 years old. At the time of marriage, he was 18 years old and his wife was also 18 years old. He paid rupees 72 to his parents-in-law as bride-price. He has four children. He has two sons and two daughters. He has immigrated from Nepal to this village in 1991. He has been living in this village since then. He has 8 bigha lands for cultivation. His father was a cultivator. Presently he is depended on cultivation as main source of livelihood. He produces different agricultural products (Paddy, brinjal, chilly, jute etc) for household consumption as well as selling purpose. He uses high yielding seeds, chemical fertilizers in a limited ways. Due to lack of money he can not use high yielding seeds and chemical fertilizers in a larger extent. He is interested about the education of his children. He has sent his two children to Dulal Jote Nepali Primary School located at Dulal Jote. But due to linguistic problem in the Nepali medium school, his children do not get much interest in their study. He can speak in Nepali, Hindi, Bengali, and Rajbanshi beside his mother tongue. He is conscious about the use of the source of drinking water. Previously, he with some other tribal people living in this village requested to the then panchayet member, Sailendra Nath Singha to provide them some tube-wells. But they are not given any tube-well.

His family members with other family members use a well as main source of drinking water.

#### Case Study-11

Dhane Tudu is belonged to the Santal community. He is 60 years old. He married Bendri Murdi who is an inhabitant of this village. He was 32 years old and his wife was 25 years old when they were married. He has given rupees 72 to his parents-in-law as bride-price. He and his wife have immigrated to this village in 1980 and he has been living in this village along with two children. He has no lands for cultivation. He is depended on wage labour in tea garden and agricultural labour also. His father's occupation was cultivation. Due to lack of lands under his possession, he works as wage and agricultural labourer. He and his wife are illiterate. He is indifferent about the education of his children. Actually he is not conscious about the education of his children. He can speak in Nepali, Bengali and Rajbanshi beside his mother tongue. His son Pradhan Tudu, a boy of 13 years old also works as wage labourer in tea garden. His daughter Minak Tudu helps in their household works. He has no personal well or tube-well in his house. His family members use a government well as an important source of drinking water. He has no latrine in his house. He has two rooms in his house. One room is called chhapra (i.e. the roof is made with Tin plates and the walls are made with mud) and another room is called halp pucca (i.e. the roof is covered with two sets of Tin plates and the walls are made with some concrete materials). He paid high carrying charge for carrying the materials for the construction of the wall of his rooms. He said that the carrying charge would be lesser if the materials would be carried by truck. But the condition of the road to enter the village is not fit for passing the trucks. The road is fit for the passing of the van, rickshaw and cycle mainly. He has habit of taking of alcohol. Due to this habit he becomes indifferent about the education of his children.

## **Village-2: *Dulal Jote***

### **Case Study-1**

Sarbajit Ghatani is a man 50 years old. He is a primary school teacher. He has a joint family. There are five members in his family. His wife is Maya Ghatani. He was married at the age of 20 years old and then his wife was 19 years old. He has married son, daughter-in-law and unmarried daughter. His son Bidhan Ghatani married Pooja Ghatani. His son married Pooja through love relationship. In case of their marriage, both he and his son do not take anything as dowry. At the time of their marriage Bidhan Ghatani was 24 years old and his wife was 23 years old. Actually he sent his son in Kalimpong for education, but his son married Pooja before completing his study. His daughter-in-law was also in study. She was then in class XII. At the beginning he did not agree with marriage of his son. But later on he agreed the couple due to having love relationship between his son and his daughter-in-law. Actually he expected to give marriage to his son after getting a job. Presently both of his son and daughter-in-law are in study. His son is in graduation and his daughter-in-law is in class XII. His daughter Sumitra Ghatani is in class IX. He said that there is shortage of good schools in this frontier area and due to this reason he sent his son to Kalimpong for higher study. All members except his wife can speak in Bengali, Hindi, and English beside their mother tongue. He has served the villagers as an elected panchayet member under Raniganj Panishali Gram Panchayet. He got a huge number of votes in favour of him. Except his own community people, many people of other communities like the Rajbanshis and the Santals etc casted votes in favour of him. He was a candidate of CPM (I) party. His father was a cultivator. Presently he has four bigha lands. He produces paddy, jute, maize and some vegetables for household consumption and selling purpose also. Due to having small amount of lands and money he can not purchase modern agricultural machines like power tiller, pump set etc and there is shortage of agricultural labourers in this village. In case of cultivation all his family members take part in agricultural field.

### Case Study-2

Chandra Gopal Bhujel is a man 35 years old. His wife Kamai Bhujel is a woman of 32 years old. He was 17 years old and his wife was 15 years old at the time of their marriage. He, and his wife were born in Morang district of Nepal and they have migrated to this village in 1971. In his marriage, he did not claim anything as dowry. He knew kamai Bhujel before their marriage. Actually he has migrated to Kalimpong first in 1960. Again he has migrated to this village after staying there 10 years. He lives in a nuclear family. He has two sons and two daughters. His sons are Bijay Bhujel and Tulbahadur Bhujel. His daughters are Chandra Kumari Bhujel and Puspa Kumari Bhujel. His father was a cultivator. Previously they had very small quantity of lands in Nepal. Presently he has purchased 6 bigha lands in this village. He produces various agricultural products. These are paddy, maize, jute, chilly, potatoes, tomatoes, brinjal etc in his lands. He faced some problems in agricultural activities. There is shortage of agricultural labourers in this village and the irrigation system is not enough for cultivation. One canal passes through the village. The maintenance of the canal is not done properly. Most of the cases the cleaning of the canal is done by the villagers collectively. The cleaning is not done by the panchayet authority regularly and timely. He studied upto class VII. His eldest son has left his study reading upto class X. His youngest son is in class VII and his daughter is in class II. Due to lack of sufficient money his eldest son has left his study and works as factory labourer in Delhi.

### Case Study-3

Dhan Bahadur Nirola is a man of 56 years old. He is belonged to Nepali community. He lives in a joint family. Kapila Nirola is his wife. He was 28 years old and his wife was 22 years old at their marriage. He has six members in his family. He has one married son. His son Newraj Nirola married Sakuntala Nirola. His son was 26 years old and his daughter-in-law was 21 years old at the time of marriage. His son married Sakuntala through love relationship and they select each other before their marriage. His second son is Manoj Nirola and his youngest daughter is Manju Nerola. Dhan Bahadur and his wife were born in Nepal and they have migrated in this village during

sixties of twentieth century. He said that the number of Nepali medium High schools should be increased in this area. He studied upto class IX and his wife studied upto class VI. His eldest son and daughter-in-law studied upto class VIII. His eldest daughter studied upto class X and his youngest son studied upto class VII. Due to day-to-day interaction among the people of different linguistic groups he can speak in Bengali, Hindi, beside his mother tongue. Even all other members also can speak in several languages. His father was a cultivator. He has 5 bigha lands for cultivation in this village. All his family members take part in agricultural field. Beside this his eldest son works as a truck driver. Previously he produced paddy, maize, and jute mainly for household consumption. But presently he produces paddy, maize, wheat, chilly, tomatoes, potatoes etc. He produces these products for household consumption and selling purpose also. He faces some problems in irrigation and sale of agricultural products. He said that establishment of big market in this frontier area is necessary and at the same time the storage system should also be developed in this frontier area.

#### Case Study-4

Mohan Kharka is a man of 40 years old. He lives in a joint family. There are nine members in his family. He married Bhakta Kukmari Chhetri who is 36 years old. He has three unmarried sons and one married daughter with his son-in-law. His daughter and her husband with two unmarried sons also live in his family. His sons are Durga Chhetri, Ramu Chhetri and Dipak Chhetri. His daughter is Bandana Chhetri. She is married with Ghimiri Chhetri who is born in Assam. His grandchildren are Bhim Chhetri and Puspe Chhetri. Mohan Kharka and his wife were born in Nepal. After being married in Nepal he has migrated in Kalimpong and finally he has migrated to this village during eighties of Twentieth century. All his children were born in Assam. In Assam till now he has some lands. For this reason he lives in Assam in most of the times in each year. Mohan Chhetri was 26 years and his wife was 12 years when they were married. Both of them were born at same village in Nepal. And they know each other before their marriage. He did not claim anything as dowry and he did not give anything as bride-price. His daughter was 14 years old and his son-in-law was 19 years old at the time of their marriage and they

know each other before their marriage. His father was a cultivator. Presently he has no lands in this village. His family members living in this village are depended on agricultural and non-agricultural activities. His eldest son is a factory labourer. His son works at a factory located in Bombay and his son-in-law earns some money from agricultural lands in Assam. Due to poor economic condition his eldest son left his study and accepted factory work as a source of income. His second son is in class VI. Mohan Kharka said that he has no voting right in this village. And he has no electricity, personal well or tube-well, latrine in his house.

#### Case Study-5

Kamal Bahadur Chhetri is a man of 84 years old. He was born in Nepal. He has migrated from Nepal to Kalimpong during fifties of twentieth century and during seventies he has migrated to this village. He has a joint family and his family is formed by ten members. His wife is 64 years old. His eldest son Krishna Kumar Chhetri is married with Debi Maya Chhetri who was born in Jalpaigur district. Kamal Bahadur Chhetri has three grandsons and one granddaughter. His grandsons are Nirmal Chhetri, Dil Bahadur Chhetri, Tej Bahadur Chhetri and his granddaughter is Rupa Chhetri. His wife Monmaya Chhetri was also born in Nepal. He was 18 years old and his wife was 16 years old at the time of their marriage. But his son was 21 years old and his wife was 19 years old when they were married. Here both of them were married through love relationship and no dowry or bride price was corresponded. Kamal Bahadur Chhetri is a retired army person. His father's occupation was cultivation. Presently his son has accepted cultivation as main occupation. He has only four bigha lands. His produces paddy, jute, maize, potatoes, cabbage, chilly, tomatoes etc for household consumption and selling purpose also. He is very interested about the education of his children. But due to immigration from Nepal to Kalimpong, and Kalimpong to this village, he failed to take much care for the education of his children. He said that almost all his sons and daughter have left their study after completing junior school. His sons face linguistic problem in Bengali medium schools. In this context, he demands some Nepali medium high and higher secondary schools in this frontier area.

### Case Study-6

Tanka Nirola is a man of 50 years old. He lives in a joint family. His family is paternally joined. The size of his family is not very large. There are ten members in his family. Tanka Nirola married Renuka Nirola. He and his wife were born in Nepal. He was 27 years old and his wife was 16 years old at the time of their marriage. He got some furniture at the time of his marriage as gifts. His son Binod Nirola married Rita Nirola who was born in a nearby village named Ramdhan Jote. His son was 21 years old and his daughter-in-law was 20 years old when they were married. They are married through love relationship. His second son is Bikash Nirola and his daughter is Apsara Nirola. His granddaughter is Bandana Nirola is of two years old. His father's occupation was cultivation. Previously they had some more lands but presently he has five bigha lands. His father produced paddy, jute, maize and very small amount of vegetables mainly for household consumption. Presently he produces many vegetables like potatoes, cabbage, tomatoes, chilly etc for the consumption of household and for sale also. He emphasizes on good irrigation system, marketing system and storage system for the development of this area. In terms of education, he said that due to lack of Nepali medium secondary and higher secondary schools his sons left their study up to reading class VIII. Presently his eldest son earns some money working as labourer at a factory located in Delhi. His second son works at a bus syndicate located at Panitanki more. All his family members except his wife can speak in Bengali, Hindi, Rajbanshi and English beside their mother tongue.

