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Bordering Northern Sarawak and Sabah (East Malaysia): Indonesia’s New National Park in North Central Borneo

A Review Essay

Martin Baier

The Kayan Mentarang National Park (KMNP) was inaugurated on October 7, 1996, when the Indonesian Republic’s Ministry of Forests conferred National Park status on the nature reserve that had existed on the Malaysian border since 1990, comprising the northern Apau Kayan, western Pujun-

gan, northern Bahau, and western Tubu, Krayan, Mentarang, and Lumbis regions.

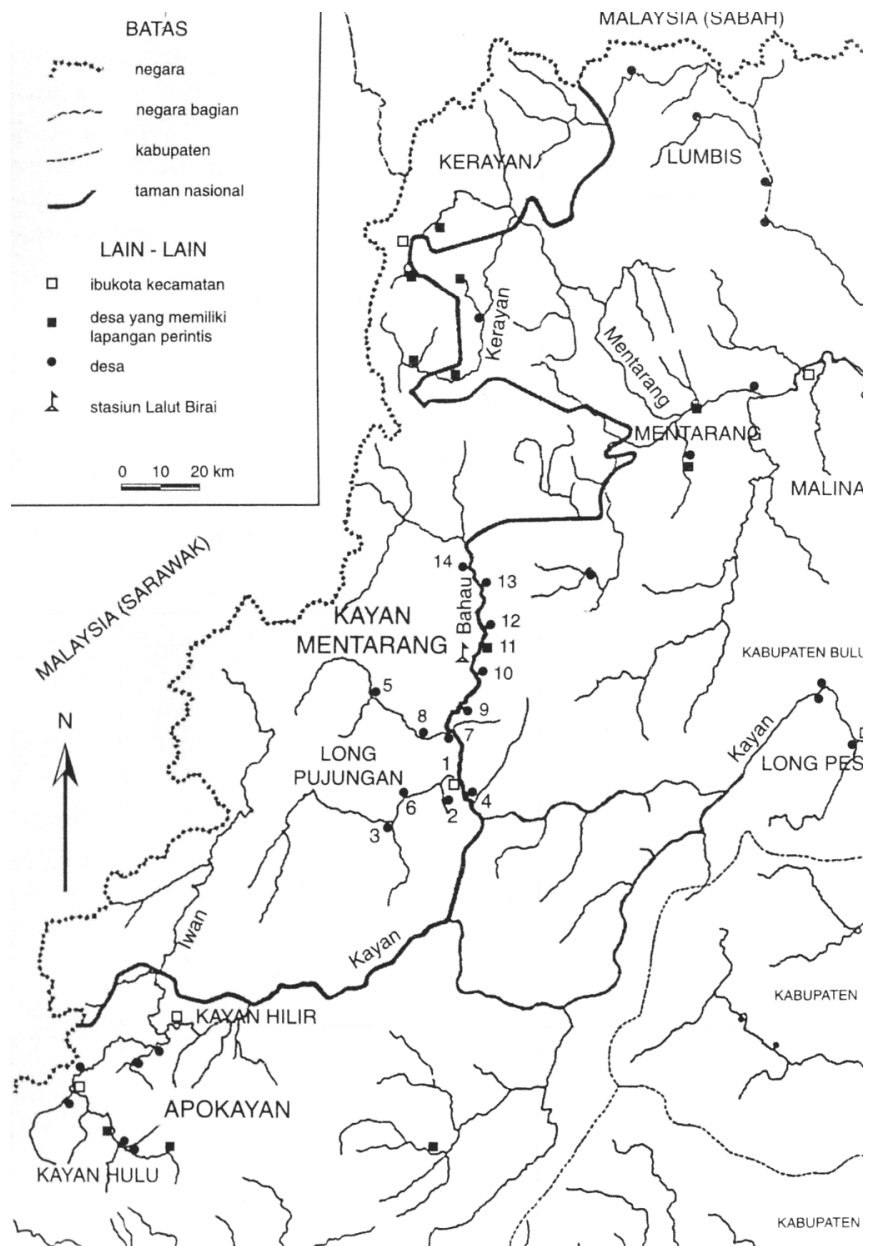
Thanks to its inaccessibility and to the steepness with which the mountains fall away to the eastern seaboard of Indonesian Borneo – steepness meaning impassable rapids on the rivers – this 1,4 million hectare area now contains the largest rainforest conservation area in Borneo, larger than any of Borneo’s other former jungle areas. It is a thinly populated mountainous region, inhabited by 20,000 Dayaks and a few hundred Punan hunter-gatherers. The only source for their meager sustenance is the remaining area of rainforest. This National Park is the first in Indonesia to be administered, policed, and serviced on a multilateral basis, with cooperative input from the ministry at national level, the regional government of the area concerned (Malinau), and representatives delegated by the local communities.

