3

THE LOCALE OF THE STUDY

This chapter aims to contextualize the study by presenting a brief description of the study area, i.e., Dewan Tea Garden village in Cachar district of the Barak Valley in the south Assam of India. The village is introduced in terms of its historical, geographical, social, cultural, religious, occupational and political features in the proceeding discussion.

Historical Background

Dewan Tea Garden, one of the 115 tea gardens in the Barak Valley, is situated in the eastern part of Cachar district. No document exists to tell actual date of its establishment. But it is assumed that the garden is more than a hundred years old. It was owned by Macline Barny Ltd. before Jay Shree Tea Company of the Birla group purchased it in 1963. The labourers in the garden were first lured from different parts of

the country like Bihar, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and some of North East India by making unreal promises that by shaking the tea bushes one would be able to collect as much money as one could or one would be paid as much amount of money as equal to the tea leaves plucked by him in a day. At that time the area was fully covered with thick jungles, ridges, hillocks and brute animals like tigers, snakes, elephants, etc. in abundance. The labourers had to struggle a lot both with the jungles and the animals for establishing their shelters and plots for production of food grains on the lands provided by the garden owners. The settlements of labourers have by now grown into the villages. Initially, the garden inhabitants faced the problems of travel, transport and communication for contacts with the outer world. Therefore, the garden labourers had to work hard to establish the garden as well as to construct a narrow, kachcha link road that passes through Dewan connecting Labac with Fulertal Fari Ghat. Gradually, for export of the finished tea products and import of the necessary commodities a railway trolley line was laid down to connect the garden with Fulertal on the bank of the Barak River. About 60 years ago, a small port called Fulertal Fari Ghat served the purpose of communication and transportation. The official staff and managers of this garden had to go on foot, bicycle or horseback whenever they intended to move out of the garden. The garden owners have constructed a pacca road that connects Dewan with the district headquarters town, i.e., Silchar via Labac, Pailapool and Banshkandi.

Location

Dewan tea garden village, 31 km. from Silchar, is approached by two pacca or metalled road routes; namely, the Silchar-Arcuttiper-Kashipur and the Silchar–Udharband route The roads are flanked by villages, paddy fields and tea gardens on both

Plate 3.1: A Part of the Mondopline Sector of Dewan Village

sides. This garden comes under Lakhipur sub-division; Lallong revenue circle and Joypur block in Cachar district. Surrounded by paddy fields and tea bushes the village has Lallong Tea Garden and Joypur in the east; paddy fields, Dhayani Basti and Kumbirgram in the west; Labac, Pailapool and Lakhipur in the south and Dewan Tea Garden and Bortal tea estate in the north. It is one km. from Labac, two kms from Pailapool, seven kms from Joypur and eight kms from Lakhipur.

Area and Population

The total area of Dewan Tea Garden village is 19602.30 hectares of which 19497 hectares are for tea plantation, 104.32 hectares for labour settlement and 0.98 hectares for staff settlement. Most of the cultivable lands are owned privately and have paddy as the only crop. According to the Garden Census 1999-2000 the total number of labour households in Dewan is 925 and the labour population is 4360 that comprises 2226 males (51.05%) and 2134 females (48.94%). By their work 877 persons (10.11%) are the garden's permanent labourers comprising 527 males (60.05%) and 350 females (39.95%). The number of casual labourers is currently 250 (5.8%) that is always fluctuating (Dewan Tea Garden Office Record 2003).

Socio-physical Lay Out

Dewan Tea Garden village is divided into twelve sectors; namely, (i) Mondopline / Nich Patty, (ii) Club Line / Uppor Patty, (iii) Ghutabari, (iv) Hospital Line, (5) Kole Line, (vi) Dewan Satt Number, (vii) Bhuyan Danga, (viii) Office Line, (ix) Baltola Bawri Danga, (x) Lohar Danga, (xi) Turia Danga and (xii) Dewan Att Number. The households/families of different communities, religions and castes/tribes inhabit the sectors as shown in the Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Distribution of the Households/Families into the Residential Sectors by Community, Religion and Caste/Tribe in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri												
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purulia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Munger	Mujafarpur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalpur	Goya	Bilaspur	Faizabad	Gagipur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
OFFICE LINE																					
Bowri	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Malakar	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akura	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sarkar	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Das	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Total	2	5	3	-	-	3	4	17	1	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	10
LOHAR DANGA																					
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mali	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Layak	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bawri	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	6	-	6	2	-	-	-	14	27	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
DEWAN ATT NUMBER																					
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	17
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Bawri	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhumij	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manjhe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	33
Total	19	-	24	-	-	-	1	44	7	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	50	1	-	-	79

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total	
OFFICE LINE															
Bowri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Malakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Akura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Sarkar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Das	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
LOHAR DANGA															
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Layak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
DEWAN ATT NUMBER															
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Bhumij	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Manjhe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	124

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri												
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purulia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Munger	Mujafarpur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalpur	Goya	Bilaspur	Faizabad	Gagipur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
CLUB LINE																					
Bowri	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumar	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fulmali	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bagti	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karmakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Chetri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bhor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Dhubi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pattanayak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total	22	-	15	-	-	1	-	38	10	-	4	9	-	5	-	5	1	1	1	-	36
KOLE LINE																					
Kole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Singh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumar	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	7

Continued ....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total	
CLUB LINE															
Bowri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Fulmali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bagti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Karmakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Chetri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bhor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Koli	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dhubi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Tanti	-	-	-	-	28	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
Pattanayak	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	6	-	6	28	4	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	112
KOLE LINE															
Kole	-	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Singh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tanti	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	-	9	-	9	2	8	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	28

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri													
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purnia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Munger	Mujafarpur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalpur	Goya	Bilaspur	Faizabad	Gagipur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
DEWAN SATT NUMBER																						
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mohanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	11
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baiga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bashfar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	
Kumar	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bagti	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	5	8	-	-	17	1	-	-	1	11	-	-	2	40	
GUTIBARI LINE																						
Kole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	1
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mali	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	-	13	3	3	-	3	2	-	2	-	32	

Continued .....

Table 3.1 Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total	
DEWAN SATT NUMBER															
Tanti	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Mohanti	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Robidas	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-							3
Korn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kole	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Baiga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bashfar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bagti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	3	1	-	4	50	9	-	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	108
GUTIBARI LINE															
Kole	-	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Robidas	27	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
Korn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tanti	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	27	9	-	36	2	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	72

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri												
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purulia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Munger	Mujaferpur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalpur	Goya	Bilaspur	Faizabad	Gagipur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
HOSPITAL LINE																					
Kumar	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fulmali	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bawri	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Das	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karmakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
Dhubi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kalindri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Total	17	3	6	-	-	4	-	30	3	5	-	15	4	1	-	1	10	1	3	1	44

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Total	Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total		
HOSPITAL LINE																
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Fulmali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Das	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Karmakar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Robidas	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kole	-	8	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Dhubi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tanti	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kalindri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Muslims	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	2	8	-	10	10	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	108

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri												
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purulia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Mung er	Mujafar-pur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalp-ur	Goya	Bilasp ur	Faizab-ad	Gagip ur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
Bawri	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fulmali	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chakraborty	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bhor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Rajwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hazam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bagti	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Suri	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yadab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurku	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	77	2	15	-	1	-	-	95	7	-	5	18	-	-	1	-	13	2	-	-	46

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total	
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Fulmali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Chakraborty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Koiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Bhor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Robidas	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Rajwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hazam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bagti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Suri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yadab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Kurku	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	3
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	3	-	-	3	-	11	-	11	-	3	3	-	-	-	158

Continued .....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Bengali								Bhojpuri												
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Purulia	Madini-pur	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Mung-er	Mujafar-pur	Bhojpuri	Hazar-ibag	Bhagalp-ur	Goya	Bilasp ur	Faizab-ad	Gagip ur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total
BALTOLA BAWRI DANGA																					
Bawri	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deb	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suklabadya	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumar	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suri	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Murao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	46	2	16	0	0	1	0	65	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	7
TURIA DANGA																					
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Bawri	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Das	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	0	0	14	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	16
Bhuyan Danga																					-
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43
Kumar	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rongmai Naga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43

Continued.....

Table 3.1 : Continued .....

Castes / Tribe Religion & Community	Hindi				Oriya				Santali			NAGA			Grand Total
	Rewa	Balaghat	Not Known	Total	Cuttak	Balaswar	Not Known	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	Not known	Total	
BALTOLA BAWRI DANGA															
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46
Deb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sukdabadya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Suri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Murao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tanti	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Goer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
TURIA DANGA															
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Bawri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Das	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Murao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lohar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
Bhuyan Danga															
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rongmai Naga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	45

The table exhibits that Mondop Line / Nich Patty is the largest sector consisted of 158 families from 22 castes and the four communities; viz, Bengali, Hindustani (Hindi speaking), Oriya and Santal having intermixed settlement. The Bengali forms the largest group (60.12%) of families followed by Bhojpuri-a Hindustani group- (31%), the Oriya (6.96%) and the Santali (1.89%) families. The Bawri is the largest caste group (44.33%) of the families followed by the Mali (9.49%), the Bin (7.59%), and the Chasa (6.96%).

Club line / Uppor Patty has 112 families (12.10%) from twenty-four castes, two religions and four communities with their intermixed settlement. The Hindus form the majority religious group while the minority religion consists of only one Bhojpuri Muslim family. The Hindustani forms the majority linguistic group (37.54%) of the families followed by the Bengali (33.92%) and the Oriya (28.57%). The Tanti is the majority caste having 25% of the families followed by the Bawri (12.5%), the Mali (9.82%) and the Fulmali (6.25%).

Dewan Hospital Line is the second largest sector consisted of 108 families (11.67%) from 26 castes, two religions and three linguistic communities. The Hindustani is the largest community having 50% of the families followed by those of the Bengali (27.77%) and the Oriya (22.23%). The Koiri, the Tanti and the Chasa are the majority caste groups each having 9.25% families followed by the Bawri (8.33%), the Fulmali (7.40%), the Bin (6.48%) and the Kumar (5.5%). The Hindu families form the majority religious group (97.33%) whereas the Muslim constitutes only 2.77% of the families.

Kole Line consists of 28 families (3.02%) from three communities and 10 caste groups. The Hindustani forms the majority linguistic community having 57.14% of the

families followed by the Oriya (35.71%) and the Bengali (7.14%). The Kole are the majority caste having 32.14% families followed by the Goar (21.42%).

Gutabari Line consists of 72 families (7.78%) from 11 castes and three communities. The Hindustani majority (94.44%) of the families is followed by the Oriya (4.16%) and the Bengali (1.38%). The Robidas form the majority caste having 37.5% families followed by the Kole (12.5%), the Bhuyans (8.33%) and the Kori (6.94%).

Dewan Satt Number consists of 108 families (11.67%) distributed into the three communities; namely, the Oriya (54.62%), the Hindustani (37.03%) and the Bengali (4.62%). The Tanti is the majority caste having 46.29% families followed by the Bin (10.18%), the Koiri (8.33%), and the Bhuyan, the Goala and the Chasa (6.48% each).

Bhuyan Danga has in all 45 families (4.86%) comprising 43 Bhuiya families of the Hindustani, one family of the Rongmei Naga tribe and one Kumar family of the Bengali.

Baltola Bawri Danga consists of 75 families (8.10%) from the Bengali (86.66%), the Hindustani (9.33%) and the Oriya (4.0%) communities. As the nomenclature suggests, the Bawri is the majority caste in the sector having 61.33% families followed by the Mali (20.0%) and the Ghatwar (4.0%).

Office Line consists of 27 families (2.91%) from 10 castes of the Bengali, the Oriya and the Hindustani communities. The Mirdha has the majority (18.51%) families followed by the Akura (14.81%) and the Mali (11.11%).

Turia Danga consists of 23 families (2.48%) that constitute the Hindustani (69.56%) and the Bengali (30.43%) communities. The Mirdha form the majority (60.86%) of the families followed by the Bawri (26.08%).

Lohar Danga has 45 families (4.86%) from seven castes of the Bengali and the Bhojpuri (Hindustani) communities. The Lohar have 55.55% families followed by the Bawri and the Mali (13.33% each).

Dewan Att Number is formed of 124 families (13.40%) from two castes, two religions and three communities. The Hindustani families are in the majority (63.70%) followed by the Bengali (35.48%). The Bhojpuri Muslim constitutes 26.61% of the families while the Bhojpuri and Bengali Hindus constitute 73.39%. The Mali has the majority (19.35%) of the families followed by the Bawri (15.32%) and the Mirdha (11.29%).

The owners suspecting escape of the labourers initially divided their settlement into sectors with numbers, one each, under a watch keeper to check their movements in or out of the village. Thus came the sectors of the village to be named in the course of time. Initially, the labourers were allowed to build huts on the sites selected freely and, therefore, they organized their social (village) life on the basis of their caste / communities [Source: Hem Chandra Mirdha (75) and Chutuya Tanti (67)].

Institutions

The village has a network of institutions that along with the settlement makes up its physical lay out.

Nach Ghar

Nachghar (*Nach* or **dance** and *Ghar* or **house**) that literally means **a house for dance** or **theatre** is situated at the entrance of the village before the Durga Ghar. It is an open hall with a roof of tin sheets and a pacca platform in the centre basically for entertainment and other purposes. The Nachghar has played an important role in the life

Plate 3.2: Nach Ghar (Left), Shiv Temple (Middle) and Kali Temple (Right) in Dewan

of the labourers from the very beginning of the garden. During the Durga Puja a small fair takes place at the Nach ghar every year. Various activities such as plays, video shows, Ramlila, meetings of political leaders, etc. are also organized there. Now a days, a small market takes place at the Nachghar everyday.

Temples and Mosques

There are three temples and one mosque to represent religious life of the villagers in Dewan. Of the temples one is for the Goddess Kali and two for the Lord Siva. The villagers and Garden Management constructed one Shiva and one Kali temple in 1985. In the same year the Manager, J. C. Das, brought the goddess Kali's idol from Kolkata. They are situated side by side nearby the Nachghar at the entrance of the village. Another Shiva temple in Dash Numbar area is situated in the midst of the tea bushes on the Dewan – Bartol Road. The villagers have a Mondir Committee to take care of the temples. The priest of temples is the Head Master, Chandra Kanta Tiwari, of the Pearson Institute of M.E. School. The management families to perform worship visit the Dashnumban Siva temple constructed by the managers of the garden in 1989-1990. The labourers rarely perform worship in this temple.

The mosque constructed in 1982 at the Dewan-Thailu road is situated in Dewan Autt Number, having 26.61% Muslim families, in the northern part of the village. The Muslim regularly offer *Namaj* (prayers) in this Assam type pacca mosque.

Durga Ghar

The Durga Ghar situated just near to the Kali and Siva temples is a small house roofed with tin sheets to keep the idol of the goddess Durga. It opens once a year during

the Durga Puja festival. Before this structure was constructed in 1985 there was a hut with the idol in it to perform puja.

Gandhi Statue

The statue of Mahatma Gandhi installed in 1989 in the centre of the village is the outcome of the efforts of a group of the villagers; namely, Kashia Tanti, Sahadev Fulmali, Bhubandoria Tanti, Ranjeet Kumar, Brizlal Goala, Bohoram Koiri and some others who decided to install a Gandhi statue in the village. They formed a committee of Kashia Tanti as the president, Bohorom Goala as Secretary and Ranjeet Kumar, Brizlal Goala and some others as members. At first, they installed an idol of Gandhi made of mud. Later, to replace it by a permanent statue they collected contributions from the villagers, the garden staff and the shop owners in the local weekly market. Finally, on 26 January 1989 the then Member of Parliament, Kabindra Purkayastha, inaugurated the white painted cement statue of Gandhi.

The villagers consider Gandhi Baba a great man as they believed that he compelled the British to leave the garden and he worked for human upliftment and improvement of life conditions in India. Most of the villagers have no idea about Gandhi's life and work but they pay tributes to him by putting a garland around the neck of the statue on 26th January and 15th August every year.

Schools

The village has its access to three schools; namely, (i) Dewan Bagan L.P.School, (ii) M. E. School and (iii) High School. The first two schools are located within the territory of the village and the later one beyond its boundary. They are discussed here briefly.

Dewan Bagan L. P. School

Dewan Bagan L. P. School situated a few metres from the hospital in the southern part of the village was established in 1931 with a view to provide the villagers only such literacy as would be useful to increase their labour skills.

The garden management provided teachers and their salaries, rations and residential quarters. The children of the garden's clerical staff also study in the school as no other primary school is available in the vicinity. At the beginning the school had only a meagre of students. In 1971, the Government of Assam took over the school and therefore the Garden Management has withdrawn all the facilities provided to the teachers.

For its smooth running the school has a **committee** consisting of 12 members including president, vice-president, secretary and cashier, one each. Except the secretary all the occupants are elected in a meeting of guardians convened by the school authority for three years. The head master is the ex-officio secretary of the committee. At present, the school committee has Rotan Kuhan as the president, Horipada Bhattacharya (Head Master)- the secretary and Cashier, Brojobashi Hazam and Deepali Hazam - the teacher representatives and Ashok Kumar, Sohodev Mali, Baltu Goala, Kamrup Tanti, Dutu Ree, Moni Bhumij and Gopal Das as the elected members. The school has currently five teachers on the staff comprising two women and three men.

Pearson Institute of M. E. School

For years the students from Dewan faced a lot of problem for the study after completing their primary education as no high school was there in Dewan or its vicinity.

They had to go either to Lakhipur Earle Higher Secondary School, 8 km, or to Silchar, 30 km, for their further studies (from fifth to tenth standard).

The problem compelled the villagers to look for a solution. An opportunity emerged in 1942-43 when Ajeetnath Bhattacharya a teacher in a school of East Bengal (now Bangladesh) came to Dewan where one of his brothers, Promothnath Bhattacharya, was a clerk. Being a teacher he could realise the problems of the students from Dewan. He proposed to the clerical staff and the conscious Sardar of the garden to establish at least one M.E. School in Dewan. Almost the entire staff responded to the proposal and formed a committee in 1945-46 for the purpose. The active members of the committee were late Kanta Majumder, late Horendra Paul, late Debendra Kar, Khitish Chandra Das and some others. The first three of the members were on the clerical staff of the Dewan Tea Garden. Mr. Das, the founder of Nehru Higher Secondary School and Nehru College at Pailapool, is a social worker associated variously with the educational institutions.

After long discussions the committee decided to solicit to the then garden management for grant of land for school. The then Superintendent, Mr. S. A. Pearson, who was very helpful, granted the land in 1947 to start the school that was named by the committee to honour him.

The garden management is providing a financial help of Rs. 300/- per month for development and management of the school. The teachers are provided all those facilities as provided to those of the L.P.School. Late Ajeetnath Bhattacharya was the founder-Head Master of the institution. When the Assam Government took over the school in 1970 the management withdrew the facilities provided to the teachers.

At present, the Pearson Institute has no school committee as the last school committee was dissolved in 1997. The fresh elections to constitute it are yet to be held. In the last school committee D.N. Misra, the superintendent of the Dewan Garden, was the president, C. K. Tiwari, the Head Master of the institution- the cashier and secretary, Hariprasad Dhubi and Laxminarayan Mohanto- the teacher representatives and Sahadev Mali, Ranu Koiri, Putul Ree, Subash Koiri, Batul Goala and Rotan Kahar (the educationally conscious labourers of the Dewan Tea Garden)-the members elected by the students' guardians. At present, the institute has nine teachers comprising two women and seven men. All, but one teacher (Haripra Dhubi), are from outside the village.

Dewan Group High School

In 1980 the Dewan Group High School (standard VIII to X) was opened in the midst of the paddy fields at the Dewan–Labac road to provide opportunities to the students of Dewan. Since a heavy rush of students at Nehru High School, Pailapool, 3 km from Dewan, established in 1956, generally left a rare chance for admission of the students from Dewan, the educationally conscious people decided to open a separate high school in the village.