### Case Study-7

Chhabilal Hazra, a man of Hari caste has been living in this village from the third decade of twentieth century. He is a man of 24 years old. He lives in a joint family. The size of his family is not very big. His family has six members. He has two daughters and one married younger brother with his wife. He married Senoka Hazra when he was 18 years old and his wife was 14 years old. They were married through love relationship and they knew each other very well before their marriage. Actually they were born in a same village and

there was brother and sister relationship between them. The issue of dowry and bride-price is obsolete to them. In case of his marriage, he said that he has eloped Senoka Hazra and presently they have two daughters but till now they are not socially married. Again he said that this kind of marriage will create problem in giving marriage of their children. He said that they will make their social marriage before the marriage of their children. The major income source of his father was bamboo work. His father was a member of local band party. His father with other members would take part in marriage ceremony and in puja occasion. Presently his wife works on basket making and sells in local markets. His wife earns some income acting as Dai in local areas. She is called at home when a new baby is born in a family. He earns money from rickshaw pulling. Beside this he earns some money from taking part in illegal trading activity. He has habit of taking alcohol. Normally he takes alcohol outside his house. He is not careful about the education of his children. Even his children go to primary school for midday meals mainly.

#### Case Study-8

Rabi Hazra is a man of 32 years old. He is belonged to the Hari caste. He was born in this village. His wife Niromoti Hazra is of 25 years old. At the time of marriage he was 20 years old and his wife was 12 years old. He lives in a nuclear family. He has two sons and one daughter in his family. His sons are Shakti Charan Hazra and Laxmi Charan Hazra. His daughter is Chhumdum Hazra. His wife was born in Nepal. He married his wife through love relationship. The major income source of his father was basket making. His father was a member of local band party. His father with other members would take part in marriage ceremony and in puja occasion. All other members of the band party are not interested to continue the work. Again he said that he becomes very tired after taking part in marriage ceremony whole night and they were not given enough money also. Thus he left the work of band party and has accepted rickshaw pulling as major source of income. At the same time he earns some more money from taking part in cross-border trading activity. Presently his wife works on basket making and sells in local markets. And his wife is illiterate. They are not careful about the education of their children. His daughter is in class III and his son reads in class I. His children go to Dilsaram

Jote Primary School. His children do not go to school regularly. He and his wife can speak in Nepali, Bengali and Hindi beside their mother tongue. He has alcoholic habit. Due to this habit, he does not come back home timely. He has no electricity and latrine in his house. His family members bring drinking water from a government provided tube-well.

#### Case Study-9

Shambhulal Singha is belonged to the Rajbanshi community. He is a man of 45 years old. He was born in Bangladesh and he has migrated to India during six decade of twenties century. He can speak in Bengali, Nepali and Hindi beside his mother tongue. He is mainly depended on tea shop and agriculture. Large income comes from tea-shop located inside of his house. The occupation of his father was cultivation. His wife Kamana Singha is a woman of 40 years old. He was 29 years old and his wife was 24 years old when they were married. He does not know each other before their marriage. He did not claim anything as dowry and no bride-price was also given. But he has given some furniture as gifts in his marriage. He has one son and one daughter. He is very careful about the education of his children. He admitted his son in an English medium school located at Bagdogra. He said that the number of high schools is not enough for the students living in this locality. Even the infrastructure of the school is also not good. Due to this reason he sent his son to English medium school. His children can speak in Bengali, Nepali, Hindi and English beside their mother tongue. Presently he has four bigha lands and his lands are not much fertile. He produces paddy, jute, chilly, cabbage, .potatoes etc. for household consumption and for selling purpose also. He has high yielding seeds, chemical fertilizers in producing those products. For irrigation, he depends on canal water and rain water also.

#### 6.4 : Comparison of Two Villages

The following table may help us to understand the similarities as well as differences of two border villages under study in respect to their identities and problems.

**Table no.6.2 : Comparison of Identities and Problems of Two Border Villages Under Study - Similarities and Differences.**

Village - I : Chhoto Dilsaram Jote	Village - 2 : Dulal Jote
<b>Similarities -</b>	
1. The caste identity does not determine the settlement pattern.	1. The caste identity does not determine the settlement pattern also.
2. Acceptance of non-traditional economic activities is found in this village.	2. Acceptance of non-traditional economic activities is found in this village also.
3. Interchange of dress-pattern, food-habits and ornaments among the villagers and villagers of others villages is noticed.	3. Interchange of dress-pattern, food-habits and ornaments among the villagers and villagers of others villages is noticed also.
4. The nuclear families is very popular in this village.	2. The nuclear families is very popular in this village also.
5. Kinship network is very wide.	5. Kinship network is very wide also.
6. Immigration of people is very common.	6. Immigration of people is very common also.
<b>Differences</b>	
1. The number of pucca houses, latrines, tubewells, bike is very small.	1. The number of pucca houses, latrines, tubewells, bike is not very small .
2. The villagers are less adaptive.	2. The villagers are more adaptive.
3. The number of migrant people from other countries is very small.	3. The number of migrant people from other countries is very high.

## 6: Findings

From the above discussion, it can be stated that the villagers living in the frontier area face several problems in their day-to-day life. Some problems are very acute and some problems are less acute. These can be said in the following ways.

Historically the people suffer identity crisis. Both the governments of Nepal and India claim the authority on this territory. The formation and the improvement of this area are not started from very past and at the beginning the number of the population was very scare in this frontier area. At the same times the climatic condition like land encroachment and several diseases like black fever etc also acted as barriers for its development. The people are not very much conscious about the development of the area in a wider context. Here a

large number of the people are self-conscious in some extent. Due to this less consciousness about the development, they fail to realize the importance of education for their children in a proper way. The political leaders are not much conscious about the development of this area also. The road condition to enter the village Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is problematic. The villagers can not carry some things by truck through the way. They carry the things by van and bicycles mainly. Economically the villagers face many problems. The villagers mainly the males are not very interested in their agricultural activities. Except ploughing, almost all the agricultural activities are done by the women folk. Due to this reason, the development in agriculture is not observed as the markets need in this area. The villagers follow the traditional agricultural practices. In the frontier markets, the demands of vegetables is much high but the villagers do not show their interest in this occupation. They accept some new occupations like rickshaw pulling, work at bus syndicate etc. The villagers most of the cases accept some low graded or less prestigious occupations and the income in these occupations is very instable. Socio-cultural life of the villagers living in this frontier area is not free from the problems. The traditional bond among the family members is losing. Love marriage is increasing in this frontier villages. And due to the love marriage, the parents of the sons and daughters fail to perform their roles in case of selecting the brides and bridegrooms etc. The villagers living in this frontier area are very suspicious about the outsiders and most of the cases; they feel pride to say their non-migrant status. Due to open border system, the people from Nepal come to this area frequently and they become associated with some illegal activities. It affects the life pattern of the local people living in this frontier area also. The participation of the local people in illegal cross border trading activities is in gradual increase and this kind of activity also affects the school going children to leave their study and to take part in this illegal cross trading activities. The government officials do not take always forceful actions against this kind of activities. Even the role of later migrants is very influential in political field. The population structure of the frontier villages is not static in nature. These are the major problems for the backwardness of the people and the area found in the Indo-Nepal frontier area in Darjeeling district of West Bengal.

## **CHAPTER-7**

### **The Changing Scenario of The Border Villages Under Study**

The society in this border area is not static rather it is more dynamic in nature than other non-border areas. The dynamics or changes are observed in different areas of livelihoods of the people living in the border villages under study. The dynamics can be understood through the study of society and culture practiced in the villages from the historical, social, cultural, economic, political and infrastructural points of view. These changes can be discussed in the following ways.

#### **7.1: Changes Through History**

This frontier area previously basically six to ten decades before was sparsely inhabited by human beings. The different animals like monkey, donkey, snakes and others were the major living beings and a large part of this area was covered by jungles of different trees and shrubs. The people living in this area were not free from different diseases. The black fever and different skin diseases were the enemy of the people living in this area. The changes in the population structure started mainly after sixties. A large number of the families of different communities started to migrate in this area after the Naxalbari Movement and the frequent land slides in hill areas in Darjeeling district. It is found that before the sixties the population structure of this area was consisted of the Rajbanshis and some tribal communities like the Santals, the Mundas and the Haris. The Nepalese and the Bengalees came to this village much latter. Initially the people feared to settle in this area but presently this area has been the living ground of the peoples of different communities. For this reason a special type of socio-cultural relationship has been developed in this area. Here the social relationship developed in this area may be termed as pluralistic society and in terms of culture it may be called as multi-culture. Here it is very hard to consider a particular community as non-migrant. Presently the

villages have been living place of migrant people mainly. It is already mentioned in the table no-2.7 that there are more than 50 percent migrant families live in the village named Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Here the people have come to this village through different levels of migration. The levels of migration are migration from other villages, migration from other districts, migration from other states, and migration from other countries. The numbers of the families migrated through those levels are 15 or 21.16 percent, 11 or 15.50 percent, 2 or 2.81 percent and 10 or 14.08 percent respectively. Similarly in case of the village named Dulal Jote it is found that the population structure is mainly consisted of the migrant families. Here the number of the migrant families is 83 or 77.57 percent and the number of the non-migrant or early migrant families is 24 or 22.43 percent. The people of migrant families have come to this village through different levels of migration. These are migration from other villages, migration from other districts, migration from other states and migration from other countries. The numbers of the migrant families immigrated through the above levels of migration are 59 or 55.14 percent, 5 or 4.67 percent, 3 or 2.80 percent and 16.96 percent respectively (Table no.2.15). The villagers are created on the lands provided by the Rajbanshi land owners. The names of these villages are symbolic to the community. Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is created on the lands given by Dilsaram Das who was a local Rajbanshi jotedar and the lands of Dulal Jote were also given by a local Rajbanshi jotedar named Dulal Singha. Both the jotedars are not alive. Presently the Rajbanshis are not in their previous land holding position.

## **7.2: Infrastructural Change**

Previously the villagers living in both the villages suffered from many infrastructural problems like there are problems in road communication, availability of medical facilities, market facilities, educational facilities and others. The villagers did not get the buses frequently, then they had to go to Panitanki more for bus and the condition of the road was very bad. But this situation is changing. In case of the Dulal Jote, the villagers enjoy some well road communication than the villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In Dulal Jote a pucca road passes through the village. But in case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the internal road to enter the village is kuchcha and this is not fitted for the passing

of a truck. Only the rickshaw, van, maruti van can play through the road. The villagers of both the villages can go to any nearby places like Bagdogra, Siliguri etc of India and Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal very easily by bus at Panitanki more. Bagdogra airport is also located very near to the village.

