

Study
on the
Udasin Bhakats
in
Sattras

Study done by

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Survey of the Burah Bhakats of the Udasin Sattras

1. Age-wise presence of Burha / Gurdian (B/G) Bhakats in Sattras

We made five categories of age groups to make an effective analysis of the human potential. The respective age-groups and their presence are tabulated below. **A detail Sattra-wise break-up of age groups has been given in Table 1.1 in the List of Tables.**

Group	Age Group (in years)	Total Bhakats	Percentage
A	16 - 30	13	07
B	31 - 45	37	21
C	46 - 55	21	12
D	56 - 70	55	31
E	71 and above	50	28
Total		176	

In group A from 16 to 30 years we had the youngest lot of Bhakats who were mostly the guardians of their respective bohas. There are 13 such bhakats and 7 percent of them fall in this category. This is a young and energetic group where moulding and grooming is required. This group also needs to be further exposed to the purpose and way of life in a Sattra.

Group B has an age ranging from 31 to 45 years. There are 37 such bhakats and 21 percent of them fall in this category. This is a matured group with capabilities. With proper training and exposure they are potential leaders for a Sattriya way of life.

Group C is the middle aged group where bhakats from 46 to 55 years are in this category. There are 21 such bhakats and 12 percent of them fall in this category. They are a balanced lot who have the capacity to take in more responsibility provided their learning continues and are groomed for the same.

Group D is from the age of 56 to 70 years. There are 55 such bhakats and 31 percent of them fall in this category. They are the experienced lot who have seen the changes in the society. Their experienced and wisdom need to be tapped. Their health also needs to be taken for.

Group E is from 70 years and above. There are 50 of such bhakats which is 28 percent of the them. The most experienced and wise of the Burah Bhakats, there is lot of scope to learn from this group. The health of those falling in this category needs to be taken care of.

59 % of the B/G Bhakats who are in the age group of 56 years and above are the experienced lot and have carried forward the tradition. Their knowledge and expertise should be documented and the challenges facing the tradition should be understood from them. The health of this group should be taken care of specially those above 70 years for they are the setting sun of this tradition.

33 % of the B/G Bhakats in the age group of 31 to 45 years are the most potential ones to spread the tradition across the state. Of course they have to be equipped with proper training and exposure before they spread out to serve the society. Most in this group, though not Burah Bhakat from the point of view of age and expertise, yet they are responsible guardians having bhakats under them and shoulders more responsibilities.

7% of the B/G Bhakats in the age group of 16 to 30 years should be moulded and groomed by the experienced B/G Bhakats from 'A'. They should be trained and motivated to equip them to carry forward this tradition. Proper training of this group is a must.

2. Skills of the Burha / Gurdian Bhakats

We had asked a question to find the skills of the B/G Bhakats in 16 different areas and their self-evaluation. We have for the moment ignored the evaluation part and only taking the Bhakats presence in the respective skills. **A detail Sattrra-wise list of skills and their presence has been given in Table 2.1 in the List of Tables.**

Skill	B / G Bhakats	Percent
Bhaona	65	37
Gayan	61	35
NamLguwa	60	34
Nritya	58	33
Bayan	57	32
B&Cwork	38	22
Pathak	30	17
Puthi	22	13
Adhaypona	16	9
Barhoi	14	8
Pujari	14	8
Creation	12	7
MaskM	9	5
BoatM	8	5
Charit	8	5
Pasoni	7	4
Oja	1	0.6
Sastri	1	0.6
Electrical	1	0.6

Only 37% of the Bhakats are skilled in Bhaona which is a collective effort. 35% are skilled in Gayan, 33% in Nritya and 32% in Bayan. These three are separate skills which go to perform a Bhaona. Further, the skill in Nritya will fall short if both Gayan and Bayan are not there. In other words, the basic skills of preserving and taking the Sattriya tradition ahead are not in a healthy state.