Two books¹ outline the history, general character, and specific scientific and cultural interest of this national park: The “Kebudayaan dan pelestarian alam” anthology (abbr. KPA), edited by Cristina Eghenter and Bernard Sellato. More of a monograph in character, and with descriptions in the style of a travel guide, the regional volume “Kayan Mentarang National Park. In the Heart of Borneo” (abbr. KP), edited by Lene Topp and Cristina Eghenter.

Both books are reviewed here. The first, KPA, offers both breadth and depth: the wider context of the instituting of the National Park and the key problem issues arising are presented in detail, analyzed and discussed. Those key problems facing the KMNP, the task of administering it, and its future are all defined by input from three discrete areas of knowledge: natural environment, culture (indigenous ethnicities), and politics (the politics of states exercising sovereign power from outside Eastern Borneo). The KPA anthology comprises 25 essays, through which a total of 36 experts and specialists contribute their knowledge, their insights, and their vision for the future. Notably, over three quarters of the contributors are Indonesian, 17 being from Indonesian Borneo itself. As might be expected, the contributors have widely disparate levels of qualification: from university professors and a head of

1 Eghenter, Cristina, and Bernard Sellato (eds.): *Kebudayaan dan pelestarian alam. Penelitian interdisipliner di pedalaman Kalimantan* [Culture of the Dayak People and Nature Conservation in Kalimantan]. Jakarta: PHPA; Ford Foundation; WWF, 1999. 575 pp. ISBN 979-95102-4-4.

Topp, Lene, and Cristina Eghenter (eds.): *Kayan Mentarang National Park in the Heart of Borneo*. Copenhagen: WWF Denmark in Collaboration with WWF Indonesia, 2005. 175 pp. ISBN 879-91502-0-4.



Map: Kayan Mentarang National Park and surrounding area. Translation of map legend: *negara* – national border; *negara bagian* – border between Sarawak and Sabah; *kabupaten* – (obsolete) administrative region borders; *taman nasional* – National Park boundary; *ibukota kecamatan* – district capital; *desa yang memiliki lapangan perintis* – field research stations; *desa* – village; *stasiun Lalut Birai* – Lalut Birai field station (Eghenter and Sellato 1999: 40).

institute (Bernard Sellato, who is French), to serving primary school teachers in jungle villages and nonacademic professionals domiciled in Sarawak.

Bibliography and text make no mention of Mallinckrodt’s “Het adatrecht van Borneo” (1928) – the standard work containing the full listing and distribution of all Dayak tribes – nor of Elshout’s detailed account of the Apau Kayan-Kenyah culture (1926), nor of Ph. N. Jalong’s and my study of the culture, language, and history of the Ngorek (1989), undertaken while Ngorek Dayaks were still living in the area now covered by the KMNP and were available to give firsthand testimony (Baier

is mentioned in the references, but the content is nowhere adduced). The research for the anthology centered on a number of individual studies of a broadly cultural character by Prof. Sellato (settlement and population primarily of the Pujungan/Bahau administrative district, megalithic monuments, migrations and settlement history, linguistic differences between the tribal groups of this area) and Dr. Eghenter (large-scale migrations, trading relations with the outside world).

The interest of Western specialists was attracted, as was that of Indonesian nature conservation bodies (e.g., the WWF). Overseas funding began to

flow into the project, sourced by the Ford Foundation and the Danish Foreign Ministry. This enabled expeditions to be undertaken on a team basis, with mainly Indonesian experts, in a number of locations (Pujungan/Bahau area, Apau Kayan, Krayan). The highpoint came in 2003 in the form of an expedition involving over 100 members, many of them experts in their field. Although available expertise was spread as widely as possible, only a limited number of stations were selected, for experts in various disciplines to carry out fieldwork in their own particular specialty for a few weeks at least. Locations were: 1) Long Pujungan and the Lurah and Bahau headwaters; 2) the southern Krayan region, with focus points at Pa Upan and on the Tuba River; 3) the northern Krayan and Lumbis region, with foci at Pa Raye and Tau Lumbis. This last large-scale expedition was aimed principally at research in the earth and life sciences (geology, botany, zoology) and archaeology (artefacts from the megalith culture), and at training village people in aspects of nature conservation, with encouragement to avoid all felling outside a given radius from villages, and to engage actively in rainforest species- and plant-conservation. However, the final KPA essay (523 ff.) goes so far as to call upon people living in extremely remote settlements to set about establishing local museums in their own villages, without external funding assistance. This demand appears to me to be unwarranted and unreasonable.

