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BATS202

TRIBAL ECONOMY AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A.P)



**BA (TRIBAL
STUDIES)**
4TH SEMESTER

Rajiv Gandhi University

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABUS

Tribal Economy and Contemporary Issues **(with special reference to A. P.)**

Unit-I Economic Organisation

- (a) Types of economy: hunting and gathering, pastoralism, horticulture and agriculture
- (b) Distribution, consumption and exchange
- (c) Property and inheritance

Unit-II Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh

- (a) Demography, geographical distribution and linguistic classification
- (b) Politico-administrative growth of Arunachal Pradesh
- (c) Tribal Studies in Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview

Unit-III Society and Emerging issues in Arunachal Pradesh

- (a) Social organisation
- (b) Emerging issues: land relations, occupational diversification, and modern polity

Unit-IV Society and Emerging issues in Arunachal Pradesh with special reference to Women

- (a) Women and Society
- (b) Inheritance and women and empowerment

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INTRODUCTION

A tribe is essentially a group of distinct people who are dependent on land for their livelihood, who are largely self-sufficient, and who are not integrated into the national society. India is the home to a large number of tribal or *adivasi* people, who are still untouched by the lifestyle of the modern world. Estimates put the number of tribal people in India to be around 84 million. These people are the poorest in the country and are still dependent on hunting, agriculture and fishing for their livelihood. Some of the major tribal groups in India include the Gonds, Santhals, Khasis, Angamis, Bhils, Bhutias and the Great Andamanese. All these tribal people have their own culture, tradition, language and lifestyle. The north eastern part of India especially is considered to be one of most culturally diverse regions in the world and is inhabited by more than 200 tribes.

This book – *Tribes in India and Arunachal Pradesh* - has been designed keeping in mind the self- instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the Introduction followed by the Unit Objectives for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit. The Summary, Key Terms and Activity further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into four units:

Unit-I Economic Organisation

Unit-II Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh

Unit-III Society and Emerging issues in Arunachal Pradesh

Unit-IV Society and Emerging issues in Arunachal Pradesh
with special reference to Women

UNIT-I ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Structure

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- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Tribal Economic Organizations
- 1.3 Tribal Economy and Economic Organizations
 - 1.3.1 Economics as a Discipline and Economy as a System
 - 1.3.2 Tribal Economy or Economies
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- 1.8 Summary
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- 1.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 1.11 Questions and Exercises
- 1.12 Further Readings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In Unit I you have learnt that tribes are heterogeneous groups and they inhabit different geographical areas in different zones and states/UTs of India. Obviously, their interaction with diverse natural surroundings to satisfy their material needs would be different. Such interactions to satisfy material needs are studied in Economics.

In Unit 2 you have learnt that human beings as individual or in groups enter into relations with the purpose of achieving social or political objectives. Such relations are social or political organizations. While interacting with nature, to achieve economic ends, tribes also enter into such relations which are essentially the economic organizations of tribes.

In this unit we will discuss tribal economic organizations. As you know

tribes are in transition, as also are economic organizations. We will focus our discussion on economic organizations predominant in tribes. In a tribe, members may pursue different economic activities and for each one of these one may not find an organization. For example, in a hunting-gathering community you may notice wage labourers in recent years, but without an organization in the tribe. So, we will discuss hunting-gathering as an economic organization of the tribe, though some members may be found engaged in other activities.

Economic organization is also linked with the institution of property inheritance. But the institution reflects distinctly through different types of societies. Broadly we have patrilineal and matrilineal societies. The patrilineal societies can also be polyandrous and polygynous. Societies, as you know, are pastoral, hunter-gatherer or agricultural according to organization of economic activities. We shall discuss different rules of property inheritance in selected tribes belonging to different social types as mentioned above.

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1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning, nature and scope of economy of the tribes
- Distinguish the concept of tribal economy from the conventional economy
- Discuss the meaning and nature of division of labour in tribal economic organizations
- Identify the types of economic activities and corresponding social types among the tribes
- Explain the trend of change in economic organizations in contemporary tribal societies
- Describe the rules of property inheritance in patrilineal and matrilineal tribal communities

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1.2 TRIBAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

We pursue various activities to satisfy our economic needs. However, there are many that we cannot perform alone. So we enter into relations with others at the individual level or at the group level and in so doing organise ourselves into groups. For example, in a tribal community, people collectively engage in the extraction of food from natural resources. You know that technology cannot replace human beings fully. Nature of physical environment and the level of technology available determine how people should organise themselves in order to engage in economic activities successfully. In other words, we form economic organizations which in general refer to person to person, family to family, group to group, and country to country relations in the matter relating to economic activities, policy making, strategy formulation, etc. to achieve economic ends. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and European Union are examples of economic organizations of countries at regional level. These are formal organizations based on set written laws. But tribes, by definition, are self-reliant groups. So, tribal economic organizations at inter-tribe level are conspicuously absent and hence you cannot find regional economic organization in traditional tribal societies. Tribal economic organizations are informal in nature as these are interlocking social structures guiding how people work together to achieve economic ends. So, economic organizations of tribes refer to person to person and kinship group to kinship group relations while organising economic activities. Family to family relationship in a lineage is an example of kinship group relations. However, families from different lineages living as a village community also enter into relations to organise economic activities.

Some families organise labour on the basis of mutual reciprocation. This means, members of a family work for another family and in turn the members of second family work for the first one as and when necessary. This type of labour organization of mutual reciprocity is frequent in the fields of agriculture and house construction. As you know, tribes are also classified into hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, agriculturists, etc. on the basis of dominate economic pursuits at tribe level. Within such an organization, labour organization can be studied as a characteristic of economic organization of the tribe. However, in itself labour organization or division of labour is an economic organization. As labour organization draws on social relations, the organization is also a social organization. In general, economic organization, especially of a tribe, is a part of social organization which is directed to achieve economic ends.

The phrase *economic organization* presupposes the existence of an economy. Obviously, an understanding of tribal economy is a prerequisite to understand tribal economic organizations. You will learn about the nature and characteristics of tribal economy, and of economic organization in a tribe in sections 3.3.5 and 3.4.

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1.3 TRIBAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Before discussing tribal economy let us understand the use of terms like economy, economic, economics, and economic systems. *Economy* is a system relating to principles of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of goods and services with reference to cost and market. *Economic* is the adjective form of economy usually meaning *judicious use relating to economics*. *Economics*, on the other hand, is the name of the subject; it is the science on the principles governing an economic system that evolved after industrial revolution. *Economic system* refers to the activities of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of goods and services along with their governing principles. The definitions mainly relate to conventional economics.

1.3.1 Economics as a Discipline and Economy as a System

Economics, which is also known as conventional economics, is a discipline in social sciences. This discipline is a specialised branch of knowledge like political science, history, sociology, social anthropology, etc. From the study of economics, we learn the nature and scope of economics, underlying principles and assumptions governing the discipline, economic systems and their types and so on. Under nature and scope, you study subject matter and different branches of economics, relation with other disciplines, approaches to study economics, etc. Under various economic systems you will study about capitalist economy, socialist economy, mixed economy, rural economy, urban economy, developed economy, developing economy, regional economy, national economy, global economy and many others of the kind. You will study institutional framework of business enterprise with its machine technology, impersonal labour market, profit orientation; limited liability companies, international trading, banking and credit systems, globalisation of finance, policies of privatisation and liberalisation, monetary policy, tax structure, etc. Admittedly, conventional economics will not cover the subject matter of a tribal economy.

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following statements are True or False:
 - (a) Organizations are formations of relations.
 - (b) Economic organizations are formal in nature.
 - (c) European Union is a country level Economic organization.
 - (d) A tribe is a self-reliant group.
 - (e) You will find inter-tribe economic organizations of tribal communities.

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Check Your Progress

2. Choose the correct answer
- (a) We study interaction of human beings with diverse natural surroundings to satisfy their material needs in - (Economics/ Material Culture).
- (b) (Economic system/ Market system) refers to the activities of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of goods and services along with their governing principles.
- (c) Tribal economy is a - (macro/ micro) level of economic system.
- (d) Labour organization in tribal communities are based on - (mutual reciprocation/ cash payment).

1.3.2 Tribal Economy or Economies

The term tribal economy apparently refers to the economic system of the tribes at a macro level. In this sense it seems that the tribes are homogenous and so the economy represents a system common to all the tribes. In real world situation this is not so; the tribes differ from one another on several counts, and you will experience a wide range of micro contrasts. For example, economically, you will find agriculturists like Apatanis, Khamptis, Oraons; pastoralists like Brokpas, Todas; hunter-gatherers like Puroiks (Sulungs), Birhors; and traders like Sherdulpens, Bhutias, Ahirs and so on. You have already studied classification of tribes with reference to political typology, levels of cultural contacts, etc. in unit I of this paper. Necessarily, the pastoralist economy and its principles are different from the economy of the tribes practising shifting cultivation. So, you cannot have a blanket term like *tribal economy* to cover all types of economic activities pursued by the tribes. Admittedly, the concept *tribal economy* does not give us an analytical category of economic system common to all the tribes, for example, scheduled tribes in India. This variation is also present among the tribes all over the world.

Then should you reject the use of the term *tribal economy* from academic discussion? Or is there any other interpretation for it?

Practically, there is no single economy of the tribes; rather there are many economies which are quite heterogeneous. The economies of tribes differ in terms of nature of production system, distribution pattern and consumption norms. The phrase that would better present the economic life of diverse tribal communities is 'tribal economies'. When you see the phrase 'tribal economy' you will understand it as a collective noun that stands for all its categories. In other words, tribal economy is a general notion for all types of economic systems existing in tribal communities. Let us discuss what the term **economy** means.

1.3.3 Economy as a System of Activities

In a simply way economy is a system of economic activities, namely production, consumption and distribution and exchange. But the nature of economic activities and the underlying operating principles vary from one system to the other. When we refer to 'economics' we mean the body of specialized knowledge dealing with the systems of production, consumption and distribution and exchange which evolved with Industrial revolution during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In other words, economics as a discipline took its birth with industrialisation and began studying economic life of industrial or modern societies and principles governing it.

1.3.4 Definitions of Economy and its Nature in Tribal Economy

There are three main definitions to understand economics as it evolved after industrialization. The first one is by Adam Smith, regarded as the Father of Economics, who defined economics in terms of the ‘wealth of the nations. The publication of his book, entitled *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes and of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) or simply *The Wealth of Nations* has been described as ‘the effective birth of economics as a separate discipline.’ In Smith’s view, the ideal economy is a self-regulating market system that automatically satisfies the economic needs of the populace.

J. B. Say (1803) defined economics as the science of production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. He distinguished the subject from its public-policy uses which was emphasized by earlier economist like Sir James Stuart (1767) and Adam Smith (1776). But the central focus of the definition remained on the use of money like his predecessors. The earlier term for ‘economics’ was political economy which was adapted from the French Mercantilist usage of *économie politique*. This extended *economy* from the ancient Greek term for household management to the national realm as public administration of the affairs of the state.

From the title of Adam Smith’s book, it is clear to you that economics studies *the wealth* of nations, not any organizations other than the nations. Therefore, the discipline was named as *Political Economy*, implying a branch of statecraft, and continued till the end of the 19th Century when *Political Economy* was renamed as *Economics*. In India also economics was understood as a branch of statecraft which is evident in Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*.

Moreover, the economy operates in a self-regulating market system according to Adam Smith. But the fact of the matter is that ‘nation’ as concept and organization did not exist among tribes then and subsequently. Similarly, the concept and working of a self-regulating market system was conspicuously absent even in tribal worldview. Obviously, economics could not incorporate the study of ‘wealth of tribal communities’ as tribal communities did not confirm to the notions of *a nation* and *self-regulating market mechanism*.

The second representative definition came from Alfred Marshall (1890). In his book entitled *Principles of Economics* (1890) he defined economics in terms of a ‘science of material welfare’. His definition extended Smith’s analysis beyond wealth and from the societal to the microeconomic level. According to him, Economics is ‘a study of man in the ordinary business of life. It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it’. Thus, it is on the one side, the study of wealth and on the other and more important side, a part of the study of man and his material welfare.

As you know, a tribal person destroys ‘material possession’, for example as in *potlatch*, not to gain material welfare, but to attain social status. Non-material considerations form an important component in the perception of *welfare*, especially of tribal people.

The third one is an improvement over the earlier two definitions of economics. This definition became the philosophical basis for understanding economics and

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economic activities. The definition, known as *scarcity definition*, came from Lionel Robbins (1932). He defined economics as ‘a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses’. His definition is based on the assumption that human wants are unlimited and the resources to satisfy them are limited and have alternative uses.

To understand economics in a scarcity sense is opposite to how a tribal person views his/her wants and resources. To a tribe person resources have much more meaning than a mere sense of physical entity and the basis of securing material means of existence. Primarily, resources are interwoven into whole aspects of tribal life and define the cultural identity. A tribe person nourishes few wants in a cultural perspective and exploits nature minimally for these few wants. To him/her, the resources are ‘unlimited’, bountiful, ‘giving’, ‘ever nourishing’, and are ‘free gifts’ of the Nature. Resources are not considered in terms of money value; nor used to maximise revenue or energy consumption as in conventional economic system. Many scholars, therefore, label tribal communities as *Affluent Society* (Sahalnis, 1972). Obviously, the economic life and underlying principles of tribes do not confirm to the underlying assumptions of the scarcity definition.

As you know, the society is not static; its material needs keep changing. Inventions and innovations make new consumable things available. Consequently, new issues crop up. Obviously, the nature and scope of economics, underlying principles and perspectives need adjustment to accommodate changes. Mention may be made of the definition Paul Samuelson (1948) that has introduced *time element* to Robbins definition, focused on distribution of whatever is produced and has considered ‘*men and society... with or without the use of money*’. In his definition there is a scope to consider barter economy, but within the frame of scarce *productive resources which could have alternative uses*. The definition does not provide a clear cut outline of economic principles to include both barter and money economies within the scope of economic discipline. As you know, the underlying principles in both the economies are different on many grounds. His consideration of future consumption has implication of sustainability. But the tribal ways of resource use, without the assumption of ‘scarce resource’ already provide a sustainable strategy. Obviously, extension of the scope of economics to include barter economy is not just what understanding of a tribal economy in contrast to conventional economy demands.

Economics is the study of how men and society choose, with or without the use of money, to employ scarce productive resources which could have alternative uses, to produce various commodities over time, and distribute them for consumption now and in the future among various people and groups of society.

- Paul Samuelson, 1948.

Beside the use of money, another underlying principle of conventional economics is rationality. This means a consumer must maximise his/her satisfaction from consuming a commodity in terms of money spent. The producer will act in order to maximise his/her profit. Maximisation is considered in money terms. In other words, rationality is based on *optimising principle* and in terms of money value. While optimising, subjective factors like impact of personal relations are kept neutral; non-paid services like nourishing of a mother to a child does not have a place in the frame of optimisation principle. But tribal rationality is not based on such criterion. A tribe person’s rationality is not partial; it is a holistic perspective based on cultural norms.

By now you must have understood that all these definitions of economics emerged when the economic behaviour of the people and the State was governed by the price mechanism. This was the characteristic of economics after industrialisation. The demand and supply of goods and services determined the quantity to be produced. Under such a situation market played a significant role. But this situation does not exist in pre-industrial non-monetised societies to which we give the appellation of 'tribal societies'. In this context Herskovits (1952) merits mention. According to him

...in no conventional treatise on economic theory is primitive man depicted in a manner either in harmony with the facts of non-literate societies as known to anthropologists or in line with the anthropological theory concerning the nature of interaction between man, his environment and his traditions.

It is clear that the definitions of the economists do not provide an understanding of tribal economics which are non-monetised and mostly based on non-industrial mode of production. These people largely depend on their immediate natural environment. Normally, people consume what they produce or sometimes exchange from others. To put it in a simple way every society on the basis of its available resources evolves its economic system. So we can conclude that different societies have different economic systems, that is, the system of managing the process of production, consumption and distribution.

There are other ways, by looking at which you can understand the areas of difference between conventional and tribal economies. You already know that a tribal community displays holistic understanding of events and aspects of life. To a tribe person, an aspect of life does not exist independently. All aspects of life are integrated. You cannot study economic aspect of life in isolation, for it is instituted in the whole social process. In other words, all aspects of life are integrated and interconnected. You will find that the economic life is connected with faiths and beliefs of people. That is why, while selecting a plot for shifting cultivation or before hunting people perform rituals to appease presiding deities. Kinship relation plays an important role in labour organization, for there is not practice of wage labour in a tribal community. Mutual reciprocity within kinship relations determine labour exchange.

Let us take another example. Gift exchange during marriage is an important feature. This involves the exchange of material goods and hence falls within the purview of economics. But what goods are to be given, in what quantity and to whom are determined not by any market mechanism but by the cultural norms. As the gifts materialize a social bond and sometimes reinforces the kinship relations the practice of gift exchange is very much the subject matter of sociology. That is why an activity or phenomenon cannot be isolated from other activities or phenomena in such societies. These are interrelated and instituted in the social process. Needless to say, economic activities depend on social appropriation of labour. Therefore, in a tribal community economy reveals through interconnectedness as instituted in social process which is conspicuously absent in convention economic systems.

You also know that conventional economics took birth in the process of industrialisation. In this process factory production played the leading role. The place of production and the place of residence became separated as production was organized in a factory. Prior to it, production was organized at household level within the community frame for the subsistence needs of household members. In tribal community, production takes place at household and community space by members of the household and community. In the factory system, production was

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organized in a large scale for the consumption of those who are even not distantly involved in the process of production. We consume, for example, mobile or computer. But most of us are not involved in the process of production of these items. In the factory system there was surplus production which required a mechanism to reach the ultimate consumers far away from the place of production. The consumer and the producer did not meet face to face. In between there were intermediaries. Further, barter exchange became irrelevant. The producer usually would not require all types of the goods which consumers might like to exchange. Again for the intermediaries it became difficult to gather various goods from the consumers to pay the producer. The goods which the consumers would like to exchange were of different types, quality and quantity; and so did not have a commonly accepted standard value. There was also the problem of transportation and storage. Hence, a common medium of exchange, i.e. money was used in the process of distribution and exchange of goods produced in a factory system. As a matter of fact, the economic activities evolved a system of production, consumption and distribution and exchange consequent upon the emergence of factory system of production which was different from the household system and which still continues in our time.

In household system the production was meant for self-consumption. This does not mean that there was no surplus production at all. There was in fact surplus production at household level. The household had to produce more during a year when a marriage ceremony was planned or a house was to be constructed. Besides, if there was surplus due to good crops, it was used not for accumulation but for earning prestige. In chieftain type societies, the chief's household had to produce more to feed others. The concern to meet present needs was considered more important than future. A social status was enhanced not by keeping wealth but by giving it away. The surplus items were used to organise feasts for the community members to raise one's social status. Even the surplus households, like a chief's family used to compete in organising feasts. In some Melanesian societies, for example, the pig feasts contain an element of competition. 'Big men' would try to enhance their status and prestige by the size of their feasts. A similar situation existed among many Native American groups. The chiefs attempted to enhance their prestige by organising feasts called *potlatches*. At a potlatch, a chief and his group would give away blankets, pieces of copper, canoes, and large quantities of food to the guests.

As the community was not producing surplus, there was no exchange beyond the community. But in some communities' exchange took place in prestige goods. Bronislaw Malinowski (1961/1922) mentions of a type of exchange among the communities known as Trobriand Islanders of the eastern coast of New Guinea. The items of exchange were *red shell necklace* and *white shell armbands*. The possessors of the former would travel to other islands in a clockwise direction, while the possessor of the later in anticlockwise direction. That is why the exchange tradition is called *kula ring*. With the trade in these items the members in the party also traded in food and other necessities. It is in fact the men who did possess the necklace and armbands would initiate the exchange expedition following the tradition. However, the movement of goods was limited within a defined territory, meaning long distance trade was not carried.

The sharing was a predominant mode of ensuring future security. A person with a good catch of fish would usually share it with his clan/community members instead of preserving the surplus against rainy days. If in the following day he did

not get any catch, he would not go hungry; for he knew that he would share the catch or edibles with some other member of his community.

1.3.5 Division of Labour

An individual cannot fulfil all his/her wants working alone hence the need for bonding relations arises. Such bonding relations among a group of individuals refer to cooperation. As you know people form groups and cooperate with one another to satisfy their wants, of which material wants are predominant. Material wants are also called economic needs. In other words, people work together to satisfy economic ends. People organise in different ways while working together. This type of organization in economic activities is called *Division of Labour*. You can understand division of labour using two concepts. The first one is popular in conventional economic systems and relates to *specialisation*. The second one relates to *Social Solidarity*; though it has social concerns, it clearly explains the nature of division of labour.

Division of Labour Through Specialization

In the conventional economic system, an output is produced at different stages. For example, the stages of production of bread can be procurement of materials including firewood, making the dough, preparing the oven, putting the dough in moulds and then into the oven for baking, slicing, wrapping the sliced bread and then eventually marketing the finished product. In industrial processes of large scale production a different worker or set of workers are engaged in different stages/processes of production. Hence, the division of labour is *process based*.

There is another way of labour engagement in the production process. The work at each stage in the production process carried out either by an individual worker or a group of workers is combined to produce bread. This type of labour organization is called a *product based* division of labour. In tribal communities specialisation of labour is product based, not process based as it is in the conventional economy.

Division of Labour Through Social Solidarity

Émile Durkheim has explained the nature of division of labour with reference to the analytical concept of social *solidarity*. You can understand the nature of division of labour in tribes with reference to his above concept. His primary concern, however, was sociological rather than economic. Nevertheless, it gives an idea of understanding of division of labour in the economic activities of tribes, for these organizations are part of social organizations and economy is instituted in social process.

Social solidarity is of two types: *Mechanical* and *Organic* and it was Durkheim who introduced the concepts of *Mechanical Solidarity* and *Organic Solidarity* in his book entitled *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) to correlate society types with the degrees of social cohesion. He emphasised on ways in which individuals are connected to each other and how they identify with the groups and societies in which they live. Depending on the degree of cohesion and the level of integration, the division of labour would be simple or complex. In other words, by looking at division of labour one can identify whether the society is simple or complex. According to him, as the society moves from simple to a complex stage, corresponding social solidarity changes from *Mechanical Solidarity* to *Organic Solidarity*. He attributed

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Mechanical Solidarity to simple societies like the tribes and Organic Solidarity to complex industrial societies like ours. Division of labour is in the nature of Mechanical Solidarity in simple societies and of organic nature in complex societies.

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Let us take two analogies to understand the terms *Mechanical* and *Organic*. In a machine different constituting parts do not have independent functioning. All the parts combine and cooperate in a way that the machine functions as a unit.

On the other hand, let us consider our body. The functioning of the body is the sum total of distinct functioning of its constituents like hand, legs, eyes, ears etc. The hands have their own functions and the legs have theirs. When we consider the functioning of the body we take into account the distinct functioning of all its parts. But in a machine, constituent parts do not have distinct ways of functioning like legs or eyes; they cooperate in the functioning of the machine only. The internal energies generated by the parts become the energy of the machine as a unit. In body parts each constituent part's functioning is distinct and together they make the functioning of the body possible. Different parts are distinct but interdependent unlike in a machine.