Similarly in taking the tradition of Naam Prasanga forward, the skills which are required are also at a low level. 34% of the Bhakats are skilled in Namlaguwa, 17% are skilled as Pathak and 13% can read the 'puthi' (scriptures_in sachi-pat).

Likewise, the presence in 10 other important areas of skills responsible to take forward the Sattriya tradition are also on the wane and are below 10% in each of the areas.

One positive aspect is the presence of 22% Bhakats in the skill of Bamboo & Cane work, 8% in Barhoi (wood-carving) and 5% each in Mask making and Boat making. These traditional skills are very important and have enough potential not only to take the tradition forward but also to give the much needed economic sustenance for the Sattrra as

well as to an emerging market for eco-friendly products provided these skills are nurtured and developed properly.

Regarding education in other fronts, we have a very insignificant percentage that went for formal training in music. As for learning Sanskrit too, the percentage is not encouraging given the fact that there were enough opportunity to learn Sanskrit in the Sattras and Majuli. Regarding formal education 82% of the Bhakats did their schooling to a certain level. The break-up has been provided in the table below.

Sangit	B / G Bhakats	Percent	Sanskrit	B / G Bhakats	Percent	Education	B / G Bhakats	Percent
Nritya	3	2	Prab.	11	6	Prath	40	23
Badya	3	2	Madh	7	4	ME	39	22
			Sastri	13	7	HS	35	20
						HSLC	30	17
						XII	16	9
						Grd.Arts	7	4

3.Responsibilities of the Burah / Gurdian Bhakats in the Sattras - We had asked a question as to what responsibility the B/G Bhakat was shouldering.

More than half of the B/G Bhakats i.e, 56% had 1 responsibility; 15% of them had 2 responsibilities and 10% had 3 responsibilities.

It is a mere 25% of B/G Bhakats who is shouldering 2 or 3 responsibilities. A very few were holding more than 3 responsibilities.

6% said 4 responsibilities and 3% had 5 responsibilities. 9% of the B/G Bhakats did not have any responsibilities.

From the above we can gather that the responsibilities of the Burah or the Gurdain Bhakats have reduced considerably.

This is not a healthy sign for it is only increased responsibilities which will build the capacity of the bhakats and ensure the growth of the Sattras.

Though there were 60 different responsible positions declared by the B/G Bhakats, yet only in 3 of the responsibilities the presence was there across the Sattras.

21% B/G Bhakats held the responsibility as Bayan, 19% as Gayan and 18% as Namlaguwa. The next 2 positions where Bhakats held responsibility were 10% as Pathak and 6% as Oja.

It is only in 5 positions responsibilities are being carried out across the Sattras and general in nature. For the rest of the 55 responsibilities it is specific to a particular Sattra. 53% of these 60 responsibilities is specific to Sri Sri Auniat Sattra, 38% for Sri Sri Kamalabari Sattra, 27% for Sri Sri Dakshinpat Sattra, 27% for Sri Sri Uttar Kamalabari Sattra, 15% for Sri Sri Natun Kamalabari Sattra and 10% for Sri Sri Bhogpur Sattra.

It is seen that the tradition of Bhaona and along with it the skills required for the same like Gayan, Bayan and Nritya has been kept going and to that extent there is the presence of the skills and the responsibility too. This looks like a decreasing trend.

A detail Sattra-wise list of responsibilities has been given in Table 3.1 in the List of Tables.

4. Livelihood of Burah / Guardian Bhakats

We had asked what the **source of livelihood** was for them

34 % of them said agriculture was their major source of livelihood and 22% gave Sattriya as their next important source.

It is true that most of these Sattras have their lands where they grow their rice and self-sufficient in the same. Though today they do not work in the fields themselves and give it on '*adhi*' system (allowing others to work on the fields on a sharing basis). The next source they said was Sattriya. Here, they mean their life in the Sattras and the resources that flows in for their upkeep, though in today's time it has become difficult to sustain from this source.