During the 1990s (1993–94), much smaller teams (often of two individuals) had undertaken similar forays for prespecified fieldwork in their respective areas of competence. Their results were published in the 25 articles collected in the KP volume. Pride of place here went to culture, history, migrations, civil order and traditional (*adat*) law, tribal affiliation, material culture, and local tradition. Places with resident *adat* practitioners (Demang Kepala Adat) were visited. Naturally enough, these settlements would be the administrative center of their respective districts, or located close by: Long Nawang (Apau Kayan), Long Aran, Long Pujungan, Long Alango, Apau Ping (Pujungan region). Remote regions (including Tubu and Lumbis) were not covered by the research. Yet it was precisely in such remote places that ancient oral traditions (local legends linked perhaps to myths about monoliths in *sawah* fields or by river rapids) would still have been extant. They will now be lost forever.

For the anthropologist there is highly illuminating material in the descriptive accounts recorded by jurists and agronomists: the *ladang* (dry rice) cycle, the right of use of forest and fallow land in the

vicinity of villages, and the community cooperation in agriculture and in the construction of houses and roads. The Kenyah Dayaks Bilung Njau and Lukas Lahang have contributed a first-rate essay on the subject (253–280). In villages along the middle reaches of the Pujungan and the lower Bahau, an area of forest (*tanah ulen*) within the village territory is reserved for the exclusive use of the community in question, in ways determined by the *adat* officeholder for the village or district, who also monitors the exercising of this right. Use of this *tanah ulen* by private individuals is prohibited. Permission for hunting and fishing is granted on special occasions – a privilege restricted exclusively to the respective village community. The *tanah ulen* belongs to the village, and in a sense is its “savings account.” Valuable building timber from this source may only be used for the village hall or the church. Other points worthy of special mention are the descriptions of the forest economy, the collecting of jungle produce (most notably the costly *gaharu* wood) and hand production of items of material culture (tribal ceramic ware, rattan wickerwork, musical instruments), and not least the cataloging of surviving artefacts from the megalith culture (in particular the urn dolmens of the upper Bahau).

A further feature of note is the listing and classification of languages and of ethnic groups and subgroups, based on Alfred B. Hudson’s modern linguistic study (1978) of the Dayak tribes; and there is a full, scrupulously compiled listing of the Kenyah subgroupings in the Pujungan administrative district. Deficiencies in the book’s treatment of ethnic groups now emigrated or extinct were noted above. For the Ngorek, in particular, and their migration as recorded in written sources, a fuller account would have been warranted. A gross error is contributed by Dr. Rajindra Puri, an American of Indian descent, with the claim that the “Gunung Menjoh / Pua’ peak” located south of the Lurah River is one of the highest summits of central Kalimantan, at 2,500 m.² Google Earth indicates no tops south of the Lurah exceeding 1,800 m. Information from Google Earth and the Mission Aviation Fellowship at Tarakan (pilot Craig Hollander) indicates that the highest point anywhere in Kalimantan is Bukit Raya (2,289 m), while the highest in East Kalimantan is Bukit Betoh (or Ayoh), on the fringe of the eastern headwaters of the Boh River (2,228 m, 01° 49’ 10.59’’ N, 115° 16’ 21.64’’ E; cf. van Diessen and Ormeling 2004: 360).

² In his many publications announced on the Internet, Dr. Puri continues to stand by this erroneous statement. Cf. also Puri (2005: 42).



Fig. 1: The last remaining long-house in Apau Ping, Bahau region.