Due to the increasing population in this area, the medical facilities are also increasing. The villagers are depended on two hospitals (i.e. Kharibari and Naxalbari Hospitals) located nearby the villages. In critical cases the villagers take their patents in North Bengal Medical College. It is said that there were many problems in those two hospitals. There were the shortage of beds, shortage of doctors, nurses and medicines also. But presently many positive changes have been occurred in this field. Now the numbers of doctors, nurses, beds and medicines are increased. There is an Anganwary centre found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In making people conscious about the some common diseases and their treatment , the role of an NGO named BHORUKHA is important. The office of the NGO is located at Dulal Jote.

Previously the villagers were depended on the Naxalbari market to meet their needs. Here the conditions of the market houses were not good and varieties of goods were not available in the market. During the rainy season the people faced difficulty. But presently, the villagers are not totally depended on the Naxalbari market only. In this connection the role of another local market (i.e. Panitanki market) is important. The villagers are also depended on a local hat named Batasir hat. The villagers sell their own production and they also purchase their necessary goods. The villagers purchase some foreign goods in these local hat and markets. Presently the pucca rooms are made as shopping rooms and the variety of goods are gradually increasing in all the markets.

It is said that the use of motor cycle, telephones, television, mobile phones, news papers etc were very limited in both the villages. Then the cycles were the main means of local communication for the villagers. But this situation has changed largely. The use of motor cycles, telephones, television, mobile phones, newspapers and the establishment of post office in Dulal Jote is an important change in the communication system in the villages under study.

It is informed that previously the numbers of the primary schools, secondary schools were very limited in this area and even in those schools the numbers of the teachers, benches, even the pucca rooms were also very limited in some schools. Many students took admission in Dilsaram Jote primary school located at Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and some students had to take admission in Nandaprasad high school mainly after completing their primary education. The students of different linguistic groups took admission in the same school. But this situation has changed in large extent. Now-a-days a separate primary school has been established at Dulal Jote for Nepali medium students. Presently the children of these villages can take admission in some other nearby high schools like Shyamdhan Jote High School, Krishna Kanta High School, and Kharibari High School. Even some colleges are established in some distant places from the villages under study and some Nepali students take their college education from the colleges located at hill regions in Darjeeling district also.

### **7.3: Economic Change**

In the field of economy, it is found that the agriculture was the main occupation or the main source of income of the people living in the villages under study and the families were mainly depended on single occupation for their livelihood. But presently this situation has changed largely. The diversification of economic activities is one of the important economic changes occurred in the villages located in this frontier area. Presently the villagers are not restricted to their traditional occupations only. They accept some new occupations also. These new occupations accepted by the villagers are government service, driving, rickshaw pulling, work of labour contractor, masonry, work at bus syndicate at Panianki more, business, work at factory in other states, like Delhi, Gujarat etc. It is already mentioned that in case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote it is found that the villagers of almost all the communities are engaged in several economic activities found in local and nearby areas. Here the participation of the villagers in other than agriculture is a fact. In the village 34 or 47.89 percent families are depended on agriculture and 37 or 52.11 percent families are depended on other economic activities like agricultural labour, rickshaw pulling, business, government service, work at petrol pump, tea garden labour etc. The participation of the people in other than

agricultural activities is observed among almost all the communities living in this village. Among the Rajbanshis the numbers of families participated in agriculture and other than agriculture are 24 or 44.44 percent and 30 or 55.56 percent respectively and among the Santals the numbers of the families accepted agriculture and other than agriculture are 9 or 69.23 percent and 4 or 30.77 percent respectively (Table no.3.1).

In case of Dulal Jote more or less similar situation is followed. In this village the numbers of families depended on agriculture and other than agriculture are 60 or 56.07 percent and 47 or 43.93 percent respectively. The community wise participation in those activities is as follows. The numbers of families of the Rajbanshis depended on agriculture and other than agriculture are 6 or 22.22 percent and 21 or 77.78 percent respectively and the numbers of families among the Nepalese are 54 or 73.97 percent and 19 or 26.03 percent respectively in the above activities (Table no.3.4)

Previously, a large number of the villagers did not know about illegal cross-border trading activity but presently the participation in illegal cross-border trading activities (i.e. participation in carrying goods illegally through the Mechi River and roads) gets much popularity among the villagers living in the villages under study. In case of business the vegetables, rice, and battle leaves play important role in cross-border trading activities. It is found that due to diversification of economic activities the development in agriculture is not very much remarkable in this area mainly in the villages under study. But the changes in varieties of production have been started. And at the same time the introduction of new agricultural tools and techniques like pump sets, spray machines etc for irrigation and protection of products, use of high yielding seeds, have been started by some of the rich agricultural families. Presently some of the cultivators produce different vegetables like brinjals, tomatos, chillies, potatoes etc for selling purpose. It is informed that the cultivators previously cultivated those products for households' consumption mainly. But now the orientation has changed from the household consumption to market orientation. Previously no shop was found in both the villages. But presently there are tea shops, grocery shops, found within the village boundary and there were some shops located in Panitanki market mainly.

Another important change in economic life of the people is the gradual lessening of land holding size. It is said that there were some jotedar Rajbanshi families in Chhoto Dilsharam Jote and some nearby villages. They have large amount of lands under their possession. They donated lands for different purposes in different periods. Even some villagers have been named by the Rajbanshi donators. But presently the size of land holding has been lessened very much. In case of Chhoto Disarm Jote it is found that the number of the small size land holding families is larger than the number of families having some more amounts of lands. It is found that the number of families having lands from 1 to 6 bighas is 58 or 83.09 percent and the number of the families having lands from 6 to 18 bighas is 12 or 16.91 percent. And more or less similar situation is observed among almost all the communities living in this village (Table no.3.2).

In case of inter generational occupational mobility it is not easy to say that there is only the upward or downward mobility is followed among the villagers living in the villages. A large number of people of both the villages have accepted some occupations of low status like rickshaw pulling, etc. and some people have accepted high prestigious occupations like government service, work at bus syndicate, work at petrol pump etc. Here it will be better to say that both the upward and downward mobility are occurred among the villagers living in both the villages.

The economic role of the women is very important. It is found that previously the women of some of the communities living in the villages did not work outside their houses. They took part in household works mainly. But now-a-days, the participation of the women is not limited in household works only. The women of almost all the communities take part in agricultural activities inside and outside of their houses. They work as agricultural labourers also. Beside the plantation of paddy, they take part in the cultivation of maize, chilly, potatoes and some other vegetables. Here both the married and unmarried females of some families take part in those economic activities. Here a large number of women can do many agricultural activities except ploughing. Even the role of women in maintaining the livestock is also important. Actually the

traditional concept of division of labour between male and female is not maintained here.

#### **7.4: Social Change**

It is already mentioned that the Rajbanshis were the numerically, socio-culturally, and politically dominant in this frontier area. Except the Rajbanshis the number of other communities like the Santals was very small. But gradually the dominance of the Rajbanshis has decreased. The social structure has been formed by the multi-communities. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote it is found that initially the Rajbanshis mainly lived in this village. Till now they are living in this village and in some other nearby villages as major group. After the Rajbanshis, the Santals and the potters came to this village. Thus the social situation has changed in a large extent. Similarly the village Dulal Jote has been formed in the lands taken from the Rajbanshis and presently in this village the number of the Rajbanshis is very small. The Rajbanshis are the early settlers in this village. After the Rajbanshis, the Haris, the Nepalese came and settled in this village. Now-a-days the Nepalese are numerically dominant in this village.

Actually the lower caste people are living in this frontier area. In case of the village Chhoto Dilsaram Jote mainly the scheduled caste and tribes are living for long time. Here the social stratification is observed on the basis of possession of property and occupation. It is found that the some of the rich Rajbanshis use the term colony to indicate the area where the rickshaw pulling Rajbanshis live. In case of the village Dulal Jote there are some heterogeneity on the basis of caste identity is found among the Nepalese but the larger number of families are belonged to lower rank of social hierarchy. So the caste difference does not act as an important factor in social stratification among the Nepali people living in this village.

Changes in family organization in this frontier area are very much remarkable. It is informed that some people lived in joint families and the size of the joint families was very large. The joint families where they lived were mainly patrilineally joined. The role of the head was very dominant. The role of joint families in possessing lands, imparting education to their younger generations, earning white colour jobs or high prestigious jobs was more

effective than role of small or nuclear families. But presently, this situation has changed in a large extent. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that the number of joint families is very smaller than the number of nuclear families. In this village the number of joint and nuclear families are 9 or 12.68 percent and 57 or 80.28 percent respectively. The number of joint families is in decrease in almost all the communities living in this village (Table no 4.2). The number of joint families is also small in Dulal Jote. Here the numbers of joint and nuclear families are 20 or 18.69 percent and 76 or 71.02 percent respectively and the number of the joint families is smaller than the number of nuclear families among almost all the communities living in this village also (Table no 4.18).

Presently the size of the families found in both the villages under study has been smaller than previous size of the families. In case of Chhoto Disaram Jote, it is observed that large number of (i.e. 44 or 61.67 percent) families have population between 4 to 6 persons. The number of families having 7 to 9 and more than 10 persons is very small (Table no 4.1). In Dulal Jote, more or less similar situation is observed. It is found that the number of families having 4 to 6 persons is highest among almost all the communities living in this village and the number of the families having 7 to 9 persons or more than 10 persons is very low (Table no 4.17).

It is informed that the depth of generations in composition of the families was very wide. Previously the joint families were consisted of more than three generations and in each joint family had a large size of members. Here some changes are introduced in the joint families found in both the villages. The change in the depth in generations is a fact. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the depth of generations in joint families' is limited within three generations mainly. In this village the number of joint families having three generations is 5 or 55.56 percent out of total 9 joint families (Table no 4.3). In Dulal Jote, the number of the joint families having composition of three generations is highest among all the joint families. The number of joint families having composition of three generations is 11 or 55 percent out of total 20 or 100 percent joint families (Table no 4.17).

In case of relationship between family and occupations, it is informed that previously the members were depended on agriculture and agricultural labour activities mainly. But presently the villagers are not completely depended on those activities only. The participation in non-agricultural activities is in gradual increase. This is observed in both the villages. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that 53 or 74.65 percent families depended on agriculture and agricultural labour activities and the number of the families depending on non-agricultural activities is 18 or 25.35 percent (Table no 4.4). Similarly in Dulal Jote, the number of families depending on non-agricultural activities is in gradual increase. The number of families depending on agriculture and agricultural labour activities is 69 or 64.48 percent and the number of families depending on non-agricultural activities is 38 or 35.52 percent (Table no 4.20).

