THE SANTALS OF WEST BENGAL : SOME SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERS

Kanti Pakrasi

Biswanath Mukherjee

Abstract : In this paper the Santals of Midnapur district have been examined in terms of two broad sub-groups : (1) those families who claimed their present village-habitats as ancestral villages and (2) those who did not make such claim. Between the two sub-groups, the Santals evince notable distinctions with respect to several social and demographic attributes in such a manner that the criterion of ancestral village-living turns out to be an important factor in any depth study of the population in question.

Introduction

The Santals have a wide distribution in almost all the districts of West Bengal. They have been well known to anthropologists, tribal researchers, and administrators of the country from a long time[1]. Beyond this State they are very well known in the Santal Parganas, Orissa and the southern region of Bihar. The Santal population of West Bengal was enumerated as 1,200,019 in 1961, and this figure accounts for 58.4 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. Moreover, this figure registers an increase of about 42 per cent over the Santal population counted in 1951. This feature of population growth alone over one decade is a noteworthy phenomenon, the socio-demographic importance of which cannot, of course, be over-emphasized.

Of all the Santals of West Bengal. as many as 233,798 (19.5 per cent) are concentrated in Midnapur district alone, and this concentration happens to be the highest within the State. On the other hand, the Santals of Midnapur account for 71 per cent of the total scheduled tribal population found in the district(1961). The Santals predominate particularly within the jurisdiction of thirteen police stations of Sadar sub-division (109,145 souls) and, again, within the jurisdiction of six police stations of Jhargram sub-division (111,036 souls) of the district.[a]

A survey was recently undertaken amongst the Santals of Midnapur district from the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, in November, 1963. The survey was confined to only six police stations where the Santals have relatively greater concentration. While collection of data on the blood-group characteristics[a] of the people was of primary interest, data on household characteristics, migrational particulars etc. were also recorded for each Santal family unit examined.

Statistical Design of the Survey

The essential feature of the survey lies in the adoption of an elaborate sampling design. The essentials of the design are in brief : (I) the district of Midnapur was first divided into several strata, each stratum consisting of a police station (thana), of which six thanas, namely, (1) Kharagpur Local, (2) Narayangarh, (3) Dantan and (4) Keshiari of Sadar sub-division and (5) Jhargram and (6) Binpur of Jhargram sub-division, were chosen, as these thanas are known to contain a fairly dense population of Santals. (II) For each of the above six thanas, a list was made of those villages which contained a predominant proportion of Santals. (III) From the list thus prepared for 129 villages occurring in six thanas taken together. into several strata, each stratum consisting of a police station (thana), of which six thanas, namely, (1) Kharagpur Local, (2) Narayangarh, (3) Dantan and (4) Keshiari of Sadar sub-division and (5) Jhargram and (6) Binpur of Jhargram sub-division, were chosen, as these thanas are known to contain a fairly dense population of Santals. (II) For each of the above six thanas, a list was made of those villages which contained a

Midnapur district (1963). These 119 Santal units account for 23.3 per cent of total units listed in the field.

The Santal villages selected in the sample are as follows :

(1) *Keshiari thana* : Pachyar, Rangtia, Bichitrapur and Agarpara, out of 22 Santal villages encountered during survey-operation.

(2) *Narayangarh thana* : Babalpur, Kasimpur, Shuria, Nahopar and Ranipur, out of 23 Santal villages found during survey-operation.

(3) *Dantan thana* : Krishnapur, Angua and Kuhura, out of 16 Santal villages noted during survey-operation.

(4) *Kharagpur Local thana* : Balarampur and Rangamatia (Molma), out of 6 Santal villages encountered during survey-operation.

(6) *Binpur thana* : Harda, Anandapur, Krishnapur, Odolchua, Malabati and Mohanpur, out of 30 Santal villages found during survey-operation.

Geographical, economic and social profiles of the six police stations in question may be assessed from Table 1. This table presents the environment—physical as well as social—under which the Santals live in Midnapur district in a dynamic co-operative relationship with their co-villagers and neighbours. Similarly, social and demographic particulars of the 26 Santal villages surveyed have been summarized in Table 2. This table provides that essential information which would be useful in appreciating the findings which result from the analysis of the present data.