Unlike earlier studies in Dayak anthropology, this volume concerns itself only peripherally with religion – whether traditional tribal religion or the theology and spirituality of the country’s various and decidedly disparate Christian communities. Rituals of Bungan Nativism are, indeed, depicted (KPA: 377–396), but from 1948 to 2003 this simplified and modernized tribal religion led only a lingering, shadowy existence among the Apau Kayan Dayaks. When its last adherent, Pesatu, died at a village named Betao in 2003 (not in 1988 at Long Aran as stated on p. 380), this cult became history. It is now only encountered among Kayan émigrés living in the Berawan region of Malaysia. The anthology has nothing on the tribal religions of the precolonial and colonial periods; and nothing on the disparities between the very liberal GPIB (*Gereja Protestan di Indonesia bagian Barat*) and GKPI (*Gereja Kristen Pemanar Injil*) churches and the strict-observance GKII (*Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia*) church, differences which impact particularly on family law and on alcohol and nicotine use. The architecture of the once ubiquitous longhouse villages attracted the interest of travelers and researchers during the colonial period and was described in their reports (see esp. Schneeberger 1979: Map II, “Settlements, House Types, and Languages in Central Northeast Borneo”); but here it is passed over in silence (Fig. 1).

In terms of scholarship, KP does not approach the standard of KPA. Nonetheless, thanks to its clear layout, maps, and wealth of photographic material, it soon acquaints the user with the origins and development of the KMNP, its abundant flora and

fauna, and, not least, the remaining evidence of the stone and earth constructions of vanished cultures. Although this book is pitched at the travel-guide level and lacks a historical introduction, there is interest for anthropologists in its photographs of figures carved in high relief on rock, and of the *buaya tanah*, dragon-like “crocodiles,” three to five metres long and sculpted mostly in clay. We are confronted here with a blank page not only in geography and anthropology but in the history of the visual and plastic arts. On the Lumbis region, virtually nothing at all has been published; there are a few superficial accounts of the Krayan highlands from an anthropological viewpoint, but nothing amounting to a monograph with description and analysis of their pre-Christian culture. KP opens the reader’s eyes and provides stimulus to penetrate the thickets of untrodden cultural jungle. Lene Topp’s and Cristina Eghenter’s illustrated volume likewise deserves its place in any library concerned with the anthropology or natural history of Southeast Asia.

There remains the issue of whether the Kayan Mentarang region is really the ideal location for a national park. It has very little in the way of endogenous natural phenomena that can be called truly exceptional: there is rainforest, to be sure, but this is rainforest without orangutan, elephant, rhinoceros – according to a 1986 oral report the last rhino was killed on the upper reaches of the Aran River in 1965 – or large predators. Notable ancient artefacts such as aesthetically pleasing sculptures or rock carvings are thin on the ground. The longhouses, rituals, and mask dances of a bygone culture have vanished utterly. An additional discour-



Fig. 2: Collapsed dolmen “cemetery” Pa Tenam, near Long Umung, Krayan Darat district.

aging feature is that nothing is being done to conserve the few still extant reminders of the culture of past centuries. Of the urn-dolmen burial site at Long Pulung, Sellato reports: “Recently it was . . . protected by a wooden fence with a locked door” (1995: 74). In 2003, as part of a group, I visited this site and found no sign of a fence. Several of the urn dolmens had been upended by rising tree roots. And it has been decided that the National Park’s museum, archives, and central administration are to be located in Malinau – a city not only rapidly purpose-built as the modern capital of the Malinau administrative district, and lacking any tradition of its own, but also remote from all that is worth seeing in the KMNP itself.³

A more suitable choice of location would be the Kotawaringin Barat administrative district. As

a one-time princely domain, it still has a “palace” and ancient mosques belonging to the royal house; longhouses on the Minangkabau pattern, and impressive Naga doors made by the Tumon Dayaks, with their feasts for the dead, and carnival-style masked dancing; it has the orangutan reserve at Tanjung Puting, fully developed infrastructure, and straightforward access for tourists. There is only one drawback: the 200 km stretch of rainforest between the coast and the mountains has vanished and been replaced by oil palm plantations.

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³ Schneeberger (1979): Map I shows Malinau located about 20 km downstream from the confluence of the Malinau River with the Sesayap. For Borneo this is unusual, and it seems reasonable to infer that Malinau city was founded towards the end of the colonial period once river traffic had been motorized.

Patterns of Marriage among a Hindu Caste Population of the Southern Part of West Bengal, Bordering Bangladesh

Prasenjit Sarkar and D. P. Mukherjee

Introduction

The Kapali is a Bengali-speaking, indigenous (Mukherji et al. 1996) Hindu caste community, traditionally cultivators (Risley 1891), that is now widely distributed in different districts of West Bengal and the neighbouring states. The major concentration of the population is in Basirhat and Bongaon, subdivisions of the North 24 Parganas District. Census information from 1872 to 1931 states that the population was distributed in large numbers in different districts of East Bengal, in what is now Bangladesh (Mukherji et al. 1996). In the 1931 census of India, Porter (1933) described this caste community as belonging to the subordinated class. The Kapalis of the studied village identify themselves as "Vaishya Kapali", and as being largely engaged in agriculture and business, which strengthens their *vaishya varna* affiliation.