For this, Late Gopal Das, Nirmal Mazumder, Rakesh Chandra Paul and some others invested much of their energies. The first two persons were on the clerical staff of the Dewan Tea Garden Office and the latter one was a political leader from Lakhipur. The school building was constructed from the funds collected from the labourers. The school is still ad hoc in nature, which metes the salaries of the teachers and other staff from the labourers' contributions. On every payment day (*Talab bar*) the labourers

Plate 3.3: Dewan Hospital at Hospital Line in Dewan

deposited their contributions to the cashier to disburse the salaries of the teachers. At present, the school has five teachers who are all males.

Hospital

The tea labourers were settled inside the plantation area, generally far away from the villages and towns. The medical facility was a big problem for both the labourers and the planters. Therefore, initially, the health condition of the labourers worsened. In the early 1950's the annual death rate in the gardens of Assam was 70 per 1000 (Awasti 1973). Steps were taken to improve their health condition.

Now, the medical facilities have to be provided to the labourers in the tea gardens by the employers under the Assam plantation Act 1952. According to this Act any garden employing more than 1000 workers has to run its own garden hospital to provide all sorts of primary treatment.

The tea plantation setting has two types of hospital; viz., the garden hospital and the group of gardens (central) hospital. The Dewan tea garden has a hospital of 14 beds for all sorts of medical treatment of the patients (villagers), situated nearby the M.E. and L.P. Schools in the northern part of the village. A compounder - Ranjeet Bhattacharjee, a nurse - Anjali Bhattacharjee and two ward boys - Kamdev Tanti and Bishwanath Koiri- are on the regular hospital staff. A doctor, Dr. B. Das (M.B.B.S.), from the central hospital visits this hospital once or twice a week. The B.P. Kedia Central Hospital of the Dewan Group of 15 tea gardens at Labac, 2 kms, is one of the oldest central hospitals of Assam established in 1890. It provides facilities; namely, (i) General Wards for Males, (ii) General Wards for Females, (iii) Maternity Wards with Separate Labour Room, (iv) Family Planning Centre, (v) T.V. and V.D. Clinics, (vi) Out Patients Department, (vii)

Consulting Room, (viii) Laboratory, (ix) Minor Operation and Dressing Room, (x) Dispensary and Drug Store, (xi) General Stores and (xii) Kitchen for Cooking. The serious patients of the Dewan Garden are referred to this (central) hospital. It has an ambulance to serve the patients.

Post Office

A post office since the British times is situated on the Dewan-Bortal road in the southwest of the garden. A high school pass Bengali is the Post Master living in a quarter nearby the Post Office provided by the Garden Authority right from its beginning.

Bank

A branch of the United Bank of India (UBI), Labac, established in 1991, is the nearest bank of the village. A few people of the Dewan Tea Garden village, especially the Government servants such as Hori Prasad Dhubi – a teacher of Pearson Institute, Sridam Bawri–a Lower Division Clerk of Nehru College, Pailapool, and the medium shopkeeper - Joygopal Bin-and some others have their saving accounts in the bank.

Market and Shops

A small market to supply the villagers with essential commodities is held at Nach Ghar in Dewan every day. But a large weekly market attracting the people of surrounding villages is held every Wednesday at Labac. Labac has a separate market place consisted of a number of small hut shops. The District Rural Development Agency (DRDA), cachar, has constructed three pacca open halls at Labac Bazar under the Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (JRY) 1994-95 for providing better market facilities to the people of the surrounding villages. This market meets almost all the requirements of the villagers like food grains, oil seeds, oil, cloth, pots, plough, vegetable, fish, dry fish, hen, duck, pork,

ornaments, tea stalls and so on. The Dewan villagers visit this market to purchase necessary commodities and to sell pork, ducks, hens and vegetables.

Of 17 shops, in all, small and medium, two shops are owned by the (Bengali) outsiders and the remaining by the local villagers. Again, 10 shops deal only in pan-supari (betel nuts and leaves), biscuits, mirrors, cheap cosmetics, etc. and the rest (seven shops) keep rice, kerosene oil and other necessary items of every day use. The Bengali shopkeepers, Badal Paul and Chandan Dutta, are the daily commuters from Labac. The shops are generally found in the front rooms of the houses, built of bamboo and tin sheds. The outsider shopkeepers have to take permission of the garden management to open a shop in a rented room or a small hut built on the garden's land.

Local Tea Shops

Dewan is a village frequently visited by the people of other villages, garden staff, traders and others as it has the head office of nine gardens; provides approach to the Bortal and Thailu Tea Estates and holds a small market at the Nachghar every evening.

The teashops fulfill the needs of the various visitors. Of these, four are situated near the tea factory and the rest (three) near the Nach Ghar. The teashops are housed in huts having two to three wooden benches and tables. One of the tables holds the empty glasses and two to three glass wares of cheap biscuits. The tea stall owner himself prepares tea on kerosene stove or fuel wood oven and serves it in small glasses. Of the four shops, the two are owned by the Bengali- one nearby the factory by Nripendra Dhar- and the other nearby the Nach Ghar by Monimala Chakraborty- and the rest by Bimal Bin (Bhojpuri) and Badal Chasa (Oriya).

The watch keepers, Sardar, and others who work in the factory often visit the teashops nearby the factory. The outsiders, the shopkeepers of the Nach Ghar market and the young boys of the village visit the tea stalls nearby the Nach Ghar. The shop is the meeting place for youngsters of the village to chitchat and exchange views on films and various happenings in the village.

Tea Factory and Tea Garden Office

The Dewan Tea Factory and the Dewan Garden Office both situated within the same boundary in the south of the village have only one entrance. The garden office is arranged in a modern manner. The entrance of the office / factory has a check post and next to it are two beautiful flower gardens. On its left side is the reserved car parking place and on the right side - a double storey building for the industry's administrative work. Half of the ground floor of the building is used for the Dewan Garden's official work whereas the first floor and the computer section of ground floor constitute the Central Office of nine gardens of the Birla group to carry out the works related to appointments and transfers of office staff, incomes and expenditures. The Dewan Garden has a staff of 14 clerical and medical personnel and the Central Office has 34 clerical personnel.

In the tea factory, the tea products are manufactured systematically with the help of modern machines and equipments. A portion of the factory is used as the office for the factory to keep the records of production, labourers, expenditures and so on.

Workshop

Nearby the factory is the Central Work Shop to repair cars and machines of nine gardens. The workshop has two parts; viz, the motor workshop and the machine

workshop. Cars and motorcycles are repaired in the motor workshop and the tea manufacturing machines are repaired in the machine workshop. The Dewan Tea Garden has 32 cars including the manager's personal one and an ambulance. The workshop has thirty workers including the diploma holder workers but has no trained engineer. To repair a serious damage of any machine the mechanics are brought from out side.

Managers' Bungalows

Of the six bungalows in Dewan aligned along the Dewan–Bartol road nearby the tea factory and office, the one just adjacent to the factory is for the Commercial Manager and those opposite to the factory are for the Superintendent of nine gardens, Assistant Manager, Divisional Manager, Factory Incharge and Assistant Factory Incharge. Except that of the Commercial Manager the other bungalows are situated within the same boundary wall. At the entrance of bungalows is found very beautiful gardens and their rooms are equipped with the facilities for modern life style.

Official Staffs Quarters

The residences of official staff scattered around comprise six quarters nearby the factory on the Dewan – Bortal road, 16 quarters nearby the hospital separated from the original village settlement by a boundary wall and three quarters just opposite to the Nach Ghar. These are the Assam type pacca houses each comprising 3-4 rooms, a kitchen, a store room, a latrine and a bathroom.

Structural Units

Social structure of the Dewan tea Garden village is composed of a multitude of social units based on nativity kinship, caste, religion, gender, clan, generation and age. An analysis of the units unravels the structural matrix of the village.

Native Groups

From the very beginning of the tea gardens in this region, the planters were in scarcity of wage labour as the valley's indigenous traditional agriculturist people unacquainted with paid labour were reluctant to work as wage labourers in the tea gardens. The planters to solve problem were compelled of the short age of indigenous labour by seeking some alternative of it. On 13 May 1858, Sanderman, the then Manager of Gungoor Tea Estate, suggested the import of coolies (labourers) into Cachar from North India. After the Government's approval the imports started. 'During the period from May 1863 to January 1868, a total of 52,155 coolies were imported to Cachar (Bhattacharjee n.d.). Therefore, the villagers are identified by the regional or sub-regional identities derived from the place of origin of their forefathers as shown in the Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Distributions of the Households into the Native Place/Region of Their Ancestors in Dewan Tea Garden

Name of Native Place/State of Ancestors	Number of Households	Percentage of Households
Bihar	314	**33.94**
West Bengal	310	**33.51**
Orissa	142	**15.35**
Madhya Pradesh	49	**5.29**
Uttar Pradesh	100	**10.81**
Sylhet of Bangladesh	9	**0.97**
Nagaland	1	**0.10**
Total	925	**100.00**

The table shows that the villagers maintain their native/regional identities based on the places from which their forefathers immigrated to the village. They have their ancestral roots mostly in Bihar (33.94%) and West Bengal (33.51%) followed by Orissa (15.35%), Madhya Pradesh (5.29%), Uttar Pradesh (10.81%), Sylhet of East Bengal (0.97%) and Nagaland (0.10%). In fact, most of the villagers' forefathers migrated from the Eastern India (84.96%) specially from the provinces of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa that formed the parts of Greater Bengal before Bihar and Orissa were carved out of it as the separate provinces in 1921 and 1936 respectively. The area of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the North forming geo-cultural homogeneity across the provincial/ state borders with Orissa and Bihar respectively have also contributed a significant proportion of the labourers. Nine cases of emigration from Sylhet district of the erstwhile East Bengal (now Bangladesh) and one case from Nagaland does indicate the reluctance having prevailed among the local people to paid labour in the plantations.

A further analysis of the labour immigration into the village in terms of the native district of provides insights into structural constraints in the cultural regions across the provincial boundaries in the North and the Eastern India. The forefathers, as the villagers speak, were lured by the contractors in the garden by making false promises that the amount of wages would be equal to the tea leaves plucked in a day or that by shaking the tea plants as much money could be collected as one could. On the other hand, their structural conditions of landlessness, poverty, exploitation, oppression, illiteracy and low caste/class status pushed them to fall victim in the hands of the contractors of anti-social nature known as the *Arcuttis* (Bhattacharjee 1995: 7).

Caste/Tribe

The villagers are differentiated on the basis of caste and tribe. Caste is a hereditary endogamous and occupational group based on the purity-pollution principle underlying all social intercourses, commensalities and ritual performance (Duma 1970) whereas tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of function, ruled by tribal officers-hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes, without any social obligations attending to them as it does in the caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal neutralization of ideas from alien sources, above all - conscious of a homogeneous ethnic and territorial integration (Mazumder 1956). Distribution of households of the villagers into the castes, sub-castes and tribes is given in the Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Distribution of the Households into the Castes/Sub-castes and Tribes by Place of Origin in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Castes / Tribes	Place of Origin															
	Bengali								Oriya			Santal			Rongmei Naga	Grand Total
	Bakura	Bardh-aman	Madini-pur	Purulia	Alipur	Sylhet	Not known	Total	Cuttak	Balas-war	Total	Santal Pargana	Not known	Total	Nagaland	
Chakrab-orty	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sarkar	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Deb	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bawri	172	-	-	-	-	-	-	172	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	172
Kumar	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Layak	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Das	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Bagti	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Suri	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Akura	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bhumij	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	-	79	-	-	-	79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
Fulmali	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
Suklab-adya	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Malakar	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Tanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	-	93	-	-	-	-	93
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	34	-	-	-	-	34
Pattana-yak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Goar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	13	-	-	-	-	13
Mohanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Majhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
Kurku	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	3
Rangmai Naga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	197	11	2	94	1	9	5	319	93	49	142	1	3	4	1	466

Continued.....

Table 3.3: ***Continued.....***

Castes	Hindustani															
	Bhojpuri												Hindi Speaking			Hindustani
	Mujafor-pur	Bhojp-uri	Hazar-ibag	Mun-ger	Goya	Bilasp-ur	Faizab-ad	Gagipur	Raipur	Samas-tipur	Not known	Total	Rewa	Balag-hat	Total	Grand Total
Roy	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Tiwari	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Lohar	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	33
Koiri	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	33
Kahar	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	-	-	-	49	-	-	-	49
Ghatwar	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	13
Murao	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Panika	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	8
Karmakar	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Bhor	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Saha	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	9
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Kole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	33	33
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	8	-	-	-	8
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Rajwar	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3
Kurmi	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Kalindri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
Baiga	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Hazam / Thakur	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Goala / Yadab	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	24
Dhubi	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
Basfor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	35	35
Mirdha	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	36
Bhuyan	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	70
Muslim (Bhojpuri)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	-	-	-	39	-	-	-	39
Keyot	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
Dusad	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	8
Total	**6**	**9**	**125**	**114**	**12**	**9**	**12**	**68**	**5**	**8**	**3**	**391**	**35**	**33**	**68**	**459**

The table reveals that the villagers are distributed into 46 castes and two tribes. By the number of their households the Bawri constitutes the largest proportion (18.59%) followed by the Tanti (10.05%), Mali (8.54%), Bhuyan (7.56%), Bin (5.29%), Bhojpuri Muslim (4.21%), Mirdha (3.89%), Robidas (3.78%), Chasa (3.67%), Lohar, Koiri and kole (3.56% each), Goala/Yadav (2.58%), Fulmali (2.27%), Kumhar (1.62%), Ghatwar and Goar (1.40% each), Saha, Rajput, Panika and Dusad (0.86% each), Bhor and Kurmi, (0.64% each) Dhubi, Das and Kalwar (0.54% each), Akura and Bagti (0.43% each), Roy, Paul, Sarkar, Hazam/Thakur, Karmakar, Suri and Kurku (0.32% each), Kahar, Murao, Layak, Bashfar and Malakar (0.21% each) and Chakraborti, Tiwari, Kalindri, Pattanatyak, Mohanti, Suklabaidya, Naga (tribe), Manjhi (tribe), Bhumij and Baiga (0.10% each). The data clearly indicate the preponderance of the caste households (95.25%) over the Muslim (4.21%) and the tribal (0.54%) households.

The castes/tribes when looked at from their social status are divided the households into three broad categories; namely, the General Castes (1.83%) constituting six clean higher castes; the other Backward Castes/Classes (68.32%) constituting 33 clean but economically backward / middle castes/classes; the Scheduled Castes (29.29%) constituting 12 traditionally low, unclean and backward castes and the Scheduled Tribes (0.54%) constituting the category of two backward peoples existing outside the caste structure.

Before coming over to the Dewan Tea Garden, the castes had roles in the traditional division of work in their respective regional social structures. The Goala and the Yadav were shepherd and milk-suppliers, the Karmokar-blacksmiths; the Kumhar - potters; the Fulmali – flower producers; the Tanti- weavers; the Dhubi/Suklabaidya –

washermen ; the Thakur/ Hazam – barbers, the Mirdha- basketmakers and the Robidas – leather workers, Rajput – Landholders. Their traditional caste occupations have ceased in the new setting but their identity inherited from the ancestral occupations and the past dining habits have still important role to play in determining the present social status. In the new setting untouchability is not practised, among the castes, but the Muslim being the beefeaters are socially segregated by the caste Hindu households as the Hindu are the cow protectors.

The hierarchical inherited from their respective native/ regional social structures has lent a continuity to the regional hierarchical caste structures which as working as autonomous systems in the village. Thus, the phenomena of caste and traditional hierarchy could travel a long distance and persist over a long period among the various native and religious groups despite the common features of economic backwardness and subsistence on labour in the population as a whole.

The very fact of their backwardness implies that the castes/tribes traditionally deprived of the land as a means of production and forced to do labour for privileged castes were by force or trick made to move over to the gardens, who were ever in need of wage labour while the traditionally landed/ propertied castes/classes neither required nor liked any movement for livelihood. Since the people of different castes from the same settled in the same garden they did carry over their regional notions of caste hierarchy to persist in the new place as indicated by the general practice of arranged marriages solemnized on caste lines. The Kahar have only two families in Dewan and only a few in the nearby villages, therefore, a Kahar youth had to bring in a Kahar girl marriage from a village as far as Sunarai in Tripura. Now-a-days, an increasing trend of inter-caste marriage is observed

in the wake of the youth deciding marital matters independently, which is not savoured by the villagers.

Family

By its composition, the family is differentiated into a large number of types and sub types as shown in the Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Distribution of the Households into the Types of Family in Dewan Tea Garden Village by Community, Religion and Caste/Tribe

Caste/Tribe Religion and Community		NUCLEAR TYPES													
		Normal			Abnormal										
		Husband & Wife	Husband wife & unmarried children	Total	Unimember family (only ego)	Father & unmarried sons	Father & unmarried daughter	Father, unmarried sons & daughter	Mother & unmarried sons	mother & unmarried daughter	Mother & unmarried sons & daughter	Unmarried brother	Unmarried brothter & sister	Total	Grand Total
	Bengali														
1	Chakraborty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
2	Sarkar	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
3	Deb	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
4	Roy	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
5	Bawri/Ru	4	85	89	1	1	-	4	5	1	5	1	-	18	107
6	Kumar	1	7	8	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	10
7	Layak	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
8	Mali	2	39	41	1	-	1	-	3	1	3	-	-	9	50
9	Fulmali	-	10	10	-	1	1	-	2	1	2	-	-	7	17
10	Suklabadya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
11	Malakar	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
12	Bagti	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
13	Suri	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
14	Das	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	5
15	Paul	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
16	Akura	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
17	Bhumij	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
	Total	7	159	166	2	3	2	5	10	4	16	1	0	43	209

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Religion and Community		NUCLEAR TYPES													
		Normal			Abnormal										
		Husband & Wife	Husband wife & unmarried children	Total	Unimember family (only ego)	Father & unmarried sons	Father & married daughter	Father, unmarried sons & daughter	Mother & unmarried sons	mother & unmarried daughter	Mother & unmarried sons & daughter	Unmarried brother	Unmarried brothter & sister	Total	Grand Total
	Hindustani														
18	Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Koiri	-	17	17	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	5	22
20	Goala/Yadab	2	12	14	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	16
21	Bin	2	21	23	-	-	1	2	3	-	1	-	-	7	30
22	Bhar	-	2	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4
23	Kalowar	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
24	Lohar	1	18	19	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	1	4	23
25	Kahar	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
26	Rajwar	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
27	Ghatwar	-	5	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	7
28	Panika	1	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	8
29	Kurmi	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2
30	Karmakar	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
31	Saha	-	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
32	Thakur/Hazam	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4
33	Mirdha	2	19	21	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	5	26
34	Dusad	3	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	7
35	Bhuyan	4	36	40	1	4	1	1	4	2	1	-	-	14	54
36	murao	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
37	Dhubi	-	4	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
38	Keyot	1	7	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9
39	Kalindri	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
40	Baiga	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
41	Bashfar	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
42	Rajput	-	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
43	Lodhi	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Hindi Speaking														
44	Rabidas	1	20	21	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	6	27
45	Kole	1	17	18	3	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	8	26
46	Bhojpuri Muslim	3	23	26	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	27
	Total	25	233	258	9	10	4	5	17	6	7	2	3	63	321

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Religion and Community		NUCLEAR TYPES													
		Normal			Abnormal										
		Husband & Wife	Husband wife & unmarried children	Total	Unimember family (only ego)	Father & unmarried sons	Father & unmarried daughter	Father, unmarried sons & daughter	Mother & unmarried sons	mother & unmarried daughter	Mother & unmarried sons & daughter	Unmarried brother	Unmarried brothter & sister	Total	Grand Total
	Oriya														
47	Tanti	6	46	52	2	1	1	2	4	-	3	-	-	13	65
48	Chasa	1	22	23	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	26
49	Goar	1	4	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	3	8
50	Pattanayak	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
51	Mohanti	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
52	Total	8	74	82	2	1	2	4	4	0	6	0	0	19	101
53	Santal Marjhi	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
54	Kurku	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
55	Total	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
56	Rongmai Naga	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	JOINT FAMILY													
	Husband, Wife unmarried children & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, hunbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's unmarried brothers or sister	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother & husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother unmarried sister husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's unmarried brother sister & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married unmarried brother & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married brother & his unmarried children	Husband, wife, married son & their unmarried children & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's sister's sons or daughter	Mother unmarried children & married daughter & her unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter her husband & her unmarried children	Husband wife unmarried children married brother husband's father or mother & wife's sister
BENGALI														
Roy	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bawri/Ru	10	21	2	4	3	3	4	-	3	1	3	1	1	-
Kumar	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Layak	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mali	5	7	6	3	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fulmali	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bagti	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paul	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akura	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16	36	11	8	7	3	5	2	3	2	3	1	1	0