Before proceeding to the actual analytical observations, it may be stated that, theoretically speaking, the finding and conclusions drawn in this paper should apply only to the Santal population of those 129 villages wherefrom the sample family-units were chosen ; but there is no reason to doubt that they also hold true about the entire Santal population of the above six police stations (thanas).

Analytical Findings

It has been found that out of the total 119 Santal family-units sampled, 61 (51.3 per cent) units were enumerated in

twelve villages coming under the jurisdiction of only two police stations of Jhargram and Binpur, and the rest of the family-units came from fourteen villages falling within the jurisdiction of the remaining four police stations. A quantitative account is given below (Table A) to show the distribution of sample families concerned over each stratum in question.

TABLE A

Police station (stratum) in Midnapur district, 1963	Number of Santal villages surveyed in each stratum	Number of Santal families enumerated in each stratum	Number of Santal families claiming their respective village (surveyed) as	
			ancestral	not ancestral
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Binpur	6	30	20 (38)	10 (15)
2. Dantan	3	13	8 (6)	10 (15)
3. Jhargram	6	31	21 (40)	10 (15)
4. Kharagpur	2	16	4 (8)	12 (18)
5. Keshiari	4	14	2 (4)	12 (18)
6. Narayangarh	5	15	2 (4)	13 (19)
All police stations	26	119	52 (100)	67 (100)

(Figures given within brackets under col. 4 and col. 5 denote percentages)

It is observed clearly that the majority of the Santal families of the villages falling especially under Jhargram and Binpur police stations claimed their present villages as ancestral (Table 3). Again, those families (52) which were living in the same rural habitats founded by their ancestors account for only 44 per cent of the total 119 units surveyed, and the rest of the families (67) was covered by those Santals whose ancestral homes existed beyond the villages from where they were enumerated in 1963. Moreover, of these 67 family-units, 11 reported that they had migrated from Mayurbhanj (Orissa) and 1 from Bihar ; the remaining 55 units being from some other villages situated within Midnapur itself.

Further analysis has been made to note that among the families living in ancestral villages (sub-group A), a little less than two-thirds have lived in their respective villages

for more than 30 years, whereas among the Santal families
living in non-ancestral villages (sub-group B), not more than
one-third came to reside in the villages concerned, 30 and more
years ago. If the limit of 30 years is assumed to constitute,
fairly, the span of one generation, then it is quite evident that
the large majority of Santal families of sub-group B had been
residing in their present villages only for a generation or less.
As a matter of fact, this variation in antiquity of residence in
present rural habitats, as observed among the families belong-
ing to sub-group A and sub-group B, has been statistically
evaluated and we get a highly significant result. (Table B.)

<div align="center">TABLE B</div>

Length of stay of Santal families in their respective village-habitat	Sub-group A (to whom present) village habitat= ancestral village	Sub-group B (to whom present) village habitat≠ ancestral village	Total (total units)
not more than 30 years	25.8	74.2	100.0 (62]
more than 30 years	65.5	34.5	100.0 (55]
all families	44.4	55.6*	100.0 (11:

Value of chi-square=18.555 with 1 d. f. ; probability=less than 0.001

 * relevant information about period of stay was not available for 2 family-
units.

Incidentally, it may be noted that in 8 villages, the Santal
families (numbering 26 in total) did not claim the villages
concerned to be their ancestral village. These 8 sample
villages are : Bichitrapur, Agarpara, Nahopar, Shuria, Rani-
pur, Babalpur, Krishnapur of Dantan thana and Kuhura, and
all of them are situated outside Jhargram sub-division where
the Santals, as the data reveal, mostly live in their ancestral
villages.
    We know that long, uninterrupted living in one rural
habitat on the part of any group of families helps to build up
among them certain social, economic and, if not, psychological
ties more than can be found among newcomers. To what
extent the distinction, if any, exists between the group of Santal
families living in ancestral homes and the later immigrant

group of Santal families has especially been examined here on the basis of certain social and demographic characteristics.