Cultural anthropologists usually describe marriage as an institution which is closely related with family and kinship. They also view this institution in terms of ideal and actual patterns of ceremonies and rituals associated with it, and the role played by an individual guided by culture. Social cultural anthropologists seldom study marriage as one of the vital demographic events of human life. But in this study, marriage is included into the demographic domain. It covers the decline or rise of age at marriage, interspouse age difference, marriage distance through generations, and effects of education.

The present study is an attempt to assess the patterns of marriage of that little known rural caste community in West Bengal against the background of: (a) age sex composition, and marital status of the population; (b) age at marriage of the males and females along with their association; (c) interspouse age difference; and (d) marriage distance and the examination how far the breeding isolation occurs socially and spatially and its variation in time.

Methods and Materials

The demographic data have been collected from 137 households of the village Polta, Swarupnagar

police station area in North 24 Parganas district, West Bengal. The information was collected from each household of the village belonging to the specified caste. Data were obtained personally by using structured questionnaire, containing questions on age, sex, marital status, education, household members, occupation of the head and other elderly members of the household. Other marital information was age at marriage, clan, distance of parent's house to father-in-law's house along with the direction. But in case of daughters' marriage the information was collected from their parents and other relatives. To assess the marriage distances, the distance by road in kilometers is recorded and, in the case of direction, a sketch map is used as a tool. In the absence of reliable written record, the age of an individual has been estimated by reference to some important local events, such as major draught or floods, independence of Bangladesh, or the age of an individual from whom age records existed.

The length of a generation has been computed after Glass (1956), considering the age at first parenthood, which is a simple mean value of the age at first fatherhood and the age of motherhood. Age at marriage has been calculated on the basis of first nuptials of the married males or females. The marriage distance "0" (zero) refers to intra-village marriage. Neighbourhood area has been determined by using Wright's (1941) formula $\pi(2\sigma)^2$.

Results

It appears from the analysis of Table 1 that an overall preponderance of males over females (with a sex ratio of 1.13) is apparent in almost all 5-year age-groups, except three reproductive and three post-reproductive age-groups. During the last five years, the pyramid shows a low fertility rate. In the group of males, aged 25+ years, 94.05% and in that of females, aged 20+ years, 92.98% are married, which however is not conducive to high fertility, due to the greater acceptance of family planning. The population pyramid reflects a transitional pattern on percentage frequency of both sexes. Child-women ratio, child dependency, and old-age dependency ratios are respectively 29.7, 46.1 and 13.0 in the population. This is an indication of better economic, educational, and health conditions.

The percentage of literacy is high (82.20%). On the other hand, the sudden decrease of the number of persons with the secondary and higher level of education is due to marriage of womenfolk after completing the primary school and the location of secondary schools and colleges in distant cities, exacerbated

Age group (Years)	Unmarried		Married		WDS*		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0–4	27	22					27	22
5–9	40	35					40	35
10–14	33	27					33	27
15–19	33	11		12			33	23
20–24	15	7	10	27			25	34
25–29	14	1	14	36	1		29	37
30–34	5		36	28	1		42	28
35–39			31	17		1	31	18
40–44			17	17		1	17	18
45–49			16	6		1	16	7
50–54			10	8			10	8
55–59			9	11		3	9	14
60–64			9	2		6	9	8
65–69			6	6		3	6	9
70–74			4	1		5	4	6
75–79			5			2	5	2
80–84			1			2	1	2
0–14	100	84					184	
15–49	67	19	124	143	2	03		
50+			44	28		21	93	
Total	167	103	168	171	2	24	337	298

* Widowed/Divorced/Separated.

by poor transportation and insufficient security. The menfolk, in most cases, after obtaining the secondary level education assist their parents in supporting the family or engage in other occupations. The men are discouraged from having higher education due to the increasing numbers of educated jobless people.

Tables 2 and 3 show that marriage begins for males and females in the age-groups 20–24 and 15–19 years, respectively. In case of males from differ-

Table 2: The mean marriage age of men according to age-groups.