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	Father, widower son & grand sons & daughter	Father widower undiverced daughter & her unmarried children	Father married & unmarried daughter her husband & unmarried children	Father unmarried daughter, father's unmarried brother or sister	mother widower or divorced sons & unmarried grand sons or daughter	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's widow undivorced sister or brother	Husband, wife widower son in-low & his unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter, her husband & wife's sister	Mother, unmarried children & mother brother or sister in-low	Mother, unmarried sons, widow or divorce daughter & her children	Husband, wife married children, husbands grand mother	Husband, wife unmarried children & wife's sister	Husband, wife married daughter & her husband & wife's sister	Total
BENGALI														
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bawri/Ru	-	2	-	-	2	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	65
Kumar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Layak	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mali	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	29
Fulmali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Bagti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Akura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	0	2	1	0	2	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	110

Continued

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	JOINT FAMILY													
	Husband, Wife unmarried children & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, hunbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's unmarried brothers or sister	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother & husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother unmarried sister husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's unmarried brother sister & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married unmarried brother & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married brother & his unmarried children	Husband, wife, married son & their unmarried children & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's sister's sons or daughter	Mother unmarried children & married daughter & her unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter her husband & her unmarried children	Husband wife unmarried children married brother husband's father or mother & wife's sister
HINDUSTANI Bhojpuri (Hindi)														
Roy	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Koiri	-	6	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goala	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
Bin	6	4	3	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bhor	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kalwar	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lohar	1	2	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Kahar	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rajwar	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ghatwar	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurmi	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Saha	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thakur	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hazam	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Twari	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirdha	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	4	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Lodhi	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Keyot	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bashfer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Rajput	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	18	33	8	12	7	2	5	2	5	2	6	-	-	2
Bhojpuri Muslim	3	5	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	JOINT FAMILY													
	Father, widower son & grand sons & daughter	Father widower undiverced daughter & her unmarried children	Father married & unmarried daughter her husband & unmarried children	Father unmarried daughter, father's unmarried brother or sister	mother widower or divorced sons & unmarried grand sons or daughter	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's widow undivorced sister or brother	Husband, wife widower son in-low & his unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter, her husband & wife's sister	Mother, unmarried children & mother brother or sister in-low	Mother, unmarried sons, widow or divorce daughter & her children	Husband, wife married children, husbands grand mother	Husband, wife unmarried children & wife's sister	Husband, wife married daughter & her husband & wife's sister	Total
HINDUSTANI Bhojpuri (Hindi)														
Roy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Kolri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Goala	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Bin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Bhor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Kalwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Lohar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Kahar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ghatwar	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6
Kurmi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4
Saha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Thakur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hazam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Twari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mirdha	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
Dusad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bhuyan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Lodhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Keyot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bashfer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rajput	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	111
Bhojpuri Muslim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12

Continued ....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	JOINT FAMILY													
	Husband, Wife unmarried children & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, hunbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands unmarried brother, sister & husbands parents	Husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's unmarried brothers or sister	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother & husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husbands married brother unmarried sister husbands father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's unmarried brother sister & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married brother & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children, husband's married brother & his unmarried children	Husband, wife, married son & their unmarried children & husband's father or mother	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's sister's sons or daughter	Mother unmarried children & married daughter & her unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter her husband & her unmarried children	Husband wife unmarried children married brother husband's father or mother & wife's sister
Hindi Speaking														
Robidas	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Koli	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total	3	3	2	1	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
Hindustani Total	24	41	12	13	8	4	6	3	5	4	6	-	-	2
Oriya														
Tanti	7	4	2	3	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chasa	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
Goar	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8	5	6	4	2	-	4	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
Santali														
Kurku	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Continued .....

Table 3.4: Continued ....

Caste/Tribe Community & Religion	Father, widower son & grand sons & daughter	Father widower undiverced daughter & her unmarried children	Father married & unmarried daughter her husband & unmarried children	Father unmarried daughter, father's unmarried brother or sister	mother widower or divorced sons & unmarried grand sons or daughter	Husband, wife unmarried children husband's widow undivorced sister or brother	Husband, wife widower son in-low & his unmarried children	Husband, wife married daughter, her husband & wife's sister	Mother, unmarried children & mother brother or sister in-low	Mother, unmarried sons, widow or divorce daughter & her children	Husband, wife married children, husbands grand mother	Husband, wife unmarried children & wife's sister	Husband, wife married daughter & her husband & wife's sister	Total
Hindi Speaking														
Robidas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Koli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15
Hindustani Total	1	1	-	1	3	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	138
Oriya														
Tanti	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	28
Chasa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Goar	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	41
Santali														
Kurku	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

The data show that the families in the village classified into 37 actual types two broad analytical types; namely, the nuclear family (68.54%) of 11 actual types and the joint family (31.36%) of 26 actual types.

Of the nuclear families, (i) the type of husband, wife and unmarried children constitutes its largest proportion (74.13%) followed by (ii) the husband and wife or conjugal families (6.30%), (iii) the mother and unmarried sons and daughter (4.73%), (iv) the mother and unmarried sons (4.88%), (v) the father and unmarried son (2.20%), (vi) the uni-member family and (vii) the father and unmarried daughter (2.04% each), (viii) the mother and unmarried daughter (1.41%), (ix) the father and unmarried daughter (1.26%) and (x) the unmarried brothers and (xi) the unmarried brother and sister (0.41% each).

Of the joint families (i) the husband, wife, unmarried children and husband's father or mother forms the largest sub-type (28.54%) followed by (ii) The husband, wife, unmarried children and husband's parents (16.84%), (iii) the husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's unmarried brother or sister and husband's parents (9.65%), (iv) the husband, wife unmarried children, husband's brother or sister (8.59%), (v) the husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's unmarried brother/sister and husband's father or mother (5.84%, (vi) the husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's sister's sons or daughter (3.78%), (vii) the husband, wife, unmarried children, married brother and their unmarried children (3.43%), (viii) the husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's married and unmarried brothers and husband's father or mother (1.71%), (ix) the husband, wife, married son, unmarried children and husband's father or mother (2.06%), (x) the husband, wife, married daughter and her unmarried children (0.34%), (xi)

husband, wife, unmarried children, married brother, husband's father or mother and wife's sister (0.34%), (xii) the father, widower son and unmarried grand sons and daughter (1.03), (xiii) the father, widow or divorce daughter and her unmarried sons and daughter (1.03%), (xiv) the father unmarried daughter and father's unmarried brother and sister (0.68%), (xv) the mother, widow/widower/divorced sons or daughter and their unmarried children (2.40%), (xvi) the mother, unmarried son, widow or divorced daughter and her unmarried children (0.34%), (xvii) the mother, unmarried children and her sister and brother-in-law (0.68%), (xviii) the husband, wife, unmarried children and wife's sister (0.34%), (xix) the husband, wife, unmarried children and husband's widow/widower/divorced brother and sister(2.40%), (xx) the husband, wife, widower son-in-low and his unmarried children (0.34%), (xxi) the husband, wife, married daughter and her husband and wife's sister (0.34%). The joint families when examined in terms of horizontal and vertical relations of their members they are found forming three types; viz; (i) the families of horizontally related kins, (ii) the families of vertically related kins and (iii) the families of both horizontally and vertically related Kins. The composition of joint family may be examined, both, on horizontal and vertical lines of membership. The horizontally joint family comprises two types; viz; (a) the husband, wife, husband's unmarried married brother or sister and (b) the husband's brother, sister's children. The vertically joint families consist of the members of maximum three generational depths.

Briefly, a large scale differentiation and numerical preponderance of the nuclear type and the complete (nuclear and joint) families owes to the general structural conditions of subsistence village economy which is based on various small jobs and little surplus. The villagers are in a constant search of some means of earning and that too, if

acquired, is not enough to bear the burden of any additional members. Besides, the constant search for means of earning leads to spatial and occupational mobility of the villagers. Then, the nuclear family, and not the joint family, is most suitable. The lower caste, backward people have throughout been depending on the manual works that required their mobility from place to place. Therefore, the nuclear family is a general phenomenon of these people in various parts as well as the history of India. Then, the phenomenon of broken families, though limited in size, is an outcome of the risk-ridden and precarious subsistence economy. Early death of either of the spouses or both generally left a broken nuclear family. However, the joint family of horizontally and vertically related kins does point that it is the ultimate source of security in the event of casualty or old age in absence of other institutional alternatives. Thus, the mixture of family types is supposed to continue in the given socio-economic condition.

The impact of socio-economic conditions on the family is not measured merely by examination of the nature of family. Therefore probe into the size of family is needed here.

Size of Family

The family in Dewan has largely varied in terms of its size that is shown in the Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Distribution of the Households into the Types of Family Size by Community, Religion and Caste / Tribe in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Family Size (Number of Members)	Community, Religion and Caste / Tribe																	
	Bengali																	
	Chakra-borty	Sarkar	Deb	Roy	Bawri	Kumar	Layak	Mali	Fulmali	Suklab-adya	Mala-kar	Bagti	Suri	Das	Paul	Akura	Bhunalj	Total
1-2	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	19 (5.25)
3-4	-	1	-	1	68	3	1	27	9	-	1	3	-	3	1	1	1	120 (37.62)
5-6	1	2	1	-	63	9	1	29	6	-	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	118 (36.99)
7-8	-	-	-	1	29	-	-	14	3	1	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	53 (16.61)
9-10	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (2.19)
11-12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.65)
13 & More	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	3	1	2	172	15	2	79	21	1	2	4	3	5	3	4	1	319 (100)

Continued.....

Table 3.5: ***Continued.....***

Family Size (Number of Members)	HINDUSTANI																																
	Bhojpuri Hindu																													Bhoj-puri Muslim	Hindi Speaking		Total	Hindus-tani
	Roy	Kotri	Goala Yadab	Bin	Bhor	Kalwar	Lohar	Kahar	Rajput	Ghat-war	Panika	Kurmi	Karma-kar	Saha	Thakur Hazam	Tiwari	Mirdha	Dusad	Bhu-yan	Muran	Dhobi	Keyot	Kalind-ra	Baiga	Bashfar	Rajput	Lodhi	Total		Robidas	Keot		Total
1-2	-	1	4	7	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	2	-	-	1	-	4	3	10	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	43 (12.23)	3 (7.69)	2	6	8 (11.76)	54 (11.78)
3-4	-	11	10	20	1	2	12	-	1	4	3	3	-	6	1	-	20	3	25	-	2	3	-	-	1	2	-	130 (36.93)	10 (25.64)	13	17	30 (44.33)	170 (37.03)
5-6	1	16	8	12	3	2	15	1	1	5	3	-	1	3	3	-	11	2	23	1	2	6	1	1	-	5	5	130 (36.93)	17 (43.58)	16	8	24 (35.29)	171 (37.25)
7-8	1	4	2	9	1	-	3	-	1	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	9	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	40 (11.36)	6 (15.38)	3	1	2 (5.88)	50 (10.89)
9-10	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (1.70)	1 (2.57)	1	1	2 (2.94)	9 (1.96)
11-12	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.56)	1 (2.57)	-	-	-	2 (0.43)
13-Above	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.28)	1 (2.57)	-	-	-	2 (0.43)
Total	2	33	24	49	6	5	33	2	3	13	8	6	3	9	6	1	36	8	70	2	5	12	1	1	2	8	5	352 (100)	39 (100)	35	33	68 (100)	459 (100)

Continued.....

Table 3.5: *Continued.....*

Family Size (Number of Members)	Oriya						Santal		Total	Rongmei Naga	Grand Total
	Tanti	Chasa	Goar	Mohanti	Pattanayak	Total	Manjhe	Kurku			
1-2	12	1	1	-	-	14 (9.85)	-	-	-	-	**87 (9.44)**
3-4	38	16	4	-	-	58 (40.84)	-	2	2 (50%)	-	**350 (37.83)**
5-6	32	13	4	1	-	50 (35.21)	1	1	2 (50%)	-	**341 (36.81)**
7-8	10	4	1	-	1	16 (11.26)	-	-	-	1 (100)	**120 (12.97)**
9-10	1	-	3	-	-	4 (2.84)	-	-	-	-	**20 (2.18)**
11-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**5 (0.54)**
13 & More	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2 (0.23)**
Total	**93**	**34**	**13**	**1**	**1**	**142 (100)**	**1**	**3**	**4 (100)**	**1 (100)**	**925 (100)**

The data show that the members numbering 1 to 14 constitute the size of family. Of the families, 37.87% are formed of 3-4 members, 36.86% of 5-6 members, 12.97% of 7-8 members, 9.40% of 1-2 members, 2.18% of 9-10 members and 0.23% of 13-14 members. Therefore majority of the families (74.70%) have size ranging from 3-6 members, i.e., the size neither very small nor very large. But the visible tendency is towards a small size of family probably due to the constraints of economy and house accommodation.

Briefly, the nuclear family is numerically preponderant type of the largely differentiated family in the village. The complete nuclear family consisted of husband, wife and unmarried children and the complete joint family consisted of the husband, wife and married children are predominantly observed. The joint family is different from the nuclear family in terms of vertical and horizontal varieties. But the two types of family do not differ in terms of the size and numerical range of members. The family of the given types and size has emerged as the structural response to the socio-economic conditions and the state of social unity in the life of villagers.

Marital Status

The villagers represent various categories of marital status. Their distribution into the types of marital status is shown in the Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Villagers into the Types of Marital Status by Community, Religion and Sex in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Marital Status	Bengali			HINDUSTANI															Oriya			Santal			Rongmei Naga			Grand Total		
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim			Bhojpuri Total			Hindi Speaking			Total														
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Unmarried	443 (56.94)	383 (49.35)	826 (53.15)	459 (55.16)	366 (46.32)	825 (50.86)	65 (59.09)	54 (51.93)	119 (55.60)	524 (55.62)	420 (46.97)	944 (51.41)	91 (56.87)	64 (47.76)	155 (52.72)	615 (55.80)	484 (47.08)	1099 (51.59)	180 (53.89)	147 (46.22)	327 (50.15)	1 (14.29)	4 (44.45)	5 (31.25)	4 (80.0)	2 (66.66)	6 (75.0)	1243 (55.84)	1020 (47.79)	2263 (52.90)
Married	307 (39.47)	309 (39.81)	616 (39.63)	342 (41.10)	344 (43.54)	686 (42.29)	43 (39.09)	43 (41.34)	86 (40.18)	385 (40.87)	387 (43.28)	772 (42.04)	61 (38.13)	61 (45.52)	122 (41.49)	446 (40.47)	448 (43.59)	894 (41.97)	139 (41.63)	139 (43.71)	278 (42.64)	5 (71.42)	5 (55.55)	10 (62.5)	1 (20.0)	1 (33.33)	2 (25.0)	898 (40.34)	902 (42.28)	1800 (41.28)
Widow	-	78 (10.05)	78 (5.01)	-	72 (9.13)	72 (4.43)	-	7 (6.73)	7 (3.28)	-	79 (8.83)	79 (4.30)	-	9 (6.72)	9 (3.06)	-	88 (8.58)	88 (4.13)	-	27 (8.49)	27 (4.14)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	193 (9.04)	193 (4.44)
Widower	26 (3.34)	-	26 (1.66)	31 (3.72)	-	31 (1.93)	2 (1.82)	-	2 (0.94)	33 (3.50)	-	33 (1.79)	8 (15.0)	-	8 (2.73)	41 (3.72)	-	41 (1.92)	12 (3.59)	-	12 (1.84)	1 (41.29)	-	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	80 (3.59)	-	80 (1.83)
Divorce	2 (0.25)	6 (0.77)	8 (0.51)	-	8 (1.01)	8 (0.49)	-	-	-	-	8 (0.89)	8 (0.43)	-	-	-	-	8 (0.78)	8 (0.37)	3 (0.89)	5 (1.58)	8 (1.23)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.23)	19 (0.89)	24 (0.55)
Total	778 (100)	776 (100)	1554 (100)	832 (100)	790 (100)	1622 (100)	110 (100)	104 (100)	214 (100)	942 (100)	894 (100)	1836 (100)	160 (100)	134 (100)	294 (100)	1102 (100)	1028 (100)	2130 (100)	334 (100)	318 (100)	652 (100)	7 (100)	9 (100)	16 (100)	5 (100)	3 (100)	8 (100)	2226 (100)	2134 (100)	4360 (100)

The data show that the villagers are divided into five martial status categories; namely, the unmarried including children (51.90%), the married (41.28%), the widow (4.44%), the widower (1.83%) and the divorcee (0.55%).

The widowhood is mostly found to have occurred in view of the deaths of males due to diseases, liquor excess and grueling work. The widows generally do not return to parental abode and largely (92.5%) reside with their married or unmarried children. But of the widowers all found in the age bracket of 30-80 years, generally those who are in the age group of 30-40 years might remarry in view of the problems of rearing the children from their deceased wife or the state of issueless ness. Of the villagers, 0.55% is the divorcee-0.11% males and 0.44% females. Almost all the female divorcees are those women, with one or more issues, who deserted their husbands and returned to their parental houses in view of either their husbands' love affair with other women or excessive beating of their wives.

Of the cases of second marriage by men, one is a result of post-marital love affair and the rest are related to inter-caste and inter-community marriages. The first wife having no alternative accepted the co-wife in all the cases.