In simple societies, social cohesion and integration comes from the homogeneity of individuals. For example, people of a tribe feel connected through customs, feelings of obligation to others, shared set of values and beliefs and so on. These are handed down from generation to generation and they exhibit homogeneity of character. In such societies solidarity is based on kinship ties of familial networks. All the above forces in a tribal community work together to generate 'Collective Conscience' and cause them to cooperate like parts of a machine. They carry on the same kinds of thoughts when working to attain economic ends. There is resemblance in the nature of their works and hence, their works also exhibit resemblance with the nature of cohesion and the division of labour corresponds to mechanical solidarity.

In complex societies population size is huge and people are spread over larger areas. They display different characteristics and heterogeneity. They seldom feel connected through customs, feelings of obligation to others, shared set of values and beliefs, and so enjoy greater individual freedoms. Nevertheless, they are linked to other people and consequently the society through dependency in order to fulfil their economic functions. People become specialized in one particular area. Since people are only able to do one particular thing, they depend much more on the rest of society to do other things. In organic solidarity some people would produce one kind of goods and the others different kinds. These are often reciprocally exchanged in conformity to laws and contracts.

Division of labour becomes complex and specialised. Social solidarity therefore is maintained through the interdependence of its component parts much like the interdependent but differentiated organs of a living body. Society relies less on customs, shared faiths, uniform rules on regulating the relations but more on formal contracts and laws. The division of labour corresponds to the complex nature of organic solidarity. Division of labour in terms of organic solidarity is conspicuously absent in tribal societies.

Specialisation and Solidarity Interface

According to Durkheim different members work independently but produce to meet the requirements of the whole community. This type of division of labour, according

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to Durkheim, is *Organic Solidarity*. This is a division of labour that ensures social solidarity in an organic sense. Here division of labour and bonding among them lies in individual or group specialisation. One or a few workers produce one kind of goods and the others produce different kinds. These are reciprocally exchanged so that like constituent organs of an organism everyone is dependent on each other. In a community, for example, the blacksmith depends on potters and farmers, framers on potters and blacksmith, and potters on blacksmith and farmers. All three groups produce what the community requires and meet this requirement by reciprocal exchanges. The exchange takes place not in terms of formal contract or law, but in recognition to customary practices and norms, as binding in tribal communities as the formal law. This type of specialisation is noticed in caste based societies. As you know, tribe by definition is positioned in contrast to caste. In other words, division of labour in terms of organic solidarity could not be found in tribal communities.

However, this example of specialisation is not complex like the ones we see in industrial societies. You will notice from this example that division of labour is more or less product based. The potter for example, normally attends to all the states of work in pot making. Similarly, a farmer by himself or with the cooperation of others attends to all stages of work in agriculture. The specialisation is product based, but not mechanical as the potter does not do the work of blacksmith or the blacksmith of the farmer. The works of the three do not resemble one another.

In addition to the product based division of labour you can also see process based division of labour in terms of Organic Solidarity. We have already given the example of making bread. In view of this you can state with certainty that *process based* division of labour is not a characteristic of tribal economic organizations.

In tribal communities a person or a group of persons undertake works and attend all the stages of production without specialising in any work. Of course there is age and sex difference in their organization of labour. But the product does not come from reciprocal exchange of male and female specialisations. This means the works of both male and female are not combined to produce one commodity like the bread in our example. They together produce or independently produce the commodity if the production is governed by sex differences. This is called *Product Based Division of Labour*. Durkheim calls it *Mechanic Solidarity*. In the community everybody, individually or as a group, performs similar types of works, involving themselves in all the processes in the work like producing bread. In other words, product based division of labour is noticed in tribal communities. Obviously, social cohesion reflects through Mechanical Solidarity.

1.3.6 Tribal and Conventional Economics Interface

By conventional Economics we understand the economic system in industrial societies. In contrast, Tribal Economics refers to the economic system of pre-industrial societies. We will find disagreement between scholars as to the relation between the two. Some scholars believe that the two economic systems are essentially different, while others believe that in both of them, the governing principles are similar. The latter school believes the difference *in degree, not in kind*.

Difference in Degree

Some economic historians view tribal economics by applying conventional principles. They assume resource management to be common both in conventional

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and tribal economics. Accordingly, economy is a system concerned with the way people manage mainly their resources, but not entirely material, whether in tribal or industrial societies. To cite an example, management of human resource in the process of production is an example of non-material resource. The management is also concerned with choices to be made between different uses of resources when these resources are scarce. Economics, therefore, studies the allocation of scarce resources having alternative uses in the process of production, consumption and distribution. Raymond Firth (1967) who studied Polynesian economy has called it,

“...that broad sphere of human activity concerned with resources, their limitations and uses, and the organization, whereby they are brought in a rational way into relation with human wants.”

This is what Leone Robbins (1948/1932) has emphasised in his scarcity definition of economics. The tribal people due to their subsistence needs use the resources in a minimal way and so they do not face scarcity. But, when they face it, by any chance, they migrate to another place. However, there are instances when the scope of migration is limited, people make the best use of their resources. The land management system of the Apatanis can be cited as an example for such a case. In recent years due to population rise and in the absence of earlier fear of feuds with other tribes, the Apatanis have also migrated to different places in the state. But the facet of the matter is that scarcity, as we understand, in an industrial system of production does not arise in pre-industrial tribal communities. We cannot study tribal economics in right perspectives by applying analytical frame of conventional economics.

Those who believe that much of the laws of economics are applicable to study all types of economics are called *formalists*. They hold that the differences between conventional and tribal economic systems are only in *degree*, but not in *kind*. The point of focus is that the biological and social wants are universal and hence the operational principles can be generalized. This stand is clearly explained in the words of Herskovits (1952) who writes,

“The basic problem is universal: not only to have enough to eat to keep alive, but also to satisfy the demands of personal tastes, religious rules and a multitude of social obligations, all as important to life of the group as mere subsistence is to life of the organism.”

In general, the formalists follow Robbins' (1948/1932) scarcity definition of economics which you have already studied. You have already learnt how the definition of Robbins is inadequate in explaining tribal economics in its totality.

Difference in Kind

Many economic historians and anthropologists are of opinion that the differences between two economic systems are in kind. These scholars and academics are called *Substantivists*. They believe that culture affects economic attitudes, and therefore also to the working of economic systems. They have advanced Substantivists approach to study tribal economics which differs from formalist approach.

The Substantivists approach to study tribal economics owes its origin to the writings of economic historian Karl Polanyi (1957). He and his disciple George Dalton (1967) argued that the differences between conventional and tribal economics are more fundamental. Their stand is also supported by Paul Bohannan, and Marshall Sahlins. Polanyi (1957) takes a position that economics is

“an institutionalized process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want satisfying material means.”

Dalton considers this meaning of economics as a substantive one, because in substantive sense

“... economics refers to the provision of material goods which satisfy biological and social wants.”

Biological and social wants are often culture specific. The Substantivist approach takes the position that economics is institutionalized in culture. Hence, they maintain that no general law can be applied across the cultures. The tribal economics therefore differs in kind.

If you analyse the assumptions behind substantive and formal economic systems, you will find two ways of looking at economics. Cook (1973) following Godelier (1972) distinguishes these two ways. In the first sense, economy is viewed as a field of specific activities and as such not related to other aspects of socio-cultural life. This is an understanding of economics in its formal sense. In other words, this is the nature of conventional economics.

In the second sense, economy is viewed as a field encompassing a specific aspect of human activities in totality. Economic aspect does not exist independent of social, political or religious aspects of life. All these aspects are integrated and interconnected. This is what embeddedness means. In other words, economy is instituted in social process. This nature of economics exists in substantive economy which is usually tribal economy.

By now you must have understood that what conventional economics says is not what the economic life and underlying principles in it mean to a tribal person. Before the birth of *Political Economy*, there was *Economy* different from economy as statecraft. Naturally, tribal economy is different from that of political economy. This difference is viewed by some as a matter of *kind*, while others see it as a matter in *degree*. But tribal economy displays characteristics which contrast with conventional economics.

In short, tribal economy

- (i) Is not a political economy;
- (ii) Does not give the notion of the political nation;
- (iii) Considers both material and non-material wealth and welfare;
- (iv) Does not deal with choices between unlimited wants and scarce means; and
- (v) Division of labour is instituted in social process and hence not purely economic in nature.

N. K. Behura (1997) has summed up tribal economy in following terms:

“Economy of the tribe is the projection of its socio-cultural system. It demonstrates the level of technology a tribe possesses, and the manner in which the tribe has responded to the ecosystem in which it is placed. Family is the unit of production which is based on the exploitation of locally and easily available resources with a simple technology. Distribution of goods and services is regulated by considerations of right, obligation, reciprocity and mutuality. The state of tribal economy has been described to be at the level of subsistence or below it.”

This ideal definition does not display the nature of many tribal economies in contemporary India. They are at different levels of integration with national economy,

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though the ideals of tradition exist in different degrees among different tribes. Tribal economy is thus a system encompassing a range of practices in between substantive outlook and formal economic practices, but with an irreversible trend of moving towards conventional economics.

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1.3.7 Underpinning Ideals

In modern economy activities like production and exchange are governed by formal contracts and laws. For example, a producer enters into contract with labourers according to labour laws of the country. Profit motive is a determining factor of production. But, in a tribal economy, labour appropriation in production is not governed by formal contracts and laws; rather cultural norms and social factors guide appropriation of labour. In other words, the ideals behind tribal economy do not corroborate to many ideals of conventional economy. As you know, profit in terms of money is not the ideal behind production activities in a tribal society. Similarly, production of marketable surplus is not a characteristic of such an economy.

We will discuss some ideals behind economic organizations of tribal economy. The ideals are attitude, perception and in general, the world view of tribal people. Ideals are culture specific and have ethical considerations. These ideals often appear as characteristics of a tribal economy. But both are different because ideals determine the activities and organizations for these activities. Characteristics, on the other hand, reflect structural and functional aspects of economic activities and organizations drawing on the ideals.

Ethically, the tribes believe in *sharing*. The sharing practices in economic activities and their organizations designate tribal economy as a sharing economy. The practices, necessarily, are based on the ideal of sharing. The practice of mutual reciprocation of labour in economic activities, for example, has sharing ideal at its back. A hunter while kills a big animal usually shares the game with other families. He does not preserve for future. Sharing is a type of insurance for future. Though there is technological reason, the primacy is the ideal of sharing. Had there been the tendency to accumulate, the people would have developed technology for preservation. The ideal of *non-accumulation* is behind production *for self-consumption* without marketable surplus. It is not a surprise that tribal economy is rightly characterised as a subsistence economy because of the ideal of non-accumulation.

The ideals are interlinked and so also characteristics of tribal economy. However, a few interconnected ideals are outlined as follows:

- (i) Sharing attitude;
- (ii) Subsistence tendency;
- (iii) Perception of economy in socio-cultural sense;
- (iv) Community sense and mutuality;
- (v) Sense of community of being, human being considered as a part of living and non-livings beings;
- (v) Non-futuristic attitude, concern for present issues; and
- (vii) Restraints in resource use within socio-cultural norms.

1.3.8 Characteristics of Tribal Economy

In the earlier sections you have learnt about the differences between conventional and tribal economic systems. You have also studied definitions forwarded by different

scholars. So you are aware of the characteristics of a tribal economy to some extent. The differences and the characteristics discussed above are ideal ones. In reality, contemporary tribal societies do not exist in the ideal stages. We will discuss some of the characteristics of tribal economies in India so that you can have better insight into economic organizations of tribes.

The tribal communities of India display several stages of economic development. As we have discussed, there are food gathering, hunting and fishing, farming, pastoralist etc. communities among the Indian tribes. Their economic activities depend on the ecological settings they inhabit and thus are diverse. Nevertheless, the economic pursuits of different tribes in different ecological setting display some common characteristics. Some important ones are as follows:

1. Simple Organization of Labour and Technology

The production process in tribal communities is based on the use of simple tools and implements. In hunting-gathering economies bows, arrows, traps, etc. are the main hunting implements. Fishing techniques are also not sophisticated. They use handmade traps of different varieties and divert river channels manually by piling up stones from whose cavities they catch the fish. Some communities use drag nets and herbal poisons to intoxicate the fish. For collection of bamboo, cane, poles etc. for house construction the tribal people use axes, *daos*, knives, etc. The shifting cultivators use dibbling stick, spade, axe, baskets and some locally produced iron implements like crow-bar, *khurpi*, etc. In transportation they generally use human energy. In addition to these implements the plains agriculturists use plough and bullock for cultivation and also use animal energy in transportation.

The division of labour is based on sex and age. It is a product based division of labour, i.e., the total process of production of a good is not divided into different stages with specialised labour in each stage.

2. Mixed Economic Activities

The tribes do not pursue any single activity for their sustenance. The plains agricultural community also combines gathering and hunting with agriculture to supplement food requirements and thus, the tribes depend on a number of sources for livelihood.

3. Economic Backwardness

The tribal economy is synonymous with the backward economy. It is difficult to quantify their activities in monetary terms. Even if we quantify their income we will find that their per capita income is very low. Even today, the lowest per capita income is attributed to the tribal people. The production process is carried on using simple tools and implements. The economy operates around the primary sector activities. The consumption is conspicuous in nature and the choice between goods and services is limited. There is no capital formation and the market forces do not determine resource allocation.

4. Barter and Non-Monetised Economy

The traditional tribal economy is designated largely as a barter economy, wherein goods are exchanged for goods. Money as a medium of exchange, store or measurement of value has little or no role to play in a traditional tribal economy.

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Check Your Progress

3. Who said the following lines?
 - (a) A self-regulating market system automatically satisfies the economic needs of the populace.
 - (b) Economics is 'a study of man in the ordinary business of life. It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it.'
 - (c) Tribal communities are Affluent Society.
 - (d) Specialisation is an aspect of division of labour.
 - (e) Division of labour is in the nature of organic solidarity in tribal societies.
 - (f) The sharing ethics is insurance for future uncertainty.
 - (g) *Red shell necklace* moves in a clock-wise direction in *kula* exchange.
 - (h) Formalists believe that conventional and tribal economics differ in degree.

The notion of property is closely related to the display and spending of wealth rather than accumulation. In recent years the situation is changing and the barter economy is giving place to a market economy.

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5. Subsistence Economy

The tribal economy by definition is a subsistence economy. The production and consumption level is of bare minimum type. This means production is meant for self-consumption. However, one should not think that there is no surplus in tribal economy. There is surplus at individual level. When a family thinks of constructing a house or organising a marriage ceremony it produces surplus by engaging community labour which it reciprocates later. However, there is no marketable surplus with a commercial motive.

As the economy operates at the subsistence level, the production is organised on a small scale.

6. Marketless Economy

The tribal communities are exposed to weekly markets; they sell and exchange their goods in the market places. But the tribal economy does not exhibit the trends of a market economy. Their social, economic, political and religious needs are satisfied within their system itself. These needs are embedded in their culture and it is this culture that influences their economic activities. As the economic affairs of a tribe are not determined by the general market forces, hence, the economy is called a *marketless economy*.

7. The Economy of Mutual And Reciprocal Cooperation

The economic activities are carried on the basis of mutual cooperation. Lineage, clan or community based labour is appropriated when family labour supply falls short of demand. The labour engaged is usually not paid any wage; rather the employment of labour is reciprocated in some future date. Thus, the appropriation of community labour is mutually reciprocated. In addition to this, hunting, fishing, food gathering, and all such activities need cooperation because of the nature of the work.

8. Less Diversified Economy

The tribal people depend on several activities for their livelihood. As has been said, no single pursuit meets up their material means of existence. For example, hunting is supplemented by fishing and gathering; the shifting cultivators depend on fishing, gathering and hunting to supplement their food requirements. But all these pursuits are based on land, forest and water resources. Even manufacturing of utilitarian objects like baskets and wood crafts depend on forest resources. Though some tribes manufacture iron and other metal products, they quarry the minerals primarily from the surface of the soil. In other words, the activities are related to the primary sector activities. There is no entrepreneur class in a tribal economy; and the secondary and tertiary sector activities virtually do not exist.

9. Domestic Mode of Production

The production is organised for the consumption of family members by employing the family labour itself. Each and every family normally produces what they require using their material means of existence. Any shortage is fulfilled through

exchange within the lineage, clan or village community. Inter village exchange takes place within a known circle or kin group. There is *face to face relation* between the exchanging parties. Since production takes place in the household and within the village, there is no difference between the place of residence and the place of manufacturing as in the case of the factory system of production.

10. Sustainable Resource Use

The subsistence nature of economy is characterised by small scale of production and thus minimisation of needs. As a result, the resources were not used to a critical limit posing a threat to natural regeneration. In addition to small scale of production, the resources were not put to diversified uses. For example, the forest resources were not used for making furniture in traditional community. Besides, the resources were not either used or used in a very limited scale to meet the demand beyond the community which owned the resources. As a result, the resources were sustainable.

11. Embedded Economy

The tribal economy is embedded in nature. The economic activities cannot be isolated from other activities, say social or religious. The forests are not cleared for shifting cultivation before the performance of a ritual. Rituals are performed for good harvest and good catches during hunting. Many tribal people observe taboos after the hunting of big animals. The division of labour is based on social criteria like sex and age. As a matter of fact, the economy is institutionalised in the culture.

12. Sharing Economy

Tribal economy is not an accumulated economy. Sharing plays a major role in such an economy. Whenever one hunts a big animal he distributes it among the fellow villagers keeping his own share. In a tribal economy, sharing is a type of insurance for the future as a family is not sure of getting an animal every day from hunting. Moreover, the animal one hunts cannot be preserved or consumed by the family if it is big. So, if one shares today, he holds a claim tomorrow over the meat of the animal hunted by other. By sharing his product, a tribal insures his future that is vulnerable to uncertainty.

Besides the above characteristics, the tribal economy is marked by the absence of profit motive as it is normally designated as the self-sufficient economy. This is because the material means of existence are mostly produced within the system. As far as ownership of resources is concerned it is community based and the individual rights operate within the community frame as per customary prescriptions. When a family migrates from the village, he ceases the right to use the resources. Normally, the individual rights are 'use rights' (*usufructuary* rights).

It is a known fact that tribes in India have been a part and parcel in the process of nation building since Independence as they are integrated in the policies and programmes of development. Obviously, the economy displays characteristics different from the tribal economy in an ideal stage. Majumdar and Madan (1970) have identified nine different traits of tribal economy in India which emerged within two decades of its development planning. The features of integration are visible but fluid. These traits are also found in contemporary tribal economy. Taking the cue from Majumdar and Madan we can outline the following features of tribal economy:

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1. There is an absence of technological aids in the tribal economy resulting inefficient, inadequate and even wasteful exploitation of nature. Consequently, the bare minimum necessity for sustenance is raised with great difficulty. An economic surplus is rare in their community.
2. The economic relations among the tribes themselves are mostly based on barter and exchange. Money as a store and measure of value, and medium of exchange is not used widely. Institutions like banking and credit are used only in dealing with non-tribal groups which depends upon the nature and frequency of contracts with them. The use of money is also linked with development projects and schemes. Money as a medium of exchange among tribes is found in urban areas and to some degrees in rural areas. Barter is still predominant and exchange of traditional items is still prevalent.
3. The profit motive in economic dealings is generally absent. The role of an incentive is fulfilled by a sense of mutual obligation, sharing and solidarity.
4. Co-operative and collective endeavour is a strongly developed feature in tribal economy.
5. The rate of innovation, internal and induced, is very low and consequently the economy is relatively static.
6. The regular market as an institution along with its conditions of market like perfect competition and monopoly is absent. What comes nearest to is the weekly market of festival or seasonal meets. In urban centres market for tribal items, including vegetables are coming up. Production, consumption and distribution have opened up to market linkage to some extents.
7. The manufacture of consumer rather than capital goods is common. In fact, production of goods for subsistence is still the practice in tribal villages.
8. Specialization based on specially acquired specific technical abilities is very low. In some areas weaving, iron works, etc. are being specialised for market. However, division of labour, based on factors other than specialization like sex, age, is widely present.
9. The notion of property is closely related to display and expenditure of wealth rather than to its accumulation. Property includes both movable goods like cattle, ornaments, utensils, etc. and immovable goods such as land. Notion of inheritance of property is traditional though in some areas new norms like a girl inheriting landed property is coming up. Both types of ownership, collective and individual, are known.

1.4 DOMAIN OF ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

There are three economic activities fundamental to all types of economic systems. These are production, consumption and distribution & exchange. However, the nature of these activities varies between industrial and pre-industrial communities. Here we shall focus on the basic economic activities in pre-industrial, precisely the tribal communities.

1.4.1 Production

The process of production, whatever form it takes, is the beginning of the economic activities of a community. In hunting-gathering and fishing communities, human beings exploit nature for satisfaction of material needs without transforming it. But in agricultural communities, material necessities are produced by transforming nature. Maurice Godelier (1972) defines it as the “totality of operations which supplies a society with material means of existence”. In a tribal economy, production refers to utilisation of natural resources for livelihood sustenance with a well-defined organization of technology and labour. These resources are not available uniformly everywhere. Some areas have one type of resources in abundance than the others. . Naturally, the available resources engage people in a type of production different from other areas with different resource base. In short, production primarily depends on the natural environment and is specific to that environment particularly for subsistence people. To cite an example, the natural environment of Assam is suitable for tea plantation while that of Kashmir for apple cultivation. In this section we shall outline the ownership of resources, organization of technology and labour in production process.

In tribal societies, resources are community owned and individuals exercise *usufructuary* rights over them. Hence, individual ownership exists only in the community frame of ownership, where the community is either a lineage or a clan or a village or tribe. However, private ownership exists in cases of personal belongings such as in the case of tools and ornaments etc. The production takes place in a private (family) sphere. In pastoralist economies, pastures and water sources are owned by the community in the customary frame, but the animals are owned individually. Private individual ownership is usually associated with intensive agriculture. But this may not be always the case. Till the 1970s the Khamptis and the Apatanis, who traditionally practice intensive agriculture in Arunachal Pradesh, enjoyed individual rights within customary frame.

People in every society have a technology which consists of the cultural knowledge and the information that people possess about manufacture and use of tools. It also includes the practice of extraction and refinements of raw materials. Precisely, in tribal communities the technology is simple and includes handmade tools and implements, constructions (such as animal traps) and required skills (such as how and where to fix the animal traps). It helps carrying out small scale economic activities for subsistence, whether it is in agriculture, hunting, or fishing. Practically, technological knowledge consists of the technique of weaving, making looms, construction of traditional houses, basketry, wood carving, iron smithy, etc. It extends to the practice of agriculture and use of forest resources. You have learnt the nature of technology in tribal economy in section 3.3.8.