Demographic Characteristics

The age and sex characteristics of the given Santal popula-tion have, firstly, been considered with special reference to the two sub-groups differentiated in the context of the present study. Such consideration is hardly given due attention in anthro-pological studies in our country, though it is well known currently[8] that the efficiency of population structure for any community cannot be understood properly without knowing at least the age or sex-wise developments within the community concerned. In handling the age distribution in tabular form and deducing relevant indices, three broad categories, namely, 0—14 (the young), 15—64 (the adult) and 65+(the old), have been employed here. With respect to the age-classification, the Santals of sub-group A present no appreciable distinction from those of sub-group B (Table 4). It has been shown earlier[8] that the occurrence of the young folk was in general always higher in rural than in urban communities of West Bengal (1951), the proportion being 36.6 (rural) against 30.1 (urban). But among the Santals in question, the youngsters constitute as high as 41 per cent. This feature alone is sufficient to indicate to what extent the Santal families have had the juvenile load of unproductive dependants in their total population structure. This juvenile group may be an indicator of the character of progressive population.

As far as persons of active ages (15—64 yrs.) are concerned in rural West Bengal (1951) as a whole, 60 out of every 100 individuals were productive in earning necessary livelihood for themselves and their dependants ; but among the Santals in question not more than 53 per cent were formed by such labour force and, interestingly, the maximum concentration of such adults is found only among the Santals of sub-group A. It may be noted that 42 out of every 100 Santals under study come under the reproductive ages of 15—45 years, and among the Santals of sub-group A the persons

belonging to the said biologically reproductive period are concentrated relatively more than in other age-groups. In this respect, sex-wise breakdown of the persons belonging to the age period 15—64 years reflects immediately upon higher frequency of the women than men among the Santals in general, and this population character was also true for both sub-groups A and B.

Considering the measures of dependency and aging, a distinction is noticeable amongst the Santals of the two sub-groups. The later immigrant Santals of sub-group B distinctly maintained not only a higher dependency ratio but also a higher index of aging. As the dependency ratio provides a measure[7] of the number of people in working ages (15-64) as compared to those in the dependant-ages (0-14 and 65 +), it is clear that with the observed dependency ratio, the Santals of sub-group A seem to be the more 'productive' population. On the other hand, to measure the relationship of the juvenile dependants to the old dependants, the index of aging has been computed. Comparatively speaking, higher index of aging is found for the Santals of sut-group B. This means that the old individuals dominated relatively more among the Santals who had no residential connexion with their ancestral village and in this particular aspect, the Santals of sub-group B show a notable distinction from the Santals of sub-group A. Incidentally, among the rural communities of West Bengal (1951) in general, we find values for the said two important measures of population efficiency to be 65.7 and 8.3 respectively. For the given Santal population as a whole the corresponding values turn out to be 88.4 and 7.0.

In conjunction with the age-characteristics shown above, we proceeed to analyse sex-characteristics of the Santal, and this attempt would help to throw some light upon several other social issues, related mainly to composition of labour force, demographic balance, reproductive potentialities of adults, and marital pairing. It is observed that, within sub-group A, the male Santal youngs dominated conspicuously in 0—14 ages more than their counterparts of the same age-group in sub-group B. In contrast, old males among the Santals of sub-

group B concentrated in 65+ age-group distinctly more than their counterparts of the same age-group in sub-group A. This distinction is important especially in the background of the fact that, in overall sex-ratio (number of males per 100 families) the Santals of the two sub-groups under reference do not register any appreciable difference (sub-group A : 101.5) and sub-groub B : 103.2). That a near balance in tertiary sex-ratio (102.5) is present in the Santal population as a whole is definitely a feature which negates at once any question of sex-imbalance. The standard errors[8] of the sex-ratios are ± 12.4 for sub-group A, ± 10.6 for sub-goup B, and ± 8.1 for the Santals as a whole.

Nevertheless, the deficiency of male adults in active ages (15-64) indicates a population-character of immediate importance for any given social aggregate, and this feature is glaringly marked among the Santals of both sub-groups under reference. Such deficiency was, relatively speaking, greater among the Santals of sub-group A. Such development seems very likely to be linked up with the Santal's propensity of migration in search of jobs beyond their rural habitat and, moreover, it is well known that 'the most mobile of age groups are the adult groups, particularly the young adults'. Contextually, in rural West Bengal (1951) as a whole the males outnumbered the females in each one of the three main age-categories considered, especially in the active age-group (15—64).

The unmarried Santals constitute half of the total population under reference. This feature is true for the Santals of both sub-groups ; but in sub-group B the unmarried persons were concentrated relatively more. Among the Santals of two sub-groups the proportion of the married people varies little, but the number of widowed individuals was apparently higher in sub-group A. This distinction in favour of the long-established Santals (sub-group A) is due to the fact that 13 out of very 100 ever-married persons were widowed. In rural West Bengal (1951), the widowed constitute only 9.5 per cent.