Table 3.7: Distribution of the Villagers into the Groups of Age-at-Marriage by Community, Religion and Sex in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Age Structure	Bengali			Hindustani															Oriya			Santali			Rongmai Naga			Grand Total		
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim			Bhojpuri Total			Hindu Speaking			Total														
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
12-14	-	60 (15.29)	60 (8.24)	-	83 (19.57)	83 (10.38)	-	5 (10.00)	5 (5.27)	-	88 (18.56)	88 (9.84)	-	12 (17.14)	12 (8.64)	-	100 (18.39)	100 (9.68)	-	35 (20.48)	35 (10.76)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	195 (17.50)	195 (9.29)
15-17	14 (4.18)	215 (54.70)	229 (31.45)	16 (4.26)	200 (47.18)	216 (27.03)	1 (2.22)	30 (60.0)	31 (32.63)	17 (4.04)	230 (48.52)	247 (27.62)	2 (2.89)	39 (55.71)	41 (29.49)	19 (3.88)	269 (49.45)	288 (27.88)	2 (1.29)	83 (48.53)	85 (26.15)	-	2 (40.0)	2 (18.18)	-	-	-	35 (3.55)	569 (51.08)	604 (28.77)
18-20	136 (40.59)	105 (26.71)	241 (33.10)	141 (36.8)	122 (28.79)	263 (32.91)	15 (33.33)	15 (30.0)	30 (31.53)	156 (37.14)	137 (28.90)	293 (32.77)	28 (40.57)	18 (25.71)	46 (33.09)	184 (37.62)	155 (28.49)	339 (32.81)	51 (33.14)	40 (23.39)	91 (28.0)	3 (50.0)	3 (60.0)	6 (54.55)	-	1 (100)	1 (50.00)	374 (37.96)	304 (27.28)	678 (32.30)
21-23	136 (40.59)	13 (3.30)	149 (20.45)	153 (40.8)	17 (4.00)	170 (21.27)	23 (51.11)	-	23 (24.21)	176 (41.90)	17 (3.50)	193 (21.58)	27 (39.13)	1 (1.44)	28 (20.14)	203 (41.51)	18 (3.30)	221 (21.39)	70 (45.45)	11 (6.44)	81 (24.92)	1 (16.66)	-	1 (9.09)	-	-	-	410 (41.62)	42 (3.78)	452 (21.53)
24-26	44 (13.14)	-	44 (6.04)	57 (15.3)	2 (0.47)	59 (7.38)	5 (11.11)	-	5 (5.27)	62 (14.76)	2 (0.42)	64 (4.15)	9 (13.05)	-	9 (6.47)	71 (14.53)	2 (0.37)	73 (7.09)	27 (17.54)	2 (1.16)	29 (8.92)	2 (33.34)	-	2 (18.18)	1 (100)	-	1 (50.0)	145 (14.72)	4 (0.35)	149 (7.09)
27-29	3 (0.89)	-	3 (0.42)	6 (1.6)	-	6 (0.75)	1 (2.22)	-	1 (1.05)	7 (1.66)	-	7 (0.78)	2 (2.89)	-	2 (1.45)	9 (1.84)	-	9 (0.88)	2 (1.29)	-	2 (0.63)	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (1.43)	-	14 (0.68)
30-32	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.14)	1 (0.27)	-	1 (0.13)	-	-	-	1 (0.23)	-	1 (1.11)	-	-	-	1 (0.20)	-	1 (0.09)	2 (1.29)	-	2 (0.63)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.40)	-	4 (0.19)
33-35	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.14)	1 (0.27)	-	1 (0.13)	-	-	-	1 (0.23)	-	1 (1.11)	1 (1.44)	-	1 (0.72)	2 (0.40)	-	2 (0.19)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.30)	-	3 (0.14)
Total	**335 (100)**	**393 (100)**	**728 (100)**	**375 (100)**	**424 (100)**	**799 (100)**	**45 (100)**	**50 (100)**	**95 (100)**	**420 (100)**	**474 (100)**	**894 (100)**	**69 (100)**	**70 (100)**	**139 (100)**	**489 (100)**	**544 (100)**	**1033 (100)**	**154 (100)**	**171 (100)**	**325 (100)**	**6 (100)**	**5 (100)**	**11 (100)**	**1 (100)**	**1 (100)**	**2 (100)**	**985 (100)**	**1114 (100)**	**2099 (100)**

The data reveal that by the age-at-marriage, 9.29% females were married at the age of 12-14 years, 3.55% males and 51.08% females at 15-17 years, 37.96% males and 27.28% females at 18-20 years, 41.62% males and 3.78% females at 21-23 years, 14.72% males and 0.35% females at 24-26 years, and 1.43%, 0.40% and 0.30% males at 27-29 years, 30-32 years and 33-35 years respectively. Thus, the range of marriageable age for the females is 12-26 years and for the males is 15-35. In the context of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, 68.58% females and 41.41% males have married before attaining the legal age of 18 and 21 years respectively.

Table 3.8: Distribution of the Unmarried Villagers into the Age Groups by Community, Religion and Sex in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Age Group	Community, Religion and Tribe																													
	Bengali			HINDUSTANI															Oriya			Santali			Rongmai Naga			Grand Total		
				Bhojpuri Hindus			Bhojpuri Muslim			Bhojpuri Total			Hindi Speaking			Total													
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1-3	59 (13.34)	73 (19.06)	132 (15.98)	48 (10.48)	46 (12.56)	94 (11.39)	10 (15.38)	4 (7.40)	14 (11.76)	5 (11.08)	50 (11.96)	108 (11.45)	4 (4.39)	8 (12.5)	12 (7.74)	62 (10.09)	58 (11.98)	120 (10.92)	17 (9.44)	21 (14.28)	38 (11.64)	-	-	-	-	-	-	138 (11.10)	152 (14.90)	290 (12.81)
4-6	50 (11.28)	59 (15.40)	109 (13.19)	61 (13.31)	59 (16.13)	120 (14.66)	7 (10.77)	14 (25.92)	21 (17.64)	68 (13.0)	73 (17.46)	141 (14.95)	11 (12.03)	8 (12.5)	19 (12.25)	79 (12.86)	81 (16.73)	160 (14.57)	23 (12.78)	22 (14.96)	45 (13.78)	-	1 (25.0)	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	153 (12.30)	163 (15.98)	316 (13.96)
7-9	61 (13.76)	48 (12.53)	109 (13.19)	71 (15.50)	61 (16.66)	132 (16.0)	10 (15.38)	8 (14.31)	18 (15.13)	81 (15.38)	69 (16.50)	150 (15.90)	16 (17.59)	10 (15.62)	26 (16.77)	97 (15.79)	79 (16.32)	176 (16.02)	27 (15.0)	23 (15.66)	50 (15.29)	-	2 (50.0)	2 (40.0)	1 (25.0)	-	1 (16.66)	186 (14.97)	152 (14.90)	338 (14.93)
10-12	61 (13.76)	73 (19.06)	134 (16.22)	53 (11.57)	57 (15.59)	110 (13.34)	12 (18.46)	9 (16.66)	21 (17.64)	65 (12.42)	66 (15.78)	131 (13.89)	13 (14.29)	13 (20.31)	26 (16.77)	78 (12.76)	79 (16.32)	157 (14.29)	19 (10.55)	21 (14.28)	40 (12.33)	-	1 (25.0)	1 (20.0)	-	-	-	158 (12.73)	174 (17.05)	332 (14.67)
13-15	65 (14.67)	60 (15.66)	125 (15.13)	59 (12.88	64 (17.48)	123 (14.90)	9 (13.84)	10 (18.53)	19 (15.96)	68 (13.0)	74 (17.96)	142 (15.05)	9 (9.89)	9 (14.06)	18 (11.61)	77 (12.54)	83 (16.32)	160 (14.57)	25 (13.89)	24 (16.34)	49 (14.98)	-	-	-	-	1 (50.0)	1 (16.66)	167 (13.44)	168 (16.48)	335 (14.80)
16-18	54 (12.18)	49 (12.79)	103 (12.46)	53 (11.57)	48 (13.11)	101 (12.24)	6 (9.24)	6 (11.13)	12 (10.00)	59 (11.28)	54 (12.91)	113 (11.98)	9 (9.29)	6 (6.37)	15 (9.67)	68 (11.07)	60 (12.39)	128 (11.65)	27 (15.0)	17 (11.57)	44 (13.45)	-	-	-	-	1 (50.0)	1 (16.66)	149 (11.98)	127 (12.45)	276 (12.19)
19-21	38 (8.58)	15 (3.94)	53 (6.41)	54 (11.79)	23 (6.29)	77 (9.34)	5 (7.69)	3 (5.55)	8 (6.74)	59 (11.28)	26 (6.22)	85 (9.01)	15 (16.49)	8 (12.5)	23 (14.83)	74 (12.05)	34 (7.02)	108 (9.83)	19 (10.55)	11 (7.49)	30 (9.17)	1 (100.0)	-	1 (20.0)	1 (25.0)	-	1 (16.66)	133 (10.69)	60 (5.89)	193 (8.52)
22-24	28 (6.34)	6 (1.56)	34 (4.11)	40 (8.74)	6 (1.64)	46 (5.58)	3 (4.62)	-	3 (2.53)	43 (8.22)	6 (1.43)	49 (5.19)	7 (7.69)	2 (3.14)	9 (5.80)	50 (8.14)	8 (1.65)	58 (5.28)	11 (6.13)	5 (3.40)	16 (4.89)	-	-	-	1 (25.0)	-	1 (16.66)	90 (7.24)	19 (1.87)	109 (4.82)
25-27	20 (4.51)	-	20 (2.42)	17 (3.71)	-	17 (2.07)	2 (3.08)	-	2 (1.68)	19 (3.63)	-	19 (2.01)	6 (6.59)	-	6 (3.87)	25 (4.07)	-	25 (2.27)	10 (5.55)	2 (1.36)	12 (3.66)	-	-	-	1 (25.0)	-	1 (16.66)	56 (4.50)	2 (0.19)	58 (2.57)
28-30	7 (1.58)	-	7 (0.87)	2 (0.44)	-	2 (0.24)	1 (1.54)	-	1 (0.84)	3 (0.57)	-	3 (0.31)	1 (1.09)	-	1 (0.64)	4 (0.64)	-	4 (0.36)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11 (0.89)	-	11 (0.48)
31-Above	-	-	-	-	2 (0.54)	2 (0.24)	-	-	-	-	2 (0.47)	2 (0.21)	-	-	-	-	2 (0.41)	2 (0.18)	2 (1.11)	1 (0.68)	3 (0.91)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.16)	3 (0.29)	5 (0.23)
Total	443 (100)	383 (100)	826 (100)	458 (100)	366 (100)	824 (100)	65 (100)	54 (100)	119 (100)	623 (100)	418 (100)	943 (100)	91 (100)	64 (100)	155 (100)	614 (100)	484 (100)	1098 (100)	180 (100)	147 (100)	327 (100)	1 (100)	4 (100)	5 (100)	4 (100)	2 (100)	6 (100)	1243 (100)	1020 (100)	2263 (100)

The data indicate that only 21% of the unmarried villagers constitute the age bracket of 19 years onwards. Of the unmarried females only 8% constitute the age bracket of 19 years onwards. On the other hand, 13% of the unmarried male villagers constitute the age bracket of 21 years onwards. It shows that, on the whole, most of the villagers are married before attaining the legally prescribed minimum age of marriage for each of the sexes. This affects their education, occupation, health and development in their life and their gender relations also.

Occupations

The economic structure of Dewan Tea Garden village mainly consists of a few major and allied occupations. The major occupations such as tea garden works, wage labour, private or government service, shop keeping, cycle rickshaw pulling and agriculture are allied by the occupational activities such as firewood and bamboo collection, basket making, wine shop and begging. As, barring a few, most of the occupations are not solely dependable means of livelihood, two or more occupations are combined into major-allied relationship wherein a major occupation is carried out along with allied one(s). The patterns of various occupations and their combinations are shown in the Table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Distribution of the Villagers into the Types of Occupations / Occupational Combinations by Community, Religion and Sex

Occupational Category	Bengali			Hindustani												Oriya			Santal			Naga			Grand Total		
				Bhojpuri Hindu			Bhojpuri Muslim			Hindi Speaking			Hindustani Total														
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Permant Labour	164 (48.80)	91 (43.12)	255 (46.67)	151 (38.53)	129 (47.60)	280 (42.23)	20 (39.22)	20 (57.14)	40 (46.51)	30 (44.73)	23 (46.0)	53 (45.29)	201 (39.41)	172 (48.34)	373 (43.07)	58 (38.94)	55 (47.0)	113 (42.48)	2 (40.0)	-	2 (22.2)	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	426 (42.55)	318 (46.22)	744 (44.04)
Permanent labour alongwith wage labour collecting firewood	26 (77.73)	14 (6.63)	40 (7.31)	39 (9.94)	-	39 (5.89)	4 (7.84)	3 (8.58)	7 (8.15)	17 (25.39)	2 (4.0)	19 (16.23)	60 (11.76)	5 (1.40)	65 (7.50)	15 (10.06)	8 (6.83)	23 (8.64)	-	-	-	-	-	-	101 (10.08)	27 (3.92)	128 (7.57)
Casual labour	10 (2.97)	60 (28.43)	70 (12.78)	19 (4.84)	85 (31.36)	104 (15.68)	4 (7.84)	8 (22.88)	12 (13.95)	2 (2.98)	17 (34.0)	19 (16.23)	25 (4.30)	110 (30.89	135 (15.58)	8 (5.36)	28 (23.93)	36 (13.53)	-	4 (100)	4 (44.44)	-	-	-	43 (4.29)	202 (29.36)	245 (14.50)
Casual labour alongwith wage labour in other's firm/house	33 (9.83)	19 (9.0)	52 (9.50)	40 (10.20)	24 (8.85)	64 (9.65)	8 (15.68)	3 (8.58)	11 (12.79)	6 (8.95)	5 (10.0)	11 (9.40)	54 (10.58)	32 (8.98)	86 (9.93)	14 (9.39)	9 (7.69)	23 (8.64)	2 (40.0)	-	2 (22.22)	-	-	-	103 (10.28)	60 (8.72)	163 (9.65)
Collecting firewood bamboo & sailing them	12 (3.57)	-	12 (2.19)	31 (7.90)	-	31 (4.69)	-	-	-	6 (8.95)	-	6 (5.15)	37 (7.25)	-	37 (4.27)	5 (3.35)	-	5 (1.87)	1 (20.0)		1 (11.11)	-	-	-	55 (5.49)	-	55 (3.25)
Wage labour other house	39 (11.60)	17 (8.05)	56 (10.23)	46 (11.37)	12 (4.43)	58 (8.74)	3 (5.88)	-	3 (3.48)	3 (4.48)	1 (2.0)	4 (3.44)	52 (10.19)	13 (3.65)	65 (7.50)	16 (10.73)	6 (5.13)	22 (8.27)	-	-	-	-	-	-	101 (10.68)	38 (5.23)	143 (8.46)
Wage labour with collecing firewood & sailing them	19 (5.65)	9 (4.26)	28 (5.01)	17 (4.33)	15 (5.54)	32 (4.82)	4 (7.84)	-	4 (4.65)	1 (1.49)	2 (4.0)	3 (2.56)	22 (4.31)	17 (7.77)	39 (4.50)	10 (6.71)	7 (5.98)	17 (6.39)	-	-	-	-	-	-	51 (5.09)	33 (4.78)	84 (4.97)
Busket maker & wage labour	-	-	-	7 (1.78)	1 (0.36)	8 (1.20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (1.37)	1 (0.28)	8 (0.92)	-	2 (1.70)	2 (0.75)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (0.69)	3 (0.44)	10 (0.59)
Tea Stall	2 (0.59)	1 (0.48)	3 (0.54)	2 (0.51)	-	2 (0.30)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.39)	1 (0.28)	3 (0.34)	1 (0.67)	-	1 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.49)	1 (0.14)	6 (0.35)
Carpenter	2 (0.59)	-	2 (0.36)	5 (1.27)	-	5 (0.75)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.98)	-	5 (0.57)	1 (0.67)	-	1 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (0.79)	-	8 (0.47)
Cycle, Rickshow pulling	4 (1.19)	-	4 (0.73)	8 (2.04)	-	8 (1.10)	3 (5.88)	-	3 (3.48)	-	-	-	11 (2.15)	-	11 (1.27)	3 (2.02)	-	3 (1.12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	18 (1.79)	-	18 (1.06)
Auto-Rickshow driver	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.18)	1 (0.25)	-	1 (0.15)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.19)	-	1 (0.11)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.19)	-	2 (0.14)
Begger	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.18)	1 (0.25)	2 (0.75)	3 (0.45)	1 (1.96)	1 (2.85)	2 (2.34)	-	-	-	2 (0.39)	3 (0.84)	5 (0.57)	2 (1.34)	1 (0.85)	3 (1.12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.49)	4 (0.58)	9 (0.53)
Grocery shop owner	8 (2.38)	-	8 (1.47)	4 (1.02)	-	4 (0.60)	1 (1.96)	-	1 (1.16)	-	-	-	5 (0.98)	-	5 (0.57)	1 (0.67)	-	1 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (1.39)	-	14 (0.82)
Vegitable shop owner	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.18)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.67)	-	1 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.19)	-	2 (0.14)
Dry-fish shop owner	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.18)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.09)	-	1 (0.07)
Wine-shop (With casual)	-	-	-	3 (0.78)	2 (0.75)	5 (0.75)	-	-	-	1 (1.49)	-	1 (0.85)	4 (0.78)	2 (0.56)	6 (0.69)	3 (2.01)	1 (0.85)	4 (1.50)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7 (0.69)	3 (0.44)	10 (0.59)
Farmer	2 (0.59)	-	2 (0.36)	3 (0.78)	-	3 (0.45)	1 (1.96)	-	1 (1.16)	-	-	-	4 (0.78)	-	4 (0.46)	4 (2.68)	-	4 (1.50)	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (0.99)	-	10 (0.59)
Fisherman/wage labour	2 (0.59)	-	2 (0.36)	3 (0.78)	-	3 (0.45)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.58)	-	3 (0.34)	1 (0.67)	-	1 (0.37)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (0.59)	-	6 (0.35)
Cowboy	4 (1.19)	-	4 (0.73)	6 (1.55)	-	6 (0.90)	2 (3.94)	-	2 (2.34)	1 (1.49)	-	1 (0.85)	9 (1.76)	-	9 (1.13)	3 (2.02)	-	3 (1.12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 (1.59)	-	16 (0.94)
Money lender / shop owner	-	-	-	1 (0.25)	-	1 (0.15)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.19)	-	1 (0.11)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.09)	-	1 (0.05)
Govt. Service	5 (1.48)	-	5 (0.91)	4 (1.02)	1 (0.36)	5 (0.75)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.78)	1 (0.28)	5 (0.57)	3 (2.02)	-	3 (1.12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (1.19)	1 (0.14)	13 (0.78)
Barber	-	-	-	1 (0.25)	-	1 (0.15)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.19)	-	1 (0.11)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.09)	-	1 (0.07)
Total	336 (100)	211 (100)	547 (100)	392 (100)	271 (100)	663 (100)	51 (100)	35 (100)	86 (100)	67 (100)	50 (100)	117 (100)	510 (100)	356 (100)	866 (100)	149 (100)	117 (100)	266 (100)	5 (100)	4 (100)	9 (100)	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	1001 (100)	688 (100)	1689 (100)

The data show that the villagers are broadly divided into 15 actual occupational categories; namely permanent garden work, casual garden work, collecting and selling of bamboo / firewood, domestic service, shop keeping, carpentry, cycle rickshaw pulling, cowboy, farmer, government service, barber shop, basket making, tea stall, carpenter and begging. Of the working population, 42.23% villagers have the permanent service as job in the garden, 7.87% have permanent garden work allied by firewood collecting and domestic service, 16.28% have casual garden work allied by collecting and selling of firewood / bamboo, 3.17% depends upon collecting firewood / bamboos, 8.47% pursue wage labour in others' houses, 1.95% have the wage labour allied by fire wood collecting, 2.96% do the domestic labour allied by the collecting and selling of bamboos / firewood, 0.47% are basket makers, 1.39%, are shop keepers, 0.77% are government servants, 1.06% are cycle rickshaw pullers, 0.80% are cowboys, 0.46% are fishermen and 0.05% are barbers.

Community wise, the Bengali, Oriya and Hindustani are the communities distributed into all types of occupations whereas the Santal are distributed into the types of permanent and casual wage labour and the Naga are the permanent workers of the garden. Of the Bengali, Hindustani and Oriya the respective figures are 46.67%, 43.07% and 42.48% for permanent workers at the garden, 7.31%, 7.50% and 8.64% for permanent labour allied by collecting and selling fire wood / bamboo, 12.79%, 15.58% and 13.53% for casual labourers, 9.50%, 9.93% and 8.64% for casual labour allied by collecting and selling fire wood and domestic service, 5.10%, 4.49% and 6.38% for wage labourers at others' houses allying the work of collecting and selling firewood, 0.73%, 1.27% and 1.12% for cycle rickshaw pullers and 0.91%, 0.57% and 1.12% for

government servants.

Of the Santal, 25% are the permanent labourers, 50% casual labourers and 25% casual labourers having allied work of the wage labour at others' houses. Of the Naga, 12.5% are the permanent garden labourers.

Sex wise, of the working population 57.95% are males and 42.05% are females. 42.55% of the males and 46.22% of the females are permanent workers of the garden, 10.08% males and 3.92% females ally the work of collecting and selling of fire woods / bamboos with their permanent service at the garden, 4.29% males and 29.36% females are the casual workers of the garden, 10.28% males and 8.72% females are casual workers at the garden allying the work of collecting and selling of fire woods / bamboos, 5.49% males only collect and sell firewood / bamboo, 10.68% males and 5.23% females do wage labour at others' houses, 5.08% males and 4.82% females are domestic servants who ally with their work the collecting and selling of firewood / bamboo, 0.69% males and 0.44% females are basket makers who ally the wage labour at others' houses with their main work, 0.49% males and 0.14% females are tea stall owners, 0.49% males and 0.58% females are beggars, 0.69% males and 0.44% females are wine sellers and 0.19% males and 0.14% females are government servants. The rickshaw pulling, auto rickshaw driving, carpentry, shop keeping, barbershop, fishing, etc. are the occupations pursued by males only. It shows the important role played by females in the village economy but with limited avenues.