The division of labour is based on age and sex. Some activities like hunting are exclusively meant for male members while weaving for female. Similarly, the old and children are not given hard works. The division of labour as we have discussed is *product based*. There is no specialisation in different stages associated with the process of production of a commodity. An individual does not have any specialisation; an expert hunter also takes part in constructing a house or in agricultural activities. An iron smithy does not carry on the iron works exclusively for his/his family’s livelihood; he also makes basket and involves in agriculture and forest activities. A tribal woman weaves cloth, cooks for the family members,

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collect vegetables and firewood, goes out fishing and works in the agricultural field. Each one, whether a male or female, is engaged in a number of assignments, which together fulfil the material needs of the family members in general.

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In forest hunting type, hill cultivation type and even in some plains cultivation type communities there is little formal organization of labour. The labour group is organised when there is a need at the time of production. The *patang*, a labour corps of the Apatanis, is active mainly during house construction, collection of house building materials from frosts, transplantation and harvesting. During other parts of the year it stands dissolved. The number of members in the *patang* may vary from season to season and new members may join in it. Obviously, the labour organization has changing composition and leadership; the membership is voluntary and depends on individual's willingness.

1.4.2 Consumption

The unit of production and unit of consumption in tribal communities are normally homologous. For example, the family is generally the unit of production; and it is the family which is largely a unit of consumption. Occasionally, it differs when surplus goods are bartered against some goods which a family does not produce but require fulfilling material needs. A widower may not produce cloth, but he gets it from others for his use through barter exchange or otherwise. The position we take here is that the consumption is direct when the units of production and units of consumption are homologous. But it could be also indirect when the units differ and consumption takes place through barter exchange.

In fact, consumption refers to the utilisation of goods and services to satisfy both material and non-material needs of the individual and the group. At individual level one consumes material goods like food, clothes, shelter; and non-material goods like the service of a priest who performs rituals as curative measure when he/she falls sick. Traditional tribal communities were prone to epidemics. These were thought to be caused by supernatural beings and hence supernatural curative practices like rituals at village/community level were organised.

The tribal people are not individualistic, for they are community people. Community commitment, for them, has greater significance than individual concern. As you know, the smallest unit of production is family, and this family is also the unit of consumption. The surplus if any in the family is shared by community members on different occasions. Obviously, the consumption has a community dimension.

The consumption has both sacred and secular dimensions also. The services of the priest rendered through the performance of rituals to cure a sick person has sacred dimension. It relates to the faiths and beliefs of the people. The Apatnais do not share sacrificial pig blood even with their married daughters as after marriage daughters belong to the other clans. Obviously, the consumption of pig blood by clan members has sacred dimension. But all types of consumption are not sacred. Normal dietary intake, daily use of clothes and so on have secular or profane dimension as they do not relate to the faiths and beliefs of the people and no restrictions are imposed in the process of consumption. Wearing a particular type of dress during a ritual has a sacred consideration. The priests use specific dresses for performing specific rituals as is considered sacred. On normal occasions his dressing pattern does not have any sacredness attached to it.

As discussed, consumption has a social dimension. The male and female dresses are different in all the tribal communities. The dressing pattern of the chiefs and the commoners are different in chiefdoms. In Buddhist tribes, the monks wear maroon or yellow dresses. In some Tani group of tribes a competition is held to ascertain the social status by sacrificing *mithun* (*bos frontalis*). One who kills more *mithuns* is considered to have the highest social status. It is not accumulation but consumption that determines the status of an individual in the society.

1.4.3 Distribution and Exchange

Distribution refers to sharing of the output of production by those who have helped in its production. In a tribal community distribution is simple and mostly guided by cultural norms. When a productive activity like hunting is undertaken on cooperative basis, output so produced is divided according to cultural norms among the number of families or working hands participated in it. Even the meat of the hunted animals is distributed among the old persons, priests, widows, etc. who did not participate in the hunting. The distribution of goods and services in traditional tribal communities is one of the three main types of reciprocity: *generalised*, *balanced* and *negative*. These are exchanges without the use of money. However, there is market exchange where money plays an important role of distribution. But we will discuss the exchange without the use of money. Exchanges are made with the expectation of a return or without any apparent return. When goods and services are given to others without the apparent expectation of a return we call it generalised reciprocity. The parents give their children food, clothes, etc. for which they do not expect any return. The chiefs often organise feast for the commoners without any expectation of returns. The dormitory boys render their services at the time of agriculture. They get food and drinks, but not in lieu of their labour. These are examples of generalised reciprocity. In *balanced reciprocity* the equal amount or value of the goods or services rendered is expected to be returned. The return may take place immediately or in a future period. The so-called bride price given to the bride's parents is reciprocated equally with the gifts of beads and other ornaments by the bride's family in many tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. This is an example of balanced reciprocity. If the return is not equal or of equivalent value it is called a negative reciprocity. This happens when the tribal people are cheated by the traders in a market situation.

Further, there is the system of redistribution especially in communities with a centralised authority. The people pay rent, tributes, etc. to the chief which he redistributes among the people as gifts, rewards, etc. In fact every society has the incidence of redistribution at least within the family. The members of the family pool the products of their labour together, may be under the custodian of the family head, which they use later for common good. But our point of focus on redistribution as a means of exchange is beyond the level of family.

There are two classic examples of distribution and exchange: *potlatch* and *kula*.

Potlatch: The word *potlatch* comes from Chinook jargon which simply means *giving* in the sense of giving a gift. This is a practice among the tribes in Northwest Pacific coast including the Kwakiutl. In their territory there is abundance of resources, though variable across regions and seasons. For example, the salmon fishing may be good in one area while poor in another. Such variations can be seasonal, but they can be also for a long period. Traditionally, each area was owned by a kin group with its chief as the designated owner of the kin group's resources. When one kin

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Check Your Progress

Answer the following in brief:

4. Why are tribal economic organizations informal?
5. Why is the welfare definition of Marshall not applicable to tribal economic system?
6. What is rationality in conventional economics?
7. What is the difference between factory and household system of production?
8. Who are formalists?
9. What do you mean by technology is a tribal community?
10. What is a barter economy?
11. What is consumption?
12. What do you mean by production in a tribal society?
13. What do you mean by sacred dimension of consumption?

group had more food than the neighbouring kin groups, it would hold a potlatch. The chief would collect food and other goods from members of his kin group and then distribute these to neighbouring groups. This is also a case of redistribution.

In the following years when any of the neighbouring kin groups had enough goods they would hold a potlatch. This always adds to the prestige of the chief who holds potlatch. The process went on till the end of the 19th century when instead of giving, the chiefs decided to destroy the wealth.

In some communities the destruction practice led to the rivalry potlatch. Rivalry potlatch took place because of the competition between two men for a specific social status. A chief would destroy great quantities of valuables, break coppers, smash canoes and slay slaves in order to humiliate his rival. However, in recent years this practice exists only in social occasions like the marriage ceremonies.

Kula: The *Kula* was first described in Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* as the system of exchange between the Trobriand Islanders and neighbouring seafaring peoples. The system of exchange has three spheres, *kula*, *wasi* and *gimwali*. Of these spheres *kula* is the most prestigious one which is practised by chiefs and other powerful men to gain status.

Kula is the exchange of valuable white armshells for equally valuable red necklaces. The possession of one or more of these items requires a man to organise an expedition to the house of his trading partners on another island. Trobrianders and neighbouring islanders exchange these valuables in a never-ending circle called the *kula ring*. It takes the shape of the ring because necklaces move in a clockwise direction and armshells in an anti-clock wise direction from one island to the other. The trading partners know the history of each item which is discussed during exchange. In a formal sense, the *kula* comprises ceremonial exchange of non-utilitarian goods. Trobrianders only exchange items in the *kula* sphere, armshells and necklaces, at the time of *kula*. They cannot exchange these for yams or fish or anything else which have their own spheres such as *wasi* and *gimwali*. *Wasi* is the exchange of fish from lagoon villages for yams from inland villages. It is based on standing partnerships and obligations to give and receive, but of utilitarian goods. On the other hand, *gimwali* is a barter exchange carried out between villages at the time of *kula*. It comprises non-ceremonial exchange of utilitarian goods except fish and yams which come under *wasi* sphere.

1.5 COMMUNITY AND OCCUPATION BASED ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

You have already studied that 'tribal economy' is a general notion for all types of economies or economic systems existing in tribal communities. In other words, economy is tribe specific. To put it differently, a tribe is designated, for example, as a pastoralist tribe or hunting and gathering tribe depending on predominant activities its members pursue for survival needs. Accordingly, a tribe is a pastoralist tribe if its members engage in cattle herding for sustenance. In this sense the type of major economic activity of a tribe is synonym of economic organization of that tribe. Needless to say, economic organization can be tribe specific.

As you know tribes do not exist in ideal stage. Almost all tribes have exposures to various forces, particularly development forces of the nation. Obviously, the tribes are in transition and members of a tribe do not depend on one type of economic

activity for survival needs. In addition to traditional practices members of a tribal community are found working in government and private sectors.

Within tribe, there is no economic organization for these members. There are also no inter-tribe economic organizations of persons engaged in similar type of works outside. But, their engagement in various occupations marks a change in the division of labour in the family and community. However, these workers fall in the domain of greater economic organizations of the nation. Despite the fact that emerging occupational groups in a tribe do not have tribe based organization, still we have discussed the emerging occupation categories among the tribes. As the tribe is in transition and in the process of integration with national economy, so also are tribal economic organizations. We can argue that members of tribes are organised around both traditional economic pursuits and non-traditional occupations.

1.5.1 Elements of Economic Organizations

You will find some elements common to all types of economy. A discussion of these elements will be useful to understand an economic organization better. In fact differences in the characteristics of these elements distinguish among economic organizations. These elements are production, consumption, distribution and exchange, ownership, inheritance rules, technology and division of labour.

We will discuss production, consumption, distribution and exchange as a separate section. Similarly, we will attempt a general discussion of other elements. In community based economic organizations we will advance a general type of discussion on the nature of economic activities with occasional reference to elements of economic organizations.

There are several ways in which tribal people secure their livelihoods. The ways presently can be broadly of two types: traditional and non-traditional. The traditional type includes the age old practices of securing material means of existence. On the other hand the non-traditional one is the emerging trend consequent upon their encounter with external forces including development interventions. However, the economic activities of the tribes cannot be put into this or that type; there are always mixed activities. In fact they have more choices available to them. Of course one of the activities may be the main pursuit of the group and this characterizes their typology. Even within the tribe different sub-groups may specialise in different occupations. For example, the different sub-groups of the Mahali are found practising different occupations. The *Bansphod* Mahali has basket making as its main occupation; the Patar/Ghasi Mahali practise both basket making and cultivation; the Solanki Mahali are cultivators and labourers ; and the Tanti Mahali are palanquin bearers.

N. K. Behura (1997) following Nash's (1966) classification of economic system has mentioned of five typologies which would explain the social categories of the tribes on the basis of economic activities. These are: (i) hunting-gathering type, (ii) pastoral type, (iii) simple artisan type, (iv) shifting or jhum cultivation type, and (v) settled agriculture type.

Though these types happen to be the core of economic activities pursued by the tribes, there are certain variations and additions in the case of Indian tribes. There are regional classification of economic activities and also inclusion of emerging trend mainly due to development interventions. For example, Vidyarthi (1963) has proposed a threefold classification of economic activities for the south Indian

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tribes, namely (i) hunters and food gatherers, (ii) plough cultivators, (iii) tribes engaged in business centres, mines, factories, etc. He has also classified the tribes of Odisha into (a) hunting and food gatherers, (b) forest or shifting cultivators, and (c) settled agriculturists on the basis of their economic pursuits. Majumdar and Madan (1970) have provided a six fold classification of economic activities pursued by tribes of India which includes (i) food gathering, (ii) agriculture, (iii) shifting axe cultivation (iv) handicraft, (v) pastoralism, and (vi) industrial labour. But Vidyarthi's classification (Vidyarthi and Rai, 1985) is more comprehensive, includes a wide range of activities and presents a grading from hunting and food gathering to the industrial phase. His typology includes (i) forest hunting type, (ii) the hill cultivator type, (iii) the plain agricultural type, (iv) the simple artisan including the forkl-artist type, (v) the pastoral and cattle herder type, (vi) the agricultural and non-agricultural labour type (traditionally they belong to the tribes of plain agricultural and simple artisan categories), (vii) the skilled and white-collar-job type working in offices, hospitals, factories, etc.

1.5.2 Community Based Economic Organizations

The community and its economic organization are coterminous. In other words, the tribal community is characterised on the basis of predominant economic activities which its members pursue. As such the tribal community is classified on the basis of its predominant economic activities. Accordingly, you will find the following community/tribe-based traditional economic organizations in India.

The Forest Hunting Type

This group of tribes live in and around the forests and largely depend on forests for their livelihood. They are mostly hunter gatherers and regularly resort to collection, gathering and hunting in the forests near and far. These forest hunting type tribes use forest and water resources which vary according to season, cycle and area. Their main activities are (a) food gathering, (b) hunting, and (c) fishing. The individual as well as community life of these tribes is organized to secure livelihoods by hunting, fishing, collecting roots, tubers, fruits, nuts, leaves, fibres, bamboo, cane, honey, wax, etc. Usually they collect leaves, roots, fruits and honey as survival strategy, and other raw materials for clothes and for exchange. The Birhors, for example, collect raw materials to make ropes which they sell in the market. Similarly, as Elwin (1948) informs us, the Juang's of Odisha used to collect leaves traditionally for their dress purpose.

The tribes belonging to forest hunting type are distributed all over India in different States. We have Rajis in Uttarakhand; the Birhors in Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha; the Hill-Khariyas, the Parahiyas, the Birjias and the Korwas in Bihar and Jharkhand; the Juangs and the Bondas in Odisha; the Hill Maria Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and Chhatishgrah; the Chenchus and Yanadis in Andhra Pradesh; the Kadars and Mala-Pantarams, the Arandans and Kurumbas in Kerala; the Paliyans in Tamil Nadu and the Onges, Jarawas, Sentinalese, Shompen and Nicobarese in Andaman and Nicobar Islands who fall in this group.

It is to be mentioned that most of these tribes are not to be found in their ideal state in recent years. Many of them have taken to agriculture, wage labour and other occupations consequent upon development interventions. Nevertheless, they are still hunter-gatherers at heart and perceive their identity as such.

Check Your Progress

14. State whether the following statements are true or false:
 - (a) Consumption is the starting point of all economic activities.
 - (b) Paul A. Samuelson's definition of Economics is known as scarcity definition.
 - (c) Face to face interaction between buyers and sellers is a characteristic of market economy.
 - (d) In balanced reciprocity the value of the goods and services rendered is not expected to return soon.
 - (e) Division of labour in tribal economy is process based.

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Even in ideal state there are examples when the hunter gather communities had relation with neighbouring communities. The Sulung of Arunachal Pradesh presents a singular case in the state where they were subordinate to their neighbouring tribes like the Miji and the Nyish who had superior technology to secure their livelihoods. The Nyishs and the Mijis were hill cultivators whereas the Sulungs were hunter-gatherers. They had entered into an informal agreement of labour appropriation which is called 'slavery' in earlier writings. The Sulungs worked for the Nyishis and the Mijis in their agricultural fields, carried their loads and made iron implements which they did not use. The appropriation of Sulungs' labour continued through a social arrangement. The Nyishis and the Mijis used to look after their material needs during marriage and other occasions and to repay these obligations the Sulungs worked for them. This patronage to meet the material needs became a mechanism to perpetuate the system of labour appropriation. Once the Sulungs entered into such obligations it renewed with every marriage, sickness, etc. which are recurring events in a family. The arrangement is more like a bonded labour system than that of slavery. In spite of their exposure to better technology through their interaction with the neighbouring Nyishi and Miji tribes they remained primarily hunter-gatherers for their livelihood.

Behera (2009) informs us that the Sulungs used to practise traditionally both organized group hunting and individual hunting. Individual hunting is more frequent and common than the group hunting. In group hunting all the villagers take part and get equal share of the game. The actual hunter of the animal however, gets a larger share such as fore leg, a hind leg and a portion of meat from the chest, in addition to his normal share with others. The hunter must give meat to his 'master' (the head of the family in either Nyishi or Miji community for whom he has bonded his labour), otherwise the master would beat him or inflict any torture upon him and might even forcibly take away the share of his meat. There is another type of sharing of games. Every Sulung village has its own hunting territory divided among its individual households. The hunting territory of individual household is known as *Houng*. When a wounded animal dies in another's *Houng* then a share of the game has to be given to the owner of the land. But usually among the hunter-gatherer people common rather than community ownership of hunting and gathering territory is the rule.

There is a distinct, but not rigid, division of labour even in forest hunting type tribes. It is found in Birhor tribe that the women are responsible for childcare, food preparation and gathering. The women usually collect roots, jungle fruits and leaves for vegetables. However, both male and female collect firewood. The menfolk engage themselves in hunting, rope-making and house construction. The Birhor men play important role in hunting, chiefly of monkeys and in collection of honey. A part of the meat is distributed among the members of the group as per customs. Thus, men have a greater involvement in production and distribution outside the family; while home remains essentially the sphere of women's production and distribution (feeding of family members) works. In the field of exchange, the women have a role. The sale or barter of rope in the neighbouring non-Birhor villages, for example, is entirely carried on by women.

The tools and implements used by hunter-gatherer people are simple. Except iron products like axe, knife, arrow-head, they make other implements like digging sticks, rope or bamboo traps from raw materials available in the surroundings. They also make pit traps to catch big animals.

These people use dogs during hunting. For fishing they have a variety of traps made of rope, yarn and bamboo. Diversion of the river, use of herbal poison, etc. are some of the techniques of fishing. Fishing is also done by hand. In fishing both male and female take part.

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The Hill Cultivation Type

The hill cultivation type tribes are those who practise shifting and terrace cultivation. The practice of hill cultivation among the tribes is widespread in our country. The Tenth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61 mentions that 26 lakhs of tribal population belonging to 109 different tribal communities of the country practise shifting cultivation. It is estimated that 618 thousand hectare land was under shifting cultivation during 1960-61 and 1326 hectares thousand in 1974-75. Presently, it is practised on a large scale in the states and union territories of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura and to a smaller extent in States of Gujrat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal.

In various regions of India, shifting (swidden) cultivation is known by different terms. In Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, Swidden cultivation is widely known as *Jhum*, though each tribe has its own term for it. The Adis of Arunachal Pradesh call it *Adi-arik*, whereas among the Rang of Tripura, it is known as *Hooknismong*. In some parts of Nagaland, it is known as *Teknaglu*. In Madhya Pradesh among the Baiga, it is known as *Bewar* whereas among the Abhujmaria Gonds of Bastar it is known as *Penda* and among the Korku of Melghat forest it is known as *Dahya*. In Tamilnadu, South Kanara of Karnatak, it is called *Kumari*; among the Sologa of Karnatak and in Andhra Pradesh and the Kondah, the Koya and other Dravidian speaking tribes in Odisha it is known as *Podu*; the Soura call it *Buguda*. It is known as *Angwal* among the Lanjia Soura. Some divisions of the Kondha of Odisha call it *Rama* and the Kutia Kandha of Phulbani name it *Berenga*. In northern Odisha, among the hill Bhuyans, it is known as *Komanchas*.

Definition and Characteristics: Shifting cultivation is a land use practice in the hills. There are different definitions. Pelzer in 1958 defined it,

...as an agricultural system which is characterised by a rotation of fields rather than of crops, by short period of cropping (one to three years) alternating with long fallow periods (upto twenty and more years, but often as short as six to eight years) and by clearing by means of slash and burn.

Conklin in 1957 had given a similar definition, but in 1961 simplified it as ...any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously.

Generally, the shifting cultivation has some distinct features. These are community ownership of land, community-basis of appropriation of labour on mutual reciprocity, production for subsistence needs, rotation of fields, multiple cropping, sex-based division of labour and fallow period. Sachchidananda (1989) provides a detailed account of the features of shifting cultivation; some important ones are as follows:

1. Shifting cultivation practised chiefly in simple cultures or where the size of population is small; but it is practised by almost anyone for whom there is no alternative;
2. The practice uses human labour and normally few hand tools like dibbling stick, axe, dao, etc.;
3. Labour organization is reciprocal, though involves variation in working group structure (may be of only female population or of male population of different age groups);
4. It involves clearing of forests by felling, cutting, slashing and burning and using fire to dispose of dried debris;
5. Under this system the cropping fields shift after a certain period of cultivation which may be of one year also;
6. Multiple cropping pattern is followed;
7. The crops are short-term and long-term varieties;
8. Primarily, crops are produced for subsistence needs though sale of part or the whole product is not altogether absent;
9. In this practice traditional techniques like vegetative cover, leaving stumps of big trees, preparation of hedges with half burnt debris on deep slopes are followed to prevent soil erosion;
10. It is operative chiefly in regions where more technologically advanced systems of agriculture have not become economically or culturally possible;
11. It is also operative in regions where land has not been appropriated by people with greater political or cultural control; and
12. This practice is destructive of natural resources when operated inefficiently and to meet market demands where it is possible.

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Stages of Shifting Cultivation

The shifting cultivation is not a mere economic pursuit; it is a practice institutionalised in culture. So the different stages include both economic activities and ritualistic performances. Right from the selection of forest land to storage of grains there are certain distinguishing stages of activities. The stages vary from region to region and tribe to tribe. However, some common stages are as follows:

- (i) Selection of site and ritual performance for its suitability (in some tribes the suitability is ascertained by dreams);
- (ii) Clearance of forest for cultivation, drying of felled trees and burning;
- (iii) Rituals for good harvest (in some tribes);
- (iv) Demarcation of plot for various crops and construction of a field house;
- (v) Sowing/broadcasting the seeds;
- (vi) Weeding – for two to three times;
- (vii) Watching for the protection of crops;
- (viii) Rituals (by some tribes);
- (ix) Harvesting;

(x) Transportation and storing in granaries which are constructed away from the dwelling houses (some performs rituals in granaries); and

(xi) Fallowing (after one or two years' cultivation).

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Traditionally the fallow period used to vary from 12 to 20 years and even more, but in recent years the recuperative period has been minimised to three to four years due to population growth. Moreover, large plots are cultivated as products are now linked to the market. People produce not only for subsistence needs but also for the market demand to earn money income. The land is also put into other uses for developmental works, plantation, industries etc. As a result, there is a shortage of land and so the *jhum* cycle has reduced to three to four years.

The Plain Agriculture Type

As recorded in the Census of India 1961 all the major tribes of India, which includes 68.18 per cent of the total tribal working population, practise agriculture as their primary source of livelihood. These figures have not changed much over the years. According to the Census of India, 2011, records 797 (79.7 %) persons ST workers in primary sector, 132 (13.2%) in secondary sector and 71 (7.1 %) in tertiary sector out of a sample of 1000. The Khasas and Tharus of Uttarakhand ; the Kinnauras, Pangwalas and Swanglas in Himachal Pradesh; the Bhumij, Koras, Bhuiyas, Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Hos, Kharwars, Baigas, Gonds, etc. in central India; the Bhils, Minas, Garasias, Damarias, Koli Maldadevis, Varlis, Thakurs, Korkles, Dubla, etc., in western India; the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh; the Malayalis of Tamil Nadu in south India, the Apatanis and the Khamptis in Arunachal Pradesh, the Bodos, Lalungs of Assam and so on belong to plain agriculture type groups.