On the other hand, among the unmarried Santals, the
8

clear dominance of males is to be noted. But in the married group, where the females are found to dominate, the feature constitutes, no doubt, an interesting sociological phenomenon. A proper enquiry becomes imperative to sift out factors other than the factor of centrifugal movement of the adult Santals beyond their village in search of occupation or for other reasons. This issue is vital with respect to their social mechanisms regulating couple compatibility, functional balance on family level, interpersonal equations within kinship circle and economic obligations within and without the immediate family structure. It becomes more critical when the widows are found to exist relatively in greater strength among the Santal population under examination.

The dominance of unmarried males per 100 females is relatively more pronounced in sub-group A, and in this respect the constituent Santals of sub-group A score a clear distinction over the Santals of sub-group B. But, the Santals of sub-group B maintain in contrast a clear distinction over the Santals of sub-group A in having relatively more widows. Sex-ratio is 33.3 in the category of widowed for the Santals of sub-group B against 5.9 obtained in the same category for the Santals of sub-group A.

Family Characteristics

The Santals of sub-group B possessed relatively a little higher average size of family (5.7) and in this point they maintain a distinction from their counterparts of sub-group A. (Max. size : 17 in sub-group B and 12 in sub-group A.) This variation in average family size between the two sub-groups is further substantiated by the finding for the category of large-sized family having 7 + members. With respect to this finding, the difference between proportions as obtained with respect to the above category for sub-group A and sub-group B has been found to be statistically significant at 0.05 per cent level. On the other hand, with respect to small-sized family (1 – 3 members), no noticeable difference (proportional) is met with between the sub-groups concerned. This social develop-ment raises some questions : why have Santal families with

smaller number of inmates a relatively greater occurrence in sub-group A ? Are these families of sub-group A less fertile than their counterparts in sub-group B ? Is centrifugal movement beyond village-home relatively more frequent among the young adults of the families of sub-group A ? Do the Santal families of sub-group B maintain from the initial state of their resettlement in new habitats large family structures, including as many genealogically related kins as possible ?

In the immediate background of the above situation, it is observed that in the organization of either simple family (parents/parent with unmarried children) or joint (extended) family, the Santals of the two sub-groups A and B do not present conspicuously different disposition (Table 5). Statistical tests (chi-square and proportion test) have been attempted, but no significant results have been obtained to indicate variation in terms of sub-groups in the Santal's social behaviour guiding family organization among them-selves. This suggests that, in the basic social need for founding a simple or joint family, the Santals of sub-group A did not behave differently from Santals of sub-group B. The constituent members of each sub-group conform obviously to the societal norm guiding their tradition of family orienta-tion. These Santals differ, of course, in the question of antiquity of residence in their present rural habitat or in their ancestral village ; but they share, as it should be, the same social values which guide and direct their behaviour towards the institution of family as a whole.

Among the Santals of sub-group B, only 3 out of 100 units studied belonged to non-familial units of single member having no kin attachment. Single member unit does not occur at all among the Santals of sub-group A (Table 5). This fact confirms the view that the Santals are funda-mentally family-minded. But in another dimension of their family structure, the Santals of the migratory group (sub-group B) do differ significantly from their counterparts of sub-group A in having relatively more extra-familial complex elements amongst their family members. Complex elements[9]

are constituted by female patri-kins and/or matri-kins of the relevant head of any Santal family. As the Santals are traditionally a patrilineal and patrilocal people, the above extra-familial female patri-kins or matri-kins are not customarily expected to live in any family other than their respective father's (and/or husband's) family. But a deviation from this societal norm indicates at once a development which needs more sociological scrutiny for some kind of family disintegration or extension that had meanwhile occurred definitely in the structure concerned.

The above deviation has been found relatively more markedly in the Santal families of sub-group B, and they were forced necessarily to attend to more family obligations towards those who happened to adhere as complex constituents to the families under study. It is observed that in sub-group B, the articulation of complex elements (female patri-kins and/or matri-kins) with the relevant Santal families occurred in as high as 19.4 per cent cases against 5.8 per cent cases found among Santals of sub-group A. Statistical test for evaluating the difference between these two proportions has been made and the test-result reveals that this difference is significant at 0.05 per cent level. Eventually, the Santals of the given two sub-groups come to differ socially most conspicuously in this particular aspect of family organization or kinship integrity.