24 odd livelihood areas were reported by the Bhakats and the majority of them were reported by the Bhakats from Sri Sri Auniati Sattra. 32% of the Bhakats from this Sattra said '*Sahar*' [*Sahars* are earmarked areas of bhakats who visits the people there to collect donations] was their major source. The next source was Bisoni making (10%).

A detail Sattra-wise list of livelihood has been given in Table 4.1 in the List of Tables.

5. Details of Bhakats in Boha (inputs from Burah / Guardian Bhakats)

We had asked the Burah / Gurdian Bhakats about the bhakats in their respective boha's. 176 Burah / Gurdian Bhakats have 300 Bhakats in their respective Boha's. The ratio per Boha is 1.7 Bhakats

Table 5.1 - Age-wise presence of Bhakats in respective Sattras (as infromed by B / G Bhakats)

Group	Age Group (in years)	Total Bhakats	Percentage
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A	Up to 15	110	36
B	16 - 25	83	28
C	26 – 40	68	23
D	41 – 55	23	08
E	56 and above	16	05
Total		300	

A detail Sattra-wise break-up of age has been given in Table 5.1 in the List of Tables.

Group A were the little bhakats up to the age of 15 years. This is a tradition which has been going on for the last 550 years. Usually a child is given to a Sattra around the age of 5 to 7 years. In this category we found 110 such bhakats which is 36 percent of the bhakats in the boha's. **This is the age where the basic foundation for a Sattriya life is imparted. Lot of discipline is required at this age which will groom the child to be a potential Sattriya.** But, as observed there is lot of scope to introduce a well regulated curriculum along with the traditional way of training. This is required for proper grooming of the child to take responsibility for a Sattriya way of life. Many bhakats from this group leave the Sattra prematurely.

Group B is from the age of 16 to 25 years. There are 83 of such bhakats comprising of 28 percent of the pool of bhakats. **Proper motivation and training of this category is required keeping in mind both the traditional and the present education system to which most of such bhakats are exposed.** Many bhakats from this group leave the Sattra prematurely.

Group C is from the age of 26 to 40 years. There are 68 of such bhakats comprising of 23 percent of the pool of bhakats. **Young and potential, proper orientation and training needs to be given to this group for building their capacities for achieving the purpose of the Sattra.**

Group D is from the age of 41 to 55 years. There are 23 bhakats comprising 8 percent of the pool. This is a matured group where the learning and training needs to be continued with the right kind of exposure about the Sattriya way of life. Potential Sattriya leaders can be groomed from this group.

Group E is from the age 56 and above. In this group there are 16 of them which are 5 percent of the pool. They are an experienced lot whose knowledge can be useful for the Sattras and they can become potential trainers.

51 percent of the bhakats falling in the age of 16 to 40 years which is half of the bhakat population is the most potential pool for furthering the cause of the Sattriya way of life. Investment in the training and capacity building of this potential group should be given for strengthening the Sattriya culture.

The next important group of bhakats falls in group A i.e., up to 16 years of age (36 percent) on whom care should be taken for their well being, health and Sattriya education and the requisite investments should be made thereon.

Bhakats and Skills – as evaluated by B / G Bhakats

The B/G Bhakats were asked about the skills the bhakats in their respective boha's had. They were also asked to evaluate their skills. Keeping aside the evaluation, we have tabulated the presence of the bhakats in their respective skills. The same has been depicted in the table below.

Table 5.2 - Presence of 300 Bhakats in their respective skills (as evaluated by B / G Bhakats)

Skill	Bhakats	Percent	Skill	Bhakats	Percent
Nritya	140	47	Adhaypona	12	4

Bhaona	104	35	Puthi	11	4
Gayan	98	33	Charit	9	3
Bayan	89	30	Pujari	8	3
NamLguwa	38	13	MaskM	4	2
B&Cwork	29	10	Sastri	4	1
Pathak	18	6	Oja	4	1
Creation	16	5	BoatM	4	1
Barhoi	14	5	NR	16	5

A detail Sattra-wise presence in skills has been given in Table 5.2 in the List of Tables.