The agriculturist tribes generally follow hill and plain type cultivations, mainly shifting and wet rice cultivation respectively depending on the topography which they inhabit. A single tribe may pursue two types of agriculture due to topographical variation of their habitats. The Galos and Adis of Arunachal Pradesh who live in the hills practise the hill type of agriculture, while those living in plains practise the plain type cultivation. The tools and implements they use are simple. However, they use animal power for ploughing their fields. Their implements include the sickle, spade, *khurpi*, axe, pick, crow-bar, long wooden plank, leveller, small and big baskets, earthen pots, etc. However, the production only meets their subsistence needs. The agricultural implements are made by local iron-smiths or obtained through barter exchange from the neighbouring people. A few tribes are recorded by scholars using cow-dung as manure.

Stages of cultivation: Like the shifting cultivation the plains cultivation also has different phases. Right from preparation of the land and nursery bed to storage of produces there are different sequences of activities. Some of the activities relate to rituals and entertainment. The plains agricultural tribes grow both *kharif* and *rabi* crops. *Kharif* crops are grown during the period from May to November. The *rabi* crops are winter crops and mainly include pulses of several varieties and some vegetables. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have outlined the following stages of *kharif* crops in plains agriculture of Indian tribes.

- (i) Ploughing the land which begins from May with the collection, repair and purchase of implements;
- (ii) Rituals to worship plough, bullocks and gods;

- (iii) Ploughing the field following the first shower in June;
- (iv) Sowing using the broadcast seeding technique in the uplands in June and preparation of plant nursery for transplantation;
- (v) Transplantation in July or early August;
- (vi) Weeding by hand after a fortnight or light ploughing when crops grow to a height of about 25 to 30 cm;
- (vii) Watching-guarding against the herbivorous inhabitants;
- (viii) Use of some magical device in plots with diseased crops;
- (ix) Regular watch to clear weeds and to maintain the required level of water;
- (x) Harvesting, firstly of upland land and then of late variety crops;
- (xi) Threshing in renovated threshing floor by cattle or by beating the shears of paddy and watching the threshing floor;
- (xii) Winnowing;
- (xiii) Worshipping;
- (xiv) Husking and storing by November.

Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have also outlined seven phases of *rabi* crops as

- (i) ploughing to clear the field,
- (ii) manuring,
- (iii) sowing,
- (iv) weeding,
- (v) watching,
- (vi) harvesting, and
- (vii) cleaning and storing grain.

In plains cultivation mono-crops are raised. The system of plains cultivation is associated with the emerging private ownership of land. However, in some tribes both community and private ownerships exist side by side. The labour organization is mainly based on community consideration with mutual reciprocation. Some families also engage wage labour from neighbouring villages or tribes.

The Simple Artisan Type

A number of tribes practise certain crafts such as basket making, spinning and weaving, mat-making, iron-smithy, etc. The Kanjars are engaged in basketry and rope making; the Birhors also make a part of their livelihood from basket making. The Monpa tribe of Arunachal Pradesh is famous for its carpet making. The Chik-Baraikis make hand-woven clothes which they supply to the Mundas, Oraons, etc. The Kotas of Nilgiris depend on carpentry, tool making and pottery. The Muria of Chhattisgarh and Kurumbas of Tamil Nadu manufacture several wooden objects. The Asurs in Jharkhand are good iron smelters. The Bondo, the Gadaba and the Dangaria Kondha are good embroidery workers.

Even the tribe or a clan is designated on the basis of its craft in which it is specialised in. For example, one of the sub-groups of the Mahali tribe are named *Bansphod Mahali* because of their specialisation in basket making. With their simple

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tools and traditional skills, making use of the locally available raw materials the tribal people make several objects for their own use and for local markets as well. For instance, the Kamars, whose occupation is iron smithy, use simple technology like hand bellows, big iron hammer, short shaft hammer, small hammer, anvil, chisel, earthen bucket, etc.

The Pastoral and Cattle Herder Type

The pastoral tribes are another social category whose sustenance depends on cattle herding. The cattle wealth varies from tribe to tribe depending on the ecology they occupy. In plains people keep buffalo and cow while in high mountains tribal groups like the Brokpas keep yaks. The pastoral people use the animals either for milk products or meat or for both. A number of tribal communities in the central India raise cattle for meat and use them as draught animals.

A tribe may be fully or partly depend on cattle herding for its sustenance. The Todas of Nilgiris, the Gujjars of Kashmir, the Gaddis and Jads in Himachal Pradesh, the Brokpas of Arunachal Pradesh depend on cattle herding as their only source of livelihood. However, tribes like the Kisan in middle India or the Nagesias of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh cling to cattle herding as a part of their total livelihood strategy. The Bhotiyas of Uttarakhand are midway between pastoral economy and agriculture.

The pastoralist community which depends on cattle herding as the only source of livelihood is normally a nomadic community, who move from place to place in search of green pastures for their cattle. In some communities, however, some male members move with their cattle in different seasons. The population size of individual pastoral communities is small as compared to agriculturist tribes.

The pastoral communities also depend on forests for fodder and collection of minor forest products to supplement their pastoral economy. However, in recent years the pastoral communities have also responded to the winds of change in modern times. Here are examples of two pastoralist tribes in India:

The Toda Tribe of Nilgiri Hills are pastoral people. However, they are not nomads. They rear buffaloes and produce different milk products, like ghee, cheese, butter, curd etc. which they sell or exchange with different products of the neighbouring tribes to procure the things of their day-to-day use.

The division of labour is sex based. The dairy works such as looking after buffaloes, milking, churning, etc. are absolutely in the domain of male members. Females are prohibited from entering the dairy house. Domestic chores such as fetching of drinking water and fuel wood from the jungle, cooking and rearing of children are in the domain of female tribe members. Previously, cooking was in the domain of male jobs. The exchange of milk products with the neighbours is normally carried out by male members, though it is not taboo for women to get involved in it. In recent times, the Todas are also engaged in other economic activities like agriculture to subsidize their pastoral economy.

Ownership of buffaloes is both individual and clan based. The Todas classify their buffaloes into ordinary and sacred herds. The former type is being owned by individual Toda family while the latter type is considered to be the property of the clan.

The Gaddi tribe in Himachal Pradesh is also a pastoral tribe. These people settled in villages, and so they are not nomads. Like the Todas, the division of labour

in the Gaddi tribe is also sex based. Male members go with their goats and sheep to different regions of Himachal Pradesh during the summer season. The men feed the animals, milk them and take care of them. The females do the house keeping along with weaving. They make long coats, caps, *dhoru*, pyjamas and shoes from wool and goats' hair. They also use the wool of their sheep to make carpets, shawls and blankets. As the Gaddi women are fond of jewellery they also make gold, silver and precious stone jewellery. The animals are individually owned and inherited among the sons.

The Folk – Artist Type

This includes the tribal communities whose members depend on songs, dances, snake charming, acrobatics, etc., as their main occupations. Normally, these people economically depend on their art. The Nats and the Spaeras of south-eastern Uttar Pradesh, the Kelas of Odisha, the Pardhans and Ojhas who are bards of the Gonds, the snake-charmer Pamulas, the Garadis, the acrobat Dommaras and Bynollus, the conjuring Palukumuggulas and Paddintigollas, the Bahuroopas, etc., of Andhra Pradesh, a few Kotas of Nilgiris and the snake-charmer Kalbelias of Rajasthan come under folk artist type. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have described the performance of the Nats as under:

“The Nats perform their shows of singing and dancing or acrobating, etc., lasting 15 minutes to an hour at one place before the local gathering and earn inam (gift) to subsist on. Apart from a few Muslims, they are generally Hindus by religion. They move from place to place and from village to village... they work in a group of two to seven persons comprising one or two child artists, one or two boys or girls between 9 and 14 years; one or two persons, may be. Generally, a drum-beater and an expert child acrobat accompany each other. The drum-beater attracts and collects a gathering, erects the rope or trapeze base. There is a dance to a local tune, rope-dancing or acrobating, at times with iron rings, or daggers. Sometimes they show balancing feats or play with fierce flames and so on. It is very interesting to note the imitating young Nat child of two to four years of age. As the show draws to an end the other fellow Nat goes around collecting inam, in the shape of money or cereals, and the show comes to an end with the most common wording, *khel khatam paisa hazam* (the play is over, the money gone).”

1.5.3 Occupation Based Economic Organizations

The fact is that you will not find community based economic activities or any formal or informal organization in tribal communities under the activities mentioned below. But these activities in a wider sphere involve labour participation and production. The organization is there at a different level, but not tribe based. As tribal people participate in it and it is an emerging trend we have discussed these activities as occupation based economic organizations. The following activities come under this category:

Labour Type: Agricultural and Non-Agricultural

In most of the tribal areas of middle and eastern India a number of industries have been established. Mining operations have taken place to a large extent. In the process of industrialisation and mining operations lots of tribals have been uprooted from their habitat and have lost their traditional source of livelihood. These people have turned to wage earning as an alternative source of livelihood in urban centres and are particularly involved in industries and mining activities. Those who are not fortunate to work in urban centres turn to agriculture and work in other's field on daily wages

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basis. The agricultural work is mostly available in the locality itself within a radius of a few kilometres. During the agricultural off season, tribals also migrate to urban centres to work as labourers, at railway and road construction, forestry, construction work like civil work in emerging factories, houses, dams, bridges, etc. You will find among the Hos an emerging trend of agricultural and non-agricultural labour.

We learn from Misra (1987) that the Ho economy is organised around cultivation and wage labour. Most of the Hos practise shifting and sedentary cultivation depending on topography. You will find agricultural labourers in the tribe also. The first iron ore mine in India was started in 1901 at Pansira Buru and subsequently in Chiria, Gua, Noamundi, Kiriburu in Ho territory. These areas developed into small mining towns. A chunk of Ho population is found working in the mines of these areas.

Similarly, engagement in diverse activities is noticed among the Siddis. The Siddis living in Gir area of Gujarat are engaged in a number of jobs including farming, forest conservation and as wage labour and as tourist guide.

The Skilled, White-collar Job & Traders Type

Tribes in India are no longer pursuing traditional life exclusively. A number of individuals or families are now working in different offices, hospitals, factories and business enterprises for their livelihood. A few of them are also found self-employed in their own enterprises. This has happened because of government policies and programmes and Constitutional provisions to ameliorate their socio-economic condition. The formal system of education has provided knowledge and skills which is required in the job market. Associated with it is the reservation of seats in different services including jobs in government and private enterprises. Christian Missionaries have also helped in the spread of education and changed their outlook towards modern lifestyle. Initially, these tribal converts to Christianity were found engaged in offices, hospitals and in administrative jobs, etc. Presently, many individuals are found working as doctors, teachers, engineers and bureaucrats. The Meena tribe is credited with having a large number of civil servants in the country from among the tribal communities.

But trading by some tribal communities is neither a recent origin nor a post-Independence phenomenon. There are tribes like the Bhotiyas of Uttarakhand, the Valmikis and the Haiskers of Andhra Pradesh, the Monpas and the Noctes of Arunachal Pradesh and a few individuals of different tribes from different regions of the country who used to trade with neighbouring people long before India's Independence. Even some of them had business connection across the border. The Bhotiyas and the Monpas have had close business contacts with the bordering areas of Tibet since pre-Independence. The Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh had trade relations with the people of present Myanmar. The Nocte used to trade in salt because of the existence of natural brine springs in their territory.

We have seen that the tribes in India are not a homogenous category in terms of their economic pursuits. Traditionally, they differed in terms of pursuing different activities to secure their livelihoods. In recent years, after they got exposed to forces of development along with some new avenues including wage labour and white collar job, etc. Interestingly, some tribes depend on trade as their main source of livelihood. Even for the cattle-herder tribe trading is an essential component of their pastoral economy. So is the case with the artisan and folk-artist type tribal

communities. Obviously, the tribes in India never lived in isolation as the earlier scholars had taken position while conceptualising the tribe as a social category.

1.6 CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL ECONOMY AND ORGANIZATIONS

Social process is often marked by changes and continuity. So a study of the past helps in understanding the present in order to plan for the future or understand the possible future trends. Needless to say, the society is dynamic, so is also the tribal economy and associated economic organizations. So far we have focused on economic organizations in both ideal stage and changing contexts. The contexts, however, are presentation of the trend of changes which have taken place. Obviously, the context has a past reference. The changes are also taking place even in contemporary time. Communities in India exist as Scheduled Tribes, but their economic life is changing. In keeping with this view we will discuss the changes noticed in tribal economic organizations in recent years due to development interventions. This will help delineating the emerging organizations in tribal economy with reference to the process of integration and interaction with national economy. No doubt, enumerating the emerging features in tribal economy will be useful to visualise tribal economic organizations differently from the ones in ideal stage.

As you know tribal communities are in contact with various external forces, development interventions being the most significant of them. These interventions have generated forces of change in internal structure of the society and the economy too. You will find a number of programmes and schemes being implemented for the development of tribals. The economy is gradually getting monetised through these schemes. For example, monetary loan from micro-finance institutions, banks or other credit sources and exchange of goods and services for money play a crucial role for implementation of development schemes. You will also notice that the schemes having market linkage and the beneficiaries of these schemes purchase raw materials and sell products for money. Further, traditional economic pursuits no longer stand out as the only source of employment. Tribal people are found working in various development projects in the village and outside where there is opportunity. Moreover, due to education many tribals work as bureaucrats, professionals, teachers etc.

You will find A. K. Danda's (1990) observation with regard to changes in tribal economy very useful. He informs us that the influence of the market is very significant in every aspects of economic life of tribes in India. Influences are noticed particularly in economic relationships and widening up of the network of such relationships, ownership and inheritance rights of land, differentiation of profession, specialization of roles etc. The ideal of mutual reciprocity and traditional system of redistribution are losing functional value. In response to these changes, the notion of tribal economy is losing its distinct characteristics and giving way to the forces of the formal economic system.

In recent years, many tribes and tribal families have been displaced due to mega development projects and have lost their traditional resource base. Members of displaced tribes and families work as agricultural labourers or wage labourers in urban centres. Income earning families do not have necessary supply of labour from family source for mutual reciprocation with kin or participation in community works or to meet own requirements. Needless to say, in many tribes money plays

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a crucial role in labour exchange in traditional and non-traditional activities. Even in place of mutual reciprocation of labour in some tribal societies like the Apatani, the Galo, the Adi, the clan youth or even females often form labour groups to earn money. In Central and Eastern India money lending has emerged as a distinct feature in tribal economy.

You are also aware that development schemes are sanctioned mostly in the individuals' names. A fish pond, tailoring machine, handloom or power loom, rice huller, goatery, piggery, diary unit, horticultural garden, cardamom scheme etc., are sanctioned to individuals. Many of these beneficiaries use these schemes profitably. In the Northeast, many tribal entrepreneurs have undertaken such activities as tea plantation, rubber plantation, horticultural units and chitronnullah plantation etc. A few of them have started tea processing units, saw and veneer mills and educational institutions as well. You will also find tribal elites as contractors and many engaged in commercial ventures, politics and in high salaried jobs. These elite people invest money outside and on land inside and outside the village. These families along with some other families produce for market. The Khasis and Monpas of this region are known for the production of vegetables, fruits, etc. for sale in markets.

In the plains of Arunachal Pradesh tribes like the Adi, the Khampti, the Mishmi, the Singphow, etc. produce large scale commercial crops like mustard seeds and ginger. In the foothills of Lohit, Changlang, Dibang Valley and East Siang districts of Arunachal Pradesh a number of tea plantations have come up. In Odisha, especially in undivided Koraput district tribal families cultivate cashew nuts, clove and turmeric etc., under various schemes for sale in the market. These ventures are non-traditional and individual based in contrast to traditional community based pursuits. In such activities, wage labourers from the village and outside play a very significant role.

Needless to say, surplus production is undertaken by tribe persons for market and money is used, though not by all, as a medium of exchange. The present economic life in a tribal community, therefore, presents a scenario of a mixture of traditional and non-traditional activities with corresponding governing principles.

In tribal villages, tribal self-help groups (SHGs) have come up in response to development schemes of the government for poverty alleviation and empowerment. However, SHGs are not community based; in fact, these are formal and activities undertaken are both traditional and non-traditional types in order to earn additional money income. The activities are not organised following traditional ideals of production and distribution.

In the Northeast you will find a politico-economic agency like Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) to ensure tribal participation in their own governance and to take decisions on development programmes in their areas. These agencies are tribe specific like Mishing Development Council, Bodo Development Agency etc. which are constituted as per the provisions of the Constitution of India.

The point which we want to make is that monetisation has emerged as a significant feature in tribal economy. Of course, in a tribal economy, there still exist spheres of barter exchanges, more spread in interior villages among the families following predominantly traditional economic practices.

Producer to Consumer Economy

You will find development-inducing formal cooperatives in tribal areas. As a result of the entry of these cooperatives, mutual cooperation, reciprocal exchange and thus, the sharing ideal in tribal communities are declining gradually. Shortage of food grains is overcome by subsidised Public Distribution System (PDS) and money income available from various schemes of the government guaranteeing income and employment. Rural development schemes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Guarantee Act (MNREGA), Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) etc. are working in the Sixth Schedule tribal areas and activities relating to these schemes through Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) in tribal Sub-Plan Areas of the Fifth Schedule. These schemes provide for money income to meet food shortage and other newly acquired wants in response to market connections. Central Assistance is given to States/UTs to supplement their efforts in tribal development through Tribal Sub-Plan. This assistance is basically meant for family-oriented income-generating schemes in the sectors of agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, soil conservation, animal husbandry, forestry, education, cooperatives, fisheries, village and small scale industries and for minimum needs programme.

You will also find Large Sized Agricultural Multi-Purpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPs) along with Marketing and Processing Cooperatives in Tribal Sub-plan Areas. In the states of Odisha and Gujarat, Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies (PACS), and in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, Girijan Cooperatives play a crucial role in tribal development through market linkage.

The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) is another agency which is playing a very crucial role in marketing tribal products. The cooperative was set up by the Government of India in 1987, with the prime objective of providing marketing assistance and remunerative prices to ST communities for their minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce and to wean them away from exploitative private traders and middlemen. The federation is a national level cooperative apex body which came into existence under the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act, 1984 (now the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act, 2002). It started functioning in 1988 under the administrative control of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, formerly and Ministry of Tribal Welfare. TRIFED promotes a wide range of tribal products such as tribal textiles, tribal jewellery, metal crafts, organic food products, cane & bamboo works, terracotta & stone pottery, tribal paintings and gifts and novelties.

TRIFED participates in various exhibitions and fairs to promote the tribal art and forest produce. It also organises Tribal Artisan Mela to reach tribals located in interior areas. Further, it sources tribal art and craft directly from the tribal artisans. You will find show rooms of tribal art and craft in many urban centres maintained by TRIFED.

Minor Forest Produce (MFP) are non-timber forest produces like tamarind, lac, gum karaya, amla, mahua flowers/seeds, honey, sal/siali leaves, tendu patta, soap-nut, shikakai, myrobalan, hill grass, nuxvomica, etc.

The majority of the tribals live in and around forests and depend heavily on the MFP for their livelihood. Initially, tribals used to collect MFP for their own consumption. In case of some excess stock, they used to sell these in the nearby

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weekly markets for barter or for cash. MFP has a major demand even outside the tribal areas. But tribals lacked awareness about the market value of these produce. Moreover, they did not have marketing knowledge and skill. Often they fell victim to the manipulation of unscrupulous traders and middle men. To overcome this situation, most of the States nationalised their major MFP items. States also established Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs), State Forest Development Corporations, Minor Forest Produce (Trading and Development) Federations (MFPTDFs) etc. for procuring and trading in MFPs. These were established for procuring MFP from tribals and protecting them against exploitation by private traders. These organizations often faced resource constrains and could not work to achieve objectives properly. In view of this the Central Sector Scheme of 'Grants-in-Aid to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs) etc. for Minor Forest Produce (MFP) Operations' was thus launched in November 1992 to help these STDCCs to ensure that tribals got remunerative prices for their MFP. Under this scheme institutional support is provided for development and marketing of tribal products/produce. It also promotes and supports mechanism for marketing of MFP through minimum support price. Cooperatives, formal in composition and a new socio-economic agency, provide institutional frame for tribal development.

Check Your Progress

15. State whether the following statements are true or false:
 - (a) Division of labour in a pre-industrial economy is process based.
 - (b) In tribal communities' division of labour is based on age and sex.
 - (c) Accumulation is a characteristic of tribal economy.
 - (d) Substantivists believe that the distinction between tribal and formal economics is a difference in kind.
 - (e) Fishing, hunting, gathering are the activities pursued by The Forest Hunting Type tribes for livelihood.

1.7 PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Tribal societies are governed by traditions and customs. Since these societies mostly depend on subsistence living, they do not have the tendency to accumulate property or other material goods. Obviously, their notion of property is different from that of our present society. There are no codified rules and regulations to define the ownership of something and its inheritance practice. Needless to say, the concept of property and the practice of inheritance varies from one tribe to the other, even within the broad frame of similar principles. You will learn about the nature of property and inheritance in tribal societies in this section.

1.7.1 Types of Property

Across all tribal cultures, property is considered to be either movable, or both movable and immovable. The property can also be ancestral and self-acquired (personal). Immovable property is land which also includes resources like forests, rivers, cultivable fields, etc. In some hunting gathering tribes like the Birhor, Raji or Puroik (Sulung) the concept of immovable property is not recognised. They do not claim any territory as their own unlike the Jarwa or Onge who has a notion of territorial boundary. The land is an immovable community property for these Andaman and Nicobar tribes. In pastoral tribes like the Toda of Nilgiri Hills or the Brokpa group of the Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh the grazing ground of a village/ clan is demarcated, thus having the notion of immovable property. These lands are community owned. But in agricultural, semi-agricultural and horticultural tribes' use of land as immovable property is associated with individual families within community frame of ownership or individual ownership. The issue of inheritance relates to such landed property.

Moveable property on the other hand occurs in all tribal communities and includes livestock, beads and ornaments, bride wealth of any form, utilitarian objects like loom utensils and other household articles. Hunting equipments and traps also

are moveable properties especially of hunting gathering tribes. Among the pastoral tribes you will find livestock as the most valuable moveable property.

A loom, domestic animals or birds (except in pastoral tribes), household articles, etc. belong to the family and thus do not have defined rule of inheritance. But in case of bridal wealth, beads and ornaments, etc. the ownership rest on the woman and is transferred to daughters and daughters-in law. In other words, daughters and daughters-in-law have rights to inherit mother/mother-in-law owned movable property. The woman owning domestic birds and animals could dispose them in exchange or as gift to daughters or use them for domestic rituals or consumption purpose. However, there is no established norm guiding inheritance practice of such properties.