Present Age of Husbands (Years)	No.*	Age at Marriage	
		Mean ± SE	SD ± SE
20–24	11	21.91 ± 0.54	1.81 ± 0.39
25–29	14	22.50 ± 0.84	3.16 ± 0.60
30–34	35	25.80 ± 0.55	3.24 ± 0.39
35–39	31	25.35 ± 0.71	3.96 ± 0.50
40–44	15	25.73 ± 0.59	3.01 ± 0.55
45–49	15	23.40 ± 1.05	4.07 ± 0.74
50–54	10	24.90 ± 0.94	2.96 ± 0.66
55–59	8	23.13 ± 0.83	2.36 ± 0.59
60–64	8	22.50 ± 0.73	2.07 ± 0.52
65–69	4	23.75 ± 0.75	1.50 ± 0.53
70–74	4	24.75 ± 0.85	1.71 ± 0.60
75–79	5	24.00 ± 0.63	1.41 ± 0.45
80–84	1	25.00 ± 0	0 ± 0

* Married males are 161 according to first nuptials.

Table 1: Total population by age, sex, and marital status.

Table 3: The mean marriage age of women according to age-groups.

Present Age of Wives (Years)	No.*	Age at Marriage	
		Mean ± SE	SD ± SE
15–19	9	16.33 ± 0.29	0.87 ± 0.20
20–24	23	19.13 ± 0.45	2.14 ± 0.32
25–29	32	19.25 ± 0.35	1.97 ± 0.25
30–34	23	18.00 ± 0.53	2.56 ± 0.38
35–39	14	18.78 ± 0.70	2.60 ± 0.49
40–44	14	16.00 ± 0.59	2.22 ± 0.42
45–49	6	16.50 ± 1.33	3.27 ± 0.94
50–54	8	16.25 ± 0.82	2.31 ± 0.58
55–59	11	15.18 ± 0.55	1.83 ± 0.39
60–64	6	14.50 ± 0.22	0.55 ± 0.16
65–69	7	14.43 ± 0.92	2.44 ± 0.65
70–74	6	13.50 ± 0.62	1.52 ± 0.44
75–79	1	12.00 ± 0	0 ± 0
80–84	1	10.00 ± 0	0 ± 0

* Married females are 161 according to first nuptials.

ent age-groups, the minimum mean age at marriage is 21.91 years (Table 3) and the maximum is 25.73 years (Table 2) in the age-groups 20–24 and 40–44 years, respectively. Mean age at marriage of males in different age-groups varies, showing no exact pattern. As for females, a gradual increase of mean age at marriage from the older to the younger generations is clearly seen.