47% of the bhakats had their presence in the skill of Nritya, 35% in Bhaona which is again a collective skill, 33% as Gayan and 30% as Bayan. The next skill where they had their presence is Namlaguwa (13%). As in the case of the rest of the skills it was less than 6%. This trend amongst the bhakats is not surprising for they are following the B/G Bhakats.

For skill in B&C works amongst the bhakats the presence is a mere 10%, in Barhoi it is 5% and Mask making 2%. This tells us that the youth bhakat has not taken interest in such craft works which is the very basis of sustenance and existence of Sattras.

Presence of Bhakats in Boha's

23% of the Boha's have 1 Bhakat ; 22% of the Boha's have 2 Bhakats and 20% of the Boha's have 3 Bhakats.

65% of the Boha's have 1, 2 or 3 Bhakats.

25% of the Boha's (a majority of them) did not have any Bhakat.

The ratio of Bhakats per Boha and a major percentage of Boha's having no Bhakats depict the reducing trend of Bhakats in Sattras.

Bhakats in Boha	Total Boha's	Percent
1	40	23
2	39	22
3	35	20
4	13	7
5	4	2
6	1	
0	44	25

A detail Sattra-wise presence of bhakats in boha's has been given in Table 5.3 in the List of Tables.

Bhakats coming from

District	Total Bhakats	Percentage
Lakhimpur	152	51
Majuli	57	19
Jorhat	19	6
Golaghat	14	5
Dhemaji	13	4
No Response	15	5

A detail Sattra-wise list of districts from where the bhakats have come from has been given in Table 5.4 in the List of Tables.

Of the 300 Bhakats a majority of them i.e., 51% have come from Lakhimpur.

19% are from Majuli itself, 6% from Jorhat, 5% from Golaghat and 4% from Dhemaji. 5% of the Bhakats did not respond to this query.

Bhakats Responsibility

41% of the Bhakats have 1 responsibility; 11% have 1 responsibility and also the responsibility of a student; 10% gave 'student' as their sole responsibility

9% of the Bhakats have 2 responsibilities; 11% of the Bhakats does not have any responsibility.

21% of the Bhakats considers 'student' as their responsibility.

Amongst 49 varied responsibilities, the **presence** of the Bhakats was **in the following responsibilities - Bayan (17%), Gayan (17%), Natuwa (12%) and Nriya (7%).**

A detail Sattra-wise number of responsible B / G bhakats and their various responsibilities has been given in Table 5.5 and 5.6 in the List of Tables.

6. Boha's Economics

Table 6.1 – Per Annum Expenditure of the respective Sattras

Exp. (INR)	Auniati	Dakshin	Kamalabari	Natun K	Uttar K	Bhogpur
No. of B/G Bhakats (boha's)	80	17	19	36	12	12
No. of Bhakats	161	15	20	55	27	22
Total Bhakats	241	32	39	91	39	34
Per Annum	62.42 lakhs	13.60 lakhs	11.10 lakhs	22.00 lakhs	7.52 lakhs	11.42 lakhs
Mthly Avg.Exp./per boha	6710/-	6800/-	4870/-	5100/-	5700/-	8000/-
Range of Exp. per boha/p.m.	1210/- to 17440 (0 to 3 Bhakats)	2846/- to 13433/- (0 to 1 Bhakat)	990/- to 14940/- (0 to 4 Bhakats)	860/- to 16400/- (0 to 3 Bhakats)	3817/- to 7733/- (1 to 5 Bhakats)	4700/- to 21250/- (3 to 4 Bhakats)

The above **Table 6.1** depicts the per annum expenses of each of the Sattras, the monthly average expenses in a boha and the range of monthly expenses in a boha.