Here, it appears that over a three-fourth (76.30%) of the working population directly depends on the garden whereas the remaining proportion indirectly depends on the garden for earnings. Along with a few occupations in the primary sector of economy

(cultivation, fish catching and bamboo / firewood collection) pursued as allied ones by 37.5% of the villagers, all the major occupations of the villagers are from the tertiary sector of economy and not a single one is from the secondary sector.

Thus, it makes a totally manual wage labour based garden economy. This is the only source of earning. It provides jobs to a limited number of the villagers as on retirement of a permanent labourer only one member of his family is employed in the garden. Besides, the villagers who are mostly illiterate have no avenues other than manual labour. Only a small fraction (1.93%) of them could take up the jobs of shop keeping and government service. The occupation of shop keeping, too, largely depends on the incomes of labourers from the garden. The government service is the only and limited occupation beyond the garden economy. Briefly, the villagers lack both the economic and huma0n resources. To understand the occupational dynamics of the villagers the various occupations are analyzed here.

Tea Garden Works

The tea garden provides different types of works like watering and manuring of tea plants, leaf plucking, manufacturing, poly packing, supervisory, night guard, and cowboy. By the nature of their employment the garden labourers are of two types; namely, (i) the permanent workers and (ii) the casual workers. Permanent workers are employed to regularly carry out activities round the year. The casual workers constitute the surplus labour that is employed during the season for plucking and manufacturing of tealeaves and removed from the work during off-season in the garden. Then, they have to find out some other means of livelihood.

The garden labourers are the wageworkers that receive wages, i.e., a fixed regular payment made by employer to an employee, especially to a manual or unskilled worker (Oxford Concise Dictionary 1972). There is found no discrimination of wages on the basis of gender. The daily wage of the adult worker is Rs 26.85 per day. In addition, they are provided a family ration or fixed official allowance of food (Ibid 1972:1139). The wages are paid every week on Monday and Tuesday-the days termed the *Talab Bars* (Payment Days) by the labourers. A permanent worker receives the weekly ration of one and half kilogram wheat flour and two kg rice grains per adult member of an age five years onwards and half a kilogram wheat flour and one kg. rice grains per infant of an age below five years in his/her family. They are provided free residential and medical facilities also. But the casual workers are entitled to the wages only.

Government Service

Government organization that employs individuals to render various services to the people of a state or nation is a big employer. From Dewan village there are 0.77% government servants comprising 1.20% of the male and 0.14% of the female working population. Of these, the males are two postmen in the Dewan Post Office, a Lower Division Clerk (LDC) in the office of Nehru College, Pailapool, a helper in the Assam State Electricity Board (ASEB) Office, Labac, a teacher of Dewan Bagan L.P. School, a teacher of Pearson Institute of M.E. School, a police man at Lakhipur Police Station, a road construction labourer under Border Road Task Force (BRTF) at Kashipur office, a clerk in the office of Employment Exchange, Silchar, and a muster-rolled worker of Public Works Department (PWD). The only woman, Rekha Roy, is a teacher at Bartal L.P. School.

Domestic Wage Labour

The villagers who do not get permanent job in the garden or otherwise seek domestic labour on daily wage basis mostly in nearby villages such as fetching and storing water from a river, well or pond, cleaning floors, making bamboo fences, repairing houses and so on. Of the villagers 13.38% are engaged in the domestic labour. The women are discriminated in the matter of wages as the male workers receive the wage ranging from Rs. 40/- to Rs.50/- a day of eight hours but for the women the wages constitute some raw vegetables and rice, grains, one-time meal and a cash ranging from Rs. 10/- to 20/- a day for no fixed hours. Therefore, the women are discriminated in the matter of the jobs also.

Rickshaw Pulling

Of the villagers, 1.06% has the only occupations of cycle rickshaw pulling who generally takes the passengers and goods around in an area of five kilometres' diameter and charges a fare of Rs. 5/- per kilometer from a passenger. Generally the rickshaw pullers hire the rickshaws by paying a daily rent of Rs. 12/- to the rickshaw owners.

Begging

Dewan has nine beggars comprising two females and seven males. Of these, seven beggars who are poverty-stricken due to physical incapacitation started begging for survival 5-6 years ago. The remaining two beggars have adopted beggary on being inspired by religious ideals. An Oriya couple, Makorodhwaj Chasa and Bharoti Chasa,

dedicated to the path of Baishanabism has relinquished family life after having distributed all of their property among the families of their five sons. They have set up an *Akra* (*Akhara*/Ashrama) to live in. For survival they walk every week for alms from door to door around the village and its surroundings. The villagers pay respects to them and call the husband *Babajee* and the wife *Maijee.*

Firewood Collection and Fish Catching

Of the working population, 26.39% are engaged in the activities of firewood collection and fish catching in the primary sector of economy. Of these, 3.19% solely depend upon firewood collection while 23.2% pursue these activities as their allied occupations. The activities are carried out for both domestic use and wage earnings in cash from the market. A small section of the villagers (0.42%) is engaged with the fish catching at a small *gang* (river), a *naala* (canal) and a *bill* (marshes) and sell the fish in the markets of Labac, Dewan and Pailapool.

Barber Shop

A barber, Thakur, has a hair-cutting shop in the Mondopline of the village. It is his hereditary occupation. His services are required as usual and also on marriages and funeral rites.

Basket Making

The making of cane baskets is an allied occupation of 0.47% villagers. Generally during their leisure time, some villagers make the baskets to sell in the Dewan, Labac and Pailapool markets.

Wine Shop

There are 11 *haria* and *chulai* (wine) shops hidden in residences in the village. As they are selling wine illegally, no shop is displayed openly.

Cultivation

Only 0.11% villagers have cultivation as the sole occupation for their survival. The Table 3.10 shows the size of landholding by community, religion, caste and sex in the village.

Table 3.10: Distribution of the Households into the Size of Landholding by Community, Religion, Caste and Sex in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Size of Land Holding (in bighas)	Community, Religion and Caste / Tribe																	
	BENGALI																	
	Chakr-aborty	Sarkar	Deb	Roy	Bawri	Kumar	Layak	Mali	Fulma-li	Suklab-aidya	Malak-ar	Bagti	Suri	Das	Paul	Akura	Bhum -ij	Total
Landless	1	2	1	2	101	7	2	55	13	1	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	200 (62.96)
1-2	-	1	-	-	50	1	-	17	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	80 (25.07)
3-4	-	-	-	-	17	6	-	4	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	30 (9.40)
5-6	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6 (1.88)
7-8	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.94)
9-10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	3	1	2	172	15	2	79	21	1	2	4	3	5	3	4	1	319 (100)

Continued.....

Table 3.10: *Continued.....*

Size of Land holding (in bighas)	Hindustani																																
	BHOJPURI																												Bhoj-puri Mus-lim	Bhojpu ri Total	Hindi Speaking			Hindus-tani
	Roy	Koiri	Goala / Yadab	Bin	Bhar	Kal-war	Loh-ar	Kah-ar	Rajw-ar	Ghat-war	Pani-ka	Kur-mi	Karm-akar	Saha	Thakur Hazam	Tiwa-ri	Mird-ha	Dusad	Bhu-yan	Mur-ao	Dhu-bi	Keyot	Kali-ndre	Baiga	Bansh-far	Rajp-ut	Lodhi	Total			Robi-das	Keot	Total	Grand Total
Landless	-	14	18	23	2	3	17	-	-	7	7	3	2	5	3	-	18	7	59	2	3	10	1	1	1	3	2	211 (59.94)	20 (51.28)	231 (59.07)	19	23	42 (61.76)	273 (59.47)
1-2	-	6	4	13	3	-	11	2	2	3	-	1	-	2	1	-	8	1	5	-	2	2	-	-	1	2	2	71 (20.17)	12 (30.78)	83 (21.22)	11	5	16 (23.53)	99 (21.56)
3-4	-	8	-	5	1	-	4	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	2	-	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	36 (10.22)	4 (10.25)	40 (10.23)	1	4	5 (7.35)	45 (9.80)
5-6	1	6	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	22 (6.25)	3 (7.69)	25 (6.39)	3	1	4 (5.88)	29 (6.31)
7-8	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (2.28)	-	8 (2.04)	-	-	-	8 (1.74)
9-10	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (1.14)	-	4 (1.02)	1	-	1 (1.48)	5 (1.08)
Total	1	33	24	49	6	6	33	2	3	13	8	6	3	9	6	1	33	8	70	2	5	12	1	1	2	8	5	352 (100)	39 (100)	391 (100)	35	33	68 (100)	459 (100)

Continued .....

Table 3.10 : Continued.....

Size of Land holding	ORIYA						SANTALI			Rongmai Naga	Grand Total
	Tanti	Chosa	Goan	Moha-nti	Patt- nayak	TOTAL	Manjhi	Kurku	Total		
Landless	62	20	6	1	-	89 (62.67)	-	1	1 (25.0)	1 (100)	564 (60.97)
1-2	19	7	2	-	-	28 (19.72)	-	1	1 (25.0)	-	208 (22.48)
3-4	10	3	2	-	1	16 (11.27)	1	1	2 (50.0)	-	93 (10.05)
5-6	1	3	3	-	-	7 (4.94)	-	-	-	-	42 (4.54)
7-8	-	1	-	-	-	1 (0.70)	-	-	-	-	12 (1.29)
9-10	1	-	-	-	-	1 (0.70)	-	-	-	-	6 (0.64)
Total	93	34	13	1	1	142 (100)	1	3	4 (100)	1 (100)	925 (100)

The data reveal that the households are distributed into six types of the land holding size; viz., the landless (60.98%), 1-2 bighas (22.49%), 3-4 bighas (10.05%), 5-6 bighas (4.54%), 7-8 bighas (1.29%) and 9-10 bighas (0.65%).

Community wise, the landless households distributed among the Bengali are 62.69%, the Hindustani-59.47%, the Oriya- 62.67%, the Santal- 25% and the Naga-100%; the 1-2 bigha landholding households among the Bengali are 25.07%, the Hindustani -21.56%, the Oriya- 19.72%, the Santali- 25%; the 3-4 bighas landholding households among the Bengali are 9.40%, the Hindustani- 9.80%, the Oriya- 11.27%, the Santal- 50%; the 5-6 bighas landholding households among the Bengali are 1.88%, the Hindustani- 6.31%, and the Oriya- 4.94%; 7-8 bighas landholding households among the Bengali are 0.94%, the Hindustani-1.74% and the Oriya-0.70% and 9-10 bighas landholding households among the Hindustani are 1.08% and the Oriya- 0.70%.

Thus, about three fifths of the households are landless in each of the communities; 38.37% are marginal landholders (having 0-7.5 bighas) and 1.94% household are small landholders (having 7.5-15 bighas).

Agricultural Implements

The villagers use various implements in agricultural and domestic activities. The agricultural implements used by them are shown in the Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Distribution of the Households into the Types of the Agricultural Implements They Own by Community, Religion and Caste / Tribe in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Types of the Agricultural Implements Owned	BENGALI																	
	Chakr-abory	Sarkar	Deb	Roy	Bawri	Kumar	Layak	Mali	Fulmali	Sukla-badya	Malakar	Bagti	Suri	Das	Paul	Akura	Bhumij	Total
Own No Implements	-	1	-	-	29	3	-	14	4	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	55 (17.24)
Chopper *(Dao)*	-	1	1	-	34	5	1	29	8	-	1	3	-	-	-	2	1	86 (26.25)
Spade *(Kudal)*	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	14 (4.38)
Plough *(Langal)*	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (4.38)
Hatchet *(Kuthar)*	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	15 (4.70)
Chopper and Hatchet	-	1	-	-	10	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	17 (5.32)
Chopper, Hatchet and Plough	-	-	-	-	13	3	-	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	26 (8.15)
Chopper and Spade	1	-	-	2	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	10 (3.13)
Chopper, Spade and Plough	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19 (5.95)
Chopper and Sickle *(Kachi)*	-	-	-	-	35	-	1	7	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	45 (14.48)
Sickle	-	-	-	-	7	1	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 (5.01)
Net *(Jaal)* and Chopper	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2 (0.44)
Chopper, Sickle, Hatchet and Spade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	3	1	2	172	15	2	79	21	1	2	4	3	5	3	4	1	319 (100)

Continued .....

Table 3.11 : Continued .....

Types of the Agricultural Implements Owned	Hindustani																																		
	Bhojpuri																																Hindi Speaking			
	Roy	Koiri	Goala Yadav	Bin	Bhar	Kalwar	Lohar	Kahar	Rajwar	Ghatwar	Panika	Kurmi	Karmakar	Saha	Thakur/Hazam	Twari	Mirdha	Dusad	Bhuyan	Muroo	Dhubi	Keyot	Kalindi	Baiga	Baishfor	Rajput	Lodhi	Total	Bhojpuri Muslim	Bhojpuri Total	Rabidas	Kole	Total	Hindustani Total
None	-	6	3	4	-	1	5	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	2	-	6	4	15	-	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	57 (16.19)	-	57 (14.57)	2	5	7 (10.29)	64 (13.94)
Chopper *(Dao)*	-	3	6	10	3	3	4	1	2	-	3	2	1	3	-	-	6	2	10	2	2	2	1	-	-	1	3	70 (19.88)	7 (17.94)	77 (19.69)	4	1	5 (7.35)	82 (17.86)
Spade *(Kudal)*	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	13 (3.69)	5 (12.82)	18 (4.60)	-	1	1 (1.47)	19 (4.13)
Plough *(Langal)*	-	2	2	4	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	14 (3.97)	1 (2.58)	15 (3.83)	-	2	2 (2.94)	17 (3.70)
Hatchet *(Kuudur)*	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	11 (3.13)	3 (7.69)	14 (3.58)	1	-	1 (1.47)	15 (3.26)
Chopper and Hatchet	-	3	-	5	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	8	-	5	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	29 (8.23)	-	29 (7.41)	10	3	13 (19.11)	42 (9.15)
Chopper, Hatchet and Plough	-	5	5	12	1	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	2	1	-	-	7	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	-	49 (13.94)	6 (15.38)	55 (14.06)	2	6	8 (11.76)	63 (13.72)
Chopper, Spade	-	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10 (2.84	-	10 (2.55)	-	5	5 (7.35)	15 (3.26)
Chopper, Spade and Plough	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 (4.54)	14 (35.89)	30 (7.67)	6	2	8 (11.76)	38 (8.27)
Chopper and Sickle *(Kachi)*	-	-	2	-	2	-	10	-	-	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	11	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	38 (10.79)	-	38 (9.71)	6	-	6 (8.83)	44 (9.58)
Sickle	-	-	1	4	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	2	-	1	1	-	3	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	26 (5.0)	-	26 (6.64)	2	4	6 (8.83)	32 (6.97)
Net and Chopper	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (1.44)	3 (7.69)	8 (2.04)	-	-	-	8 (1.74)
Chopper, Sickle, Hatchet and Spade	1	4	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (3.97)	-	14 (3.58)	2	4	6 (8.83)	20 (4.35)
Total	1	33	24	49	6	5	33	2	3	13	8	6	3	9	6	1	36	8	70	2	5	12	1	1	2	8	5	352 (100)	39 (100)	391 (100)	35	33	68 (100)	459 (100)

Continued .....

Table 3.11 : Continued .....

Types of the Agricultural Implements	ORIYA						SANTALI				Grand Total
	Tanti	Chasa	Goar	Mohati	Pattan	Total	Majhi	Kumar	Total	NAGA	
None	12	1	-	-	-	3 (9.15)	-	-	-	-	133 (14.37%)
Chopper *(Dao)*	8	5	3	1	-	17 (11.98)	-	2	2 (50%)	-	187 (20.27%)
Spade *(Kudal)*	5	-	2	-	-	7 (4.94)	-	-	-	-	40 (4.32%)
Plough *(Langal)*	-	1	-	-	-	1 (0.70)	-	1	1 (25%)	-	32 (3.45%)
Hatchet *(Khutar)*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 (3.25%)
Chopper and Hatchet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59 (6.37%)
Chopper, Hatchet and Plough	-	13	7	-	1	21 (14.78)	-	-	-	-	110 (11.89%)
Chopper, and spade	16	-	-	-	-	16 (11.28)	-	-	-	-	40 (4.32%)
Chopper, Spade and Plough	17	5	-	-	-	22 (15.49)	-	-	-	-	79 (8.54%)
Chopper, sickle	21	2	-	-	-	23 (16.19)	-	-	-	-	112 (12.10%)
Sickle	9	6	1	-	-	16 (11.28)	-	-	-	-	64 (6.91%)
Net and Chopper	1	1	-	-	-	2 (1.40)	-	-	-	-	13 (1.40%)
Chopper, Sickle, Hatchet and Spade	4	-	-	-	-	4 (2.81)	1	-	1 (25%)	1 (100%)	26 (2.8%)
Total	93	34	13	1	1	142 (100)	1	3	4 (100)	1 (100)	925 (100)

The data show that all the households use six agricultural implements; namely, chopper (*dao*), spade (k*udal*), plough (*langal*), hatchet (*kuthar*), sickle and net (*jal*). By the extent of their use in the households they are classed into 13 categories; viz., no implements (14.37%), chopper (20.27%), spade (4.30%), plough (2.45%), chopper and hatchet (6.37%), chopper, hatchet and plough (11.89%), chopper, spade and plough (8.54%), chopper and sickle (12.10%) and sickle (6.91%).

Thus, 38.33% households forming the five categories have only one of the six agricultural implements (chopper, spade, plough, hatchet, sickle and net), 24.19% have a combination of two implements (chopper and hatchet, chopper and spade, net and chopper), 14.7% have a combination of the implements numbering three (chopper, spade and plough, chopper, hatchet and plough) or numbering four (chopper, sickle, hatchet and spade).

Thus, by the extent of their use, chopper, spade and sickle are the most common implements among the villagers. The nature of the implements used is very much contingent upon the size of landholding as 62.67% households are landless and even the landholders require no modern machineries for cultivation. Except plough and net used for tilling and fishing respectively all other implements are multipurpose in their domestic works.

Animal Husbandry

The villagers of Dewan Tea Garden keep various animals for family and farm needs as shown in the Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Distribution of the Households into the Number of the Animals They have by /Community, Religion and Caste /Tribe in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Types of Animals	Caste/Tribe																	Total
	Bengali																	
	Chakra-borty	Sarkar	Deb	Roy	Bawri	Kumar	Layak	Mali	FulMali	Sukla-badya	Mala-kar	Bagti	Suri	Das	Paul	Akura	Bhu-mij	
Nil	-	1	-	1	95	5	-	36	10	-	1	2	-	1	2	1	-	155 (48.58)
Cow	-	-	-	-	11	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	19 (5.95)
Goat	1	-	-	-	6	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	11 (3.44)
Pig	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duck/Hen	-	1	-	1	30	6	2	20	5	-	-	2	2	1	-	1	1	72 (22.57)
Cows/Duck/Hen	-	-	1	-	18	-	-	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	30 (9.40)
Cow & buffaloes	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (2.50)
Cow ,duck, goat,buffloes	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (4.07)
Cow and Goat	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	6 (1.88)
Cow / Goat / Duck / hen	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5 (1.56)
Pig, Duck, Hen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pig, Duck Hen & Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pig & Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	3	1	2	172	15	2	79	21	1	2	4	3	5	3	4	1	319 (100)

Continued.....