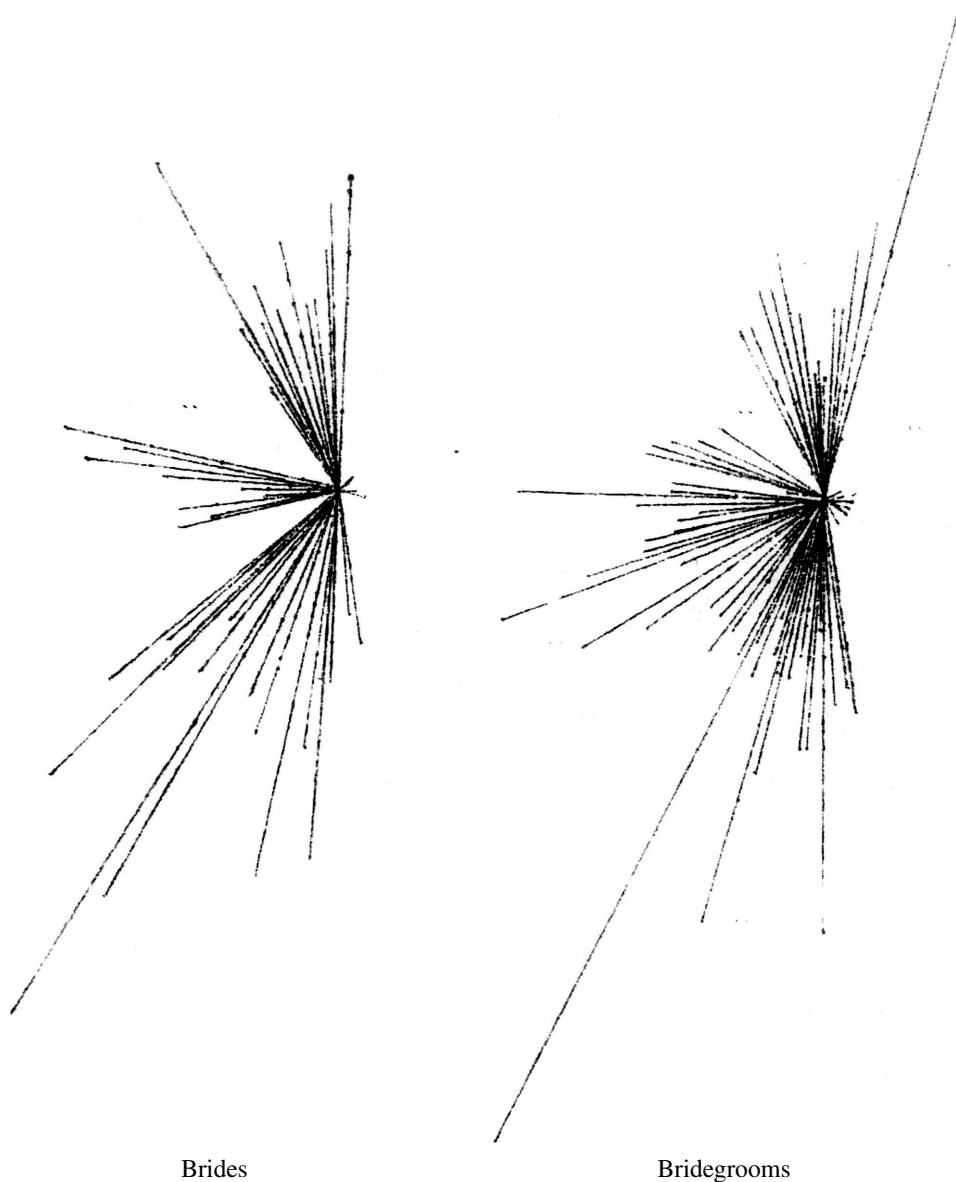


Fig. 1: Marriage distance and direction traced through the females, i.e., brides and males or bridegrooms of the village. The dots on the map represent the village (scale: 1 mm = 1 kilometer).

The association of age at marriage of husband and wife in Table 4 reveals that interspouse age difference varies from 2 years to 17 years, with a mean difference of 7.19 ± 0.18 years. Female age at marriage begins at 12 years and ends at 24 years, while in case of males it varies from 17 years to 33 years. A higher frequency of age at marriage of males and females is at the age of 25 years and 15 years, respectively, and after that frequency is decreasing gradually in both sexes, for all the married couples. The mean age at marriage of males and females are 24.73 ± 0.19 and 17.55 ± 0.20 years, respectively. Husband–wife age difference shows the highest frequency (21.74%) –

that is, the difference of 8 years. High positive coefficient of correlation is found among the husbands' and wives' age at marriage ($r \pm se = 0.73 \pm 0.04$), indicating that more aged males prefer to marry more aged females, and suggesting age assortative marriage.

Table 5 shows that the mean age at marriage is changing, but a trend is not clear due to a small number of data in generation 1st and 4th through older to younger generations (1st to 4th). But, interestingly, interspouse age difference is gradually decreasing (10.80 ± 0.79 , 7.54 ± 0.89 , 6.91 ± 0.21 , 5.00 ± 0.45) over the generations. Simultaneously, the coefficient

Table 4: Association of ages at marriage to spouses living in wedlock, according to first nuptials.

Age at Marriage	F E M A L E													Total
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
33					1		1					1		3
32											1	1		2
31										1	1	1		3
30									2	1	2	1		6
29								1			3		1	5
28				1		1		2	4	2		1	1	12
M 27						2	4	5	8	2				21
A 26							2	1	2	1				6
L 25		1		6	2	8	4	2	3					26
E 24	1		1	1	6	5	4							21
		4		4	3	1	3			1				16
			3	2	4	2	1							12
			1	2	3	2		1						9
		1	2	4	1		2							10
			1	3	1									5
			1	2										3
		1												1
Total	1	7	9	25	21	21	21	15	19	8	7	5	2	161

Age at Marriage	Mean \pm SE	SD \pm SE
Male	24.73 \pm 0.19	3.35 \pm 0.15
Female	17.55 \pm 0.20	2.65 \pm 0.19

Generation	No.	Age at Marriage		Interspouse Age Difference		$r^* \pm$ SE
		Mean \pm SE	SD	Mean \pm SE	SD	
1	10	25.00 \pm 0.95	3.02	10.80 \pm 0.79	2.49	-0.30 \pm 0.29
2	39	23.41 \pm 0.43	2.71	7.54 \pm 0.89	2.46	-0.09 \pm 0.16
3	106	25.49 \pm 0.33	3.36	6.91 \pm 0.21	2.10	+0.19 \pm 0.09
4	6	19.33 \pm 0.99	2.42	5.00 \pm 0.45	1.09	+0.14 \pm 0.40

Table 5: Age at marriage and interspouse age difference through generations.