In case of marriage it is stated that traditionally the people, both the males and females living in both the villages under study were married in early ages and the negotiation form of marriage was the conventional to the villagers. But many changes are occurred in this field. Now-a-days the number of the married males and females married within or above the present legal age at marriage has been increased. This situation is followed among the villagers living in both the villages. Monogamy is the general form of marriage found in both the villages. It is observed that in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote the number of the married males married below the legal age at marriage are 44 or 57.15 percent out of the total married males found in this village (Table no 8). The age at marriage of the females is also in gradual increase. Here the number of the females married within or above the legal age at marriage are 17 or 22.08 percent (Table no 4.9). In Dulal Jote, the number of males married within or above the legal age at marriage is also in gradual increase. It is found that in the village 49 or 41.53 percent males are married within the or above the legal age at marriage (Table no 4.25). Here the number of the female married within or above the legal age at marriage very low. The number of females married within or above the legal age at marriage are only 8 or 6.77 percent (Table no 4.26). In case of type of marriage, except one all the marriages are characterized by monogamous form of marriage. In this village one Rajbanshi male married two females.

It is generally stated that previously the parents mainly fathers selected the partners for their marriageable sons and daughters. And the marital relationship was limited within the local areas mainly. In this connection bride price played an important role. But presently, many changes have been started in the above aspects. Presently the marriageable males and females select each other before their marriage in some extent. In some cases love marriage also gets importance. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that 33 or 42.86 percent out of the total married couples selected each other before their marriage. Beside this, the role of the parents, uncles, and elder brothers is also remarkable in some cases (Table no 4.15). In Dulal Jote, the number of couples married by self selection is 25 or 21.18 percent and the couples married by their parents, uncles, and elder brothers are also remarkable. In this village mainly among the Nepalese, the incidence of love marriage is very high. Here a large number of the adult males and females select each others secretly first then their parents recognize it very easily. Here this kind of selection is claimed as a selection made by the parents (Table no 4.31).

Presently the marital relationship is not limited within the same village or within some nearby villages. It crosses not only the boundary of the village, blocks, district, state and even the boundary of the country where the villagers live. In this connection the cross-border marital relationship occupies an important part. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is observed that 7 or 9.09 percent couples are married by the males and females living in Nepal and Indian Territory. In this village a large number of couples are married within two blocks. The number of the couples is 36 or 46.75 percent (Table no. 4.12). More or less similar situation is observed in Dulal Jote also. Here the number of the cross-border marriage is also high. The number of the cross border marriage is 13 or 11.01 percent (Table no 4.28).

Presently the role of the gotra is not given much importance in selecting the brides and bridegrooms. Marriage between same or two different gotras is found. Marriage between near and distant relatives is also observed in both the villages. In case of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of the couples married within the near relatives and distant relatives are 14 or 18.18 percent and 16 or 20.78 percent respectively (Table no 4.13).

In making marital relationship, the role of bride price is getting less importance than dowry among the villagers living in both the villages under study. It is pointed out that in 'Chhoto Dilsaram Jote; the number of married couples married with dowry is 42 or 54.55 percent. It is stated that the introduction of dowry is not very old among the villagers living in this village. In this village, some cases of marriage with dowry are also found (Table no. 4.14). In Dulal Jote, the number of marriage with bride-price is also small in number. The numbers of marriage with dowry and bride-price are 15 or 12.21 percent and 12 or 10.17 percent respectively (Table no. 4.32).

In terms of kinship relationship, previously the relatives (both the affinal and consanguinal) were mainly concentrated within some nearby villages, block, district mainly. But presently the concentration of relatives is not limited within the nearby villages, block, and the district only. It crosses the national boundary also. The relatives of the villagers live in other states and countries. Many families living in this village have relatives in Nepal and Bangladesh. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that the number of families having relatives in outside Indian Territory (i.e. Nepal and Bangladesh) is 14 or 19.72 percent (Table no 4.17). In Dulal Jote, the number of families having relatives in other nations outside Indian Territory is very high. The number of families having relatives outside India especially in Nepal is 44 or 44 percent (Table no.4.33).

### **7.5: Cultural Change**

Cultural life of the people living in these villages was characterized by one or mono culture mainly. The cultural life in the of religious behavior, education, dress-pattern, foot-habits and possession of languages etc of the people living in this frontier villages was not framed by many other groups except the cultural pattern of the Rajbanshis. The contact of different cultures was also limited. The dress-pattern, food-habits were very simple. Educational status and the ability of using languages were also not very high. Many changes are happened in the cultural life of the people living in the villages under study. These can be discussed in the following way.

Changes in the field of educational status, the people living in the frontier villages under study are remarkable. Initially the people did not pay

much attention for the education of their children. But now the people of different communities or the people of different occupational groups have been interested for the education of their children. Previously the lack of consciousness about education and the educational facilities was not developed in this area. Presently the number of primary and secondary schools and colleges is gradually increasing in this area. It is found that the number of the persons educated up to graduation level is very small. Here only two persons are in colleges. One is a Rajbanshi boy and another is Nepali boy. This is the result of increased educational consciousness of the family members especially the heads of some families. The establishment of the primary school located at Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is also one of the important instances of increased educational consciousness of the Rajbanshis living in this village. The education of the women is not neglected in this area. Due to some economic barriers they are not given higher education like B.A., M.A etc.

Religious life of the villagers living in the frontier area under study bears several changes. It is informed that previously the villagers were very keen to their religious activities and the number of the gods and goddesses was very large. Even both the males and females performed their religious activities. Initially the Rajbanshis celebrated many religious practices and they made some restrictions in participating in those practices. But the number of the festivals and the number of the gods and goddesses is gradually decreasing among almost all the communities living in the villages located in this frontier area. The participation of the people mainly the children and the women are very open. The children and the women take part in different festivals of any house of the Rajbanshis or any house of the Nepalese very often without any invitation. In both the villages most of the religious activities are performed by the women folk mainly.

Another important change in the religious life of the people living in the frontier villages is the creation of new gods and goddesses and the worship and adoption of the new gods and goddesses by almost all the communities living in the villages. Here the goddess Pitha Bechi is created by a Rajbanshi family but this goddess is worshipped by almost all the communities. The people of almost all the communities collectively organize a fair in Dulal Jote which is

numerically dominated by the Nepalese. Here the Rajbanshis, the Nepalese, the Santals and many others also take part in this fair.

Beside this, the participation of the people in the fairs held in some nearby villages and blocks is very enthusiastic. The participation of the villagers living in this frontier area in the fairs held in Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal and the participation of the many people of some districts mainly from Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal in several fairs held in this area is a common phenomenon. It is learnt that previously the villagers lived in the kuchcha houses mainly and the structure of the houses were designed in some extent. Tin planted houses were very rare. Presently some changes have been introduced in housing pattern. The sizes of the houses have been turned into smaller than previous size. Change in composition is also noticed. Now-a-days, a large number of the houses have tin planted roofs. In this frontier area, some of the families have built some full walled tin planted rooms (half pucca) also. Beside this, almost all the roofs of the houses are tin planted which is locally called *chhapra ghar*. The walls of this *chhapra ghar* are normally made of some locally produced materials like bamboo, rope etc. In short the introduction of the half pucca rooms is an important change in the house pattern among the villagers living in this frontier area.

Changes in dress-pattern are also remarkable. Previously the male children aged up to 12 to 15 years old did not use pants normally and old men of the Rajbanshis used *lenti* (i.e. a small piece of cloth used by men), *Dhuti*, trousers etc. The married women used sari mainly. The unmarried females used frocks and the old women used patani. But there are many changes are occurred now-a-days. Actually these traditional dresses are losing their previous popularity and in place of these dresses, some new dresses get more popularity among this group of peoples. It is found that in these two villages under study, the use of *lenti* is not found and only a widow uses sari as patani. Some of the villagers call it as bukani. The use of *dhuti* has been very limited among the adult and the old men. Many people use pants in place of *dhuti*. Many people use half pants in their day-to-day life. The women in these frontier villages use nighty, jeans pants, three quarter pants etc with much popularity. Among the Nepalese the use of the nighty is very popular. Beside this, the married and

unmarried females use churidar, sari, pants etc in their daily life. It is observed that the use of nighty and churidar for the women folk is very new to this community. In case of the males, the use of t-shirts and jeans pants and jacket is also very new to this community.

Changes in the field of food-habits are also noticed. Previously the people normally lived separately and their food-habits were designed by their own ways of habits. But now-a-days the intermixing of food items is a normal phenomenon and interdining among different communities is usually happened during different occasions. It is found that interdining among the Rajbanshis, the Nepalese, the Santals, the Haris and others do not make any problem in this rural society. It is found that the Rajbanshis have accepted some new food items like chowmin, momo, from the Nepalese in one hand and on the other hand, the Nepalese have accepted many food items procured by the Rajbanshis. It is noted that many Rajbanshi women make *Bhaka pitha* during the winter season and this food item now-a days has been an important food item of the Nepalese and some of the Nepali women can procure this bhaka pitha also. Beside this, the old people of the Rajbanshi community used hukka for smoking. But this tool is not found in both the villages. It is also found that the habit of drinking haria and some other liquor is also new to the Rajbanshi community living in both the villages. The habit of taking liquor is a general fact among the Santals and some of the Nepalese living in these villages under study.

Previously the interaction of the people was very limited. They were accustomed with their own mother tongue mainly. But presently due to pluralistic character of the frontier society and day-to-day need of the people living in this frontier area, the use of languages carries some special features. The villagers living in both the villages are multilingual. A large number of the people can speak in more than one language. Many villagers can speak in five languages. In case of the Chhoto Dilsaram Jote it is found that the number of the people speaking in five languages is 15 or 4.46 percent and the number of the people speaking in two languages is very high in this village. The number of the people speaking in two languages is 140 or 38.78 percent (Table no 2.8). More or less similar situation is observed in Dulal Jote also. Here the number

of the people using five languages is 03 or 0.55 percent. In this village the number of the people using one language is very high. The number of the people speaking in one language is 294 or 54.14 percent. Here the number of the females speaking in one language is also very high (Table no 2.16). In both the villages, the males and the females can use several languages. In case of the Rajbanshis many people can speak in Nepali, Bengali, Hindi, Santali beside their mother tongue and in case of the Nepalese, many of them can speak in Rajbanshi, Hindi, Bengali, and Santali beside their mother tongue. Even some of the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese can speak in English also.

It is informed that previously the people of both the villages used the wells as the main source of drinking water and the use of latrine was very limited. But presently the use of water from tube-wells has been increased largely. It is found that in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the wells used by the Santals, were not used by the non-tribal people. It is stated that the children of the Santals threw garbage in the well. But presently, this type problem is not observed among the villagers and the well used by the Santals is also used by the non-tribal people also. In this village, the use of the latrine is very limited mainly among the Rajbanshis. Here the open field is used for this purpose. In Dulal Jote, the number of tube wells is very high and the villagers are habituated in using the water of tube-wells mainly and even the use of the latrine is also very high among the villager mainly among the Nepalese. Here most of the houses have pucca latrine and some have kucha latrines.