The importance of the above development becomes more conspicuous when we find that (i) among the Santals of sub-group A no articulation of any complex elements was affected in their joint families, and very meagrely in simple families, but (ii) among the Santals of sub-group B the joint and simple families with articulation of complex elements accounted for 4.5 per cent and 13.4 per cent respectively of total familial and non-familial units found among them. From this aspect of family characteristic, the Santals of sub-group B do maintain a significant distinction from those of sub-group A.

In this context, it may be stated that among the Santals of sub-group A, the families claiming social affiliation to Murmu, Hansda, and Marndi clans accounted for 63.5 per cent

of total units found in the sub-group. The rest of the families belong to five other clans. On the other hand, among the Santals of sub-group B, the families claiming affiliation to Murmu, Saren and Hansda clans constituted 55.2 per cent of total units found in the said sub-group. In both sub-groups, families affiliated to the Murmu clan were largest in number, though the proportion of Murmu families is slightly higher in sub-group A. It appears that the Murmu families constitute the most important and dominant group in the Santal population under study. Unique and honorific position of Murmu clan in Santal society has already been pointed out,[10] and in consonance with this fact the Murmu families, especially among the Santals of sub-group A residing in ancestral villages, may be assigned a distinction.

It is observed further that in general simple families occurred relatively more than joint families among the Santals of Murmu clan, and this feature was common to the members of both sub-groups, A and B. On the other hand, among the Santals of Hansda clan, joint families were organized in general relatively more than simple families, and this trait was common to the members of both the sub-groups (Table 6). As the families of Murmu and Hansda clans predominate among the Santals under study, the above familial features have been noted especially here. It is admitted that further enquiry is needed to establish the mode of relationship, if any, between clan membership and kinship (family) organization amongst the Santals. But from our small data further discussion on this aspect cannot be made at present.

The Santals of Midnapur district are, thus, found to support the hypothesis that the criterion of continuous living in the ancestral village may be a good discriminating factor in regard to some interesting social and demographic issues, namely, (i) differential age and sex-characteristics, (ii) marital status-wise sex-variation, (iii) differential family size, (iv) differential family organization with complex elements and perhaps (v) the relationship between clan-membership, mode of family (kinship) organization, and the area of settlement among the pre-literate population in question of West Bengal.

The authors are grateful to Dr. B.P. Adhikari of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, and to the late Dr. S.S. Sarkar of the University Department of Anthropology, Calcutta, for their kind help in the preparation of the present paper. Thanks are due to Shri Bibhas Ch. Sasmal, M.Sc. (Math.) for his assistance in our statistical analysis.

REFERENCES

1. **Dalton, E. T. (1872) :**   *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* p. 207-11 ; W. Hunter (1868) : *The Annals of Rural Bengal,* 3rd. ed. Vol. 1. p. 152·6 : H. H. Risley (1891) : *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* Vol. 2. pp. 224-2·5 ; C. H. Bompas (1909) : *Folklore of the Santal Parganas ;* M. C. Macalpin (1909) : *Report on the con. dition of the Santals etc.* ; Bengal District Gazetteer : *Santal Parganas :* Vol. 22 ; P. C. Biswas (1956) : *Santals of the Santal Parganas :* C. Mukherjea (1962) : *The Santals.* and K. K. Datta (1940) : *The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57.*

1. **Das, A., B. K. Roychowdhury**
   and M. K. Raha (1966) :   *Handbook of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal,* p. 212.

3. **Chaudhuri, S., B. Mukherjee**
   and others (1967) :   Study of the Blood groups and Haemoglobin variants among the Santal Tribe in Midnapore District of West Bengal, India, in *American Journal of Physical Anthropology,* Vol. 26, p. 307.