* Co-efficient of correlation between male present age and age at marriage.

of correlation (between present age and age at marriage of males) is also increasing gradually, with minor exception in the 4th generation. This indicates that, as age is increasing, the age at first marriage is decreasing, which suggests a trend toward late marriage in males. On the other hand, the interspouse age difference is low, which also points to an increasing trend of female age at first nuptials.

Figure 1 demonstrates the distances between villages in which people find their partners. Both diagrams show a high frequency in north, south, and western directions, while the eastern side remains cut off except some adjacent villages, due to the Indo-Bangladesh border. Thus, the political boundary determines social relations. It also could be inferred that matrimonial information for prospective marriages are coming from the localities/villages of the

relatives known to each other, mostly from their own caste community making the neighbourhood area wider.

The distance between the studied village and the subdivisional town is about 22 kilometers. The locations are connected by bus routes which are further linked with different towns and metropolitan cities directly by busses and trains. High frequency of marriages occurred in those townships and their close surroundings, indicating a tendency toward urban life. Mean marriage distances of brides and daughters are 22.81 \pm 1.19 and 25.92 \pm 1.63 kilometers, respectively. Marriages of 6.34% of daughters occurred in other states where distance could not be assessed. Daughter's marriage area (8443.36 km²) is larger than bridegroom's (6537.82 km²). Marriages of daughters to other castes are very near to those ex-

pected by chance (4.93%). Actually, there is no bias for / or against intercaste marriage in this migratory population in modern times. But yet the admixture rate or gene flow into the population is estimated to be 3.5% only.

Discussion

In the absence of written record specially on age or date of birth in most of the households, ages could be estimated by subsequent crosschecking. Not a single family could be found in the village without holding any agricultural land, though the quantity of landholding is small hardly providing economic sufficiency. Simultaneously, the high literacy percentage (84.09) and low dependency ratio (child and old) is an indication of good community health conditions. Mean age at marriage is higher (21.91 years) in case of male, irrespective of time, whereas female age at marriage is showing an increasing tendency from the age of 10 (which was once called *Gouri dan*) to 19.25 years. A high positive correlation coefficient ($r \pm se = 0.73 \pm 0.04$) between the age at marriage of males and females indicates that older males marry older females, whereas less aged males marry less aged females. A generation-wise study of age at marriage is showing an inverse relation between male's present age and the age at marriage (i.e., older persons have a lower age at marriage and younger persons have the higher one). Cultural factors, specially economic condition and education, are influencing the community health. The population is virtually isolated (Wright 1940) due to the low admixture rate.

Conclusion

The marriage patterns of the Kapali caste population follow the traditional Hindu system in the upper castes of North India. The clan exogamy is not strictly followed, but the Sapinda exogamy is observed. The endogamy is not always observed among one section of the population, but virtually the intercaste marriages do not exceed 3.5 per cent. According to Wright's formulation, the population is still virtually endogamous. The neighbourhood area is 8443.36 km². The direction of marriage is a special feature which shows the influence of the international border (Indo-Bangladesh border), which puts an obstacle to marriage in the eastern direction.

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Sorcellerie et entrepreneuriat

Une complicité étrange en Afrique

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Introduction

Dans de nombreuses régions d'Afrique noire, on s'interroge de plus en plus sur la prolifération supposée de la sorcellerie, notamment dans le monde des affaires, surtout en ville. Il n'est pas surprenant que deux ouvrages, notamment de Geschiere et Konings, sur les formes suspectes d'enrichissement, et de Warnier, sur l'esprit d'entreprise, édités par Karthala en 1993 ont comme sujet le rôle de la sorcellerie – sujet que l'on retrouve par ailleurs dans d'autres articles et médias officiels (journaux, télévisions), mais aussi dans les conversations de rue. À Douala, comme à Abidjan, les riches commerçants sont souvent soupçonnés de devoir leur richesse à la sorcellerie. De même, à Brazzaville, comme dans d'autres villes africaines, le malheur exceptionnel en affaire est toujours étroitement lié à la sorcellerie.

De manière générale, les discours de sorcellerie en Afrique offrent un idiome de prédilection, pour le pauvre comme pour le riche, qui tente d'interpeller le monde des affaires. Ce dernier est perçu