1.7.2 Inheritance

The rule of inheritance of immovable properties like land, house, grove and movable properties like livestock, hunting equipments depend on nature of society and economy. In relation to nature of a society you will find two types of society namely patrilineal and matrilineal. A patrilineal tribe may be polyandrous, monogamous or polygynous. Similarly, you will find broadly agricultural, pastoral and hunting gathering tribes in relation to traditional economic pursuits. In relation to nature of inheritance you will find mainly three types of practices, primogeniture, ultimogeniture or both and sharing. Sharing may include inheritance by all the sons equally or otherwise. Primogeniture norm allows the eldest son to inherit the property wholly or the largest part of it. Ultimogeniture is the norm where youngest son inherits property as a rule, may be equal to or less than the first son. If only this principle is followed the youngest one, whether son or daughter, gets the entire share or the largest part of it.

1.7.3 Patrilineal Society

Polyandrous patrilineal pastoralists

Toda is a polyandrous pastoralist tribe living in the Nilgiri Hills. The tribe is divided into two moieties: Tather, the privileged one and Teivali, the underprivileged one. Among the Todas, the property consists of buffaloes which are of two types: ordinary and sacred herds. Two types of ownership-individual/private and clan/community are recognised in Toda tribe. Sacred herds are owned by the clan in a village and clans of Tather moiety of the Todas in general. Clans in Teivali moiety supply herdsmen to tend these sacred herds of buffaloes. The Toda village is clan based and this people have the notion of territory which includes homestead land, pasture ground and are clan owned. The ordinary buffaloes of an individual family are inherited by brothers like the polyandrous families in Jaunsari Bawar of Uttarakhand if they want to separate. Otherwise, if they live in a joint family they perform works as assigned to them by the eldest brother and the ownership rights on buffaloes is vested all of them together. Sons inherit from fathers (social fathers) to who they are attached. The rule is that the property is divided first among the brothers and sons inherit from them following primogeniture and ultimogeniture norms. The first son inherits or otherwise gains control of more family land, livestock or other wealth followed by the youngest son. Other sons may get a share if there is enough wealth. Women do not have rights to inherit buffaloes.

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Check Your Progress

16. State whether the following statements are true or false:
 - (a) Shifting cultivation is a practice in hunting-gathering communities.
 - (b) Following is a characteristic of plains agriculture.
 - (c) Tribal economy is in the process of transformation from producer to consumer economy.
 - (d) TRIEFED is a tribal economic organization.
 - (e) Formalists believe in culture determination of economic attitudes and the working of economic systems.

Monogamous/polygynous patrilineal agricultural tribes

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In agricultural patrilineal tribes, land inheritance follows primogeniture, ultimogeniture or both practices. This rule is not in practice in many agricultural tribes like Mishings and Thengal Kacharis of Assam who enjoy formal ownership rights according to state laws. The inheritance practice follows according to these laws. The rules of primogeniture and ultimogeniture also do not exist where property is equally distributed among sons. But in most of the traditional tribes, inheritance rule follows customary norms.

In traditional Apatani community of Arunachal Pradesh both primogeniture and ultimogeniture rules are followed in the matter of inheritance of ancestral landed property. The eldest son gets cultivable land, groves, etc. while the youngest one who would look after parents gets house, homestead land, remaining plots and movable properties like domestic animals and birds. The middle sons do not have the rights to inherit ancestral property. However, the father if purchases land during his life time that land could be shared with middle sons.

Lamgang tribe of Manipur on the other hand follows ultimogeniture norm; the youngest son gets the house, suitable plots of land, livestock and other movable properties. For other sons, the father distributes the property during his life time if there is enough property. Ultimogeniture is also the rule among the Ranglongs and Bongchers of Tripura. Among the Bongchers, father may distribute land to all the sons, keeping a share of his own which normally goes to the youngest son along with house, livestock etc. as customarily he looks after the parents. In case of his inability or parents desire any one from other brothers may also look after parents and inherit the property.

The practice is interesting in polygynous families as is in the Nyishi community. When a man brings an additional wife he allots cultivable plots to that woman. The sons from a woman share her cultivated plots as per the decision of parents. In general, all the land belongs to father and thus patrilineal inheritance rule is followed among the Nyishis.

The practice of primogeniture is attenuated in tribes like the Bhil, Khamptis, Adi as all the sons inherit landed property; the eldest son in some cases getting a little more. Among the Darlongs of Tripura, the land is distributed among sons without any customary privilege to any son. Father may distribute land during his life time or sons distribute among themselves or the widow mother distributes after father's death in the presence of relatives and village elders. Among the Mundas and Oraons of Jharkhand primogeniture is not very strong in the matter of inheritance of all types of properties. As a rule the eldest son is entitled a little more than the other brothers in the form of land or any of the movable properties. This may be an extra cow or a goat, a bullock or a plot of land in recognition to earlier practice. Normally the property is divided among sons after death of the father. The practice is that a maintenance share is kept aside for widowed mother, unmarried sons and daughters and then it is equally divided among sons with a little more to the eldest son. But after the death of the widowed mother and marriage of brothers and sisters the land is equally divided among brothers for whom the share was kept aside. If the share is more than that of other brothers, then they also get some proportion of it. The maintenance property is used by the brother, often the youngest one, till maintenance is not required.

Patrilineal Hunter-gatherers

By now you have learnt that the Birhor, a hunting-gathering nomadic tribe has immovable properties and these includes arrow and bow, axe, *dhara* (roll of ropes), *dauli* (a short sword), net, *kullay* (rabbit trap) and other traps, *khanti* (sharp pointed iron rod), cage, knife, etc. These equipments are own made except iron ones which are exchanged with forest produces and individually owned. The *kumbha* (hut) is made by individual male members as every male member makes his own *kumbha* after marriage. In case of the death of the owner of the *kumbha*, it belongs to inmates and in case of need the community looks after those who cannot build *kumbha* for themselves. The equipments are shared among sons, brothers or community members according to need and there is no establish inheritance norm.

Puroik (Sulung) was primarily a hunter-gatherer tribe in Arunachal Pradesh before they entered into client-patron relationship with their neighbouring Nyishi and Miji tribes. During that time they did not have any notion of territorial boundary for the tribe or band. But after the relationship, ownership of forest tracts from where they collected wild Sago, or the land they used for hunting and foraging was claimed by Nyishi or Miji patrons. Their settlement became permanent and attached to their patrons' village. They started domesticating pigs, goats and poultry birds. Their properties included domestic animals, utensils, beads, hunting and trapping equipments and other articles of daily use. These properties are equally apportioned among the sons. Married sons build their own houses though they may stay with parents. Under such a situation the house is also divided among sons living in it.

1.7.4 Women's Inheritance in Patrilineal Tribes

Women in general do not have the right to inherit landed property in patrilineal tribes. They do not even have the rights to inherit major livelihood sources, such as buffaloes as is the case in Toda tribe. Among the hunting gathering societies women do not inherit hunting equipments and traps.

In traditional patrilineal societies the land of a man without a male child is inherited by a nearest consanguinal relative in male line who looks after the man and his wife during their last days. The custom of adopting a male child also prevails in many tribes. Obviously, the land and other properties are inherited by the adopted son. You will be interested to know another way of inheritance among the Lamgang. The man with only a female child or female children pays a nominal amount to consanguineal male relatives to purchase inheritance rights for the daughter(s). In practice the land goes to the male children of the daughter (s) after death and becomes the property of husband's lineage. In rare cases a man can also transfer his property to his sons-in-law following the method of obtaining permission from consanguineal male relatives.

But in most of the patrilineal tribes, daughters do not have any inheritance rights in landed property even in the absence of a socially approved male heir. A woman may normally pass through three stages, unmarried life in parental house, life with husband and life without husband (widow). There are two other possibilities of a woman staying in parental house. First, she may remain unmarried throughout her life or return after divorce or separation from husband. In this case she may be without father. A woman, without husband or father, has a residual life interest in land. This is a custom in many tribes like the Santal, Munda, Adi, etc. She can dispose of the produce and income from the land as she wants. This life interest of

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the widow restricts the property rights of the agnates of the deceased husband till her death. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. In the latter case it is not life interest in the entire land, but a maintenance right. In fact, the life interest is also ideologically governed by the ethics of maintenance principle. However, if the widow marries outside the family circle of the husband she is deprived of this maintenance rights. This traditional maintenance right of unmarried girls or widow is known as *Taben Jom* in some tribes of Jharkhand. After the death of the girl or widow the land returns to the lineage as per customs. In Galo community of Arunachal Pradesh an unmarried girl also enjoyed the rights to use a plot for herself. However, such a practice is not a case of inheritance rule.

As you have already studied, women have the rights to inherit a few movable properties like beads of mother or mother-in-law.

1.7.5 Matrilineal Society

In India, tribes like the Khasi, Garo of Meghalaya follow matrilineal norms of inheritance. These tribes are agricultural tribes and so land ownership is a crucial factor in inheritance norms. Like many patrilineal tribes the family property of these tribes mainly includes land, house, household articles, agricultural and other implements, livestock, etc. But unlike patrilineal tribes the property, both movable and immovable are inherited along female line. It will interest you to know that the principle of female ultimogeniture is in practice among these tribes. This means, the youngest daughter inherits family property from her mother. Other daughters and sons do not have inheritance rights.

Major A. Playfair (1909) while writing on Garos during first decade of the twentieth century mentions about clan ownership and finds that village land and clan land are coterminous. The *Nokma* is the 'owner' of the lands of his village which he receives by his marriage to *Nokna*, the heiress of the clan land. One of the Garo scholars, Milton Sangam has clarified in 1985 that *Nokma* is not the owner of the land, but the representative of the *Nokna* who is the head of the clan or the village community. The *Nokmas* with the possession of title to *A'khing* land is known as *A'khing Nokmas*. The Garo Hills District Council Act No 1. of 1959 defines the *A'khing nokma* as 'the head of the clan or *Machong* who holds any land as a custodian on behalf of a clan or *Machong*'.

Let us elaborate the inheritance rule of the Garos following J. K. Bose who studied them in late 1930s and early 1940s. His study on Garo Law of Inheritance practically became an official manual for deciding cases of land ownership and inheritance among the Garos.

Among Garos, the youngest daughter who is selected by parents as *nokna* (heiress), inherits family property. Garos live in hills and plains, in India and Bangladesh and are divided along traditional faiths and practices and Christianity. As a result, to cope with changing situations and requirements there are adjustments within the broad principle of female ultimogeniture. You will also find adjustments within the broad principle when there are departures from normal situation. For that permission of the *machong* is inevitable. However, for minor changes, for which earlier instances also exist, the *machong* is informed of the change which the family wants to introduce.

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Bose informs that a poor family may not designate any of the daughters as *nokna*. In that case all the daughters get equal share of the property. The selection of a *nokna* depends entirely on the choice of parents. If there be any difference of opinion between the parents about the selection of *nokna* the opinion of the mother prevails. Bose further informs us that there is no hard and fast rule to select the youngest daughter as *nokna*. Generally, the daughter who is more affectionate and obedient to the parents is selected. It is expected that the *nokna* will serve and look after the parents in their old age. But in practice, the youngest daughter is selected as *nokna* and thus female ultimogeniture has become the norm of inheritance of family property among the Garos.

The *nokna* inherits mother's property after the death of the latter. Her husband normally from father's *mochang* (preferably one of father's sister's son) simply manages the land as the representative of the wife (*nokna*). The husband of the *nokna* is known as *nokram* till he becomes *nokma*, the custodian of land after the death of *nokna*'s father. As land is owned by mother, *nokna* inherits it after her death. Then *the nokram* becomes *nokma*. But there may be a situation that the mother is alive but father is dead. In that case the *nokram* has to marry the mother to become *nokma* and the arrangement continues till the death of mother.

After the marriage of the *nokna* the mother normally has no right to deprive her of the property. But under some circumstances the *nokna* may forego her rights. When a *nokna* and the *nokram* leave the family and start a separate household they have to relinquish their right to property. The *machong* is informed about this situation. In this situation a new *nokna* is selected to inherit the family property.

Other sisters of *nokna* do not have inheritance rights and they live with husbands in separate households after marriage which may be constructed with the help of *nokma*, the father. In case sisters stay in the same house with mutual agreement, the *nokna*, however enjoys all the powers and the sisters have to live under her supremacy. During their life time, the sister and her husband may accumulate property and select the *nokna*. If they do not accumulate enough property they may not select any *nokna* and all the daughters then get equal share and live with their husbands.

The Khasi tribe also follows rule of inheritance along family line. You will learn the rule of property inheritance from the writings of Gemini Paul (1956) and Hamlet Bareh (1967). There are minor variations with regard to ancestral and personal properties among different groups. But the general rule is not affected by these variations. The general rule takes into consideration two factors directly or indirectly. First in the matter of inheritance and management maternal relations are deciding ones, and second inheritance along female line prevails as against male inheritance.

As a general rule, the youngest daughter, designated as *Ka-Khadduh*, inherits all the properties, including *Ka-Ing Seng* (foundation house). However she does not have the authority to dispose off foundation house as it is the sacred ground for the family rituals and place for get-together of family members. The Khasi inheritance norms do not permit brothers and sisters of *Ka-Khadduh* to inherit property and so they are designated as *Nonghiih Ling*, outgoing members of the family.

Though *Ka-khadduh* inherits property she remains only the custodian of the ancestral property. She cannot dispose of such property by herself without the consent of the members of the family (in the case of family property) or members

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Check Your Progress

17. State whether the statements are True or False:
- Ultimogeniture could be the institutional practice of inheritance in both patrilineal and matrilineal societies.
 - Properties are ancestral possessions and pass on from one generation to another without any addition in the process.
 - In pastoral community land is not a property.
 - Inheritance of property by brothers before passing on to sons is a practice in polyandrous tribes.
 - In many tribes, middle sons and daughters generally do not have rights to inherit ancestral property.
 - Women's life interest in land refers to maintenance security rather than inheritance rights.
 - In any matrilineal society a husband is the manager of wife's property.

of the clan (in the case of clan property). As a rule, it is the maternal uncles or brothers or senior members of the family or clan of maternal relations who manage such properties on her behalf. According to the Khasi customary law, the husband of *Ka-khadduh* has no right to his wife's ancestral property.

In the event of the death of the, the ancestral property goes to her own youngest daughter, whether minor or otherwise. In case she is without any daughter, her next survived elder sister inherits the property and, after her, the youngest daughter of that sister irrespective of age. In extreme case of having no claimants such as a sister or a daughter of a sister, the property reverts to the mother's family but through the line of the mother's sister, sister's daughter and so on.

As it is mentioned there are variations among different groups. The Wars group of the Khasi has two divisions Khasi Wars and Wars of the Jaintia Hills.

The tradition of Wars in the Khasi Hills provides for sons and daughters to share the property of their parents and grandparents. But amongst the Wars of Jaintia Hills, the rule provides for inheritance along female line. The Syntengs also do not follow the practice of male inheritance. But the *Ka-khadduh* is not the sole inheritor of the property in this group. The *Ka-khadduh* gets double the share of other daughters, because of her social and ritual responsibilities. She has the right of first selection of her share from landed property. The eldest daughter gets one and a half times of what the other daughters (other than the *ka kadduh*) get. She gets this comparatively large share because of her role in rearing the younger children. The other daughters share the remaining property equally.

There is a slight variation between Garos and the Khasis with regard to the property accumulated by husband of the property inheritor, *nokna* in case of the Garos and *Ka-khadduh* in case of the Khasis. Bose notes that the self-acquired property of a man before marriage passes on to mother and in her absence to his sister(s). From the writings of Bareh and Paul you will learn that under such a situation in Khasi community a part of the property goes to his mother and the rest is his personal. In the event of his dying issueless, his earnings revert to the mother or failing her to the nearest female *kur* (family).

But if the man acquires it while living in the family of *nokna*, it is considered as *nokna* family's property and the man has the right to enjoy it as long as he is alive. In Khasi community a large portion of his self-acquired property after marriage is used for the maintenance of the wife and children. Properties earned jointly by the husband and wife go to the wife after the husband's death. After the wife's death in his lifetime, the youngest daughter inherits the property and failing daughters, the youngest son. After the son, the property goes to his *kurs*.

1.8 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed economic organizations of the tribes in India and contemporary trends. So, you have learnt the nature tribal economy in contrast to conventional economics. You have also learnt economic activities like production, consumption and distribution and exchange in the context of tribal economy. As you have learnt through examples, the economic organizations of tribes are community based.
- Tribal economy and economic organizations have been discussed with reference to a number of tribal communities. As a result, you have acquired

the knowledge of governing ideals in contrast to formal economics which emerged with Industrial Revolution. This equips you to enumerate general characteristics of tribal economy ideally and in changing context. Ideal economic life of tribals does not exist in contemporary situation. You have studied their engagement in modern economic pursuits as wage earners, in white-collar jobs, business, etc. For these new activities tribe-specific economic organizations have not evolved yet.

- You must have understood that economic organizations and social institutions are interconnected. A suitable example is social ways of labour organization in economic activities. Another example is the institution of inheritance in different types of societies and economic organizations.

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1.9 KEY TERMS

- **Consumption:** Use of goods and services to satisfy both material and non-material needs.
- **Division of labour:** Different kind of activities that are carried out by specific individuals or groups in a formal or informal production system.
- **Distribution:** The process through which goods and services reach the consumers/users.
- **Formalism:** The perspective of looking at all economic systems following the laws of industrial and post-industrial economics, regardless of culture.
- **Function:** Relating to functional approach. It refers to way or ways through which different parts of a system that are interrelated with each other and contribute to the continuity and stability of the total system.
- **Kinship:** All people who are identified as relatives either through blood relationship or through marriage.
- **Kula** A ceremonial exchange of shell ornaments in the Trobriand Islands.
- **Market Economy:** The economy where demand for and supply of goods determine what to produce, in what quantity and at what cost. There is no interference of national government in decision making.
- **Mode of Production:** Combination of means of production (how people make living and what they use) and relations of production (organization of social relations in production).
- **Potlatch:** A ceremony by peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America in which feasts, giving away of goods and sometimes destruction of goods take place to earn social prestige.
- **Product based division of labour:** The same labour engaged in the production of a commodity from the beginning to end.
- **Reciprocity:** Exchange without the use of money.
- **Sphere of exchange:** A category of items which can be exchanged for each other but not normally for other things as it happens in *kula* ring.
- **Subsistence:** Obtaining living for survival needs.
- **Substantivism:** The perspective of looking at economic systems as diverse and as embedded in culture.

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- **Agnate:** male relatives through father's side.
- **Immovable property:** property which cannot be physically shifted from one owner to the other, such as land.
- **Inheritance:** the institutional practice of receiving property, title, etc. in a society after the death of the predecessor.
- **Movable property:** property that can be physically shifted from one owner to another.
- **Primogeniture:** the practice of inheritance or succession by the first born, especially the eldest son.
- **Property:** material possession, in contrast to intellectual property which includes cultural heritage.
- **Ultimogeniture:** Institutional practice of inheritance by the last born, the youngest child, whether male or female.

1.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) true (b) false (c) false
 (d) true (e) false
2. (a) Economics (b) Economic system (c) Macro
 (d) Mutual reciprocation
3. (a) Adam Smith (b) Alfred Marshall (c) Marshall Sahalnis
 (d) true (e) false (f) true
 (g) true (h) true
4. These are interacting social structuring without any procedural formalities.
5. It tells about material welfare, whereas in tribal economy people are concerned with both material and non-material welfare.
6. Maximisation of satisfaction from a unit of consumption.
7. The difference between place of residence/living and place of work.
8. Scholars who believe in the applicability of the laws of conventional economics to study all types of economics.
9. Knowledge and skill in manufacturing and use of tools, the practice of extraction and refinement of raw materials.
10. The economy in which money is not used as a medium of exchange, goods and services are exchanged for goods and services.
11. Use of goods and services to satisfy material and non-material needs
12. Utilisation of natural resources for livelihood sustenance with a well-defined organization of technology and labour.
13. When utilisation of goods and services relates to religious faiths and beliefs of the people.
14. (a) False (b) False (c) False
 (d) False (e) False

15. (a) false (b) true (c) false
 (d) true (e) true
16. (a) false (b) false (c) true
 (d) false (e) false
17. (a) True (b) False (c) False
 (d) True (e) True (f) True
 (g) False

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1.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is tribal economy? Is it different from formal/conventional economy? Explain.
2. Tribal economy differs in kind. Explain.
- 3 Distinguish between economics and economy.
4. Do you think tribal economy is a single type of economy? Why or why not?
5. Discuss production, consumption and exchange in the context of tribal economy.
6. What is division of labour? What are its types?
7. Mention the underlying ideals of tribal economic organizations.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a detailed note on occupation based economic organizations.
2. What is tribal economy? Discuss its characteristics.
3. Discuss some important types of economic activities and corresponding types of tribal communities.
4. Do you think traditional economic organizations continue in present time? Why or why not? Critically examine.
5. Can you apply Robbins' scarcity principle to understand tribal economy? Give reasons to your answers.
6. What is the basic difference in the inheritance practice between patrilineal and matrilineal tribes? Explain with an example from each type of communities.
7. Write a detailed note on woman's rights over land.

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UNIT-II TRIBES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Tribal Arunachal Pradesh
 - 2.2.1 Tribes and their Nomenclature
 - 2.2.2 Tribes and Other Communities
 - 2.2.3 Tribes as Administrative Category
 - 2.2.4 STs and Ethnos
- 2.3 Demography, Geographical Distribution and Linguistic Classification
 - 2.3.1 Demography
 - 2.3.2 Distribution of Tribes
 - 2.3.3 Linguistic Classification
- 2.4 Politico-Administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh
- 2.5 Tribal Studies in Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Key Terms
- 2.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.9 Questions and Exercises
- 2.10 Further Readings

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal-dominated state spread over 83,743 km². According to 2011 census, the Scheduled Tribe population of the state is 951, 821, constituting 68.8 per cent of the total population of the state. It ranks 19th in the country, though the tribal population of the state constitutes only 0.9 per cent of total tribal population. Among seven Northeast states it ranks 5th and constitutes 7.8 per cent of total tribal population in the region.

The Northeast comprises seven states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura, and popularly known as 'seven sisters'. In December 2002 the North Eastern Council (NEC) Reorganisation Act was passed and included Sikkim as a member of NEC. Presently for development purposes the Northeast Region (NER) consists of eight states.

As you know, a tribe is defined as an isolated group in ideal sense. At present this definition does not hold particularly for the tribes of India as they are in the process of transformation. Moreover, the tribes and civilizations also coexisted in the past. This is true for the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. They had historical connection with plains even during the Ahom rule. In this unit, we shall discuss the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh from different aspects. This will add to your understanding of the concept of tribe in Indian situation that differs from the ideal type. Moreover, you will know the diversity that exists among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

You have studied that tribes inhabit different zones and environments. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh come under the Northeast region of Tribal India. Obviously, they share a number of traits with the tribes of Northeast such as the

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh bio-genetic characteristics. Like many other tribes of the region they belong to Mongoloid stock. They inhabit Eastern Himalayan ecology. So you will also study Arunachal tribes in terms of their geographical distribution.