### **7.6: Political Change**

Previously the villagers largely believed in one party and the local jotedar (a land owner having some large amount of lands) decided the name of the party. If the Jotedar supported the Congress Party, all the villagers under his local area basically the agricultural labourers, tenants would support the congress Party. No body would make different opinion. It is found that Nimlal Singha a man of 60 years old living in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote stated that few years back when he supported the B.J.P, all his agricultural labourers, and tenants supported the party. But now nobody listen to him. All the people select the party according to their own choice. Here the villagers living in this frontier

area have been more conscious in political field. It is also found that in case of selecting the political party, some collective interest are functional to the later migrants but it is not functional to the early settlers or non-migrants. The local leaders among the later migrants select the party to which they will cast their votes. Here the local people or the early settlers mainly the Rajbanshis are divided into different groups in supporting the political parties. Some of them support the C.P.I (M), and some of them support the K.P.P (Kamatapur Peoples' Party) and some support the congress party also. Here the role of caste identity in selecting the panchayat members is not much effective in this frontier area. Here the community sentiment is strong in some extent among the later migrants mainly among the Nepalese. The later migrants select the party on the basis of the facilities they are given from the party. In short, it can be said that in terms of selection of the political party or the panchayat members, the later migrants are more conscious about the attainment of facilities. But this kind of consciousness is not found among the early settlers or the non-migrants living in this frontier area.

The following table may be helpful (Table no. 7.1) to understand the major changes happened in the villages under study easily.

**Table 7.1: Major Changes Noted in the Border Villages Under Study.**

Past	Present
1. Stratification is based on ascribed status.	1. Stratification is based on achieved status largely.
2. The number of joint families was more than nuclear families.	2. The number of nuclear families was more than joint families.
3. The size of the families was very large. It was formed by more than 10 members.	3. The size of the families is not very large. It is basically limited within 4-6 members.
4. Depth of the joint families was characterized by more three generations, mainly.	4. Depth of the joint families is limited within three generations mainly.  Contd..

5. Marital relationship was mainly limited within the families living in Indian territory.	5. Marital relationship is not limited within the families living in Indian territory only. It exceeds Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh border lines also.
6. The number of child marriage was very large.	6. The number of child marriage is not very large.
7. Bride-price was more important than dowry.	7. Dowry is more important than bride-price.
8. The identity of gore was given more importance in selecting brides and bridegrooms.	8. The identity of gotra is not given more importance in selecting brides and bridegrooms.
9. The villages were sparsely populated.	9. The villages are densely populated.
10. The families were largely dependent on one occupation (i.e. cultivation).	10. The families are not dependent on one occupation (i.e. cultivation) only. The acceptance of new occupations has been an important attribute.
11. Agricultural products were produced mainly for household consumption.	11. The agricultural products are produced both for selling and household consumption.
12. The use of chemical fertilizer, high yielding seeds and modern agricultural tools were very limited or not at all.	12. The use of chemical fertilizer, high yielding seeds and modern agricultural tools are in gradual increase.
13. There was no Anganwari centre and NGO Office, grocery shops, in the village.	13. There was an Anganwari centre and NGO Office, grocery shops, tea shops, in the villages.
14. Local big land owners controlled the political lives of the villagers.	14. The local big land owners have been useless in controlling the village politics. The villagers basically cast their votes by their own choice.

Contd..

15. Some dresses like, <i>Patani</i> or <i>Bukani</i> and <i>lenti</i> were conventional to some villagers.	15. The use of <i>Pathani</i> or <i>Bukani</i> and <i>lenti</i> are almost not found among the villagers.
16. Interchange of food items and the process of making the food items among the communities were not observed.	16. Interchange of food items and the process of making the food items among the communities is observed

### 7.7: Factors of Change

From the above discussion it is observed that many changes are occurred in the socio-cultural, economic, political life of the people living in the villages located in this frontier area under study. In most of the cases the changes have brought some positive as well as negative impacts upon the society. It is found that due to land encroachment of the Mechi River many families of a village named Antaram Jote have been alienated from their lands and they came to Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In this way the number of the population of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote increased largely in one hand and on the other hand, due to this migration of the population in this village, occupational diversity is occurred in this area. Due to this migration of the families, many of the people accepted some other non-agricultural occupations like rickshaw pulling, driving of truck and maruti and some small business on betel leafs and nuts etc. Therefore it can be said that it has brought positive change for the village Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and it brings negative change for the families which have been alienated from the lands and have been bound to accept the low prestigious occupation for their livelihood. Therefore it is very clear that each change produces some results in society. It is also right that every change is the result of a factor or combination of some factors; no change is produced without any factor or factors. The factors in bringing changes in socio-cultural, economic and political life of the people living in this frontier area discussed bellow.

Physically this area is located very near to the Indo-Nepal Border line in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Here the border line acts as an important

source of bringing changes in this frontier area. Due to the nearness of the border line this area has been a meeting ground of various groups of peoples. Gradually the settlement of the various groups of the people have been started in this area and due to this reason the demographic structure of this area has been changing fast. It is also found that due to frequent land slides in hill areas in Darjeeling district, many Nepali people have migrated to this area.

Due to the physical and demographic structure of the villages, the people have accepted some new occupations very easily. Many people have accepted work at bus syndicate, work of labor contractor, rickshaw pulling, and business on vegetables, betel leaves etc in one hand and on the other hand they are losing their traditional occupations. Even due to the increase of the population in this villages and nearness of the border line, many people have participated in illegal border trading activities.

In this frontier area due to open border system, immigration is a very normal fact and by the immigration of the people, many cultural groups have come to this area and settled. Thus to meet their daily need, the people of the different cultures have come in contact with each other. In this way assimilation of the cultures have happened in this area. Here the people get the chance of meeting with many cultures. The mixing of cultures is spontaneous. Thus mixing of cultures has developed a composite culture in this area and society has been turned into pluralistic in nature.

Religion is also acts as an important factor in bringing changes in the social and cultural life of the people living in this frontier area. It is observed that during the observance of different fairs, a large number of people of Nepal and other sides come to this area and many people of this territory also go some nearby districts like Jhapa and Morang districts of Nepal to participate in some fairs observed there. During the time of the observance of fairs and religious practices, the people of different areas wear various types of dresses which can make the local villagers selective the dress pattern they have to follow. Even this type of meeting in those fairs and religious practices make the people identified with different food items. These religious fairs and religious practices

also bring the chances to the villagers to meet with the people of other villages and countries.

Communication in this frontier area is not very developed. Here only one road reaches to Nepal through Panitanki Market. Beside this road the people use the Mechi River for communication of goods illegally whole year except the rainy season. This kind of easy communication and the poor economic condition of the families living in this area impelled or compelled the people to accept illegal trading activities as a source of income. The factors of changes and the changes can be easily understood through the following table (Table no.7.2).

**Table no. 7.2: Changing Factors and Changes in this Border Villages.**

Factors of Change	Changes Happened
<b>Environmental</b> 1. Nearness of Mechi river and landslides in Darjeeling hill area.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Migration of people.</li> <li>◆ Occupational Diversity</li> <li>◆ Land Encroachment</li> <li>◆ Lose of traditional occupations.</li> <li>◆ Participation of local people in illegal cross-border trading activities.</li> </ul>
<b>Political</b> 2. Nearness of open border.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Immigration of people from other countries</li> </ul> Development of composite culture and pluralistic society.
<b>Socio Cultural</b> 3. Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Participation of the people living in India and Nepal in religious ceremonies is largely observed.</li> </ul>

### **7.8: Nature of Change**

Changes occurred in the life of the people living in this frontier area under study is reformative or corrective in nature. Total or revolutionary change is not observed. Most of the cases the people accept new things not leaving the old or traditional characteristics. Changes in some cases are happened very fast and in some cases it is occurred slowly. In the cases of the food-habit, dress-pattern, occupation, language and adoption of modern

amenities, changes are fast. Here some of the local people are presently using some new dresses like nighty for women, pants, shirts, towel, jacket very easily. Similarly, taking of some food items like momo, chowmin are happened very fast. The use of Motor Bike, T.V, Radio, C.D, D.V.D etc has also been accepted very fast. More or less similar situation is observed in using ornaments.

But the speed is slow in case of acceptance of some new issues like love marriage. The acceptance of love marriage, wearing of nighty among some local women etc takes a long time. In case of the Haris it is observed that a boy, youngest brother of a family eloped a girl of their own caste and brought her in the boy's house. All the family members are not agreed to accept the girl as a bride of the boy and due to this reason the boy is made separated from the parental family. But after three years, the marriage was accepted by the all other members of the family. Then the couple was given marriage socially. Love marriage among the Nepalese does not create any problem to get social recognition. But this type of marriage creates some difficulties among some local people mainly among the Rajbanshis living in the villages.

## **7: Findings**

Changes in the villages under study are in dynamic process. Once basically before the Naxalbari Movement, this area was sparsely populated. Due to natural calamity, killing by animals like snakes etc this area was sparsely populated and one or two communities were the main inhabitants in this area. But gradually due to immigration of population from different parts of India, Nepal and Bangladesh, the population structure of this area is changing gradually.

Economic life of the villagers living in the villages was associated with one occupation mainly. The villagers produced agricultural products for household consumption mainly. The use of modern agricultural tools and techniques, high yielding seeds, chemical fertilizers was very limited. Presently many changes have been introduced in the economic life of the villagers living

in this frontier area under study. Diversification of occupation has been introduced and the use of chemical fertilizers, high yielding seeds etc has also been increased. The production of vegetables selling purpose is also increased. The participation in non-agricultural activities like rickshaw pulling, work at bus syndicate at Panitanki more, participation in cross-border illegal trading activity, work at factory outside of this state is in gradual increase. Infrastructure of the villages in terms of roads, health, education, postal communication, and number of local markets, use of telephones, news papers, and motor cycles previously was very unsatisfactory. Only cycle was the means of village communication and transport mainly. The people were depended on two hospitals (the Naxalbari and Kharibari) mainly in their need. But presently some infrastructural changes are observed in the above fields. The number of primary and secondary schools has been increased in this frontier area. Even some Nepali medium schools are also opened. The use of mobile phones, news papers is also increased. Political life of the villagers was mainly regulated through non-democratic way. The local land owners regulated the political life of the villagers. But this situation has been changed in large extent. Now the political life is regulated by attainment of individual benefits. There are many changes occurred in socio-cultural life of the villagers living in this frontier area under study. Here the stratification of the people is guided by the economic condition mainly not by the caste position. Changes in family structure mainly in type, size and depth of generation are observed. The nuclear family becomes very popular in this area and the number of families having 4 to 6 members is very high. Even the depth of generation among the joint families found in the villages is limited within three generation mainly. The dependence on non-agricultural activities is in gradual increase. In case of marital relationship, monogamy is the general form in the frontier area villages. Marriage relation is not limited within the villages, blocks and districts only; it crosses the Indo-Nepal and the Indo-Bangladesh border lines. Changes in education, dress-pattern, food-habits, and religious life are observed. Consciousness about the education of the children is in gradual increase and the number of the literate persons is also increased largely. A large number of the villagers are multilingual. The use of bukani for women and lenti for the men are almost

obsolete in the villages under study. Some foods of the Nepalese like chowmin, momo have newly been accepted by the Rajbanshis and some foods of the Rajbanshis like bhaka pitha have also been accepted by the Nepalese. The use of nightyas a indoor dress is new to the Rajbanshi women. This is accepted from the Nepalese. In case of religious life, the number of the gods and goddesses is in gradual decrease and some new gods and goddesses are worshipped by almost all communities. The change in this frontier area is not revolutionary in nature. It is reformative in nature. Here migration, Immigration of people, open border system, religion etc. play important role in bringing social, cultural, economic and political changes in this frontier area.