The figures tell about the variance in expenditure both intra and inter Sattras.

We had asked the B/G Bhakat to specify the expenses of their boha in a month for 6 different heads. The percentage expenditure of the bohas of each of the Sattras is given below in **Table 6.2**

Table 6.2 – Percentage Expenditure under different heads for respective Sattras

Expenditure Heads	Auniati	Dakshinpat	Kamalabari	Natun Kamalabari	Uttar Kamalabari	Bhogpur
Food & Grocery	43	63	47	41	45	67
Education	9	15	5	13	23	6

Cooking Gas	3	12	9	7	9	0
Firewood	0	0	0	0	0	20
Electricity Bill	4	5	5	5	6	2
T V Recharge	3	2	2	2	2	0
Others	38	3	32	32	15	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Significantly in the ‘other’ category expenditure, almost all the Sattras spending was high, giving enough scope for further detailing.

Income of the Sattras

The data tabulated in **Table 6.3** below gives a view of the income levels in the Sattras. The Bhakats were reluctant to provide information on this account. There was no information from Sri Sri Kamalabari and Sri Sri Bhogpur Sattra.

Table 6.3 - Per Annum Income of the respective Sattras

Inc. (INR)	Auniati	Dakshin	Kamalabari	Natun K	Uttar K	Bhogpur
Per Annum	148.34 lakhs	2.98 lakhs	No Response	7.53 lakhs	0.63 lakhs	Inconclusive Data
Mthly Avg.Inc./per boha	15452/-	1772/-		1850/-	475/-	
Range of Inc. per boha/p.m.	3000/- to 51333/-	833/- to 11633/-		417/- to 9333/-	250/- to 1083/-	

Sri Sri Auniati Sattra, their major income was from the ‘Sahar’s’. Sahar’s are certain villages earmarked for respective boha’s of the Sattra to go and collect donations in kind (rice and other groceries) and also in cash. This has been a tradition since the establishment of the Sattra. It is therefore the society which takes care of some aspects of the Sattra even today. The sahar’s are those geographical locations where the Sattra have their followings.

The next important source of revenue for the Sattras (except Sri Sri Auniati) is agriculture and Sattriya training and performance.

The **Table 6.4** below gives the percentage income from the few sources of income for the respective Sattras.

Table 6.4 – Percentage Income under different heads for respective Sattras

Income Sources	Auniati	Dakshinpat	Kamalabari	Natun Kamalabari	Uttar Kamalabari	Bhogpur
Domestic Animals	4	49	No Response	14	34	No Response
Land / Agriculture	1	4		58	Refer Note*	
Workshop & Training	2			27	46	
Donations	12	22				
Sattradhikar	5	22				
Others	9				20	
Sahar	20					
Business	15					
Bisoni	14					
Pension	7					
Salary/Comm./Fees	6					
Sattra Responsibility	3					

Skill based labour	2					
Total	100	97	0	99	100	0

***Note:** Income from rice has not been assessed for Uttar Kamalabari Sattrra. Sattrra bhakats are self sufficient in rice.

Collective Assets in the Boha's

We tried to find out the collective assets present in a particular boha.

In today's time to beat the heat most of the boha's has either a ceiling or a stand fan. It is seen that slowly the boha's are also getting equiped with an inverter to take care of power cuts and as on date 21% of the boha's has an inverter. TV sets has penetrated into the boha's and today 43% of the boha's has a TV Set. The traditional system of cooking with firewood has come down considerably and today 83% of the boha's has LPG gas for cooking.

An important aspect is that of the presence of cows in the boha's and the land holding of the Bhakats. 63% of the boha's have domesticated cows and the total cow population is 451 numbers. The cows are being looked upon by the bhakats but finding it difficult with each passing days. Few Bhakats rear their cows in Chapori. 47% of the boha's reported land holding and the total size comes to 747 bighas. But the tilling of land is no longer done by the bhakats and is given on 'adhi' to others. Bhakats are happy to receive half the produce.