4. **Hanurav, T. V.   (1965) :**   *Estimation of 0—A—B Blood Group Frequencies— A Sample Survey*— a mimeographed technical paper of the Research and Training School, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

5. **Hauser, P. M. and O. D.**
   Duncan (Eds.) (1959) :   *The Study of Population ;* R. E. Barclay (1958) : *Techniques of Population Analysis ;* and O. T. Duncan and A. J. Reiss (Jr.) (1950) : *Sooial Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities.*

6. **Pakrasi, Kanti and B. Sasmal**
   (1964) :   A Note on Some Aspects of Socio-demographic Situation in East India, 1951 in the *Bulletin of the Cultural Research Institute,* Govt. of West Bengal, Vol.3. No. 1. pp. 62-72.

7. **Browning, H. L. (1961) :**   Methods for Describing the Age-Structure of Cities in J. P. Gibbs (Ed.) *Urban Research Methods,* pp. 129-139.

8. **Russell, W. T. (1936) :**   Statistical Study of the Sex-ratio at Birth, *Journal of Hygiene,* V. 36, pp. 381-401.

9. **Pakrasi, Kanti (1965) :**   On Some Aspects of Family Structures of the Refugees of West Bengal, 1947–48' in *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 13-.0.

10. **Datta-Majumdar, N.**
    (1956) :   *The Santals :   A Study in Culture Change,* p. 22.

TABLE 1

Geographical and social profiles of six police stations constituting the area
of survey of the Santals in Midnapur district, West Bengal, 1963
(data based on 1961 Census returns)

Geographical and social attributes		Police stations constituting area of survey in Midnapur district					
		BIN- PUR	DAN- TAN	JHAR- GRAM	KHAR- AGPUR	KESH- IARI	NARAYAN- GARH
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. rural area (sq. mile)		365.1	170.7	201.7	214.4	114.5	194.5
2. population per sq. mile		428	733	418	626	547	575
3. percent inhabited villages to total inhabited villages		7.6	2.8	4.6	5.0	1.9	4.2
4. number of towns		0	0	1	0	0	0
5. percent occupied residential houses to total in rural areas		4.2	3.1	2.5	3.4	1.5	2.8
6. number of households		30593	25316	16917	26651	11594	23105
7. total population		156411	125172	84304	134289	62597	111880
8. total Santal population		41920	6881	10956	15795	10427	8313
	Male	20322	3886	5080	7954	5231	4301
	Female	21598	2995	5876	7661	5196	4012
9. percent male in total *rural* males in the dist.		3.8	3.1	2.1	3.4	1.6	2.8
10. percent female in total *rural* females in the district		4.0	3.1	2.1	3.8	1.6	2.8
11. percent scheduled tribals in total population of police station	*Male*	15.0	4.2	9.3	10.2	14.2	10.1
	Female	18.0	3.5	10.5	10 7	13·6	10.5
	Total	33.0	7.7	19.8	20.9	27.8	20.6
12. percent literates and educated in total population of police station	*Male*	17.2	17.6	15.9	16.9	15 5	17.3
	Female	3.7	4.3	4.6	5.3	4.3	4.8
	Total	20.9	21.9	20.5	22.2	19.8	22.1
13. percent workers in total population of police station	*Male*	28.6	28.2	27.8	27.7	26.8	28.0
	Female	17.6	4.2	17.0	9.0	11.1	9.6
	Total	46.2	32.4	44.8	36.7	37.9	37.6
14. percent cultivator in total population of police station	*Male*	17.2	20 2	14.4	13.5	17.8	17.9
	Female	8.5	1.3	9 0	2.3	5.3	3.6
	Total	25.7	21.5	23.4	15.8	23.1	21.5
15. percent agricultural labourer in total population of police station	*Male*	7.6	4.6	6.9	8.4	6.5	6.7
	Female	7.5	1.7	5 7	5.5	6.1	4 1
	Total	15.1	6.3	12.6	13.9	11 6	10.8
16. average number of persons per household in police station	*Male*	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2 5
	Female	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.3
	Total	5.1	4.9	5.0	5.0	5:4	4.8

TABLE 2

Social and demographic particulars of twenty-six villages
(sampled) of the Santals surveyed from within six
police stations of Midnapur district, West Bengal, 1963
(data based on 1951 Census returns)