## CHAPTER - 8

### Major Findings, Concluding Remarks And Recommendations

The basic objective of this study is to find out Social Dynamics of North Bengal Frontier in Darjeeling District of West Bengal. In the forgoing chapters, on the basis of data collected from the two villages located in Darjeeling District of West Bengal in Indian Frontier area near the Indo-Nepal border; these issues have been analyzed and presented with relevant facts and figures. This chapter presents a general observation or the main findings of the entire study with concluding remarks on the basis of proposed research questions and at the end some recommendations or suggestions are made on the basis of the empirical study.

#### 8.1: Major Findings

The study has been made to show the socio-economic, cultural and political characteristics of frontier villages located in the Indo-Nepal border in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Changes occurred in the villages in above aspects have also been studied. It is found that village study is not new in social sciences but village study in frontier areas is very rare. The study has been taken to fill up the gap of knowledge in some extent. It is an intensive study based on primary data mainly. The use of secondary data is not much available. Different methods used in social sciences especially in anthropology and sociology have also been applied in this study. Some of the methods such as observation, interview, group discussion, case study etc have been used in collecting data and information. Census schedules and questionnaires have been used as tools of collecting field data. The collected data and information have been arranged into eight chapters. The whole study has been made on the basis of data collected from Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and Dulal Jote. Both the villages are located very near to the Indo-Nepal border line in Indian frontier area. Hence, both the villages bear some similarities in larger extent. In few cases, they bear some differences also.

It is found that the population structure of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote is pluralistic in nature. The population structure is consisted by the Rajbanshis, the Santals, and other Hindu caste groups (i.e. the Potters). The settlement pattern of the houses is not influenced by caste sentiments. The Rajbanshis are numerically dominant in the village. They are scattered in the village. In the middle of the village, the Santals live and the Potters live in the northern portion which is covered by the Rajbanshi houses. Even the houses of the rich Rajbanshi families are not covered by some poor families. Some of the Rajbanshi houses are located in the southern most part of the village. In the village, the number of males and females is more or less equal. The number of males is slightly higher than the number of females. The sex ratio of the village is much higher than the sex ratio found in India. The influence of caste, class and religion is very low or not measurable. In Dulal Jote, the population structure is also pluralistic in nature. The population structure is mainly consisted by the Nepalese, the Rajbanshis, and the Haris. In the village the Nepalese are numerically dominant. The settlement pattern of the houses is also not influenced by caste sentiment. The houses of the rich Nepali people are not located in the middle place of the village. The houses are scattered in different parts of the village and even some of the poor Nepali families are located in the middle place of the village.

In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, some of the Rajbanshis bear a little higher status than the other communities. It is a fact that many of the Rajbanshis are the early settlers and they helped the Santals and Potters to settle in the village by providing many facilities at the time of their settlement. For this reason, some of the Rajbanshi families get special mentions by the Santals living in this village. Beside this, social status is also concerned with numerical strength, education, landholding position in some extent. In case of social ceremony, people of all communities living in the village are invited. No discrimination is done on the basis of caste or community, religion and nature of occupation. Most of the Nepalese do not know their caste and clan identity. They do not follow the regulations of the caste and clan rigidly. Actually the villagers living in the village are mainly belonged to lower strata of Nepali caste hierarchy. The land-holding possession of the Nepali families does not vary in a larger extent.

Here, the nature of occupation and educational background play an important role in determining the status of the people.

In border villages, the distribution of people on the basis of age structure is notable. It is not similar with the distribution of people on the basis of age structure found in India. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of people under the age category of 0-14 years is higher than the number of populations found in the same category in India. In the village, 43 percent of total populations are belonged to the age category of 0-14 years and in India, 34.3 percent (2001 Census Report) people are categorized into the same age category. In the village, the number of working people is lower than the number of working people found in India. Here 51.52 percent people are categorized under the age category of 15-60 years and in India, 58.70 percent people are belonged to the category. And even the number of old (age more than 60 years) people is also lower than the number of the people found in India. Here the people under the age categories of 0-14 years and above 60 years are not completely depended upon others for their livelihoods. They perform many economic activities inside and outside their houses. The number of males and females in workforce in the village is more or less equal. But it is not similar with the number of workforce found in India. In India, the working population is consisted by 59 percent males and 58.5 percent females. In the village, the number of males and females in the working force are 50.8 percent and 52.24 percent respectively. Actually, the number of females is higher than the males in the working force found in the village. In Dulal Jote, the distribution of population on the basis of age category is slightly different from Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In the village, the number of dependents is very lower than the number of dependents found in the country. Here, 165 or 30.39 percent person is categorized under the age category of 0-14 years and the number of the people belonging to the age above 60 years is 22 or 4.05 percent. In the village, the number of active or working people is very higher than the number of people found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and in the country also. In the village, the number of working people is 365 or 65.56 percent which are belonged to the age category of 15-60 years. Even the numbers of male and female working people are higher in this village than the number of

male and female working people found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote and in the country. Here, the numbers of male and female working people under the age category of 15-60 years are 184 or 65.25 percent and 172 or 65.9 percent respectively. It is similarly observed that the people under the age categories of 0-14 years and above 60 years take part in many economic activities inside and outside their houses.

Migration is a common phenomenon in the frontier villages. Here the people from different parts of Indian Territory and from other countries (i.e. Nepal and Bangladesh) are found to live in these villages. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of migrant families is higher than the non-migrant or early migrant families. Here, the number of families immigrated from other countries is 10 or 14 percent and the number of internal migrant families is 28 or 39.44 percent. In this village, total numbers of migrant and non-migrant or early migrant families are 38 or 53.45 percent and 33 or 46 percent respectively. Dulal Jote is mainly consisted by the migrant families. Here, the number of the migrant families is 83 or 77.57 percent and the number of non-migrant or early migrant families is lower than the number families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In this village, 16 or 14.96 percent families are immigrated from Nepal and the number of internally migrated families is 67 or 62.62 percent.

In these frontier villages, the use of multi-languages among the people is one of the important characteristics. In case of speaking languages, both the villages under study show more or less similar features. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote 15 or 4.16 percent people can speak in five languages. The number of people speaking in two languages is highest. Here 140 or 38.78 percent people can speak in four languages. In short, the numbers of people speaking in two and three languages are 130 or 23.94 percent and 100 or 18.42 percent respectively. In this respect, the number found in this village is much higher than the number of people living in Chhoto Dislaram Jote. Some people of Dulal Jote can speak in four and five languages.

Dynamics in occupational structure is one of the important features of the people living in the frontier villages. It is found that the villages are mainly inhabited by the agricultural castes or communities. But they are not completely

depended upon the agricultural occupation. Introduction of some new occupations in their economic life is a common fact in both the villages under study. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, many families have accepted some new occupations in their economic life. Here, the number of families engaged in some other non-agricultural occupations is 23 or 32.40 percent. The number of families engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour activity as primary occupation are 34 or 47.89 percent and 14 or 19.71 percent respectively. In this village, the number of families depending upon government service and business as primary occupation is very low but the number of families depending on rickshaw pulling and other occupations is much high. Beside this, each family has dependence on secondary occupations also. In this regard, the participation in cross-border trading activities is an important secondary income source of some families found in the frontier area. The participation in cross-border trading activities is also found among some of the families living in both the villages. In Dulal Jote, the number of families accepting agriculture as primary occupation is very higher than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The number of families accepting agriculture as primary occupation is 64 or 59.81 percent. In the respect, the number of families accepting agriculture labour, rickshaw pulling and other occupations is lower than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. But the number of families having government service as primary occupation is much higher than the number of families found in this occupation in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The traditional occupation of the Nepalese living in Dulal Jote was agriculture and their educational status is also very high.

The family structure in the frontier villages is characterized by nuclear family mainly. The number of traditional joint family is in gradual decrease. Here the family structure of both the villages presents similar tendency. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of nuclear families is very high. Here, the number of nuclear families is 57 or 80.28 percent but the number of nuclear families in Dulal Jote is slightly lower than the number of nuclear families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The number of nuclear families in Dulal Jote is 76 or 71.02 percent. In case of joint families, the number of the families found in Dulal Jote is little higher than the number of the families found in Chhoto

Dilsaram Jote. The numbers of joint families found in Dulal Jote and Chhoto Dilsaram Jote are 20 or 18, 69 percent and 9 or 12.68 percent respectively. Due to longh settlement of the villagers of Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the disintegration of joint families are in gradual increase and due to short duration of settlement of the latter migrant people, the number of joint families is high.

In border villages the number of unmarried persons is higher than the married persons. Here both the villages under study show the similar trend. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote the numbers of married and unmarried persons are 154 or 42.66 percent and 190 or 52.63 percent respectively. The number of widows and widowers is very small in the village. In Dulal Jote the number of unmarried persons is also higher than the married persons. The numbers of married and unmarried persons are 246 or 45.30 percent and 279 or 51.38 percent respectively. The number of widows and widowers is also very small. In the frontier villages, cross-border marital relationship plays an important role. This is found in both the villages. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of families having cross-border marital relationship is 19 or 26.77 percent. But the number of families having cross-border marital relationship of Dulal Jote is higher than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The number of families having cross-border marital relationship in Dulal Jote is 38 or 38 percent.

The kinship structure of the border villages is consisted by internal and international kins. It is not limited within Indian Territory only. It crosses the border-lines lying in Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh border areas.

The importance on education has been lately realized by the villagers living in both the villages under study. Very few families send their children to pre-primary school under six years old. The literacy rate of both the villages is lower than the national level literacy rate. According to the census report of 2001, the literacy rate in India is 65.38 percent. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of total literacy rate is 47.36 percent and the higher concentration of the people is found in primary and secondary levels of education. The number of people having education of higher secondary and more than that is very low. The literacy rate of the people living in Dulal Jote is slightly higher than the

literacy rate found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. Here the literacy rate is 59.67 percent. In both the villages, the number of literate males is higher than the number of females. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of literate males and females are 108 or 63.51 percent and 63 or 36.85 percent respectively. The difference between literate males and females in Dulal Jote is very small. The number of literate males and females living in the village are 176 or 54.32 percent and 148 or 45.67 percent respectively.

Inter-mixing in food-habits and dress-pattern is a common fact among the communities living in the frontier villages. The inter mixing of food items and dresses is observed among almost all the communities living in the villages. The people use cycle, motor bike, bus, maruti van, truck, train, telephone, mobile phone, newspaper etc as the means of transport and communication. Bus stand and the railway station are located very near to the villages. Even the Mechi River is used as a good means of communication for illegal trading activities. The medical facilities are also not well to the villagers living in the area. The villages under study are situated near to the Naxalbari and Kharibari hospitals. The villagers are also quite careful about disease and treatment. The role of Ojhas is not remarkable in these villages. The alopathic and homeopathic medicine shops located at Panitanki market play important role in this respect. Even the role of an NGO is located at Dulal Jote is also important in making the villagers conscious about disease and treatment. The people of both the villages use water from wells and tube wells. Presently no restriction is found for the use of wells and tube wells on the basis of caste or community distinction.