Below in **Table 6.5** is given a list of 10 assets and its presence in the boha's in the respective Sattras.

Table 6.5 – Presence of Collective Assets in Boha's in the respective Sattras

Sattrra	T V	Inverter	Ceiling Fan	Stand Fan	Water Filter	Gas Stove	Tube well	Pukka Sanitation	Kuccha Sanitation	Cow	Land
Auniati	48	31	75	32	22	75	80	60	19	55	0
Dakshin	6	3	15	2	15	15	16	15	1	9	9
Kbari	7	6	16	5	8	16	Govt. Supply	19	0	8	18
N Kbari	11	7	25	16	14	27	34	21	8	24	35
U Kbari	3	4	12	1	7	12	10	10	2	8	12
Bhogpur	0	0	4	2	5	1	2	12	0	7	9
Total Boha's	75	51	147	58	71	146	152	137	17	111	83
Percent	43	29	84	33	40	83	86	78	17	63	47
										451 cows	747 bighas

7. Passing away (expiry) of Burah Bhakats

171 Bhakats have passed away till since the last four decades. This information is from whatever the B/G Bhakats could recall. This figure is 36% of today's strength i.e., 476 Bhakats.

Of this 171, 37% has passed away since 2000. This information is also not updated for except 2 Sattras who has given the passing away details till 2018, the other Sattras did not give the up to date information.

35% of them have passed away during 1985 to 1999 and 23% passed away prior to 1985. Along with this information if we see the age-group in which they passed away, it is seen that 37% of them passed away in the age group of 79 and below. 32% passed away during their 80's and 20% passed away in their 90's.

A major percentage i.e., 37% has passed away in the age group of 79 years and below which is not expected of a Burah Bhakat considering their Sattriya lifestyle and longevity.

One concern of today is that there is a sizeable 28% of Bhakats (50 of them) in the age group of 71 & above about whom we should be careful about their health issues.

A detail Sattra-wise passing (expiry) away of Burah bhakats has been given in Table 7.1 in the List of Tables.

8. Bhakats leaving the Sattra

251 Bhakats have left the Sattras till date. This information is from whatever the B/G Bhakats could recall since the 70's. This figure is 53% of today's strength of 476 Bhakats.

35% of them have left since the last 8 years i.e., since 2010. 32% of them have left during 2000-09 and 20% have left during 1980-99. From this trend it is seen that with the passing of time there is an increase in the Bhakats leaving the Sattras.

If we look into the age in which the Bhakats leave a Sattra, we have found that 45% have left the Sattra in their 20's and 27% in their teens. The two reasons which have been mostly cited are - family responsibility (27%) and financial responsibility (14%) and are real threat to this tradition. A sizeable 19% who left the Sattra did not give any reason for their leaving.

Today when there is a decreasing trend of new bhakats coming to the sattras and an increasing trend of bhakats leaving the sattras as well as 28% of the bhakats in their fag end of life, it is but important to think for these categories of bhakats in order to keep the tradition going.

A Sattra-wise details about Bhakats leaving the Sattra over the years has been given in Table 8.1 in the List of Tables.

Survey of the Bhakats of the Udasin Sattras

There was a separate questionnaire for the bhakats from 16 years and above.

1. The **age-wise presence of Bhakats** in the respective Sattra has already been done in the Burah / Guardian Bhakats section (refer page 4 Table 5.1). We are however presenting the table here once again.

Group	Age Group (in years)	Total Bhakats	Percentage
A	Up to 15	110	36
B	16 - 25	83	28
C	26 – 40	68	23
D	41 – 55	23	08
E	56 and above	16	05
Total		300	

Of the 300 bhakats 110 of them were from the age group up to 15 years from whom no information was sought directly. Data from the rest i.e. 190 of the bhakats was collected by implementing a questionnaire.