Police station and J. L. number of village	name of village surveyed	Occupied area in acres	house number	aver-age size	per cent lite-rates	culti-vators	agri-cultur-al lab-ourers	non-agri-cul-tural persons	popu-lation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
BINPUR									
1. 88	Odolchua	608	18	5.4	2.1	100.00	—	—	97 (100.0)
2. 133	Krishnapur	711	56	5.0	8.9	79.8	13.1	7.1	282 (100.0)
3. 358	Malabati	678	74	5.0	7.3	96.0	0.5	8.5	371 (100.0)
4. 418	Harda	847	200	5.0	23.3	98.8	1.0	0.2	1000 (100.0)
5. 826	Mohanpur	61	24	5.1	8 2	95.1	4.9	—	122 (100.0)
6. 931	Anandapur	80	18	5.3	0.0	100.0	—	—	96 (100.0)
DANTAN									
7. 101	Angua	870	180	4.7	16.5	83.7	11.1	5.2	846 (100.0)
8. 122	Kuhura	577	120	3.9	18.5	96.8	—	3.2	464 (100.0)
9. 303	Krishnapur	295	66	5.2	19.6	87.3	4.0	8.7	346 (100.0)
JHARGRAM									
10. 398	Jaygerya	136	7	5.7	16 0	70.0	17.5	12.5	40 (100.0)
11. 736	Kasia	198	45	5.0	6.7	72.8	20.5	6.7	224 (100.0)
12. 776	Jamira	119	13	4 2	0.0	72.2	13.0	14.8	54 (100.0)
13. 780	Dhanghori	463	81	5.2	6.9	43.7	48.4	7.9	421 (100.0)
14. 783	Chatarpara	244	34	4.6	4.4	77.2	22.8	—	158 (100.0)
15. 811	Chandri	275	218	4.6	23.4	50.2	24.1	25.7	998 (100 0)
KHARAGPUR									
16. 255	Rangamatia	868	131	3.7	7.4	34.0	41.4	24.6	485 (100.0)
17. 572	Balsrampur	112	15	4.8	0.0	15.8	48.6	36.1	72 (100.0)
KESHIARI									
18. 105	Agarpara	202	37	4.3	82.5	87.5	5.0	7.5	160 (100.0)
19. 195	Pachyar								
20. ,,	Rangtia	729	99	4.0	14.6	93.5	0.5	5.5	398 (100.0)
21. ,,	Bichitrapur								
NARAYANGARH									
22. 350	Babalpur	304	63	3.8	4.6	87.4	9.7	2.9	238 (100.0)
23. 384	Shurla	196	11	4.8	3.8	100.0	—	—	53(100 0)
24. 389	Kashimpur	157	56	4.1	23.3	79.3	17.6	3.1	227 (100.0)
25. 393	Nahopar	1000	140	4.0	20.9	96.8	—	3.2	563 (100.0)
26. 394	Ranipur	64	32	4.9	11.5	100.0	—	—	139 (100.0)

TABLE 3

Frequency distribution of the Santal families per police station and per sample village with respect to the attribute of residence in ancestral village

Police station (stratum)	Sample village in each stratum	Number of families claiming the sample village as their ancestral village	Number of families *not* claiming the sample village as their ancestral village	Total families per sample village
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Jhargram	1. Kasia	3	3	6
	2. Jaygerya	6	1	7
	3. Chandri	1	4	5
	4. Chatarpoda	5	0	5
	5. Jamira	3	1	4
	6. Dhangbori	3	1	4
2. Binpur	1. Odulchua	4	2	6
	2. Krishnapur	5	2	7
	3. Malabati	1	2	3
	4. Mohanpur	2	2	4
	5. Anandapur	3	2	5
	6. Harda	5	0	5
3. Keshiari	1. Bichitrapur	0	3	3
	2. Rangtia	1	2	3
	3. Panohyar	1	4	5
	4. Agarpara	0	3	3
4. Narayangarh	1. Nahopar	0	2	2
	2. Shuria	0	6	6
	3. Kashimpur	2	0	2
	4. Ranipur	0	1	1
	5. Babalpur	0	4	4
5. Dantan	1. Krishnapur	0	4	4
	2. Angua	3	2	5
	3. Kuhura	0	4	4
6. Kharagpur Local	1. Rangamatia	2	9	11
	2. Balarampur	3	2	5
TOTAL		52	67	119

TABLE 4

*Social and demographic characteristics of the Santals with special
reference to two sub-groups identified among them on the basis of
their living in ancestral or non-ancestral villages in
Midnapur district, West Bengal, 1963*