The people living in the frontier villages are mainly depended on agriculture. But their occupational structure is in change. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, 48 or 67.61 percent families are depended on agriculture as primary occupation and 23 or 32.39 percent families are depended on non-agricultural activities as primary occupation. In case of occupational structure, more or less similar situation is observed in Dulal Jote. Here the number of families depending on agricultural activities is slightly lower than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The number of families of Dulal Jote depending on agricultural activities as primary occupation is 63 or 58.87 percent and the

number of families depended on non agricultural activities is 45 or 42.06 percent. Here the number of families depended on non-agricultural activities as main occupation is slightly higher than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In Dulal Jote, there are many landless families which are dependent on non-agricultural activities as main source of income.

In the <sup>border or</sup> frontier villages, occupational mobility is one of the important facts. Intergenerational occupational mobility is observed in both the villages under study. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, it is found that the occupational structure of the present heads' fathers' period was characterized by agricultural activities mainly. The importance of non-agricultural occupations was very low. But at the present time or during the present heads' period the importance of non-agricultural activities is observed in large extent. Many families have accepted some other non-agricultural occupations like rickshaw pulling, work at bus syndicate etc. It is found that the numbers of agricultural and non-agricultural families were 67 or 94.37 percent and 4 or 5.63 percent respectively at the heads' fathers' period. And presently, the numbers of agricultural and non-agricultural families are 48 or 67.60 percent and 23 or 32.40 percent respectively. In this regard, Dulal Jote shows a little different situation. It is found that though the highest number of families was depended upon agricultural activities at the present heads' fathers' period, but at the same time, the participation in non-agricultural activities like government service, business activity etc was also remarkable. Then the number of families depended upon agricultural and non-agricultural activities were 77 or 71.96 percent and 30 or 28.04 percent respectively. But presently the number of families depended upon agricultural activities has decreased. Presently 63 or 58.88 percent families are depended on agricultural activities and the numbers of families in non-agricultural activities are in gradual increase. Presently 44 or 41.12 percent families are depended upon non-agricultural activities.

Unequal distribution of lands is the general fact in the frontier villages. It is observed in both the villages under study. The number of families having small size of lands is very high in both the villages. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the number of families having large size of lands (i.e. 9 to 18 bighas) is measurably high. But the number of families having large size of lands is

smaller in Dulal Jote than the number of families found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. The average size of landholding is also very small among the families living in both the villages. The villagers living in both the villages are in lower state of agricultural development. The villagers are mainly associated with their traditional cultivating methods and they use their traditional agricultural implements in agricultural operation. The land of the villages is not very low in fertility. The villagers do not get proper irrigation facilities and the use of improved seeds and chemical fertilizers is also limited. It is also found that the crop-pattern of the villagers is characterized by both the traditional and new variety of products. The new products include different types of vegetables. These vegetables are produced for selling and household consumption purposes. In this regard the role of local markets and bi-weekly markets is very important. The markets do not meet the needs of Indian people only. It meets the needs of the people of other country (i.e. Nepal) also. In border villages, the role of caste sentiment is not much effective to regulate political behaviour. The local leaders do not achieve power by dint of their educational qualification, economic position in the social set up. The role of traditional various organizations is not very effective, even it is in abolition in the frontier villages. But the feeling of backwardness is felt by some of the villagers living in this frontier area. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, some of the Rajbanshis state that due to immigration of some Nepali and Bangladeshi people they are losing their property and authority in socio-political field. For this reason some of the Rajbanshis have supported Kamatapur Peoples' Party (KPP) also. On the other hand, the Nepalese of Dulal Jote claim that their non-migrant.

Social structure, social institution and organization in the frontier villages are gradual change. Here both the villages under study show more or less similar situation. The average size of the families found in both the villages is not very large. It is more or less similar with average size of families found in India and West Bengal. The number of medium size families having 4 to 6 members is larger in both the villages. The families having more than 6 members are in decline. In both the villages, the nuclear family is highest in number and the number of joint families is very small. The size of nuclear and joint families is not very large. The joint families are paternally and lineally

joined. Here, the number of lineally joint families is higher. The death of any of couple shows the path of disintegration in joint families. The occupational structure of both the nuclear and joint families is characterized by acceptance of new occupation. They are not depended upon their traditional occupation only. The income level, land holding and educational status of the members in nuclear and joint families is more or less similar. Comparatively, the educational status of individuals living in nuclear families is much higher than the educational status of individuals living in joint families. The kinship network of the individuals living in the frontier area is not limited within the Indian Territory only; it crosses the national boundary of India. The kins of the villagers live in Nepal and Bangladesh also. In both the villages, the legal age at marriage is and was not followed. The number of married males and females married below the legal age at marriage is very high. But presently marriage between males and females within very younger age (i.e. below 12-14 years) is not preferred by a large number of the villagers. But the number of males married above the legal age at marriage is higher in Dulal Jote than the number of the males married under the same age category found in Chhoto Dilsaram Jote. In frontier villages, cross-border marriage plays an important role in marital relationship. The selection of brides and bridegrooms is not limited within Indian Territory only. It crosses the international border lines also. In this connection, both the villages present more or less similar trend. In both the villages, mate selection is done by the parents or elder members of the family. But at the same time, self-selection has been an important part in marital relationship. The love relation before marriage is also happened between probable brides and bridegrooms. Beside this, the villagers prefer to make marital relationship with known persons. The physical fitness, occupational background, education, and amount of landholding etc are considered in selecting the bridegrooms and the beauties, physical fitness and education are considered in selecting the brides. It is informed that education of brides and bridegrooms are given importance recently and presently the role of gotra is in gradual decrease. Inter-community marriage is also observed. In Dulal Jote, one family is consisted by inter-community marriage. Here one Rajbanshi male marries one Nepali female. In frontier, the influence of dowry and bride price

is also miserable. In Chhoto Dilsaram Jote, the influence of dowry and bride price is very high. But in Dulal Jote, the influence of dowry and bride-price is very low.

Religious interactions among the people living in the frontier villages bear distinctive character. In this context, the communities living in both the villages present more or less similar aspects. It is found that both the Rajbanshis and the Nepalese observe several festivals and believe in several gods and goddesses. Both the communities have left some of their previous festivals and the number of gods and goddesses have also decreased. The decreasing number of the festival is higher among the Rajbanshis than the Nepalese living in the villages. The adoption of some local gods and goddesses in their religio-festive structure is also common to both the communities. More interesting thing is that during any festival organized and celebrated by any of the communities, the participation of some persons particularly children and women of other communities are unrestricted. Even no restriction is imposed upon the people of Nepal at the time of observance of any fair held in Indian Territory mainly in the frontier areas. Similarly, the non-Nepali and Nepali people of these villages and some other villages take part in any fair held in Nepal mainly in the fairs held in Jhapa district without any restriction. Beside the followers of the Hinduism, some followers of Christianity, Buddhism also live in the villages. Religious syncretism is an important issue in the life of the individuals living in the frontier area under study. Besides it, syncretism in terms of food-habits, dress-pattern, language spoken is happened in this area. Finally it can be said that this frontier area does not bear same and similar situation with non-frontier areas of Indian Territory. In each village, religious belief is not limited in one religion. Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity are the major religious faiths accepted by the individuals living in the frontier villages. It is happened due to its acceptance of migrants from different areas of India and Nepal and Bangladesh. The culture of the communities living in the frontier area is also different. But assimilation in socio cultural fields is happened in cases of marriage, sharing of common environmental resources, and free flow of mass media. Inter-caste or community marriage is observed in this frontier area. Here one Rajbanshi male married a Nepali female of Nepal. Beside this

many females of this area are married with the males of Nepal and many females of Nepal are married with the males of this area. The participation of some of the individuals in illegal cross-border trading activities is noticed. Many people of the area take part in this trading activity. Here the individuals act as carrier of the goods. The individuals of this area enjoy the benefits of mass media. The news papers of Nepal are found in this area and various programmes in Nepal radio and television are also enjoyed by the individuals living in the villages under study. Instability in population structure, immigration of the people, less developed infrastructure, less educational and medical facilities, the participation of the villagers in illegal cross-border trading activity and alcoholism etc are the major problems faced by the individuals living in this frontier area. Therefore, the development in the fields of income source, educational and medical facilities is necessary for the better livelihoods of the individuals living in this area. More motivation of the individuals for more education is also necessary for the development of this frontier area.

## **8.2: Concluding Remarks**

The present study is an exploratory research work to point out the answers of the questions set as research questions. Followings are the attempts regarding the remarks on the proposed research questions.

The villages found in this frontier area under study are not very old. Before the Naxalbari Movement the population structure was very scanty. But gradually the population structure has changed. Presently, the Rajbanshis and the Harish belongs to the indigeneous group and the Nepalese, other Hindu cast group (i.e. Banik and Potters) belongs to non indigenous group. The assimilation of cultural traits through acculturation and diffusion has been general feature in the frontier villages.

In terms of relationship, the villagers living in this frontier area more or less closer with urban character. In case of social occasions like, marriage, festivals etc, they enjoy it very closely and again they bear some conflicting relation in terms of political groupings also. Due to having close and conflicting relationship and side by side living of different linguistic communities in this frontier area, a large number of people are multilingual.

The infrastructural facilities in terms of village road communication, health facilities, educational facilities, electricity and railways are not very developed and these are not enough to meet the needs of the changing population found in the villages located in this frontier area under study. Very few of Rajbanshis have realised their backwardness and they have been associated with Kamatapur Peoples' Party to increase their socio-political status.

The settlement pattern of the village households is not influenced by the caste discrimination. It is influenced largely by community sentiment. The houses of the poor and the rich families are scattered in the whole villages. The types of houses are influenced by economic condition not by the caste condition. The family structure of the studied villages is characterized by nuclear family mainly. The number of joint families is very small.

The economic life of the villagers living in the studied villages is mainly characterized by agricultural activities. Due to small size of landholding, less fertility of lands, lack of agricultural labourers, high cost of modern agricultural machines and seeds, dependence on agricultural activities is decreasing and acceptance of non-agricultural activities like government service, work at private bus syndicate, masonry, work of labour contractor, rickshaw pulling, taking part in illegal cross-border trading activities, driving etc is increasing gradually. The production mainly some vegetables are produced for selling purpose and the use of high yielding seeds, chemical fertilizers are in gradual increase.

The participation in modern education is progressive. The data shows that children of frontier villages irrespective of communities are now a days participating in modern education.

The political behaviour of the villagers is mainly influenced by attainment of opportunity not by ideology. This kind of behaviour is followed among later migrants mainly. Attainment of voter identity cards, ration cards, connection of electricity etc are the important motivating force for the political behaviour of the people living in this frontier area.

The people living in the villages believe in Hinduism mainly. Beside Hinduism, Some Christians, Buddhists also live in the villages under study. For the performance of the religious activities, each group performs their religious activities through their own way. Beside this, the participation of the people of different communities and the people of Nepal is also observed in the observance of different festivals and fairs.