Tadble 3.12: *Continued.....*

Types of Animal	Community, Religion and Caste/Tribe																																	
	HINDUSTANI																																	
	BHOJPURI HINDU																														Total	Bhojpuri Muslim	Hindi Speking		Total	Hindustani Total
	Roy	Kotri	Goala / Yadav	Bin	Bhar	Kalwar	Lohar	Kahar	Rajwar	Ghatwar	Panika	Kurmi	Karmakar	Saha	Thakur/Hazam	Twari	Mirdha	Dusad	Bhuyan	Murao	Dhubi	Keyot	Kalindi	Baiga	Baishnet	Rajput	Lodhi			Rabidas	Kole		
Nil	-	6	5	14	-	1	11	-	2	3	2	-	-	3	1	-	9	5	25	2	2	7	-	1	1	-	2	102 (28.99)	6 (15.38)	7	10	17 (25.0)	125 (27.23)
Cow	-	10	4	4	2	-	4	2	-	2	1	2	-	1	2	1	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	43 (12.24)	5 (12.83)	3	1	4 (5.88)	52 (11.32)
Goat	-	2	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	17 (4.83)	3 (7.69)	2	5	7 (10.29)	27 (5.88)
Pig	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (1.43)	-	-	-	-	5 (1.08)
Duck/Hen	-	8	10	15	4	-	6	-	1	7	2	3	-	3	-	-	9	3	10	-	2	3	-	-	1	1	3	91 (25.85)	10 (26.64)	10	8	18 (26.64)	119 (25.92)
Cows,Duck/Hen	1	3	2	5	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	26 (7.36)	4 (10.25)	5	-	5 (7.35)	35 (7.62)
Cow & Buffaloes	-	2	-	2	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	16 (4.54)	3 (7.69)	-	3	3 (4.41)	22 (4.79)
Cow Duck/Hen, Goat,Buffaloes	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (1.70)	-	6	-	6 (8.83)	12 (2.61)
Cow & Goat	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9 (2.55)	6 (15.38)	-	4	4 (5.88)	19 (4.13)
Cow, Goat Duck/Hen	-	1	1	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	18 (5.11)	2 (5.14)	2	2	4 (5.88)	24 (5.22)
Pig, Duck & Hen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (2.55)	-	-	-	-	9 (1.03)
Pig, Duck /Hen & Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (1.70)	-	-	-	-	6 (1.30)
Pig & Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (1.13)	-	-	-	-	4 (0.46)
Total	1	33	24	49	6	5	33	2	3	13	8	6	3	9	6	1	36	8	70	2	5	12	1	1	2	8	5	352 (100)	39 (100)	35	33	68 (100)	459 (100)

Continued.....

Table 3.12: *Continued.....*

Types of Animal	ORIYA						SANTAL			RANGMAI NAGA	Grand Total
	Tanti	Chasa	Goar	Mohati	Pattan	Total	Majhi	Kumar	Total		
Nil	27	7	3	-	-	37 (26.05)	-	-	-	-	317 (34.27)
Cow	5	3	1	1	-	10 (7.04)	1	1	2 (50%)	-	83 (8.98)
Goat	3	-	-	-	-	3 (2.12)	-	-	-	-	41 (4.44)
Pig	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.54)
Duck/Hen	25	6	6	-	-	37 (26.05)	-	1	1 (25%)	-	299 (24.75)
Cow, duck and Hen	13	4	3	-	-	20 (14.08)	-	-	-	-	85 (9.18)
Cow/Buffalow	6	2	-	-	-	8 (5.63)	-	-	-	-	38 (4.10)
Cow, duck & Hen,Goat, Buffalow	4	-	-	-	1	5 (3.53)	-	1	1 (25%)	-	31 (3.35)
Cow & Goat	4	3	-	-	-	7 (4.94)	-	-	-	-	32 (3.45)
Cow, Goat, Duck & Hen	6	9	-	-	-	15 (10.56)	-	-	-	1 (100%)	45 (4.88)
Pig, Duck & hen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9 (0.98)
Pig, Duck & hen & cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (0.64)
Pig & Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.44)
Total	93	34	13	1	1	142 (100)	1	3	4 (100%)	1 (100%)	925 (100)

The table shows six types of the animals; namely, cow, oxen, buffaloes, pigs, ducks and hens. By the type of the animals reared the households are distributed into 13 categories of animals; viz., no animals (34.27%), cows (8.98%), goats (4.43%), pigs (0.54%), ducks and hens (24.75%), cows, ducks and hens (9.18%), cows and buffaloes (4.10%), cows, ducks, hens and buffaloes (3.35%), cows and goats (3.45%), cows, goats, ducks and hens (4.88%), pigs, ducks and hens (0.98%), pigs, ducks, hens and cows (0.64%) and pigs and cows (0.44%).

The villagers keep animals for agricultural and other purposes such as cultivation, milk, meat, eggs and trade. Briefly, the animals are generally kept to meet their agricultural, domestic, dietary and monetary requirements.

To sum up, the occupational pattern owes to the garden economy that predominates the life of Dewan Tea Garden villagers. In view of the inadequacy of the garden to engage the entire manpower in the productive activity, a small–scale process of occupational diversification has taken place in view of educational dissemination. But this too signifies only inter-generational occupational mobility of the villagers. On the whole, they are only the donors of labour in the garden economy.

Power Distribution

One of the patterns of relationships emerging among the villagers is based on the relative distribution of power among individuals, groups and institutions. In Dewan, the traditional (sacred) power structures like caste panchayats and the modern (secular) structures like Bagan panchayat, trade union, political parties, Gaon panchayat and tea garden management constitute the present power structure. An analysis of these

structures is taken up here.

Caste Panchayats

A large number of castes, sub-castes and outcastes that constitute the Indian society have their own rules, regulations and taboos maintained through a caste (*jati*) panchayat. In the multi-caste Dewan village each caste has a panchayat with its jurisdiction over the caste members in the village or several villages as revealed in the following discussion.

Bawri Panchayat

The Bawri Panchayat is a village level caste structure formed of the representatives from a number of chatais, each, consisting of 20 to 30 families. The number of the chatais that constitute a Bawri caste panchayat varies from village to village and time to time. Owing to the economic constraints and the problem of communication it is not possible for a Bawri to invite all the caste fellows on the occasion of a ritual or festival. In view of rising food costs and constantly low incomes one cannot afford to invite the entire caste. It is also difficult to communicate to all the caste fellows scattered in far-off villages as the message is generally conveyed by personal visit to the families of the caste. The head of a chatai, Manjhi, takes care of the ritual performance on birth, death and marriage as the chatai, relatively smaller, is the active unit of social organization to meet occasional requirements of the families. Now a day, **chatai** is called **unit** and its Manjhi, the unit secretary or shobhapati. The designations were adopted, in 1997, from the Barak Valley Bawri Caste Conference of the caste association, at Nehru College, Pailapool. The association has the two executive positions of secretary and

shobhapati (president). Sridam Bawri from Dewan, a Lower Division Clerk in Nehru College is its treasurer and his maternal uncle, Bichitra Bawri, from Doodpatil village is its shobhapati (secretary). The Dewan Bawri Panchayat consists of six chatais, each, headed by a Manji, namely, Probol Ree, Monoranjan Ree, Putul Ree, Tapan Ree, Gawra Ree and Manik Ree. The Manjhi (Chatai) leadership in the Bawri Panchayat is shown in the Table 3.13.

Table 3.13: Distribution of the Manjhis into the Age Groups by Education and Occupation in the Bawri Caste Panchayat in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Age Groups	Education		Total	Occupation		Total
	Illiterate	Primary School		Tea Garden Labour	No Employment	
51-55	–	01	01	01	–	01
46-50	01	–	01	01	–	01
41-45	01	–	01	01	–	01
36-40	–	01	01	–	01	01
31-35	01	01	02	02	–	02
Total	**03**	**03**	**06**	**05**	**01**	**06**

The table shows the age of the chatai leaders ranging 20 years, from 31 to 55 years. It comprises three age groups; namely, the youth (up to 35 years), the middle aged (36-50 years) and the old aged (above 50 years). The leaders of both the generations are distributed in equal proportion. Their higher concentration (50%) is in the middle age group followed by 33.3% in the youth and 16.66% in the old age. It appears that the leadership is passing from old generation to new generation. As regards their education,

the leaders are equally distributed between the two categories of (i) the illiterates and (ii) the primary school pass. Their age and education viewed together display inverse relationship, i.e., the number of educated leaders in the new generation is equal to the number of illiterate leaders in old generation. All, but a half aged educated unemployed leader, are the labourers in the tea garden. It implies that the economic position resulting from the permanent means of earning has immense bearing on the emergence of leadership in the situation of subsistence economy and low education/ literacy. The process of change in leadership is destined to be slow yet the direction of change is quite perceptible.

The problems like inter-caste marriage, divorce, violation of caste rules and taboos are settled not by the head of a Chatai but by the Bawri panchayat in the village. The head of the caste panchayat in a village is, also, called the manjhi who is generally an –old and wealthy person from a renowned family, respected by all and capable to settle disputes among the caste fellows. The position of manjhi is not hereditary. He is replaced or elected as and when a situation arises.

Presently, the Bawri panchayat in Dewan consists of 51 members with its manjhi, Bipin Chandra Ree, 52 years, a peon in Dewan Post Office. No woman is a member of the present panchayat. The women are largely illiterate and shy and are therefore not considered fit for any position in the panchayat. A meeting of the panchayat is generally held at the manjhi's or sometimes at a justice seeker's house. Inter-village disputes of the Bawri fellows are settled by an inter-village caste panchayat formed of the members from the panchayats of the villages involved in.

Kahar Panchayat

Dewan Tea Garden village has only two Kahar families. Cachar district, and even the Barak Valley, has a small number of Kahar families. Majority of the families are found in Arcuttipur Tea Garden village. Therefore, they have no panchayat formed of chatais; rather they have a regional or inter-village caste panchayat in the Barak Valley. Whenever a problem arises, the panchayat is informed by a letter or personally. Verdict of the panchayat is accepted and complied with by all the caste fellows in the villages. The panchayat meets either at the plaintiff's house or at a public place like school or club.

The position of chaudhuri (headman) is not inherited but the caste fellows in an annual general body meeting called by the panchayat select the incumbent. Generally a socially informed person is selected for the position every year. At present, the chaudhuri of the panchayat is Ram Dew Kahar, 80 years old farmer of Arcuttipur Tea Garden village, educated up to middles school level. The present Kahar panchayat body consists of 21 members including its chaudhuri. The data for social background of thirteen prominent panchayat members, including its chaudhuri, are available here. To reveal the territorial spread of the panchayat their residential distribution in various villages or towns in the districts of the Barak Valley is shown in the Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Distribution of the Kahar Panchayat Members into the Districts by Residential Places in the Barak Valley of South Assam

Name Of District	Number of the Members from a Village/Town										Total
	Udhar-bond	Silcoo-ri Tea Garden	Arcuttip-ur Tea garden	Dewan Tea garden	Tilka Tea Garden	Badri village	Fula-rtal	Silchar Town	Hailak-andi town	Kath-altali	
Cachar	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	-	-	11
Hailakandi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Karimganj	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**13**

The table shows that the leaders of the Kahar Caste Panchayat are drawn from all the districts and parts of Barak Valley. The numerical preponderance of the members from Cachar district points to the concentration of the Kahar population in the district or rather in a few of its villages.

Mirdha Panchayat

The Mirdha have an inter-village caste panchayat, Baishi, consisting of 22 villages with a Chaudhuri (headman). The Chaudhuri of the present Baishi is a 96 year old, retired tea garden labourer of Dewan, educated up to primary level. He inherited this position from his father who was the Chaudhuri of a village in Hazaribag district of Bihar. A meeting of the Baishi is convened once a year by the Chaudhuri to discuss matters of the caste. All the members of the Baishi are men only. Generally, the members of the Baishi from a village are empowered to settle the conflicts among the Mirdha families of that village. But the matter that involves the issues of wider implications like inter-caste marriage or violation of caste prescriptions or proscriptions decided by the Chaudhuri and other members. The meeting of the Baishi is held either at the Chaudhuri's or at a justice – seeker's house. From Dewan village, Binod Mirdha, 54 years, illiterate retired labourer of Dewan Tea Garden and Sukhram Mirdha, a 60 year old, literate shopkeeper are the two members of the Baishi looking after the caste affairs.

Muslim Panchayat

The Muslim of Dewan also have a panchayat which is activated in case of a dispute, humiliation of a respected Muslim, or strain in relations of two Muslim families or of affinal kins. The head of the Muslim Panchayat, Mukhiya, has an important role in

the settlement of disputes. The Ali Somaj that consisted of a **Mullaha** (learned person) of mosque and a *Mukhiya* solves the problems involving religious aspects like inter-community marriage, conversion and divorce. The Ali Somaj in Dewan includes the Mukhiya, Abdul Monaf, and the Mullah, Amir Ali. Abdul Monaf is a 64-year-old cultivator educated up to the primary school. The socio-structural composition of the Muslim Panchayat in Dewan is shown in the Table 3.15.

Table 3.15: Distribution of the Muslim Panchayat Leaders into the Age Groups by Education and Occupation in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Age Groups	Education					Occupation			
	Illitera-tes	Literates	Primary School Pass	Secondary School Pass	Total	Cultiva-tion	Garden Labour	L. P. School Teachers	Total
56-60	–	–	01	–	01	01	–	–	01
51-55	–	–	–	–	00	–	–	–	00
46-50	01	–	–	–	01	–	01	–	01
41-45	01	–	–	–	01	–	01	–	01
36-40	–	–	–	01	01	–	–	01	01
31-35	–	01	–	–	01	–	01	–	01
Total	**02**	**01**	**01**	**01**	**05**	**01**	**03**	**01**	**05**

The data reveal that the actual age range stretching between 34 years to 60 years, i.e., 27 years encompasses both the generations of leaders - the new (40%) and the old (60%). Most of the leaders (60%) are labourers in Dewan Tea Garden and the remaining are equally distributed between the cultivation and the service sector. Thus, the new leadership of youth attributed with education and assured occupational source of income have already made a dent in the traditional stronghold of old generation in the Muslim Panchayat and the process may continue to replace the entire old leadership with the new one.

Briefly, the traditional panchayat or elders' council has been a cultural and structural phenomenon cutting across the various social formations based on kinship, religion, region, village, ethnicity and even occupation in India. Generally, it is the caste panchayat that brings in inter-village or regional or horizontal unity among the fellow members scattered over a specified geographical area. On the other hand, the tribal, Muslim and village panchayats facilitate and control behaviour of members at the village level, though there are a few exceptions in the varying regional situations. The Bawri, Goala, Koiri, Mali and Bhuyan caste panchayats and the Muslim community panchayat are the traditional organizations generally functioning within the parameters of a village or of a religious or tribal community in a village. But the Kahar Panchayat and the Mirdha Baishi are both working over the areas larger than a single village.

The issues like breach of marriage rules, marital or affinal disputes, divorce or separation of spouse are predominating the functioning of all the panchayats. Then, it is the regional circle for seeking marriage partners, which determines the scope of caste or community panchayat. Where the local population is heavily concentrated and the marriage circle is narrow, the panchayat tends very largely to coincide with the village in the narrow circle. Where the distribution of a caste population is sparse over a region, the marriage circle could be sparse and the panchayat could work at a wider level. Besides the feature of its differential distribution, the tea garden population almost as a whole consists of the backward sections; viz., OBCs, SCs and STs. The cultural notion of caste carried over by the emigrant labourers is working through traditional mechanism, but in the absence of the Brahmin or *Dwija* (twice born) castes the caste system does not have a rigidity of ritual hierarchy and rigorously administered purity–impurity principle in inter-

caste relations. Moreover, amidst a majority of castes, the Muslim or tribal communities also have assumed the character of castes in popular perception as well as in their functioning. That the caste panchayats, besides their core issues of functioning like marriage, have been taking up new functions for the welfare of fellow members is evident from the inter-structural linkage at multiple levels and intra-structural differentiation and increasing formalization of panchayats of a few castes. The changes are perceptible in the on - going gradual replacement of the traditional leadership by the youth, educated and occupationally stable one.

Bagan Panchayat

The Bagan Panchayat or **Garden Council** is a local representative body of the labourers in the garden with the backing from some influential trade union to talk, discuss and negotiate their problems with the management. It has been here in the village since Independence. The office bearers in the panchayat body are selected by the permanent labourers in their open meeting in the presence of the office bearers of some National Trade Union that has influence over the labourers at the time. President, vice president, secretary and members of this body are supported by the trade union in their selection and actions.

Size and tenure of this body are not fixed. The number of the members in a Bagan panchayat can vary from time to time depending upon the size of leadership resource among the labourers. The level of efficiency in functioning affects its longevity. The labourers have the right to dissolve the body whenever they feel that it is falling short of performance in its functioning. The present body has, in all, twelve office bearers including president, vice president, secretary and assistant secretary. The structure of the

present Bagan panchayat is revealed in the Table 3.16.

Table 3.16: Distribution of the Office Bearers into the Age Groups by Caste, Education and Occupation in Dewan Bagan Panchayat 2003

Age Groups	Caste (Category)						Education				Occupation		
	Bawri (OBC) ((OBC)	Mali (SC)	Tanti (OBC)	Bhuyan (SC)	Koiri (OBC)	Total	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Total	Permanent Labour	Sardar	Total
66-70	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	1	–	1
61-65	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
56-60	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
51-55	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
46-50	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
41-45	2	1	1	–	–	4	–	3	1	4	3	1	4
36-40	–	1	–	1	1	3	–	2	1	3	3	–	3
31-35	–	2	–	–	2	4	–	3	1	4	4	–	4
Total	**3**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**12**	**1**	**8**	**3**	**12**	**11**	**1**	**12**

The table reveals that more than half of the office bearers in the panchayat constitute the new generation (age up to 40 years). All but one office bearer are found in the age range between 33 and 45 years. The president of the panchayat is an old person. The official positions in the Bagan Panchayat are predominated by three castes; viz., Mali, Tanti and Bawri who along with the Koiri are drawn from the category of Other Backward Castes. In the panchayat the Scheduled Castes have only one person and the Scheduled Tribes have none. Therefore, it is the comparatively better / forward people (the OBCs) who have taken up the leadership in the panchayat. The fact is corroborated by the preponderance of the literates followed by the primary school educated, barring

one illiterate office bearer, in the panchayat. Notwithstanding this, by occupation all, but one office bearer (Sardar), are labourers indicate that the numerical strength, rather than the positional hierarchy, is an important factor in forming the local trade union body. Briefly, in the Bagan Panchayat the traditional factors of age and caste and the modern factors of education and numerical strength are equally present.

As a body to take care of various interests and problems of the labourers it generally functions under ideological umbrella of some dominant trade union in the garden. Presently, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) represents the labourers in the garden and, therefore, the Bagan Panchayat follows the ideology, instructions and actions of this union in its functioning. To understand its functioning, a case dealt with by the Bagan Panchayat in Dewan Tea Garden is delineated here.

Amalaya Bhumij, a liver patient, was admitted in the Central Hospital of Dewan Group at Labac. But due to the carelessness of the doctor and nurse he committed suicide by cutting himself with a bottle. When the news of this incident broke out in the Garden village the enraged labourers carrying his dead body staged a procession from Labac to the Garden Authority in Dewan and demanded suspension of the doctor and the nurse. The panchayat gave a call for general strike and submitted a petition to the management for compensation to his family. Finally, the Garden management agreed to provide compensation to Amalaya's widow. Thus, the Bagan Panchayat time and again arose to take up the matters of labourers adopting various modes of trade union activities such as agitation, procession, general strike and / or litigation. It has both success and failure in its account. But the point of significance is that on each occasion it was successful in demonstrating the solidarity of the labourers. It shows that the labourers have full faith in

this body that instills confidence and sense of security before the mighty management. It really works as a channel between the labourers and the management in the tea garden.

Trade Unions in Tea Gardens

Trade unions or voluntary organizations of workers formed to promote and protect the interests of workers through collective action (Dutta and Sundaram 1991), working in different factories and industries in India since the last quarter of 19th century, were established in the Assam tea gardens only in 1930. Charuan Brothers formed the **Christian Union** with the labourers of Jorhat in 1930. And Sylhet-Cachar Cha Bagan Mazdur Union was formed in 1938 for the labourers of the tea gardens of the then Surma Valley including the present Barak Valley and some parts in Bangladesh. At present a number of trade unions are working in the tea gardens.