A detail Sattra-wise break-up of age groups has been given in Table B.1 in the List of Tables.

2. Skills & Education (Self Evaluation by Bhakats)

We tried to gauge the performance in 15 different skills of the bhakats by asking them to evaluate themselves with marks out of 10. We found that they were biased while responding to the marks

and hence decided to use this data only to assess the presence of the bhakats in the respective skills. The table below depicts the presence in the respective skills and formal education.

Skill	Bhakats	Percent	Sangit	Bhakats	Percent
Nritya	81	43	Nritya	7	3.6
Bhaona	75	39	Badya	5	2.6
Bayan	69	36			
Gayan	62	33	Sanskrit	Bhakats	Percent
B&Cwork	37	19	Prab.	8	4.2
NamLguwa	34	18	Madh	17	8.9
Barhoi	18	9.4	Sastri	22	11.5
Pathak	17	8.9			
Creation	11	5.7	Education	Bhakats	Percent
MaskM	10	5.2	Prath	9	4.7
Adhaypona	9	4.7	ME	11	5.7
Pujari	8	4.2	HS	34	18
Puthi	7	3.6	HSLC	41	22
Oja	6	3.1	XII	51	27
Charit	5	2.6	Grd.Arts	15	8
BoatM	2	1.05	Grd.Sc	1	
Aharjya	1		MA.Art	4	2.1

43 percent admitted their skill in Nritya, 39 percent in Bhaona (a collective skill), 36 percent as Bayan and 33 percent as Gayan.

The next skills where the presence is a little significant were in Bamboo & Cane Works (19%) and Namlaguwa (18%). The rest of the skills were in single digit in the respective areas.

Sangit

Only 3.6 percent and 2.6 percent of the bhakats undertook formal education in Nritya and Badya respectively.

Sanskrit

11.5 percent of the bhakats completed their Sastri, 8.9 percent in Madhyama and 4.2 percent in Prabashika in Sanskrit.

Formal Education

27 percent of the bhakats have passed their XII standard and 22 percent their HSLC. 8 percent did their graduation and 18 percent dropped in their high school.

A detail Sattra-wise presence in skills and education of the bhakats has been given in Table B.2 in the List of Tables.

3. Bhakats Responsibilities in the Sattras

38 percent of the bhakats said that they had 1 responsibility and an equal 38 percent had 'No' responsibility (21 % said 'No' responsibility and 17 % did not respond to this question). 23 percent of the bhakats had 2 to 5 responsibilities in variation.

Note: From these 190 bhakats the data of 15 of them from Sri Sri Bhogpur Sattra was dropped from the analysis as their responses were not complete in its totality. Therefore, the analysis from here about the bhakats own perspective is based on 175 bhakats.

Though there were 37 various responsibilities shouldered by the bhakats across the Sattras, it was only 4 common responsibilities present across the Sattras. The responsibilities are Bayan (30%), Gayan (26%), Namlaguwa (12.5%) and Natuwa (12%).

A majority of these responsibilities, 25 i.e., 67% of them are present in Sri Sri Auniati Sattra. In rest of the Sattras some 7 to 10 responsibilities are manned.

We had also asked a question whether they had any responsibility outside the Sattra, the answer to which was 'none' by 63 percent and 23 percent did not respond to it. On the whole some 5 percent were involved in either Sattriya performance or as a Sattriya teacher outside. What we could not capture was the aspect about how many bhakats were pursuing their studies and at which level?

A detail Sattra-wise number of responsible bhakats and their various responsibilities both inside and outside the Sattra has been given in Table B.3, B.3.1 and B. 3.2 in the List of Tables.

4. Livelihood of Bhakats

We had asked a question regarding the bhakats livelihood. Some 28 different livelihood areas were reported by the bhakats of which a little more than 50 percent of them i.e., 16 of them were from Sri Sri Auniati Sattra. Most of these 16 areas in the said Sattra are related to Sattra work.