### **8.3: Recommendations**

From this study, it is revealed that the prime thing necessary for the development of the people and the area is people's awareness. It could be achieved through motivating them. This responsibility should be shared by the government as well as the influential persons of the society. In this section, I would like to put forward some recommendations for the improvement of the villagers and this frontier area. The recommendations are suggested by the people on the basis of my field experience also.

#### **8.3.1: Administrative Measures-Actions to be taken by the State and Administration**

(i) Governments should provide some more attention on the development of the frontier areas. The governments should create some facilities for the upliftment of economic condition and the stability of their source of income. Here the development of agriculture in terms of the introduction of the modern agricultural machines like power tiller, pump sets, high yielding seeds etc should also be given more attention.

(ii) The government should increase the number and the size of the markets in this frontier area. At the same times the protection of the markets should also be improved so that the people of Nepal and other parts of India can come to these markets and can pursue their commercial and other activities.

(iii) The government should improve the road condition in the frontier area for international and internal commercial activities. The improved road condition may help to increase the connectivity among the people living in frontier and non-frontier.

(iv) The government should increase the number of the hospitals and Primary Health Centres in this frontier area.

(v) The government should take care about the availability of sources of drinking water, purity of the drinking water, sanitation and drainage system

(vi) The government should check the alcoholic habits of the people living in this frontier area.

(vii) The government should give much attention to the education for the people in this frontier area. Here the number of the schools and colleges should be increased and some other facilities for the educational like arrangement of stipend, scholarships, establishment of hostels etc should be increased. At the same time the government should make some awareness programmes to make the people more conscious about the need of the education.

### 8.3.2: Actions to be taken by the Villagers

Here it is necessary to mention that though the government has a leading role for the development of this frontier area and the living condition of the people, but the government can not make the entire development without the direct participation of the villagers. In this regards, the villagers, have to do many things. These can be discussed in the following ways.

(i) The villagers should be very careful about the development of self and nation also. In case of economic activities, they should be economical in using the private and public properties. There should be some sub-committees formed by the communities to regulate the government properties like schools, hospitals etc.

(ii) The villagers should invite the NGOs and other welfare organizations to establish the camps for the dissemination of <sup>new ideas and raising</sup> consciousness about the need of education and good health etc.

(iii) Apart from the government assistance, assistance like scholarship should come from NGOs and other well wishers from this frontier and from outside also.

(iv) The political parties should incorporate the villagers living in this frontier area largely to make them conscious about the complexity of political relationship with neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bangladesh etc. Here the political parties or leaders should minimize or destroy the difference of the non-migrants or the early migrants and the later migrants. In selecting the parties or leaders, the caste or the community sentiment should also not be raised among the people living in this frontier area for the wellbeing of the national integration.

(v) The villagers should be aware about the unexpected activities occurred in this frontier area and the community people should come forward to fight against the unexpected activities like participation in the illegal cross-border trading activities, addiction in alcoholic habits etc.

(vi) For the development of this frontier area and the living condition of the people, different committees and sub-committees consisting of early settlers or non-migrants and later migrants with non-frontier people should be formed. Here these committees and sub-committees will supervise several welfare activities for the development of this area and the living condition of the people.

Finally on the basis of this study, I would like to suggest that the border villages or the frontier villages are now-a-days raising their voices regarding their problems and prospects. To my mind, their voices are to be honoured and respected and this should be incorporated in plannings and policy makings by the government and non-government agencies for overall development of the border villages and frontier areas.

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## **APPENDICES**

- .... Appendix - I (Glossary of some local terms)**
- .... Appendix - II (Photographs)**

## Appendix - I

### Glossary of some local terms

Local Terms	Meaning in English
Bazaar	Daily Market
Bhaka Pitha	Pies made with rice powder
Bhaja-Bhuja	Fried food items
Bhura	Boat made with banana plants
Beda	Bamboo made tools used for agricultural field
Bukani	Small piece of cloth to cover a larger part of the body of the women
Bashila	Iron made tool used for household activities
Chulu	Locally made liquor
Chal Bhaja	Fried rice
Chela/ Kula	Bamboo made tool used for cleaning of rice and others things
Chandor	A kind of dress used by women to cover upper portion of body
Cowni	A kind of cereal
Dao	Iron made big size knife used for household activities
Deeps	Earthen lamps
Dhup	Locally made incense stick
Dahi-Chura	Curd and flattened rice
Dheki	A tool used for making rice from paddy seeds
Dhami/ Ojha/	Quack doctor

Dhol and Kansi	Instruments used for music
Dhuti	A kind of dress used by the males to cover lower portion of body
Gamcha	Towel
Ganji	Guerensey
Gramthan	Living place of village gods and goddesses
Githani	The wife of the owner of agricultural field
Hal	A pair of bullock
Hat	Weekly market
Khachari	Bamboo made tool used for carrying materials like vegetables etc
Katari	A kind of iron made tool used for cutting vegetables and others
Kholan	The thrasing floor in the outer yard of the house
Kuchcha	Non-concrete
Kurshi	Bamboo made tools used in agricultural land to break the mud balls
Kancha	A kind of plant used as a vegetable
Khaini	Tabbaco made product
Khai	Fried paddy
Lafa	A kind of plant used as a vegetable
Langal	Plough
Lenti	Small piece of cloth used by the men
Lungi	A kind of dress used by males to cover lower portion of body
Makai/Jawar	Maize
Odhikari/Deosi	Local Rajbanshi priest

Patani	Sheet of cloth to cover the upper portion of the body of women
Prasad	The food items offered to the gods and goddesses
Pucca	Made by concrete materials
Poyra/poyrea	A kind of cereal
Rai	A kind of mustered seed and plants
Shilluk/Shalluk	A kind of plant used as vegetables
Sutipat/DeshiPat	A kind of indigenous jute plant
Tisi	Linseed plant

## **PHOTOGRAPHS**

# Appendix-ii Photographs

Village-1: Chhoto Dilsaram Jote



Photo.1: A Kall Temple.

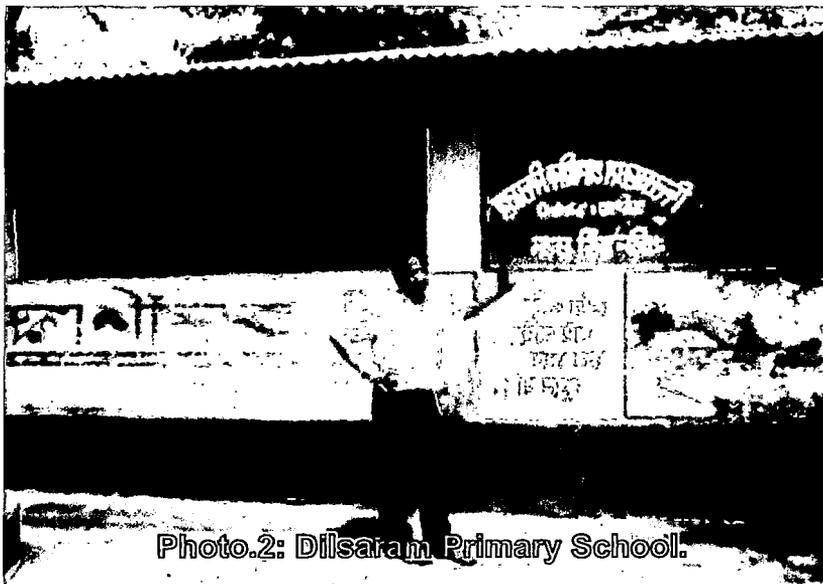


Photo.2: Dilsaram Primary School.

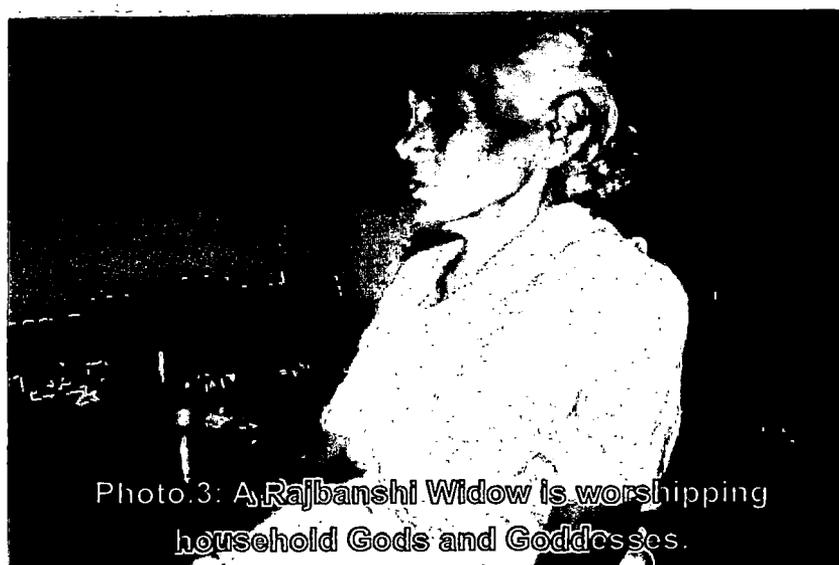


Photo.3: A Rajbanshi Widow is worshipping household Gods and Goddesses.

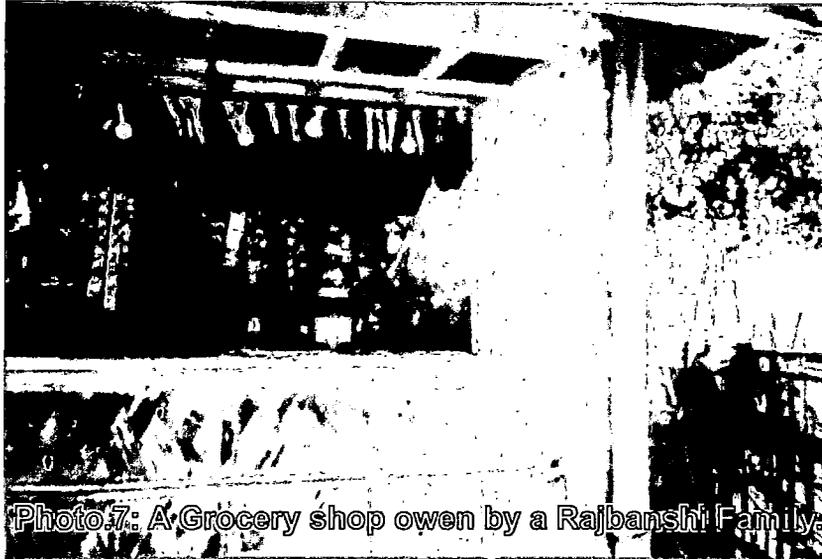
# Appendix-ii Photographs

Village-1: Chohoto Dilsaram Jote



# Appendix-ii Photographs

Village-1: Chhoto Dilsaram Jote



# Appendix-ii Photographs

Village-2: Dulal Jote



Photo.1: Members of a Nepali Family  
are being interviewed by me.



Photo.2: Members of a Hazra Family  
are being interviewed by me.



Photo.3: A Rajbanshi man is in his Agricultural field.

# Appendix-ii Photographs

Village-2: Dulal Jote