In the Dewan Tea Garden the trade union activity began in 1951. Mostly three trade unions; namely, Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) and its affiliate Cachar Cha Shromik Union; Bharatiya Mazdur Sangha (BMS); Centre for Indian Trade Union (CITU) and its affiliate Cachar Cha Mazdur Somittee are active in the Dewan Tea Garden. Generally the villagers introduce themselves as the members or supporters of INTUC, CITU, BMS or others. These trade unions and their affiliated Bagan Panchayats work together in a garden. The pattern of affiliation of the villagers with trade unions and political parties are shown in the Table 3.17.

Table 3.17: Distribution of the Villagers into the Types of Position by Trade Unions and Political Parties

Types of Position	Trade Union												Political Party											
	INTUC			CITU			IBMS			Grand Total			Congress			CPM			BJP			Grand Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Member	40	–	40	10	–	10	6	–	6	56 (9.70%)	–	56 (6.05%)	5	1	6	1	–	1	–	–	–	6 (0.70%)	1 (0.15%)	7 (0.85%)
Supporter	370	300	670	111	30	41	40	20	60	521 (90.30%)	350 (100%)	871 (93.95%)	750	600	1350	35	20	55	70	40	110	855 (99.30%)	660 (99.85%)	1515 (99.55%)
Total	**410**	**300**	**710**	**121**	**30**	**151**	**46**	**20**	**66**	**577 (100)**	**350 (100)**	**927 (100)**	**755**	**601**	**1356**	**36**	**20**	**56**	**70**	**40**	**110**	**861 (100)**	**661 (100)**	**1522 (100)**

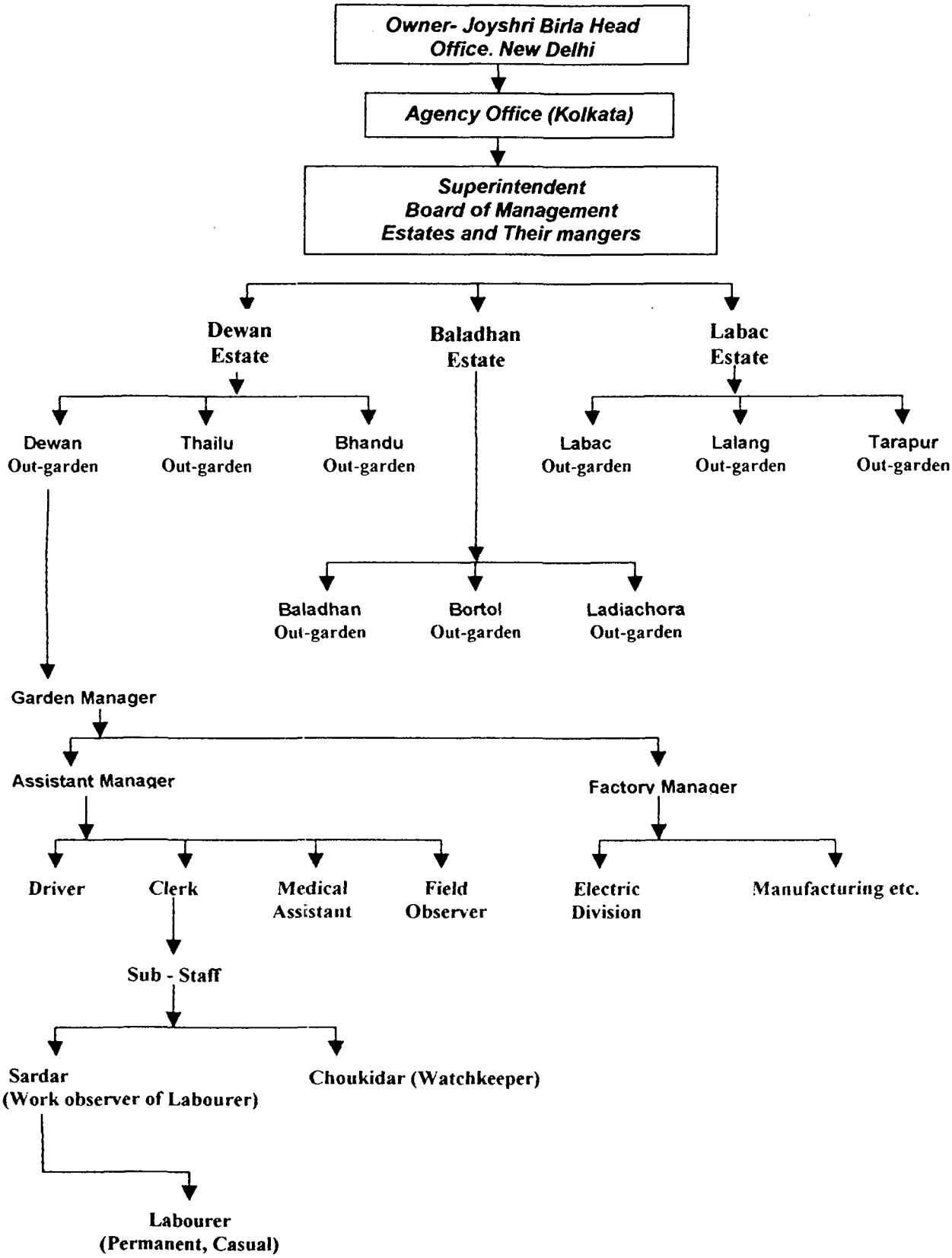
The data reveal that 6.05% villagers are the members of a trade union – INTUC, CITU and BMS while 93.95% are the supporters of trade union.

Sexwise, only 9.70% males and none of the females are the members of a trade union, but 90.30% males and all women are the supporters of a trade union.

INTUC is the trade union that draws largest number of members and supporters followed by CITU and BMS subsequently. This pattern of association owes to the presence of political parties in the village. The Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party are the two parties having the largest number of members and supporters. Thus, the trade union and political activities go hand in hand as the trade unions form the organs of their respective political parties.

Garden Management

Garden Management is a bureaucratic organization consisted of estate manager, out garden manager, assistant manager and factory assistant. The **Joyshri Tea Company** of the Birla Group is the owner of Dewan Tea Garden having the Head Office at Delhi and the Agency Office at Calcutta. All directions for running the tea garden come from the Agency Office. The company has nine tea gardens, in all, in Cachar district under the control of its Management Board with a superintendent. The company has divided these gardens into tea estates, each, headed by an estate manager. A tea estate consists of three tea gardens called the out gardens. The **Dewan Tea Estate** consists of Dewan, Bhandu and Thailu out gardens. Each out garden has manager, assistant manager and factory in charge. The manager of an out garden has the autonomy in taking major decisions like dismissal of labourers, etc. The structure of the garden management is shown in the following chart.


Owner- Joyshri Birla Head Office. New Delhi
Agency Office (Kolkata)
Superintendent Board of Management Estates and Their mangers
Dewan Estate
Baladhan Estate
Labac Estate
Dewan Out-garden
Thailu Out-garden
Bhandu Out-garden
Labac Out-garden
Lalang Out-garden
Tarapur Out-garden
Baladhan Out-garden
Bortol Out-garden
Ladiachora Out-garden
Garden Manager
Assistant Manager
Factory Manager
Driver
Clerk
Medical Assistant
Field Observer
Electric Division
Manufacturing etc.
Sub - Staff
Sardar (Work observer of Labourer)
Choukidar (Watchkeeper)
Labourer (Permanent, Casual)

A formal hierarchical structure of a garden is empirically conceived into five categories; viz., (i) the Malik (absentee owner of the garden), (ii) the Saheb (Estate manager and assistant manager), (iii) the Babu (clerical and supervisory staff), (iv) the Sardar (watch keeper of labourers' work) and (v) the Coolies (labourers).

The management executed the orders from the head office and the agency office and took decisions for the estates. The decisions are routed through clerical staff. The labourers and sub-staff have no direct linkage with the management. When a problem arises, the labourers approach the management through the Bagan Panchayat. Thus, in the hierarchy of power structure in the garden management, the labourers stood at the bottom. The management takes whatever decision the labourers concede to it.

Gaon Panchayat

Dewan Tea Garden village has no past history of pre-Independence village panchayat as the villagers are the migrants from different provinces in different times and many of them were brought by an agreement for two or three years. Before 1947 the villagers lived a life of confinement. Even a visit to other villages had to be reported to the watch keeper of their village. As the labourers were uprooted from their native places by conceit of the contractors, the tea estate owners feared that the freedom of movement given to them might lead to their escape from the garden. At that time the Sardar and the Sahebs looked after all the problems of labourers. They had no spare time for other activities as they worked for 10-12 hours a day.

After Independence when the three-tier Panchayati Raj was introduced this garden village also came under effect of the new system in 1959. As the three-tier system did not work properly, the Assam Panchayati Raj Act was passed in 1972. This act provided a

two-tier system of Gaon Panchayats and Mahakuma Parisads. Under this act one Gaon Panchayat consisted of 10-12 chakras (constituencies) and from each chakra one member was elected. The members of Gaon Panchayat elected a president and a vice president in a meeting. Dewan village was then a chakra of Joypur Gaon Panchayat and elected one member for the panchayat from this village.

In 1994 Assam Government again introduced a three-tier system of the Gaon Panchayat at village level, the Anchalik Panchayat at block level and the Zila Parisad at district level. Dewan Gaon Panchayat consists of 10 wards. From each ward one member (sadasya) is elected. But the president of the Gaon Panchayat and the Anchalik Panchayat sadasyas are elected from the whole village. One third of the total number of the seats and of those reserved for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are reserved for the women.

Gaon Panchayat is the smallest political body, the members of which are elected directly by the villagers. As the office of president is vested with more powers, much importance is given to the president's election and all voters of the village elect the president. A close fight for the post is seen. In the last panchayat election in 2001 four candidates contested for this post. The candidates A and B were matriculates and C and D were only literates. C won the election. Before 1994, political parties did not take much interest in the panchayat elections to compete for political power in a village. But since1994 the panchayat elections have turned different. C who had no previous political background was a first generation person from his family to join the politics. His victory in the election owes to his economic position because he spent much money in the elections in comparison of the other candidates. In the last panchayat elections a close

contest for the two seats reserved for females was enacted by four candidates W, X, Y and Z. Two candidates W and Y are literates; X is educated up to primary level and Z is illiterate. All are married and their husbands made them to contest the elections. No one had any previous political background. The candidates X and Z were supported by the BJP while W and Y by the Congress Party. The defeat of X and Z is related not to their economic and social status but only to parties.

Thus, all this shows an accentuation of political socialization in the villages through periodic elections and involvement of political parties. The contest for power itself is evidence of upcoming political awareness among the villagers.

Political Parties and Participation

The trade unions are intensely supported by political parties in the tea gardens. Mostly the supporters of Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party and Communist Party of India (Marxist) are found in the village, though no office of a political party is seen in the village. It is only during the time of elections that a number of temporary offices of political parties are opened and mostly the youth work for different parties. A very small fraction of villagers form the whole time workers of the parties. In a democratic set up, voting behaviour has a great significance. Therefore, voting behaviour of the villagers is displayed in the Table. 3.18.

Table 3.18: Distribution of the Villager into the Types of Political Participation

Types of Participation	Number of Adult Villagers		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Vote Casting	925 (70.28%)	705 (61.67%)	1630 (66.28%)
Vote Casting & Contesting of Panchayat Election	21 (1.59%)	4 (0.34%)	25 (1.03%)
Neither Participation nor Vote Casting	370 (28.11%)	434 (37.97%)	804 (32.69%)
Total	**1316 (100)**	**1143 (100)**	**2459 (100)**

The data show that of the adults, 66.28% have participated in the political process by casting votes; 1.03% has contested for some post in the panchayat and 32.69% have neither cast their vote nor contested for any post in the panchayat elections.

Sexwise, 70.28% males and 61.67% females participated in the political process by casting their vote; 1.59% males and 0.34% females participated by contesting for some post in the panchayat election and 28.11% males and 37.97% females did not participate in political process.

Therefore, the voting behaviour of the villagers leads to the assumption that they are politically conscious. But a question arises: **Why is there perceived a meagre contest for a post in the Gaon Panchayat?** From the foregoing analysis of their affiliation with a political party or trade union, it appears that their vote casting is highly mobilized by parties and trade unions. These associations become active amidst the villagers during the elections to ensure vote casting by the villagers in their favour. This has, of course, a very important role in political socialization of the villagers. Besides, the

presence of a self-government body at the level of villagers itself is very significant not only in the matter of vote casting and political socialization but also in terms of sharing power in the village. The fact of the meagre presence of contestants does indicate the emergence of power seekers in the panchayat politics.

Briefly, in Dewan Tea Garden village the power is organized into the Caste Panchayats, Bagan Panchayat, Trade Unions, Garden Management and Gaon Panchayat. Though the Gaon Panchayat came into existence in this village of the emigrants only after Independence, the emigrants to the village had brought with them the traditional notion of caste and therefore caste panchayats are effectively working among the people. The Bagan Panchayat acts as a channel for communication between the villagers and the management and takes care of interest of the labourers. The Gaon Panchayat offers opportunity to the power players to interact and share power in the village. Though these various formal and informal forms of organization of power have separate dimensions of working, practically they are very much interconnected and influence one another directly or indirectly in their affairs.

Cultural Products

During the period of more than 100 years cultural intermingling among caste, ethnic, regional and religious groups has set in motion a process of synthesization of languages, dress patterns, dietary habits, fairs, festivals and folk songs giving rise to a new culture at the loss of distinct identities. In the new culture of the tea garden village, it is difficult to find out differences of their traditional identities on the basis of their external appearance and interactions. The condition of living together and common

working in the garden forced them to give up many of their traditional beliefs and customs (Sharma and Sengupta 1985). To understand the nature of this new culture in Dewan village, an analysis of various cultural elements is undertaken here.

Education

Education as a process of human socialization and development carried out by adults in a family in the earlier times but by specific institutions like school, colleges and universities in the modern times has emerged as both a source and an indicator of human development living standard quality of life in a community. In spite of the network of schools in and around the village, the literacy level of the village is low as indicated in the Table 3.19.

Table 3.19: Distribution of the Villagers into the Educational Levels by Community, Religion and Sex in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Educational Level	Bengali																																																					
	Chakraborty			Sarkar			Deb			Roy			Bawri			Kumar			Layak			Mali			Fulmali			Saklabdya			Malakar			Bagti			Suri			Das			Paul			Akura			Bhumij			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Children (0-5 years)	-	-	-	3	2	5	-	1	1	1	-	1	54	57	111	2	5	7	-	2	2	16	34	50	6	5	11	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	3	5	3	1	4	-	-	-	89 (11.43)	111 (14.30)	200 (12.87)
Illiterate	-	-	-	-	3	3	1	-	1	-	1	1	216	310	526	13	21	34	3	3	6	110	143	253	32	35	67	-	3	3	1	5	6	6	4	10	1	5	6	6	10	16	2	2	4	5	7	12	-	1	1	398 (50.89)	553 (71.26)	949 (61.08)
Literate	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	10	40	7	1	8	-	-	-	11	5	16	1	2	3	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	3	1	4	2	-	2	1	-	1	1	-	1	60 (7.71)	23 (2.96)	83 (5.34)
Primary	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	52	29	81	7	3	10	-	-	-	35	4	39	7	1	8	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	3	4	1	5	5	-	5	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	118 (14.91)	46 (5.92)	162 (10.42)
Middle School	1	2	3	3	-	3	1	-	1	3	3	6	51	24	75	11	2	13	-	-	-	17	2	19	7	3	10	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	2	7	5	1	6	1	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	106 (13.62)	42 (5.41)	148 (9.62)
H.S.L.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (0.77)	1 (0.12)	7 (0.45)
H.S.	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.51)	-	4 (0.25)
Graduate (B.A.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.12)	-	1 (0.06)
Total	2	3	5	7	7	14	3	2	5	5	6	11	412	431	843	41	32	73	3	5	8	189	188	377	53	46	99	2	5	7	3	5	8	10	6	16	11	8	19	20	12	32	7	10	17	9	8	17	1	2	3	778 (100)	776 (100)	1554 (100)

Continued............

Table 3.19: *Continued.........*

Educational Level	Bhojpuri Hindu																																																							
	Roy			Koiri			Goala / Yadab			Bin			Bhor			Kalwar			Lohar			Kahar			Rajwar			Ghatwar			Panika			Kurmi			Karmakar			Saha			Thakur / Hazam			Twari			Mirdha			Dusad			Bhuiyan		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Childresn (0-5 years)	-	1	1	9	6	15	6	2	8	15	12	27	-	1	1	1	5	6	13	11	24	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	4	9	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	-	1	1	-	1	6	5	11	4	-	4	14	21	35
Illiterate	-	-	-	30	42	72	20	33	53	59	81	140	5	7	12	5	11	16	46	56	102	-	2	2	1	4	5	12	22	34	5	8	13	8	10	18	3	5	8	7	12	19	2	6	8	1	2	3	41	51	92	8	12	20	104	130	234
Literate	-	-	-	6	5	11	3	3	6	8	3	11	1	-	1	2	1	3	9	4	13	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	2	7	-	1	1	3	-	3	5	4	9	4	-	4	2	2	4	1	-	1	9	3	12	-	2	2	12	4	16
Primary	2	1	3	15	7	22	10	1	11	21	9	30	8	1	9	6	5	11	14	1	15	1	1	2	2	-	2	5	4	9	6	5	11	4	1	5	2	-	2	3	5	8	3	1	4	-	1	1	12	7	19	-	-	-	13	9	22
Middle School	-	-	-	18	18	36	8	5	13	15	6	21	4	1	5	1	-	1	9	-	9	-	1	1	4	3	7	3	1	4	4	3	7	1	1	2	2	-	2	3	-	3	3	2	5	-	-	-	4	1	5	-	-	-	4	2	6
H.S.L.C.	1	2	3	5	1	6	2	-	2	2	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Graduate (B.A.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3	4	7	83	79	162	56	44	100	123	112	235	20	10	30	15	22	37	91	72	163	4	4	8	8	8	16	30	33	63	17	19	36	18	13	31	13	10	23	19	19	38	12	12	24	4	3	7	72	67	139	12	14	26	147	166	313

Continued...........

Table 3.19: *Continued*.....