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Arunachal Pradesh is a state in the Indian union. As such the state is divided into political and administrative units. Needless to say, we will also discuss the distribution of tribes according to their habitats in politico-administrative divisions. Therefore, we will focus our discussion with the process of emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a state and its various physical and political divisions.

Since colonial period tribal culture has attracted the attention of scholars and administrators. Of course they had their own purpose. After Independence of the country tribes have become a part of Indian nation. Knowledge about their rights and perspectives has become essential for their welfare as citizens on equal footing. This necessitates tribal studies important. Therefore, an overview of studies on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh has been presented right from colonial period.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the general tribal situation in Arunachal Pradesh
- Distinguish between tribes as per administrative category and ethnos
- Identify demographic characteristics of Arunachali tribes
- Classify the tribes with reference to bio-genetic variability and linguistic family
- Discuss the distribution of tribes in the state both in political divisions and geographical regions
- Trace how Arunachal Pradesh evolved politically and administratively over the years to attain statehood
- Provide an overview of tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh

2.2 TRIBAL ARUNACHAL PRADESH

You already know that 68.8 per cent of population in Arunachal Pradesh belongs to ST category. In other words, 31.2 per cent of its population belong to Non-ST category. The question is who are these Non-ST people? You have also studied in Paper-I that in India tribes belong to both ST and Non-ST categories. Does this division hold in Arunachal Pradesh? What is the settlement pattern of different tribes? Do they inhabit a particular geographical region? Or do they share different regions? You will get answers to these and some more questions after studying this section. The answers will give you an idea of tribal situation in Arunachal Pradesh, i.e. the Tribal Arunachal Pradesh.

2.2.1 Tribes and their Nomenclature

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have an identity with regard to nomenclature. This nomenclature is often an outside import. The import does not have a meaning in the linguistic system of the tribe. Thus, it expresses the outsider's perception of

the community. In recent years a few tribes have adopted their own tribe names administratively in place of the earlier designation.

In general you will find three sources for the tribes' name, namely outside import with or without a meaning in the language system of the tribe, a territorial distinction, an ancestor based identity and the sense of designating as *human* in contrast to 'others'.

1. Outside import with or without a meaning in language system: Aka, Tagin, Hill Miri, Dafla (present Nyishi), Abor (present Adi), Khampti, Mishmi (such as Chulikata, Digaru appellation), Sulung and Apatani
2. A territorial distinction: Nocte, Tangsa, Galo, Adi, Monpa and Wancho
3. Ancestor based identity: We do not have a nomenclature for a tribe based on the name of an ancestor. Minyong, Pertin, Perme, Joram, Tana are nomenclatures of clan or phratry in a tribe. Apatani can be thought of as an exception, for the nomenclature Apatani is interpreted as 'lovable Tani'. Of course the designation was given by Haimendorf. If Apatanis were named after Tani, the mythological ancestor, then other tribes like Adi, Galo, Nyishi would have also used this nomenclature as they also claim descent from Tani.
4. Human: Bangni, Nyishi and Puroik

The distinctions are not exclusive. In other words, in some nomenclature you will find a combination of more attributes. For example, the appellation Wancho is derived from two words: *Wang* and *Cho*; **Wang** is further derived from *Wangham*, who is the ruler and **Cho** meaning hill men. Hence, the name Wancho means the hill men who are followers of the Wangham or the hill men with a chieftainship type social system. You will learn a few more examples on the topic.

The designation Apatani is derived from two words namely, Apa (a term used as prefix to show affection) and Tani (human race, Tani is the mythological ancestor of Adi, Galo, Nyishi, etc.). The name was used by Haimendorf in 1944-45 to the people who were known differently as Onka Miri, Anka, Apa Tanang, Auka Miri, Tanag by earlier visitors to the valley. Apatani people, however, express that they call themselves Tani.

The word Khampti means 'country full of gold' (*Kham*-gold; *ti*-place), and from this the people themselves came to be known as Khamptis. There is also a second version of the origin of the nomenclature. E. R. Leach (1954) writes, 'Khamti (Khampti) appears to have been originally a title associated with the royal family of Mogaung (Mungkong). After the elimination of Mogaung (Mungkong) as a political unity, it continued to serve as the description of those Shan principalities which had formerly political dependencies of Mogaung (Mungkong) in a feudal sense'.

There is also a third version of it. A Tibetan army attacked the Shan state situated in the then North Burma, and the King Sam-Lung-Pha pushed back the Tibetan army and closed the Nai-Khoma Pass of the Patkoi ranges for ever; and the Shans lived there peacefully for several centuries. Therefore, the country was known as Khampti (*Kham*-to adhere to; *ti*- place or country). In view of this, the Shans residing in that region came to be known as the Khamptis.

The nomenclature 'Khampti' in all the versions has a territorial significance.

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Eli Doyi, in his Ph. D dissertation has given an account of the possible versions of the origin of the term Galo. Those sections of people in course of their migration who crossed or climbed down the famous *GoloYorbe* (a high mountain range/ridge near the present International Boundary with China) are called the *Galo*. Another version is that the *Galo* were found to be rapidly encroaching jhum lands of others like that of the wave ripples of the water. So they were given the name of *Galo*, meaning wave ripples. Again, the third one is that this nomenclature evolved from their erstwhile settlement at '*Riga*' (a village in Upper Siang District where the *Galo* settled before migrating to *Aalo*) and subsequent settlement at *Aalo* i.e., *Riga* + *Aalo* = *Galo*. This version is a construct of Adi vocabulary. However, this version has a restricted applicability as other Galo divisions did not disperse from *Aalo*.

The Aka, a Scheduled Tribe of the state, inhabits 38 villages in both East Kameng and West Kameng districts. The nomenclature of the Aka is an Assamese import. It is believed that the word is derived from the Assamese word *ankit*, meaning painted, for the custom of this group to paint forehead, nose and chin.

However, the tribe has two sub-tribes namely Hrusso and Koro which is further divided into a number of exogamous clans. You will study from history that its two earlier subdivisions were territorial based. These two groups, namely Kutsun and Kuvatsun had the nickname of *Hazarikhowa* and *Kapaschors* respectively. The former is interpreted as 'breakfast eaters', 'eaters at a thousand hearths', etc. but the reason for such an interpretation is obscure. *Kapaschors*, however mean 'cotton thieves', but again details of an account for such an appellation is also obscure. One thing is certain that this tribe had interaction beyond the tribe and bears the import of outside nomenclature.

Lakshmi Devi (1968) provides an account of the origin of these nomenclatures. She writes;

The first of these names probably arose out of the circumstances that a thousand *gots* paiks or individual groups of revenue payers were set aside for the collection of 'posa' by the Akas. The second class of Akas known as Kapachors or cotton thieves who had no right to 'posa' but extorted them from the cultivators by their night attacks, in which they lurked in the cotton fields with a primitive sort of cark lantern, waiting their opportunity for theft, and thus received their name.

Paiks were adult males whose names were registered for state service; for paiks constituted one unit called a 'got'.
– Lakshmi Devi, 1968.

You have studied about the Kutsun and Kuvatsun sections along with the Hrusso and Koro sections of the Akas. The Hrusso and Koro divisions are not same as the Kutsun and Kuvatsun. The Hrusso and Koro are distinct subdivisions in terms of language and territorial occupation, and each consists of exogamous clans. The Hrusso mostly live in West Kameng district in 29 villages and the Koro in East Kameng in 09 villages. The Kutsun and Kuvatsun were two village based groups designated by earlier visitors to these two villages.

The nomenclature Monpa is also a reference to the inhabitants of the region South of Tibet. In Tibetan language, *Mon* means 'people' and *pa* means 'lower territory'. The Tibetan tradition distinguishes people and territory together. For example, *Mon Bumthang* refers to the people living in *Bumthang* area. Similarly, *Mon Thimphu* refers to the people living in Thimphu in Bhutan. Understandably, the nomenclature Monpa has also a territorial reference.

The topic of tribal nomenclature raises two interrelated issues. The first one relates to the need of an identity above the clan or lineage identity. What was the occasion for which the clans came together under a common nomenclature?

In earlier days the people of Arunachal Pradesh used their clan or lineage identity, along with village or directional identity to introduce themselves to another clan or lineage. Within the clan an individual was introduced or addressed with reference to the lineage in the clan or ancestor of the lineage. But when these clans interacted outside the boundary of clan or group of clans, the outside people designated them in terms of their perceived attributes, whether derogatory or honorific. Therefore, the designation Abor was attributed not only to present Adis but also to some other tribes even south of the Brahmaputra.

The second one relates to the possibility of use of a common nomenclature by a group of clans or lineages themselves. We do not have ethnographic data for a valid answer. We can only make some logical suppositions. For example, there might have been an alliance of clans or lineages having common mythological ancestor or any other common bondage against adversity. The bondage might be due to sharing a common territory or some cultural traits. There must have been a common interest for grouping more than one clan or lineage or sub-tribe as it happens to gain political mileage in recent years.

That the clans, lineages, phratries or sub-tribes came together to forge a common identity such as a tribe or generic group negate the notion of *tribal isolation*. However, this proposition needs to be verified with field data. Nonetheless, we know from other studies that tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were not living in isolation even a few centuries before colonial rule.

The word Nocte means people living in an organised community. It has been derived from the words *Noc* (village) and *Te* (the people) i.e. the people who live in village. But in some dialectical group of *Nocte* like *Damlak* and *Tutsa* the Nocte means *man* or *human being*. The words *Noc* and *Te* also stand for united and people respectively. So Nocte also means united people. Sahu (2002) mentions that etymologically, the word Nocte means people living in an organised community (*Noc* village and *te* people). During Ahom and early British periods, the Noctes were known as Borduarias, Paniduarias, Namsangias, and Jaipurias. They came in close contact with the people of Assam from the middle of the 19th century when they started to work as labourers in the tea gardens of Assam.

Dutta (1978) has classified the Noctes as *Koute Nocte* and *Hawa Nocte*, meaning hills and plains Noctes.

The *Tangsa* is a territorial name given to a tribe inhabiting the Changlang district. The *Tangsa*, called *Tangshang* in Myanmar, is a community of several thousand people living in Changlang and Triap districts of Arunachal Pradesh and parts of Tinsukia district of Assam in the Northeast India, and across the border in Sagaing region of Myanmar. The term *Tangsa* is derived from *Tang* (high land) and *Sa* (son), and means people of highland.

Rikam (2003) informs us that the Nyishing or Nyeshang is derived from two words, *Nyi* or *Nyia* and *Ishing* or *Ashing*. *Nyia* means man or human race or the descendant of *Atu Nyia*; and the word *Ishing* or *Ashing* means highland. Therefore, *Nyishing* means descendants of *Atu Nyia* who dwell in the highland or highlander. But in earlier writings the *Nyishi* tribe including the *Tagins* and *Hill Miris* have

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been mistakenly or without justification termed as Dafla during the Ahoms reign and later used by the Britishers, sometimes spelt as Duphla or Dumphla. Interestingly none of these terms are known to the tribes themselves nor the meaning has been clearly explained by those who used it. They call themselves as Nyeshang, Nishi or appropriately as Nishing since time immemorial.

In British writings the present Tagins were addressed as Eastern Dafla and Tagin Dafla interchangeably (see Devi, 1968). However, Riddi (2003) feels that the Tagins have been misrepresented as Dafla by the colonial ethnographers and administrators as the Tagins had no direct contact with the plains of Assam nor did they enjoy the privilege of *posā*. The people as Tagin existed from time immemorial. But the origin of the term is still shrouded in mystery. The word Tagin might have its roots in Tagend (literally meaning the last part of something). The colonial ethnographers and officials might have used the expression to specify the people living in the last part of their frontier. But as the term existed earlier it is believed that the Tibetans, with whom the people had trade relations, addressed them Tagin from their fashion of using Yagin to cover the lower part of body.

2.2.2 Tribes and Other Communities

Arunachal Pradesh is a multi-ethnic state. In addition to tribes of Arunachal Pradesh there are habitations of ethnic groups like Chakmas, Hajongs, Tibetan Communities and Adivasis. Groups like Hajong, Adivasi, Chakma, etc., have not been recognized as Scheduled Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh; the Hajongs, Tibetan Communities and Chakmas are treated as refugees. And Adivasi is a generic term for former tea garden labourers from different ethnic groups of the present Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh who were brought here during the British time. Moreover, Nepali and other communities are found in Arunachal Pradesh who are immigrants for job and business. You will also find habitations of Assamese and Nepali communities in Lohit district. Because of the presence of members of other communities, tribal villages are of mixed types. In other words, all the families who inhabit a village are not tribals. You will learn this from census records presented below:

Tribal Villages and Concentration of Tribal Families in 2001 and 2011									
100% Tribals		> 90 % Tribals		> 75% Tribals		> 50% Tribals		> 25% Tribals	
2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
2165	2382	2894	3929	3144	4367	3378	4667	3555	4859

Out of a total of 4859 villages in the State only 2382 villages in 2011 were considered to be 100 per cent tribal. This constitutes only 49.02 per cent or less than half. In 2001 out of 3555 villages only 2165 constituting 60.9 per cent had 100 per cent tribal population. In others, non-Arunachali population is recorded along with tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

2.2.3 Tribes as Administrative Category

The list of STs in Arunachal Pradesh is open in nature. According to the *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956* and as inserted by Act 69 of 1986 states, the STs in the state are 'All tribes of the State including: Abor,

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following statements are true or false:
 - (a) Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are isolated groups.
 - (b) Arunachal Pradesh ranks 5th in the country in terms of tribal population.
 - (c) Arunachal is a tribal dominated state as its tribal population is more than 60 per cent of its total population.
 - (d) The Noctes are known as *people living in villages*.
 - (e) *Posā* is a fine paid by hill tribes to the Ahoms.

Aka, Apatani, Dafla, Galong, Khampti, Khowa, Mishmi, Monpa, Momba, Any Naga tribes, Sherdukpen, Singpho'. The notification gives only an illustration of a few STs.

In 2001 Census, total of 100 STs have been enumerated. The census enumerates the following 25 tribes as the major STs:

Major STs as per 2001 census				
1. Abor	6. Aka	11. Deori	16. Mishing/ Miri	21. Nocte
2. Adi	7. Any Naga Tribes	12. Galong	17. Mishmi	22. Tagin
3. Adi Gallong	8. Apatani	13. Idu/ Chulikata	18. Monpa	23. Tangsa
4. Adi Minyong	9. Bangni	Mishmi	19. Nishang	24. Tawang Monpa
5. Adi Padam	10. Dafla	14. Khampti	20. Nissi	25. Wancho
		15. Miji		

According to census, 2011 all tribes of the State are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes in India. After Census 2001, more specific names like *Idu*, *Taroan*, *Hrusso*, *Tagin*, *Khamba* and *Adi* have been mentioned in this list. In the State/Union Territory-wise list all tribes in the State are recognised as STs including:

1. Abor	5. Galo	9. Momba	13. Hrusso
2. Aka	6. Khampti	10. Any Naga tribes	14. Tagin
3. Apatani	7. Khowa	11. Sherdukpen	15. Khamba
4. Nyishi	8. Mishmi, Idu, Taroan	12. Singpho	16. Adi

The statement 'all tribes in the State' is confusing. In a way it may refer to the list of tribes which is prepared and recommended by the State Government for scheduling in the Constitution. One thing is clear. The State Government at least in recent years will not be confused with 'Abor' and 'Adi' nomenclature. Moreover, it will not be confused over tribe, sub tribe and repetition of a group like *Adi Minyong* and *Minyong*. There are many lapses in listing the communities which neither agrees with academic criteria nor with ground picture.

Normally, tribes belong to the Fifth or Sixth Scheduled Areas of the country with regard to administration. Article 244 in Part X of the Constitution with regard to the administration of *Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas* reads:

- (1) The provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.
- (2) The provisions of the Sixth Schedule shall apply to the administration of the tribal areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

List of STs of the State of Arunachal Pradesh compiled from *T 1.24: Census 2011: State-wise list of STs with details in terms of Households, Population (Total, Male, Female), sex ratio, child sex ratio, Literacy (Total, Male, Female), Worker Participation Rate, Main worker and Marginal Worker Only.*

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1. Abor	37. Hotang Tangsa	73. Laju
2. Aka	38. Kaman / Miju Mishmi	74. Nonong
3. Apatani	39. Karka	75. Padam
4. Nyishi	40. Kemsing Tangsa	76. Dalbing
5. Galong	41. Khamiyang	77. Pailibo
6. Khampti, Kamti	42. Komkar	78. Panchen Monpa
7. Khowa, Bugun	43. Korang Tangsa	79. Pangi
8. Mishmi, Idu, Taroan	44. Langkai Tangsa	80. Pasi
9. Momba, Memba	45. Libo	81. Phong Tangsa
10. Any Naga tribes	46. Lichi Tangsa	81. Ponthai nocte
11. Sherdukpen	47. Liju Nocte	82. Ramo
12. Singpho	48. Lish Monpa	Pasi
13. Hrusso	49. Longchang Tangsa	83. Adi Ramo
14. Tagin	50. Longin Tangsa	84. Rangai Tangsa
15. Khamba	51. Longphi Tangsa	85. Rongrang Tangsa
16. Adi	52. Longri Tangsa	86. Sanke tangsa
17. Adi bori	53. Longsang	87. Simong
18. Adi Gallong	54. LongsangTangsa	88. Siram
19. Adi Minyong	55. Lowang Tangsa	89. Sulung
20. Adi Padam	56. Meyor	90. Sulung Bangni
21. Adi Pasi	57. Miji	91. Tagin Bangni
22. Ashing	58. Mikir	92. Taisen Tangsa
23. Bagi	59. Millang	93. Tangam
24. Bangni	60. Minyong	94. Tangsa
25. Bogum	61. Mishing / Miri	95. Jugli
26. Bokar	62. Mishmi	96. Taram
27. Bomdo	63. Moglum Tangsa	97. Tawang Monpa
28. Bori	64. Monpa	98. Thai Khampi
29. But Monpa	65. Morang Tangsa	99. Tikhak Tangsa
30. Darok Tangsa	66. Mossang Tangsa	100. Tutcha Nocte
31. Deori	67. Muktum	101. Wancho
32. Degaru/Taraon Mishmi	68. Namsang Tangsa	102. Yobin
33. Dirang Monpa	69. Ngimong Tangsa	103. Yongkuk Tangsa
34. Haisa Tangsa	70. Nishang	104. Yougli Tangsa
35. Havi Tangsa	71. Nissi	
36. Hill Miri	72. Nocte	

Source: Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013

From this one will deduce that tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are covered under the Fifth Schedule. But in the state there are neither tribal sub-plan (TSP) areas nor the Tribal Advisory Council (TAC) as in the states of Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, etc. The Scheduled areas of nine states such as Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan are covered under the Fifth Schedule. In these states, tribal population co-exists with larger group of non-tribal population which is not the case of Arunachal Pradesh. It was created as an autonomous state as per the provisions of the Article 244A on *the matter of formation of an autonomous state comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local Legislature or Council of Ministers or both therefore*. However, the State is a Special State under the provisions of Article 371H of the Constitution. The tribes are covered by general plan programmes and administration, and special provisions under Article 371H as well.

2.2.4 STs and Ethnos

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh present a wider canvas than the category of Scheduled Tribes. All the groups do not have ST status according to the group designation, but at the same time all of them have access to ST status having being clubbed to the group scheduled in the Constitution. In a way, there is a loss of identity at one level and gaining a greater identity at the other. In 1987, the Meyors of present Anjaw district got ST status, but the Zakhrings who used to claim themselves superior gradually assumed Meyor identity in order to have access to ST status. Both the groups have a less population, around 1500 persons. You will not find a Zakhring family in Walong and Kiboortho circles of Anjaw district. There are other ethnic groups who do not have ST status, but merge with a group, and at the same time, maintain socio-cultural distinction in terms of genealogy, clan endogamy and group identity.

There are also instances where a group identified with a larger group now tries to establish its separate identity.

The Constitution of India had scheduled Dafla in the category of Scheduled Tribe. Some distinct ethnic groups like Sulungs (Puroiks), Hill Miri, Nah, adopted Dafla nomenclature for administrative purpose, but maintain community identity separately. Even these communities are also scheduled. But it is not clear whether these are sub-tribes of a tribe or a distinct ST category. These tribes are listed under the category of ST as mentioned above. In 2006 the Constitution of India replaced the nomenclature Dafla for Nyishi, by which a large group of people address themselves from earlier time. In view of this, the ethnic communities which earlier adopted Dafla nomenclature for administrative purpose now use the nomenclature Nyishi. Even among the people the trend of addressing themselves as Nyishi has emerged in many such communities.

The Khampti and the Khamiyang of the Tai race have been maintaining a distinct ethnic identity until recently when the latter began to identify themselves with the Khampti. The appellation Khampti, refers to the people of Tai origin who migrated to India during the Ahom Rule. The Idus — a sub-group of the Mishmi tribe have developed a distinct ethnic identity owing to their cropped hairstyle. They are popularly known as *Chulikata Mishmi*. The Nah group, considered as western Tagins, has Buddhist influences and has also developed a distinct identity for itself. The Tutsas, earlier considered as a clan of Tangsas of Changlang District, have now ascertained their independent identity as a tribe. Similarly, the Sartang, earlier grouped under the Monpa tribe, now claim a separate identity. The Adi, Apatani, Nyishi and the Tagin who have a common faith and belief in the Almighty Donyi-Polo and have Tani as their common ancestor are presently distinct ethnic groups. The Bangni of East Kameng were taken as a distinct ethnic group in earlier records but presently come under the Nyishi tribe. The Adi-Samuwas, believed to be a branch of Miris (Mishings) of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh inhabit the Lohit District. Nyori (1993) informs us that The Adi included 14 sub-ethnic groups under the Padam-Minyong and the Galo groups identified on the basis of minor differences in material culture, hair, dress and local institutions. The Galos, however, have been scheduled in the Constitution since 1950. But in recent years, the Galo community has withdrawn itself from the generic Adi community. The Padam-Minyong groups, including the Adi-Samuwas use the appellation Adi which has replaced the earlier appellation Abor - as mentioned in the Constitution.

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It is interesting to note that communities like the Hill Miri and the Sulung have been scheduled in the Constitution. However, this list is confusing as it mentions tribes and sub tribes together and there is little distinction as to which are tribes and which sub-tribes. Moreover, when sub-tribes are mentioned there is no mention of its main tribe which doesn't cut any ice as tribes and sub-tribes are placed together in the same categories. For example, Adi is the name of the Scheduled Tribe which includes the Adi Padam and the Adi Minyong etc. In addition to Adi Padam and Adi Muinyong it also lists Padam and Minyong separately thus, leading to enormous confusions.