Social and demographic character		Sub-group A (n=52 units)	Sub-group B (n=67 units)	Total (n=119 units)
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)
1. percent of total population in each age group :	0-14	41.4	45.5	43.8
	15-64	56.0	51.1	53.1
	65+	2.6	3.4	3.1
2. total population		268(100.0)	380(100.0)	648(100.0)
3. percent population in 15-64 age group		44.4	40.8	42.3
4. dependency ratio		78.7	95.9	88.4
5. index of aging		6.3	7.5	7.0
6. sex-ratio (males per 100 females) in age group :	0-14	122.0	113.2	116.8
	15-64	87.5	92.1	89.6
	65+	133.3	160.0	150.0
7. overall sex-ratio		101.5±12.4	103.2±10.6	102.5±8.1
8. percent male in total population		50.4	50.8	50.6
9. percent male in age-group of 15-64		46.7	47.8	47.3
10. marital status group :	unmarried	48.9	50.8	50.0
	male	28.3	28.4	28.4
	female	20.6	22.4	21.6
	married	44.4	43.9	44.1
	male	21.6	21.0	21.3
	female	22.8	22.9	22.8
	widowed	6.7	5.3	5.9
	male	0.4	1.4	0.9
	female	0.8	3.9	5.0
11. sex-ratio in each marital status group :	unmarried	138.2	127.1	131.4
	married	95.1	91.9	93.2
	widowed	5.9	33.3	18.8
12. percent male in each marital status group :	unmarried	58.0	55.9	56.8
	married	48.7	47.9	48.2
	widowed	5.6	25.0	15.8
13. percent widowed in ever-married group :		18.1	10.7	11.7
14. percent simple family		46.1	52.2	49.6
15. percent joint family		48.1	41.8	44.5
16. percent family with 'complex'-element		5.8	19.4	10.9
17. percent family of 1 generation		3.8	4.6	4.3
,, ,, ,, 2 generations		63.5	66.1	65.0
,, ,, ,, 3 generations		32.7	29.2	30.7
,, ,, ,, 3+generations		0.0	0.0	0.0
18. average family size :	male	2.6	2.8	2.7
	female	2.5	2.8	2.7
	all persons	5.1	5.7	5.4
19. average number of persons per family units of :	simple	4.8	5.2	5.0
	joint	6.7	6.8	6.3

TABLE 5

Differential distribution (proportional) of family types among the
Santals with special reference to two sub-groups identified among
them on the basis of their living in ancestral or non-ancestral
villages in Midnapur district, West Bengal, 1963

Family type	All Santals pecentage	Sub-group A percentage	Sub-group B percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. non-familial single unit	1.7	0.0	3.0
2. married couple	1.7	1.9	1.5
3. married couple + 'complex'	2.5	3.9	1.5
4. simple	41.2	44.2	38.8
5. simple + 'complex'	8.4	1.9	13.4
6. joint	42.0	48.1	37.3
7. joint + 'complex'	2.5	0.0	4.5
8. all types	100.0	100.0	100.0
(number of units)	(119)	(52)	(67)

TABLE 6

Differential concentration of family types within clans found among
the Santals and two sub-groups identified among them.

Clan-affiliation of family units	Percent family units in each clan under col. (1) with respect to			Percent simple family units in each clan found among			Percent joint family units in each clan found among		
	all Santals	sub-group A	sub-group B	Santals	s.g.A	s.g.B	San-tals	s.b.A	s.b.B
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Baski	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.7	4.2	—	1.9	—	3.6
2. Hansda	16.8	17.3	16.4	11.9	8.3	14.3	22.6	24.0	21.4
3. Hemtram	13.4	11.5	14.9	11.9	8.3	14.3	13.2	16.0	10.7
4. Kisku	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.7	4.2	—	1.9	—	3.6
5. Marndi	13.5	13.5	13.4	10.2	12.5	8.6	17.0	16.0	17.9
6. Murmu	26.0	32.7	20.9	28.8	33.3	25.7	20.8	28.0	14.3
7. Saren	15.1	11.5	17.9	18.6	16.7	20.0	13.2	8.0	17.8
8. Tudu	11.8	9.6	13.4	15.2	12.5	17.1	9.4	8.0	10.7
9. all clans	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(no. of units)	(119)	(52)	(67)	(59)	(24)	(35)	(53)	(25)	(28)