Educational Level	Bhojpuri (Hindu)																									Bhojpuri			Hindi Speaking									Hindustani Grand Total		
	Murao			Dhubi			Keyot			Kalindra			Baiga			Bashfar			Rajput			Lodhi			Bhojpuri HindusTotal			Muslims			Robidas			Koli			Total					
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	7	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	6	1	-	1	91	82	173	13 (11.81)	8 (7.69)	21 (9.81)	4	12	16	4	5	9	8 (5%)	17 (12.68)	25 (8.50)	112	107	219
Illiterate	4	3	7	2	4	6	16	28	44	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	7	4	12	16	12	8	20	406	556	962	53 (46.18)	81 (77.88)	134 (62.61)	42	52	94	47	43	90	89 (55.62)	95 (70.89)	184 (62.58)	548	732	1280
Literate	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	74	35	109	13 (11.81)	5 (4.80)	18 (8.41)	8	1	9	6	1	7	14 (8.75)	2 (1.49)	16 (5.44)	101	42	143
Primary	-	-	-	4	-	4	2	2	4	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	4	-	4	1	1	2	140	63	203	15 (13.63)	6 (5.76)	21 (9.81)	11	10	21	15	-	15	26 (16.25)	10 (7.46)	36 (12.24)	181	79	260
Middle School	-	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	3	1	-	1	4	-	4	2	2	4	96	47	143	16 (14.54)	4 (3.84)	20 (9.34)	14	8	22	7	2	9	21 (13.12)	10 (7.46)	31 (10.54)	133	61	194
H.S.L.C.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	17	7	24	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	2 (1.25)	-	2 (0.68)	19	7	26
H.S.	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
(B.A.)	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4
Total	4	3	7	12	6	18	23	32	55	3	3	6	5	1	6	5	6	11	16	17	33	17	11	28	832 (100)	790 (100)	1622 (100)	110 (100)	214 (100)	80	83	163	80	51	131	160 (100)	134 (100)	294 (100)	1102 (100)	1028 (100)	2028 (100)	2130 (100)

***Continued*.....**

Table 3.19: ***Continued.....***

Educational Levels	Oriya																		Santal									Naga		
	Tanti			Chasa			Goar			Mohanti			Pattanayat			Total			Manjhi			Kurku			Total			Rongmei		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-5	19	21	40	7	6	13	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	29 (8.68)	28 (8.80)	57 (8.74)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1 (11.11)	1 (6.25)	-	-	-
Illiterate	105	135	240	41	62	103	18	28	46	4	2	6	-	3	3	168 (50.29)	230 (72.32)	398 (61.04)	2	2	4	4	5	9	6 (85.71)	7 (77.77)	13 (81.25)	2 (40.0)	1 (33.33)	3 (37.5)
Literate	16	5	21	8	1	9	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	28 (8.35)	6 (1.88)	34 (5.21)	-	-	-	1	1	2	1 (14.29)	1 (11.11)	2 (12.5)	1 (20.0)	-	1 (12.5)
Primary	30	14	44	13	4	17	6	8	18	-	-	-	1	-	1	50 (14.97)	26 (8.97)	76 (11.65)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (66.66)	2 (25.0)
Middle School	29	22	51	18	2	20	3	7	4	-	-	-	2	-	2	52 (15.56)	28 (8.80)	80 (12.26)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (40.0)	-	2 (25.0)
H.S.L.C.	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (1.19)	-	4 (0.61)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H.S.	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.59)	-	2 (0.30)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(B.A.)	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.15)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	206	197	403	87	75	162	33	41	74	4	2	6	4	3	7	334 (100)	318 (100)	652 (100)	2	2	4	5	7	12	7 (100)	9 (100)	16 (100)	5 (100)	3 (100)	8 (100)

The data reveal that 10.94% of the population comprises children and 60.55% - illiterates. Of the literates and educated (28.47%), 6.19% are mere literates whereas 11.46% are educated up to primary level, 9.72% up to middle school, 0.84% up to high school and 0.13% each up to higher secondary and graduate level.

Sex caste, 50.17% males and 71.36% females are illiterate, 8.89% males and 7.16% females are educated up to primary level, 13.16% males and 6.13% females educated up to middle school, 1.3% males and 0.37% females are educated up to high school level and 0.26% each males only are educated up to higher secondary and graduate level.

It is clear that the illiteracy rate is higher among the females than the males. The female education does not extend beyond the High School level whereas the male education extends up to Graduates level. That is, the females' education remains restricted up to school only.

Community wise, the Hindustani, the Bengali and the Oriya are distributed into all the levels of education, the Santal are only literate and the Rongmei Naga are educated up to the middle school level. Of the total population, the Hindustani, Bengali, Oriya, Santali and Rongmei Naga constitute the children in the respective size of 10.28%, 12,87%, 8.74%, 6.25% and none. The illiterates are distributed as the Hindustani 59.95%, the Bengali 61.06%, the Oriya 61.04%, the Santal 81.25% and the Rongmei Naga 37.51%; the literates a the Bengali 29.77%, the Hindustani 26.07%, the Oriya 30.22%, the Santali 12.5% and the Rongmei Naga 62.5%; educated up to primary level, the Bengali 10.42%, the Hindustani 12.20%, the Oriya 11.65%, and the Rongmei Naga 25.0%; educated up to middle school level, the Bengali 9.52%, the Hindustani 9.13%, the

Oriya 12.29%, and the Rongmei Naga 25.0%, educated up to High school level, the Bengali 0.45%, the Hindustani 1.22%, the Oriya 0.61%, educated up to Higher Secondary level, the Bengali 0.25%, the Hindustani non, the Oriya 0.30%, educated up to graduate level, the Hindustani 0.18%, the Bengali 0.48% and the Oriya 0.15%.

Thus, the predominant phenomenon of the life of the villagers is widely prevalent illiteracy, i.e., a slightly less than three fourths of their population. Similarly, a three-fourth of their female population is reeling under illiteracy. This common pattern of illiteracy and literacy are operating among all the communities. But the range of educational levels does correspond the enlargement of a community and that is why the Santal and the Naga families have the limited levels of education.

Mother Tongues

The villagers have their different regional mother tongues spoken at home or with the co-lingualists along with a commonly spoken language called Bagani Bhasha. The languages transmitted through generations came as the mother tongues of their ancestors from the places of their origin. By their mother tongues they are divided into various linguistic groups as shown in the Table 3.20.

Table 3.20: Distribution of the Household into the Mother Tongues in Dewan Tea Garden Village

Mother Tongues	Number of Households	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
Bhojpuri (Hindu/Muslim)	391 (42.27%)	942 (42.31%)	894 (41.89%)	1836 (42.11%)
Bengali	319 (34.48%)	778 (34.95%)	776 (36.36%)	1554 (35.64%)
Hindi	68 (7.35%)	160 (7.18%)	134 (6.27%)	294 (6.74%)
Oriya	142 (15.35%)	334 (15.0%)	318 (14.90%)	652 (14.95%)
Santali	4 (0.43%	7 (0.31%)	9 (0.42%)	16 (0.36%)
Rongmei Naga	1 (0.10%)	5 (0.22%)	3 (0.14%)	8 (0.18%)
Total	225 (100)	2226 (100)	2134 (100)	4360 (100)

The table displays the households of the villagers distributed into five linguistic groups. The Hindustani that consists of the Bhojpuri (Hindu/Muslim) and the Hindi speakers is the largest (49.62%) group of the households from 31 castes followed by the Bengali (34.48%) from 17 castes, the Oriya (15.35%) from five castes and the Santali (0.43%) and Naga (0.10%) each from a tribe. Of the Hindustani community, the Hindi speakers constitute (7.35%) of the households.

The data reveal that the mother tongue of the largest number (42.11%) of the villagers is Bhojpuri followed by Bengali (35.64%), Oriya (14.95%), Hindi (6.74%), Santali (0.36%) and Rongmei Naga (0.18%). Therefore, the village is basically multilingual. But despite the regional/ethnic mother tongues, most of them are not

conversant in their mother tongues as they are now left with very weak links with their ancestral homelands. The Oriyans have mixed Bengali with their mother tongue, Oriya, at home.

Bagani Bhasa, a mixture of Bhojpuri, Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Santali and other languages, has emerged as the new language in the gardens. For example, the sentence *Shab chola galo go* contains the words, *Shab* (all) from Hindi and *chola galo* (have gone) from Bengali. Generally Baagaani Bhaasa in the tea garden villages comprises various combinations of Hindi, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Santali, Oriya and other languages spoken with the overtones of distorted Bengali differing from garden to garden. It is different in Dewan from that in Bhando Tea Garden, five kms. The sentence in Dewan's Bagani Bhaasa *Hamaaily* (I have come) is *Ham aaigali* in Bhando. The Bhojpuri and the Naga are better conversant in their respective mother tongues. A large Bhojpuri speaking population even outside the tea gardens communicates in their language. The Rongmei Naga family in Dewan maintaining its close ties and interactions with its native village, Sibpur, has kept their mother tongue in tact. Therefore, the linguistic groups that have lost their connections with the native places have adopted Bagani Bhasa in a better way than the others.

Food Patterns

Generally the villagers eat *bhat* (cooked rice) and *roti* (wheat cake); take beverages like tea and liquor or rice beer (chulai and haria) and chew pan-supari or beetle nuts wrapped in a kind of leaf. The beverages and the chewing items are offered to guests and visitors in their houses. The habit of liquor consumption is visible among the villagers in the evening and on festivals and birth or marriage ceremonies.

Dress and Ornaments

From the dresses and ornaments of villagers one can detect the ethnic or regional differences. All but the Naga adult women wear sari whereas the adult men wear *dhuti-punjabi* **(Dhoti-kurta)**. The Naga women wear the traditional dress called *Paichuyai*. The young boys wear shirt and pant and the girls wear skirt and blouse / topper or *salwar* and *kurta*. After marriage women apply vermilion in hair partition on head and wear colourful saris. The Hindu widows wear white sari and blouse specially made for them whereas the Muslim women use no special mark for marriage or widowhood.

The women and girls adorn themselves with cheap ornaments like earrings, bangles, necklaces and nose rings made of plastic, wax or glass. The youngsters are interested in purchasing watches, metal chains, sunglasses and caps. These fancy items seem to set a new trend in their wearing and aesthetics.

Religious Beliefs

The villagers are the followers of two religious faiths; namely, the Hindu (95.78%) and the Muslim (4.22%). Of the Hindu, 0.56% are the tribals-the Naga and the Santal-who accept themselves as well as are recognized as the Hindu by the caste Hindus. Their integration with the majority community has come about through their acculturation rather than through any deliberate act of religious conversation as they practice various Hindu rituals on a birth or a marriage and observe the Hindu taboos for beef eating and incest relationship.

The two religious communities; viz., the Hindu and the Muslim have their own religious beliefs, rites and institutions. They believe in supernatural beings like ghosts, spirits, deities and gods; appease evil spirits by making offerings to escape their wrath

and worship family and village deities to protect themselves from diseases, droughts, floods and epidemics. These are discussed here.

Sitola Ma

The villagers out of a fear that Her indignant sight falling upon a person makes him suffer worship Sitola-the deity of smallpox. Her idol represents a woman of black-dotted face, saddled on horseback and holding a broomstick in hand. To worship Her people beg money from others to offer various fruits, resin, candles, etc. Male and female both perform the rites amidst the recitation of *mantras* (hymns) by a Brahmin. One of the women, Lilaboti Tanti, has been performing rites to Sitola every year since her elder son was stricken with smallpox in 1999.

Garaam Than

The Garaam *Thaan* (the **village Deity's Sacred Place**) tree is a small altar under a big banyan and no idol. In some villages the *Thaan* has a stone fixed in the altar that symbolizes the Lord Shiva. They believe that there resides an invisible god with a big stick in his hand and a big *pagree* (turban) on his head, who fends off various diseases from the village. All the villagers irrespective of caste and creed offer fruits; perform rites for welfare of the village and sacrifice pig, hen or goat to please the God once a year, but no time is fixed for this in the rites' calendar. Besides, almost every house has a Tulsi (holy basil) plant and a platform under it to smoke resin and light a lamp on it every evening.

Spirits and Ghosts

The villagers have also strong faith in spirits. Some villagers informed that they have seen an apparition near the burial ground at night and near the tea bushes at noon.

One respondent informed that three years ago an evil spirit possessed her while plucking tealeaves. She fell down on the ground; her hands and feet tremoured and finally she lost sense. From their experience the family members could immediately make out that some powerful evil spirit had overcome her. An *ojha* (exorcist) was called to perform the rite to appease the spirit and vacate the body. But the spirit was too powerful to agree to the terms. So the ojha started beating the spirit (actually its victim) with a broomstick to vacate the body. The spirit bargained one black goat and two hens. The family members at once agreed to the condition. Later, the animals were handed over to the exorcist for the spirit's offering.

Festivals, Songs and Dances

In their composite culture, the villagers have common as well as ethnic songs, dances and festivals. Of their festivals in a year, a good number of festivals are common and a few are ethnically distinct. Distribution of the households, castes and communities and native identity (state) into the categories of the festivals they celebrate is given in the Table 3.21.

Table 3.21: Distribution of the Households into the Festivals by Caste/ Community and State of Origin in Dewan

Name of Festival	Number of Households	Caste/Community	State(s) of Origin
Holi, Durgapuja, Siva puja, Monosa Puja, Chatt, Periya, Jetiya	311	Koiri, Goala, Yadab, Chatri, Kahar, Singh, Robidas, Koyot, Baiga, Bhar, Thakur, Hazam, Ghatwar, Rajar, Panika Kurmi, Lodhi, Dhubi, Bhumij, Bashfer, Kole, Kalwar.	All
Holi, Durgapuja, Sivapuja, Monosa Puja and Tusu	172	Bawri	West Bengal
Holi, Durgapuja, Sivapuja, Monosa Puja, Karam Puja.	109	Karmokar, Bhuyan and Mirdha	Bihar and Uttar Pradesh
Holi, Durgapuja Sivapuja, Monosa Puja	194	Chakraborty, Paul, Roy, Sarkar, Deb, Akura, Tanti, Mohanti, Malakar, Goar, Pattanayak, Suklabaidya, Kumar, Mali, Santal, Rongmei Naga.	West Bengal Orissa, Nagaland.
Idh, Idulfiter and Mohorram	39	Muslim	Bihar
Total	925	–	–

The table shows two categories of the festivals; viz., the common festivals and the ethnic festivals. Durgapuja, Holi, Sivapuja and Monosa Puja are common festivals of the Hindus including the Santal and the Rongmei Naga whereas some castes celebrate Chatt Puja, Jetiya, Tusu Puja and Koram Puja. Chatt, Periya and Jetiya are the festivals celebrated by the villagers who have the ancestral origin in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Tusu Puja is a major festival of the Bawri having their ancestral roots in west Bengal. The Mirdha, Karmakar and Bhuyan having their ancestries in Bihar celebrate Karam Puja

as a big social event. The Muslim festivals in Dewan are universal to the Muslim world. These festivals are discussed here.

Durgapuja

Durgapuja is a festival to worship Durga, the goddess mother, idolized variously in erect form of a beleaguered and overpowering warrior and also accompanied by the idols of two goddesses and two gods; namely, Lakshmi and Saraswati and Kartikeya and Ganesh respectively. Every year the ritual performances take place for four days, i.e., Saptomi, Austomi, Nabami and Bijoya Dasami of the Hindu calendar. Basically it is a Bengali festival, but all regional and ethnic groups in Dewan imbibe the spirit of this festival.

Holi

Every year awaited enthusiastically is the festival of Holi celebrated for 5-6 days in the month of March or April. On the eve of Holi a small edifice of hut is burnt at night and the act is called *Soman Jalani* (**burning of enemy**). Next day the people play colours called *Rong Khala* (**playing with colours**). Then follows the day when numerous dance troupes moving from door to door to display their skills and collect money to arrange feasts and watch movies. Each group forms of a dozen of members, some of whom sing and the others generally perform the *Kathi Nach* (**the dance with sticks**) or a dance from Hindi films. The Kathi Nach is performed by eight to ten boys moving in a circle and striking rhythmically one another's stick in hand along with singing a song like:

Plate 3.4: Immersion of the Durga Idol in the Labac River, Labac

Chutto muto Komlar dall

batasha banghilo

Rajar beta Gopichan

Sikara cholilo

Translation: Small orange branch has been broken by air; the prince, Gopichand, sets out for hunting.

While performing a filmy dance one boy adorned in a girl's clothes and another one in a filmy hero's dress imitate, dance and play like a hero and a heroine in the Hindi films on the songs like *Lakhon chupaya paya magor* ---- and son on.

Thus, the impact of the modern mass media like cinema and television is well imbibed and synthesized with the forms and contents of the traditions in the making in the tea gardens.

About the practice of Soman Jalani the village elders have a tale to narrate: Long ago there was an *ashura* (**devil**), Hironya Kashyap, who was the enemy of the God Bishnu. His son, Prohalad, a devotee of lord Bishnu, earned the wrath of his father. To kill his son he entrusted the task to his sister Hulika who had obtained a boon from Lord Agni so as not to be burnt in fire. When Hulika with Prahalad sat on fire, the Lord Bishnu saved Prohalad but Hulika was burnt to ashes. Thereafter, Narada declared that the people should remember the day of her death as the victory of truth over falsehood.

Jetiya Puja

In the Jetiya worship performed by mothers for well-being of children, the women observe a day long fast. In the evening they reach the bank of river with different kinds of fruits and a *ghat* (water pot) for performing their puja. They make small *Thaan* (platform)

on the riverbank and in that they keep the holy ghat tied with some threads and corked with a coconut on it. Burning a few candles, they bow before the ghat and immerse the coconut and half the fruits in the river. On returning home they tie threads round the necks of their children.

Tusu Puja

Tusu Puja, one of the famous festivals in the village, symbolizes the tea garden culture to the outsiders as it is celebrated by a heavy concentration of the Bawri population in the gardens. It is the festival to worship the Tusu mainly by women and girls. As the Paush Masa covering middle part of December and first part of January arrives, the women doing Tusu puja invite every evening Tusu through their songs. On the day of worship women observe a day long fast and in the evening they take on a head a small Tusu idol, brought from a potters house, fixed erect in a decorated box and sing songs. At home they offer different kinds of fruits to the idol and burn some candles before it by singing songs like:

Tusu ammar praner dhon

Oh! Tusu ra oh praner dhon

Ammar Tusu muri bhajha

Shal jhal mal kora

Tuder Tusu chosra maya

Achal paytay khuja.

Translation: To me Tusu is dearer than my own life.

Oh, Tusu! Oh, dearer than my heart!

Plate 3.5: *Tusu Bashan* (Immersion of the Tusu Idol) in the Labac River, Labac.

My Tusu is like fried rice

Your Tusu, a cheater girl

Try to take this fried rice.

This song indicates that though they consider Tusu as their goddess but also they assume her as their family member also. It also indicates that the girls of their society did not remain idle. They work a lot at home as well as outside (working place). The women lead sleepless nights by singing songs. Next day they immerse Tusu idol in the river and this act is called *Tusu bhasan* (immersion of Tusu). The people of Dewan along with other tea garden villagers gather on the bank of Labac Chera River and immerse Tusu in it. On this occasion small fair is held on the bank of the river.

Karam Puja

Karam puja is performed in the month of Bhadrapada of Hindu calendar coinciding with August or September or parts of both. The Bhuyan, Mirdha, Lohar and Karmakar perform this puja. Three days before the puja commences the villagers' visit to the jungle to invite the *Koram Gachh*, (Koram tree/Nuclea Parcifolia), a tree, by offering it betel nuts in a leaf. On the puja day the girls and women observe a day long fast and in the evening the men and women walk to the jungle and return singing songs with two branches of the Karam - the invitee. Generally the women request the men to cut the Karam branches while they sing like

Dada ho dada Karam kati de

Bhauje ho bhouje dala buni de.

Karam kati gale dada tilha uporay

Lal birni pinha dele khupa uporay.

Translation: O brother! Cut down one Karam branch

O sister-in-law! Make a flat basket for me

To cut Karam branches, o brother! You, go to the hillock

And decorate a red flower on your wife's hair.

From the above song it is obvious that the women also know the bamboo and cane work and adorn flowers on their hairs to look pretty.

The women brought Karam *dal* (branch of Karam tree) by playing *Jhumur Nach* (dance) and singing song. Reaching home the Karam dal is set on a small platform; rice grains are tied on a leaf of it; a garland is adorned to it and an old man narrates a tale about the Karam puja. Then, they beat drum, sing songs, dance and drink wine. Next day morning the Karam dal is immersed in the river by singing the songs like:

Aaj re Karam Raja ghora duyara

Kal re Karam Raja sath nodi paray.

Translation: **Today, Karam Raja, you are with us**

Tomorrow, you will not be with us.

Idh, Idulfitr, Moharram

On these festivals the Muslim of the village visit the mosque to offer *Nomaj* (prayer); wear new dresses; watch movies and reciprocate their relatives by visiting houses.

Gangai

In this annual festival of the Rongmei Naga the rituals of Hindu god and goddess are performed and animals and birds are sacrificed. The Naga family visits their native

village, Sibpur, to celebrate the festival.

Though the Santals of Dewan celebrate Durga puja and other festivals, they specially worship their ancestors at home for no reasons known to them.

In sum, Baagaani Bhaasa, common western type of dress for males and pan-Indian dress (sari or Kurta-Salwar) for females, rice-roti set of food, and common beliefs and festivals are the new products emerging out of the interactions between the old cultural products and the new mode of production in the tea gardens.