The members of the Nyishi community are believed to have descended from four ancestors, namely Dopum, Dodum, Dol and Nyiv. The social organisation of the community is kinship based as is evident from earlier studies. Available literature is not helpful to situate the ethnic groups like Hill Miri, Nah, etc. in the social organisation scheme of the Nyishi after 2006. Further studies in this regard will be helpful to address the issue of reconstructing the scheme of social organisation in the changing context.

Lack of proper ethnographic study creates much confusion with regard to proper classification of the ethnic groups in Arunachal Pradesh. As mentioned earlier, census reports have enumerated clans and sub-clans as distinct ethnic groups.

Check Your Progress

2. What are the sources of the nomenclature of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh? State with examples.
3. Give an example of a tribe whose nomenclature has territorial significance. Why?
4. What are the sub-groups of the Akas? Is Aka tribe consanguinal? Why or Why not?
5. Are all communities living in Arunachal Pradesh ST category? Give your answer with examples.
6. What is the Constitutional status of Arunachal Pradesh?

2.3 DEMOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Arunachal Pradesh is an ethnic mosaic. The tribes inhabiting the state present a picture of heterogeneity. The heterogeneity results from geographical distribution, language diversity, different economic pursuits, diverse socio-political organisations and bio-genetic variability. You will also find diverse cultural traditions among the tribes. We will discuss demography, geographical distribution of population in the state in this section.

2.3.1 Demography

Arunachal Pradesh is the largest state in Northeast India in terms of its territory. The state covers an area of 83743 sq km. But it has a small population, only 1383727 persons according to Census, 2011 which constitutes 0.11 percentage of country's population. The topography of the state is mountainous, covering about 80 per cent of the territory; only five per cent remains as plains, river valleys, etc.

The state has a very sparse settlement, so sparse that it has smallest density of population in the country. As per Census, 2011 the population density of Arunachal Pradesh is only 17 persons per sq.km as against the country's 368. The sex ratio in the state is 938 females per 1000 male population.

Distribution of population: Arunachal Pradesh has a highly uneven distribution of population. The plains are densely populated than the hills. Unevenness is also noticed in districts. Inter-district variation in population primarily depends on the size of the districts. In addition to size the density also varies and this indicates unevenness of inter-district variation. This depends on topography and level of development.

There were only 16 districts at the time of census enumeration. You will find that eight districts have population density below the state average and eight districts have equal to and/or more than 17 persons per sq.km, the state average. The districts with density below average cover 65.23 percentage of the state's area but as high as 35.43 per cent of its population. On the contrary, 64.57 per cent of the state's population lives in 34.77 per cent of its area. You will find Dibang Valley district having the lowest density, one person per sq.km, while Papumpare district, that accommodates twin capital cities, has the highest density, 51 persons per sq. km. Anjaw district has second lowest density, 3 persons per sq.km followed by Upper Siang district with 5 persons per sq. km. Similarly, Tirap district has second largest density of population, 47 persons per sq. km followed by Changlang district with 32 persons per sq. km.

ST population: As you know Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal dominated state. The non-ST population consists of migrants from other states and a few others who have settled in the state. The ST population consist of 68.8 per cent of total population with 65.61 per cent male and 72.17 per cent female population. They live in 27 urban centres and 4211 inhabited villages. In Arunachal Pradesh 22.93 per cent of total population, both ST and non-ST, is recorded in Census, 2011 living in urban areas. These urban centres are in fact census towns, though many of them could be counted as overgrown villages rather than towns. The sex ratio of the Scheduled Tribe population in the state is 1032 female per 1000 male population.

Literacy: Census, 2011 records 64.6 per cent ST literacy (65.38 per cent for the state in general), out of which 71.5 per cent ST male and 58.0 per cent ST female are literates. In rural Arunachal Pradesh the literacy rate is 60.4 per cent and it is 84.6 per cent in 27 census towns that constitute the urban Arunachal Pradesh. Out of rural ST literacy 67.7 ST males and 53.3 ST females are literate. Similarly, 90.3 per cent of ST male and 79.4 per cent of ST female in urban Arunachal Pradesh are recorded literates.

Birth and death rates: National Health Profile, 2013, records combined birth rate at 19.4 which constitutes 21 as rural birth rate and 13.9 as urban birth rate for the year 2012. It also records 5.8 as combined death rate including 6.7 rural and 2.7 urban death rates during the same year. The infant mortality rate (IMR) is enumerated 33 in the state.

Arunachal Pradesh had a crude birth rate (CBR) of 36.8 and a crude death rate (CDR) of 19.8 in 1971. Over the years there is an improvement. The HDR of Arunachal Pradesh, 2005 reports CBR of 34.62, CDR of 11.57 and IMR of 77 in 2001.

Bio-genetic Variability

Broadly, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh display the biogenetic traits of the Mongoloid stock. The Khampti, Singpho, Tangsa and Nocte belong to the Palaeo-Mongoloid branch while the Adi, Apatani, Nyishi, Galo, Aka and Monpa belong to the Tibeto-Mongoloid branch. The divergent processes of fission and fusion determined by historical factors over a long span of time have given distinct ethnic identity to many earlier singular tribes.

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2.3.2 Distribution of Tribes

In this section you will come to know how tribes are distributed according to recent political divisions and across geographical regions of the state.

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Distribution of Tribal Habitats in Political Divisions

Traditional concept of tribal habitats refers to a contiguous territory which does not have political dimension in modern sense. The territory is exclusive to the tribe and the people do not share it with other tribes. But the modern political divisions do not keep the territorial habitats confined to one division. A particular tribe may spread over more than one political division or share the division with the habitats of more than one tribe. The study of the distribution of tribes and thus their habitats will help you to understand the changing territorial divisions. In Arunachal Pradesh, distribution of tribes in political divisions is as follows:

<i>District (Political Divisions)</i>	<i>Tribes/Ethnic Groups</i>
Anjaw	Miju & Digaru Mishmi, Meyor
Changlang	Tangsa, Lisu, Singpho, Tutsa
Dibang Valley	Idu Mishmi
East Kameng	Nyishi, Puroik (Sulung)
East Siang	Adi, Galo (Minyong, Padam, Pasi and others)
Kra Daadi	Nyishi
Kurung Kumey	Nyishi, Puroik and Bangru
Lohit	Miju & Digaru Mishmi, Khampti, Singpho, Meyor, Tibetan Community
Longding	Wancho
Lower Dibang Valley	Adi (Padam), Idu Mishmi
Lower Subansiri	Nyishi, Apatani, Hills Miri
Namsai	Khampti, Deori, Chakma, Galo, Adi, Samua/Miri and few other communities
Papumpare	Nyishi
Siang	Adi (Minyong, Shimong etc)
Tawang	Monpa
Tirap	Nocte, Wancho, Tutsa
Upper Siang	Adi (Minyong, Padam, Karko, Millang, Ashing, Tangam etc.), Memba, Khamba
Upper Subansiri	Tagin, Na, Galo, Nyishi (Hill Miri)
West Kameng	Monpa, Sherdukpen, Aka, Miji, Khowa, Tibetan Community
West Siang	Galo, Memba, Adi (Bori, Bokar, Pilobo, Minyong, etc.)

Distribution of Tribal Habitats in Geographical Regions

You will find habitats of many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are not confined to a particular geographical region. They inhabit more than one geographical region. However, a few tribes inhabit a particular region. The geographical regions are broadly classified as follows:

1. Longitudinal belt of the Assam plains at a height of about 200m in its southern border;
2. The foot hills;

3. The ranges of lesser sub-Himalayas; and
4. The Greater Himalayas.

The Deori, the Khampti and the Singpho inhabit the first geographical region in Lohit and Changlang district. In this region also you will find Adis and Galos in plains of East Siang district. Though Nyishis live in hills, you will find a few villages located in the foothills of East and West Kameng districts also. Digaru Mishmis inhabit the foot hills of Lohit district. A few villages of the Singphos are also located in foot hills. A few villages of Idu Mishmi, Nyishi, Galo and Adi are located in the foot hills of East Siang and Lower Dibang Valley. The Galos also inhabit plains and foot hills of West Siang in Likabali circle. The Nyishis spread from plains to the Greater Himalayas in Kurng Kumey and Kra Daadi districts. The Apatanis, the Bugun, the Aka, the Miji, the Nocte, the Meyors, the Wancho, the Tangsa and the Sherdukpen tribes have settled in ranges of lesser Himalayas. However, a few villages of the Tangsa and the Nocte are found in foot hills and plains. The Yobin, the Monpa, the Memba, the Sulung and the Khamba inhabit the Greater Himalayas. Many villages of Digaru Mishmi and the villages of Miju Mishmi have spread in both lesser and Greater Himalayas. The Tagins also live in both the regions.

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2.3.3 Linguistic Classification

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to different language groups. Efforts are still going on to properly identify and classify the language groups of all the tribes. However, Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* classifies the languages and dialects spoken by different ethnic communities under the Tibeto-Burman language group. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have considered Tibeto-Burman as sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese family. Language groups in Arunachal Pradesh are classified as under:

Tai-group of Siamese	Khampti, Khamiyang and Aiton groups.
Kachin group of Assamese	Singphos.
Arunachal branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family	Aka, Adi group of tribes, Nyishi, Apatani, Mishmi, etc.
Bhoti language of Tibetan group	Monpa and sub-groups, Meyors

Among the tribes, the Khamptis have adopted the Tai script, while the western Buddhist tribes adopted a Tibetan script called *Uchan*. The Adi, Nyishi, Apatani, etc., have adopted the Roman script in recent years and are creating literature in their respective languages. The Millangs, a sub-group of the Padam Minyong branch, use their own language for intra-group communication though they use Minyong group language for inter-tribe communication. Their own language is believed to be a symbolic mode of communication which they developed during the days of frequent tribal feuds. So, linguistically they are identified with Adi language group. However, in recent years, the linguistics like Mark W. Post have started to consider their mode of communication as a distinct language group. Recently, Koro has been identified as a distinct language, though Koro is a sub-tribe of the Akas. According to linguist Harrison and Anderson, Koro does not have any sister languages nor is it a dialect of any other language. But undeniably, it belongs to the larger Tibeto-Burman linguistic family.

You will find from census 2001 (information on tribe wise language speakers in 2011 census report is not available) that Nyishi language is spoken by the largest number of people accounting for 18.94 per cent followed by Adi (17.57%). The

Monpa speakers constitute 5.1 per cent followed by Wancho (4.3%), Tasngsa (3.1%), Mishmi (3.1%), Nocte (2.9%) and others (11.5 %).

In recent years the language groups spoken by different communities are re-classified. The Bhoti language is presented as Bodhic language group. Similarly, the languages of Tani groups of people are classified as Tani group of languages. In the earlier scheme it was classified under Tibeto-Burman sub-family. However, you will study the recent classification of language groups during further higher studies on the subject.

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2.4 POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh can be better understood as ‘tribes of Arunachal Pradesh’. The construct of *Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* is an identity which is a later development. The identity has a territorial dimension and a political composition. It presents the notion of a group belongingness blending together all the heterogeneity across the communities. In doing so the individuality of the tribe is not sacrificed. However, this identity has evolved over the years.

As you know a tribe’s concept of a territory is notional and is defined in the community’s collective mind. In that sense the territory is exclusive to the tribe’s notion of traditional rights. But Arunachalee identity has introduced sharing a territory among the communities at various levels—state, district, and at least subdivision. Even two or more tribes share territorial boundary of a circle in the district. One tribe also shares the territory of circle or subdivision boundary with two or more different tribes. As has been said, the change has evolved over the years with politic-administrative development since British rule. A discussion will help you to understand the emerging identity of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh from a number of heterogeneous communities.

The present State of Arunachal Pradesh has evolved over a period of about 100 years, organizing and re-organizing the administration, and naming and renaming the territory a number of times. Similarly, the administration has evolved through different stages, right from the colonial rule — from punitive expeditions to passing of regulations.

The territorial and administrative evolution of Arunachal Pradesh dates back to 1875 when the Inner Line Regulation of 1873 was drawn up. However, the territory assumed administrative significance only in 1914. In this year, the frontier line (the McMohan Line) between the then Tibet and the North-east India was defined. Further, a territorial entity emerged in the name of North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT), which included the areas either inhabited or frequented by the tribes mentioned in the 1880 Act; the Act mentions tribes such as Abors (Adis), Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Daflas (Nyishi).

Following the Act and subsequent knowledge on the region, the Notification of Presidential Order, 1950, listed 12 tribes namely, Abor, Aka, Dafla, Apatani, Galong, Monpa, Khampti, Singpho, Howa, Sherdukpen, Mishmi and any Naga tribe. In another Notification in 1989, based on the proposal of the State Government, 25 tribes were enlisted. Later Adi was used for Abor, Nyishi for Dafla and Galo for Galong.

Keeping in view the provisions of the 1880 Act, the territory for NEFT was carved out from the then Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam. Administratively,

NEFT comprised the Western Section — the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, and the Central and Eastern sections, and was placed under the Assam Government. In 1919 the Western Section was renamed as Balipara Frontier Tract, and the Central and Eastern sections as Sadiya Frontier Tract.

In 1937 the post of the Secretary for the Tribal Affairs, to the Governor of Assam was created. During the same year, the Frontier Tracts, namely Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, came to be known as ‘Excluded Areas’ of the Province of Assam under the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. The Excluded Areas came under the direct control of the Government and the legislation for these was to be affected only through regulations. There was no line ministry responsible for the administration of the Excluded Areas.

In 1943, the post of an Advisor to the Governor of Assam was created, and the Tirap Frontier Tract was formed by combining some portions of areas from Sadiya and Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts. In 1946, Balipara Frontier Tract was bifurcated into Sela Sub-Agency and Subansiri Area.

In 1948, the Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into Abor Hills and Mishmi Hills districts with their headquarters at Pasighat and Sadiya respectively. In 1951, the entire Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, and the plains of the Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Mishmi Hills District and Abor Hills District were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Assam Government. In the same year, the Tuensang Division was created, merging the Naga Tribal Area and placing it under the jurisdiction of NEFT.

In 1954, NEFT was brought under a single administrative unit and re-designated as the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The Frontier Tracts were renamed as Frontier Divisions. In the same year, Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into Kameng and Subansiri Divisions; Abor Hills and Mishmi Hills districts were changed to Siang and Lohit Frontier Divisions; Sela Sub-Agency to Kameng Frontier Division and Subansiri Area into Subansiri Frontier Division. In 1957, the Tuensang Frontier Division was excluded from the NEFA and included in Naga Hills. In 1965, the divisions of the NEFA were designated as districts, and Political Officers as Deputy Commissioners. The territory was divided into five districts namely, Tirap, Lohit, Siang, Subansiri and Kameng. These districts were later bifurcated and at present the state has 20 districts.

In 1980 all districts except Tirap were bifurcated. Kameng was bifurcated into East and West Kameng; Subansiri into Lower and Upper Subansiri; Siang into East and West Siang; and Lohit into Lohit and Dibang Valley districts. Later, Tawang District was carved out from West Kameng District in 1984; Changlang from Tirap District in 1987; Papum Pare from Lower Subansiri District in 1992; Upper Siang from the East Siang District in 1994; and Kurung Kumey from Lower Subansiri District and Lower Dibang Valley from Dibang Valley District were carved out in 2001. Lohit District was further bifurcated into Lohit and Anjaw districts in 2004. In 2012 the Tirap district was further bifurcated and Longding district consisting of six subdivisions namely Longding, Kanunbari, Rongchau, Wakka, Pumao and Lawnu was carved out. The remaining area of Lohit, after bifurcation of Anjaw, was again bifurcated. From it Namsai district was carved out in 2014 consisting of the Namsai Subdivision of the undivided Lohit. In 2015 two more districts were created namely Kra Daadi and Siang. Kra Dadi was carved out from Kurung Kumey

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Check Your Progress

7. State whether the following statements are True or False:
 - (a) A name by which a tribe is known must have a meaning in its language system.
 - (b) Joram is an ancestor based identity.
 - (c) In Arunachal Pradesh all the people belong to one or the other tribal groups.
 - (d) Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh belong to Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) areas.
 - (e) Density of population in the districts of Arunachal Pradesh is uniform.

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh district constituting Tali and Palin constituencies. The Siang district was carved out from both West Siang and East Siang districts. It is constituted of Rumong-Kaying Constituency of West Siang and Boleng-Pangin Constituency of East Siang districts. In total the state has 20 districts. As the number of districts increases, the ethnic diversity in a district decreases.

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A development took place in 1965. As mentioned earlier, the NEFT received administrative and territorial recognition in 1914 through a notification by the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of British India. In other words, the affairs of the territory remained with the Foreign Department thereafter. Even after the independence of the country, though the present Arunachal was linked with Assam administration, it was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs. On 1 August 1965, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, took over the charge of administration of NEFA from the Ministry of External Affairs.

On 20 January 1972, NEFA was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh and became a Union Territory. In 1974 the capital of Arunachal Pradesh was shifted from Shillong to the present Itanagar. And On 20 February 1987, Arunachal Pradesh became the 24th state of the Union of India.

The territorial and administrative evolution of the present state dates back to the pre-independence period. But the political development took place in two phases before it became a Union Territory: The first was the nomination of Shri Choukhamoon Gohain (Namchum) as MP in 1952, while the second was the introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1967. In 1971, the representation to Lok Sabha was increased by one seat, while one seat was provided in Rajya Sabha. In 1977 the people of the state exercised their franchise for the first time to elect their representative for the Lok Sabha. Currently there are two representatives to the Lok Sabha and one to the Rajya Sabha.

On 15 August 1975, an elected provincial Legislative Assembly with 30 members was constituted and the first council of ministers assumed office. The first general election for the Assembly was held in February 1978. When Arunachal Pradesh attained full-fledged status in 1987, the seats in the State Assembly were increased from 30 to 60.

2.5 TRIBAL STUDIES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH: AN OVERVIEW

It will be of your interest to know that tribal studies began as a department in the then Arunachal University in 1995. This department has been further upgraded to Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies (AITS) subsequently. But this is not what the title of the section *Tribal Studies in Arunachal Pradesh: An overview* implies. In this section you will learn about researches and other studies on tribes of the state. Other studies normally include creative writings like stories, novels, songs on tribes and their cultures.

Broadly, studies on tribes include all topics relating to tribes-their cultures, inter-cultural interactions, tribe and non-tribe exchanges and negotiations with emerging national and international policies and perspectives and so on. You can understand the growth of tribal studies in the present state of Arunachal Pradesh in terms of its phases of growth, topical focus, purpose, sources of studies, etc.

Check Your Progress

8. State whether the following statements are True or False:
 - (a) As per Census, 2011 Arunachal Pradesh has 27 census towns.
 - (b) Habitations of Nyishi tribe are spread over six districts.
 - (c) Singphos belong to Kachin language family.
 - (d) Inner Line regulation was introduced in the territory of present Arunachal Pradesh in 1873.
 - (e) Pasighat became the district headquarters of Abor Hills district in 1911.

Phases of Growth

You have already studied Vidyarthi and Rai's (1976-1985) classification of the stages of growth of tribal studies in India in Paper-I, Unit-II. Here we will discuss the growth following Vidyarthi and Rai but will suitable modification in Arunachal Pradesh Context. We propose three phases Formative or Colonial phase (1774-1919), Constructive phase (1920-1954) and Institutional phase. You will understand the reasons of our scheme of classification from the discussions presented below.

Colonial Phase: Interest on the study of tribes began during colonial period due to administrative requirements. Academic administrators were engaged to study the tribes and their cultures to know them better for administrative purpose. The colonial phase is same as the formative period of Vidyarthi and Rai. But we emphasise on Colonial period as colonial attitude was at the centre of interest on studying tribes. Academic administrators were mostly colonial officers and they approached tribes as 'others' and with an attitude of cultural superiority. Studies on tribes appeared in government notifications, gazetteers, census records, acts and regulations, administrative reports and in published articles and volumes.

During this period, tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh and different aspects of their lifestyle appeared in studies undertaken for different regions like the then British province of Bengal and its North-eastern frontiers. You will find references in the following writings:

R. Wilcox's *Memoir of a Survey of Assam and the Neighbouring Countries Executed in 1825-1829* (1832); **R.B. Pemberton's** *Report on the Eastern Frontier of India* (1835); **W. Robinson's** *A descriptive Account of Assam to which is added a short account of Neighbouring Tribes* (1841); **E.T. Dalton's** *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872); **G.W. Beresford's** *Notes on the North-East Frontier of Assam* (1881); **George Dunbar's** *Frontiers* (1932); **A. Mackenzie's** *History of the Relations of Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-east Frontier of Bengal* (1884); **J.F. Nedham's** *Report on the Bebejiya Mishmi Expedition, 1889-1900* (1900) and **E.A. Gait's** *History of Assam* (1905).

As you know Asiatic Society of Bengal was established in 1774. This society published a journal entitled *the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1784. The journal contained papers on 'Nature and Man' describing the life and culture of people of India. In it papers on life and culture were also published. You will find an article on Aka as early as 1884 in it. There were a number of articles on different tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh published in the journal. Later these papers were compiled in two volumes, namely *Selection of papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma and on the Upper Brahmaputra* (1873), and *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (1959) edited by Elwin.

Some other important articles available are on individual tribes are as follows:

G.D.S. Dunbar's *Abors and Galongs: notes on certain hill tribes of the Indo-Tibetan border* (1915); **W. Griffith's** *Visit to the Mishmee Hills in Assam* (1836); **E.A. Rowlatt's** *Report of an Expedition into the Mishmee hills to the northeast of Sudyah* (1845); **W. Robinson's** *Notes on the Dophlas and the Peculiarities of their Language*; **G.W. Dun's** (1896) *Preliminary Notes on Daphlas* (1851); **B. Duff's** *Report on the Miri country and Operations of Miri Mission* (1912) and **R.S. Kennedy's** *Ethnological Report on the Akas, Khoas, and Mijis and the Monpas of Tawang* (1914).

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Two seminal works published during this period based on tour to Mishmi and Galo areas are:

T.T.Cooper's *The Mishmee Hills* (1873) and **A. Hamilton's** *In Abor Jungles* (1912).

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Constructive phase: You have studied in Paper I that Vidyarthi and Rai (1976/1985) have marked the period from 1920 to 1950 as constructive phase for tribal studies in India. The greater part of the period is a part of colonial rule. But during this period, tribes were studied in the discipline of Anthropology and Sociology with more focus on academic discourse. Sociology was introduced in Bombay University in 1919 and Anthropology in Calcutta University in 1921. Moreover, the journal *Man in India* started publishing articles mostly on tribes from the year 1921. Not only there was a shift in focus from colonial interest to academic engagement, but Indian scholars like G.S. Ghurye, N. K. Bose, M. N. Srinivas, D. N. Majumdar and many other studied tribes from a national perspective of interaction and integration. It will be of interest to know that the works of S. C. Roy on the Munda and J. K. Bose on Garo customary inheritance laws were cited in courts while dealing with disputes of these tribes. The judiciary recognised tribal rights as instituted in their customs. Obviously tribal studies entered into a new phase during this period. Of course the book on Munda was written in 1912 but its perspective was academic and rights based.