Largely 'Agriculture' and 'Sattriya' were reported as the two primary livelihood pursued by the bhakats.

A detail Sattra-wise list of livelihood of the bhakats has been given in Table B.4 in the List of Tables.

5. Bhakats expenditure per month

27 percent of the bhakats said that they spend INR 2000/- per month, 21 percent of the bhakats said that they spend INR 3000/- per month and 10 percent of the bhakats said that they spend INR 1000/- per month. 7 percent did not respond to this question.

Range of Expenses

19 percent said that their spending is INR 1000/- and below

28 percent said that their spending is in between INR 1100/- to INR 2000/- i.e., in a spread of INR 900/-

27 percent said that their spending is in between INR 2100/- to INR 4000/- i.e., in a spread of INR 1900/-

10 percent said that their spending is in between INR 4100/- to INR 7500/- and

7 percent spends INR 7600/- and above

9 percent did not respond to this question

Heads of Expenditures

Some 20 expenditure heads were reported and from amongst these heads the percentage spending of the bhakats in those significant were found as follows –

Clothing – 52% ; Cell Phone – 41% ; Education – 24% ; Petrol – 21% ; Grocery – 15% ; Travelling – 11% ; Others – 65% and No Response – 20%

65 percent of the bhakats spending could not be categorised as they had declared it as 'Others'. This amount is quiet substantial.

20 percent did not respond to this question.

The detail Sattra-wise Expenditure per month, Bhakats range of Expenditure and Heads of Expenditure has been given in Table B.5.1, B.5.2 and B.5.3 respectively.

6. Bhakats income per month

5 percent of the bhakats said that their income is INR 1000/- and below and 6 percent of the bhakats said that it is INR 2000/- per month.

Range of Income

7 percent said that their income is in the range of INR 1100/- to INR 2000/-

13 percent said that it is in the range of INR 2100/- to INR 4000/-

25 percent said that it is in the range of INR 4100/- to INR 7500/-

15 percent said that it is INR 7600/- and above

18 percent said that they did not had any income

17 percent did not respond to this question

Source of Income

Some 31 different areas of Income were reported by the bhakats.

11 of such areas are from Sri Sri Auniati Sattra. The income of this Sattra comes mostly from Sahar, Burah Bhakat, carrying out Sattriya responsibilities in the Sattra, Salary from the Sattradhikar, Bisoni making and Business.

Sri Sri Uttar Kamalabari Sattra reported 12 areas of income where agriculture is the predominant area followed by Sattriya Art and Craft.

As for the other Sattras the source of income ranges from 4 to 8 areas.

The detail Sattra-wise Income per month, Bhakats range of Income and Heads of Income has been given in Table B.6.1, B.6.2 and B.6.3 respectively.

7. Personal Asset of Bhakats

We had given a list of 5 personal asset which a Bhakat is likely to have. **The Sattra-wise responses has been detailed in Table B.7.1 given in the List of Tables** and a brief summary is outlined below.

Cycle – 37 percent ; Motor Cycle – 34 percent ; Smart phone – 55 percent ;

Simple phone – 20 percent ; 18 percent did not respond to this question.

8. Family Details of the Bhakats

Bhakats coming from

45 percent of the bhakats are from Lakhimpur and 24 percent are from Majuli.

10 percent of the bhakats did not respond to this question

Table B.8.1 in the List of Tables gives the details about where from the Bhakat comes.

Family members back home

67 percent of the bhakats had family members ranging from 3 to 6 members back home. Most of the bhakats have come from nuclear families.

Table B.8.2. in the List of Tables gives the details about their family members back home.

Responsibility back home

58 percent did not have any responsibility back at home
33 percent did have some responsibility back home

Table B.8.3. in the List of Tables gives the details

What Responsibility?

Majority have said financial responsibilities and the details has been given in **Table B.8.4. in the List of Tables**