In Arunachal Pradesh, the constructive phase begins from 1920, corresponding to Vidyarthi and Rai's scheme, but continues till 1954. In 1954, North Eastern Frontier Tracts, (the name of the present territory before 1954) was brought under a single administrative unit and re-designated as the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The following year a research branch was established under NEFA Administration. Verrier Elwin worked on Arunachali tribes after it.

During this period problem oriented publications of C. Von Furer-Haimendorf on Apatanis and of other scholars like Ursula Graham Bower are significant academic contributions to tribal studies. Of course Haimendorf's studies continued even after 1954 but his focus was on academics. During this period also Haimendorf produced a report of his expedition into Subansiri area. In addition to his works seminal contributions in the field of folklores and ethnography have been made by faculties of the department of Anthropology of Gauhati University which was established in 1948. In their works tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have appeared along with other tribes of the Northeast. During this period, tribes like Gallongs (present Galos), Abors (present Adis), Daphlas (present Nyishis) and many others were recognised as Scheduled Tribes by the Order of the President of India in 1950. During this period colonial perspective was weaning off and academic approach to national perspective was gaining momentum. However, as is the case of tribes of India in general, much work is not available on Arunachalee tribes. The following works will give you some idea on tribal studies during constructive period in Arunachal Pradesh:

J.P. Mills' 'A Brief Note on Agriculture in the Dirang Dzung Area' (1946); C.Von Furer-Haimendorf's 'Agriculture and Land tenure among the Apa Tanis' and 'Notes on Tribal Justice among the Apa Tanis' of (1946) and *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region*, (1946; and Ursula Graham Bower's *The Hidden Land* (1953).

In early fifty's social workers visited different places of Arunachal Pradesh. A couple, S.M.Krishnatry and Geeta Krishnatry by name, visited Tagin areas. Recently

Geeta Krishnatry's diary is published under the title *Gender triumphs unarmed in the hostile gorges: rediscovery of border Tagins: Tour Diary of Mrs Geeta Krishnatry*. The diary was compiled by S.M. Krishnatry and edited by B.B. Pandey in 1997 and published by Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

Institutional Phase: The beginning of this period departs from Vidyarthi and Rai's scheme of analytical period. During this period institutional interest and analytical academics have given a new height to tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh. The institutional interest was visible in constructive period for tribes of other parts of the country. But in case of Arunachal Pradesh it began from 1955 and combined with analytical and problem oriented studies. That is why the phase is labelled as Institutional Phase (1955-). The overall trend depicted in the scheme of Vidyarthi and Rai does not appear in toto in Arunachal context. The research on tribal studies has its own dynamics in Arunachal Pradesh. The periodisation has slight variation to suit the context of Arunachal Pradesh, though like Vidyarthi and Rai it believes in overlapping of perspectives between the last two phases.

You have already studied that the present territory of Arunachal Pradesh was known as North Eastern Frontier Tracts (NEFT) before 1954 and North East Frontier Agency from 1954 to 1972. There was slow down in tribal studies during the Constructive phase and picked up momentum when the NEFA Administration established as special research Branch in 1955 for anthropological, philological and historical researches. As Elwin writes in *A Philosophy for NEFA*, the work of the Branch centred round the concept of *Philanthropology*, meaning scientific anthropological research 'for the benefit of human beings'. Therefore, anthropologists approached to the tribal people with an attitude of respect and humility, but not with the colonial notion of considering tribes 'as savage or inferior.' Elwin further writes that the NEFA 'research workers were not concerned with policy as such'. They studied people and their institutions so as to encourage people and institutions to provide the basis to establish the foundation of the Administration. Obviously there is a departure from the colonial attitude in the works of the research branch of NEFA Administration. The stress was on the process of integration of Arunachalee tribes into national ethos and development agenda. This is also manifest when philologists devoted attention to the academic study of languages and dialects. They prepared 'Grammars, Dictionaries and Phrase-books to help officers to learn the local languages'. They also supervised 'the translation of school textbooks, so that education at least in the primary stage can be carried on in the mother tongue'. During this period, a substantial collection of myths and legends have been published.

The cultural anthropologists in the research branch have studied tribal religion not only to create knowledge on the subject but to help other colleagues in the Administration to understand and respect tribal beliefs. They have studied 'material culture so that information thus obtained may help the development of cottage industries.' Further, they have investigated 'social organisation and jurisprudence to assist in the building up Cooperatives on the right lines and to help the development of tribal political institutions'. Verrier Elwin and his scheme were predominant quite for some time in tribal studies. Excellent monographs also have been prepared and published in the early few decades.

In 1960s and there after some national institutes like Anthropological Survey of India, Botanical Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Institute of Indian Languages at Mysore, National Council of Applied Economic Research at

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Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh New Delhi and a few others have conducted their researches in the state. Interesting publications and reports are available based on such researches on various topics. In the *People of India* project of Anthropological Survey of India tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been studied from different aspects. The volume on Arunachal Pradesh is a rich account of tribes and their culture.

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Scholars of the Agro-Economic Research Centre (AERC), Jorhat also conducted socio-economic survey in few villages in Arunachal. Some important works among them include: D. Gohain and S. Saikia's '*Khonsa: A Socio-Economic Survey of a Nocte-Naga Village in NEFA*' (1970) (mimeograph); M. Barkataky and P.C. Dutta's '*Pakam: Socio-Economic Survey of a Gallong Village*' (1972) (mimeograph), U. Phukan's (et al) '*Bamin: A Socio-Economic Survey of Apatani Village*' (1978) (mimeograph), and N.R. Goswami and S.N. Burgohain's '*Hatiduba: A socio-Economic Survey of a Miju Mishmi Village*' (1982) (mimeograph). These surveys provide general idea about traditional economy of Arunachal tribes.

Gazetteers were published in 1970s. Another interesting feature is the publication of a journal in the name of *Resarun* by the Research Branch and *NEFA Information* by Publicity Branch. *NEFA Information* has subsequently been re-designated as *Arunachal News* after it became a Union Territory in 1972 and *Arunachal Review* after it attained statehood in 1987. Since NEFA Information days articles on culture, development initiatives and achievements, government's vision along with news and views have been featuring regularly. Some college teachers of that time, such as Tamo Mibang, Tai Nyori, S. D. Jha, A. K. Agarwal and some others, have contributed on topics relating to culture, history and development. A few among them also have worked on tribal issues for their Ph.D degree.

Institutionalisation process of tribal studies prepared to take off when Arunachal University was established in 1984. The departments like education, political science, and history conducted seminars on topics related to the people and their cultures focusing on changing context. Faculty members attended national and regional seminars where they produced papers on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Some studies were also undertaken in North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong; Gauhati University and Dibrugarh University on topics pertaining to Arunachal Pradesh as project works and Ph.D. assignments.

Scholars have used historical accounts to study British relations with hill tribes. In these studies Arunachal Pradesh has occupied an important place. Among the works mention may be made of B.C. Chakravarty's *British relations with the Hills Tribes of Assam* (1964), D. P. Choudhury's *The North-east Frontier of India* (1978) and M.L. Bose's *British Policy in the North-east Frontier Agency* (1979). Chakravarty covered the second half of the nineteenth century, from 1885 to 1900; Choudhury supplemented Chakravarty's work up to 1914. Bose on the other hand covered the period from the British annexation of Assam in 1826 to the Independence of the country in 1947. You will find that scholars of other Universities studied the tribes and tribal institutions of Arunachal Pradesh. K. K. Misra of Utkal University, Bhubaneswar studied Khampti elites for his Ph.D assignment in the later part of 1980s which he published under the title *Tribal Elites and Social Transformation* (1993). Soihiamlung Dangmei (2012-2013) of Jawaharlal Nehru University has compared Donyipolo faiths of Arunachal Pradesh with Heraka faith in his Ph.D dissertation titled *Religious Politics and Search for Indigeneity: A Study of Donyi-Polo and Heraka Movements in North East India*. Foreign scholars like Mark W.

Post, Stephen Morey have studied the languages of some Arunachali tribes. Post has exclusively studied Galo language while Morey has studied Singpho and Nocte languages.

The process however took off after the establishment of the Department of Tribal Studies in 1995. The Department (presently it is Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies) runs interdisciplinary M.Phil and Ph. D programmes in tribal studies and language package course in tribal languages. It also started P.G. programme in anthropology in 2001 which later has been upgraded to an independent department, but yet having tribal studies as core area of research. In addition to routine teaching and research programmes, faculty members of AITS regularly conduct seminars, conferences, edit books and involve in sponsored projects on topics related to tribes, their cultures and development in the changing context. They use recent methodological and conceptual perspectives in their researches which also include current issues.

Interestingly departments like political science, history, economics, botany, geography. etc. organise seminars and conferences on various topics relating to people, their institutions, history and often locating them in development process. The department of economics acted as the nodal department in preparing *Human Development Report* and *State Development Report* of Arunachal Pradesh. You will also find that research scholars of these departments take up topics related to tribes and their ways of life for M.Phil. and Ph.D degrees. Some of these research works have been published subsequently. Mention may be made of the publications of N. T. Rikam's (2005) *Emerging Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh*, Ashan Riddi's (2006) *Tagins of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study of Continuity and Change*, Tana Showren's (2009) *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh-An Ethnohistorical Study*, Otem Pertin's (2009) *Rethinking Tribal Institutions*, Gibji Nimachow's (2011) *The Akas: Land and People* and N. N. Hina's (2012) *Cutomary Laws of Nyishi Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh*.

You will find that topics such as empowerment, social capital, customary laws, political participation, working of Panchayati Raj Institutions, etc. relating to tribal life of Arunachal Pradesh have been covered as Ph.D. assignments of the Department of Political Science. Similarly, scholars of Department of History have worked on ethnohistory, colonial interventions, socio-economic changes, change and continuity of traditional institutions, identity issues, British-tribe relations and many such related topics. Resource management and socio-economic dynamics lie at the core of research topics on which scholars have worked for Ph.D. degree of the Department of Geography.

Ph.D. scholars of the Department of History have worked on topics having bearing on tribal institutions and interactions with outside forces. Mention may be made of Ashan Riddi's (2003) dissertation entitled *Traditional Institutions of the Tagins: Continuity and Change*, N.T. Rikam's (2003) *Changing Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh: A Case Study of the Nyishi Since 1947*, Khetoan Khetey's (2007) *Socio-Cultural Development of the Noctes of Arunachal Pradesh since Independence*, and Jommi Loyi's (2012) dissertation entitled *Colonial Interventions into Adi Areas (1825-1947)* as examples.

North-East India History Association (NEIHA) and Economic Association (NEEA) and many regional and national NGOs provide academic platform in seminars and conferences where many research papers on Arunachal Pradesh are

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Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh presented. You will find a series of publications of these organisations including those of by the North Eastern Council (NEC), and the North-East Council for Social Science Research (NEICSSR), Shillong. These publications include writings covering various topics on Arunachal Pradesh and its people.

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Bio-genetic studies

You have studied bio-genetic characteristic of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. From various studies on bio-genetic traits we know about these characteristics. Anthropological Survey of India and the Department of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh have carried out projects on these topics. In addition, individual scholars also have taken up studies from where we know about bio-genetic traits of the tribes. In almost all the phases importance was given to such studies. We cite a few as examples.

You will find that bio-genetic studies include a small report on serology ('ABO' and 'MN' blood groups) of Digaru Mishmis by D. K. Duarah (1979) based on 80 individuals. Waddell (1901) had undertaken an anthropometric survey among the *Khamptis*. He found that the *Khamptis* belong to the Mongoloid racial stock with an average stature of 1,641 mm, an average cephalic index of 79.1 and an average nasal index of 80.8. B.S. Guha (1948-49 and 1949-50) and P.Gupta and P.C.Dutta (1962) had also undertaken an anthropometric survey among the two sub-groups of the *Adis* i.e. the *Adi-Pangis* and *Adi-Padams*. S. Roy (1966) made a systematic anthropometric survey of *Adi Shimongs*, *Adi Pasis*, *Adi Minyongs* and *Adi Ashings*. N. Kumar (1954) and P. N. Bhattacharjee (1954) undertook serological studies among the *Gallongs*, *Minyongs*, *Padams*, *Pangis* and *Pasis*. A survey conducted by P.N. Bhattacharjee (1955) of finger dermatoglyphics among three *Adi* sub-groups (*Minyongs*, *Padams* and *Pasis*) suggests that the *Minyongs* and *Padams* have a higher frequency of whorls rather than loops, while the opposite is true in the case of *Pasis*. I.J.S. Jaswal and S. Jaswal (1981), I. J. S. Jaswal and P. B. S. V. Padmanabham (1983) and I.J.S. Jaswal, S. Jaswal S. Sengupta (1986) undertook a detailed bio-anthropological survey of *Apatanis*. D.K. Duarah (1986) had also studied the Monpas of Dirang, Kalaktang and Tawang and found a high frequency of the 'O' blood group gene followed by 'A' and 'B' blood group genes.

Publications of Government of Arunachal Pradesh

Among the publications of the department of research Government of Arunachal Pradesh on tribes the following works are noteworthy:

- (a) **Monographs:** The Department of Research has prepared a number of monographs. These include **P. Dutta's** *The Tangsas of the Namchik and Tirap Valleys*(1959) and *The Noctes* (1969); **T. K. M. Baruah's** *The Idu Mishmi* (1960) and *The Singphos and their Religion* (1977); **R. Sinha's** *The Akas* (1962); **T.K. Bhattacharya's** *The Tangams* (1975); **R. K. Deuri's** *The Sulungs* (1982); **K. Kumar's** *The Boris* (1978) and *The Pailibos* (1979); **R.P.R. Sharma's** *The Sherdukpens* (1961); **B.K. Shukla's** *The Daflas of Subansiri Region* (1965); **L.R.N. Srivastava's** *The Gallongs* (1962) and *Among the Wanchos* (1978); **A. Tayeng's** *The Millang* (1976) and D.K.Dutta's *The Membas of Arunachal Pradesh* (2006).

Publications on socio-cultural and historical topics: On this topic you will find **Sachin Roy's** *Aspects of Padam Minyong Culture* (1960); **N. Sarkar's**

(1974) *Dances of Arunachal Pradesh, Buddhism among the Monpas and Sherdukpens* (1980) and *Tawang Monastery* (1981); **R.K.Deuri's** *Festivals of Kameng* (1983); **L.N. Chacravarty's** *Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal* (1989); **A. A. Ashraf's** *Prehistoric Arunachal* (1990); **P.C Dutta & D.K. Duarah's** *Aspects of Culture and Customs of Arunachal Pradesh* (1990) and **A. Tayeng's** *Adi Folk Songs* (1990).

(b) **Gazetteers:** Gazetteer of India, Arunachal Pradesh – *Lohit District* (1978), *Tirap District* (1980), *Subansiri District* (1981), *East Siang and West Siang Districts* (1994) and *East Kameng, West Kameng and Tawang Districts* (1996) and *State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh, Vol-I* (2010).

(c) **Individual scholars on policy directives and culture:** **Verrier Elwin's** *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India* (1958), *A Philosophy for NEFA* and *The Art of the North-East Frontier of India* in 1959, and *Democracy in NEFA* (1965) were published by the Administration of North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong. There is a joint work of **Verrier Elwin** with **B. Shastri and I. Simon**, which is entitled *Important Directives on Administration of NEFA* (1967) and published by NEFA Administration. **P.N. Luthra's** *Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency* (1971) has also been published by the administration. Two works namely *Enchanted Frontiers* (1973) and *Imperilled Frontiers* (1983) by Nari Rustomji are noteworthy. These books provide rich information on life and culture and development imperatives of the government.

Writings included in *Resarun* cover a wide range of topics. Some of them are *Origin and Migrational History of Mishmis* (2009) by Dimso Manyu; *An Account of Gorcham Chorten; The largest Stupa in Arunachal Pradesh and Neolithic Celts from Arunachal Pradesh* (1982) by N. Sarkar; *Galo House as a Cultural Space* (2006) by Jumyir Basar; *Nutritional Status of Children in Arunachal Pradesh an Overview* (2000) by Helina Mantaw & Priyanka Priyadarshni; *Nutritive Values in the Natural Food Items of Some Arunachal Pradesh* (2001) by R Rina, & Y.P. Kohli and many on cultural life. As early as 1972 C.R. Stoner has published one paper in *Arunachal Bulletin* on *The Sulung Tribes of the Assam Himalayas*.

In *Arunachal News* writings generally discussed development scenario of the state. As early as 1978 I.K. Barthakur wrote on Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh-1977. Same year S.K. Chatterjee wrote on the functioning of Arunachal Pradesh Forest Corporation Limited in the article of the same name. Tribal relations with forests have been discussed in many papers included in *Arunachal Forest News*, another government publication. For example, Ruchi Pant (1998) wrote a paper entitled Joint Forestry Management vis-a-vis Conservation Laws of Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly S.N. Hegde (2000) wrote on Conservation of North East Flora in which Arunachal case is adequately covered.

Census publications: You will be interested to learn that the first comprehensive census was introduced in the state only in 1961. Based on census data B.K. Roy Burman compiled a book entitled *Demographic and Socio-economic Profiles of Hills Areas of North-East India* (1961) based on village surveys. You will find socio-economic survey conducted in the villages of Sibuk, Jia, Momong, Dalbing, Ramsingh, Jara and Koreng were included in this volume. The 1971 census two important micro-studies namely, J.B. Ganguly's *A Pilot Study of Pasighat* and Roy Burman's *Socio-economic Survey of Rupa* provide rich information of two

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places. Census reports right from 1961 provide us rich information on Arunachal Pradesh and its people.

Projects at AITS

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Faculty members of Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies have undertaken a good number of projects and have contributed significantly to the growth of tribal studies Arunachal Pradesh. A few of them are cited as examples.

M. C. Behera: *Objective Assessment of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in selected villages of Arunachal Pradesh* (2003), *Base-line Survey Report on handmade Paper Industry in Mukto Village* (2001), *Village India: Identification and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage, Arunachal Chapter* (2000), *Impact of Orange Cultivation on Traditional Role of Galo Women* (1999) and *Articulation of Indian Society through a Pilgrim Centre : A Case Study of Parshuram Kund* (1997).

S. K. Chaudhuri: *Continuity and Change Among the Mijis of Arunachal Pradesh; Relocating Morung in Wancho Society: A Study of a traditional Social Institution at the Cross Roads and Around the Loin-Loom: A Study of Indigenous Knowledge of Wancho Women; Documentation of Indigenous Knowledge and policy Issues related to Fisheries of Arunachal Pradesh and Beyond Cattle to Cash: Changing Agrarian Economy of the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh (1946-2008).*

P. T. Abraham: *A comparative Study of Tani Languages-Dialects of Arunachal Pradesh.*

S. S. Chaudhuri: *Culture of Weaving and Women: Special Reference to Indigenous Knowledge System.*

S. K. Chaudhuri & S.S. Chaudhuri: *Beads Traditions among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study on Ethno-History, Gender, Identity and Emerging Cultural Context.*

Jumyir Basar: *A Study of Indigenous Knowledge System and Resource Management Practices among the Galo Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh and Ethnographic Study of Minor Communities of Arunachal Pradesh*

H. V. Singh: *Tribal Health Issues in the Context of Arunachal Pradesh.*

Simon John: *Documentation of Performative Traditions Associated with Funerals of Idu Mishmi of Arunachal Pradesh and A Multidisciplinary Survey, Research and Documentation of Rock Art in North East India.*

Lisa Lomdak: *A Preliminary Language Documentation of the Tribal Minor Speech communities of Bangru and Meyor of Arunachal Pradesh and Arunachal Volume, Peoples Linguistic Survey of India.*

AITS has also collaborated with SOAS, London's project on *Tribal Transitions* in Arunachal Pradesh.

Seminars/ Conferences/Workshops in AITS: *Indigenous Faith and Practices of Arunachal Pradesh* (1996); *Ethno Medicines of The Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (1996); *Indigenous Religion and Culture of Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (1998); *Women and Health with Special Reference to Arunachal Pradesh* (1999); *Arunachal Towards the New Century: Communication for Tribal Development* (2000); *Indigenous Knowledge System of the Tribes of North East India* (2001), *Dynamics of Tribal Villages of Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2003); *Marriage System in the Tribal Societies of Arunachal Pradesh* (2004); *Marriage in*

tribal Societies Cultural Dynamics and Social Realities (2005); *Traditional Political Systems in Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2005); *Traditional Political Systems in Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2006) The Institute has also conducted workshops on topic like issues on *Culture Identity and Change* (2000), *Phonetic Features of Arunachal Languages* (2002) and many others.

Not only do university departments, but also affiliated colleges of Rajiv Gandhi University conduct seminars pertaining to tribes of the state. Recently J. N. College, Pasighat, conducted a national seminar on *Ethno Science and Technology of India: With Special Reference to North East India* (6-7 October 2016). D. N. College, Itanagar also conducted a seminar on *Cultural Heritage of Northeast India* (10-11 March 2017) and DPGC, Kamki on *Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity at Grass-Root Level in Arunachal Pradesh: A Historical Perspective*. Doimukh College also conducted a seminar on *hunting and gathering* in 2016.

M.Phil./Ph.D. assignments in AITS

AITS promotes interdisciplinary researches. In its M.Phil. and Ph.D. programmes students come from humanities and commerce streams. From its inception in 1995 more than hundred students of History, Political Science, Economics, English, Commerce, Geography, Education, Sociology and Anthropology disciplines have completed M.Phil. course. Similarly, about fifty students from these disciplinary backgrounds have registered/completed Ph.D. course of AITS. In both the programmes scholars have worked on topics relating to both of their respective disciplines and tribes. The topics covered relate to resource management, socio-economic development, rural development, oral narratives, symbolism, indigenous knowledge, employment, political participation, status, empowerment, PRIs, urbanization, social practices, disaster management, customary laws, customs and traditions, traditional political organization, social organizations, dance, festivals, economic pursuits, faiths and beliefs, forestry, tourism, crime and punishment, banking, health, educational technology, educational problems and many others.

You will understand the nature of interdisciplinary studies conducted at AITS from the following titles of a few M.Phil and Ph.D dissertations. Besides, the topics of research are tribe based and region based pertaining to different aspects of life both in tradition and contemporary situation and thus diverse in nature.

M.Phil. Dissertations

Pokling Tayeng's (1996) *Role of Forest in the Socio-Economic Life of the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Ashan Riddi's** (1996-97) *Indigenous Institutions of the Tagins and the Changing Trend*; **Nani Anku's** (2009) *Teaching of English Language in Secondary Schools of Capital Complex: A critical study*; **Jombi Bagra's** (2009) *Interpretation of Women in Patriarchy: A case study of Galo*; **Onong Perme's** (2008) *A Study on the Culture and Process of Education in Arunachal Pradesh with the Adis of East Siang as case study*; **Rinchin Dawa's** (2008) *Women's Participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions: A study on the Monpas of Tawang District of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Oimang Megu's** (2007) *Cane and Bamboo in the Life of the Adis of Arunachal Pradesh: An Anthropological study on Indigenous knowledge system*; **Punyo Yarang's** (2006) *Dapo: Social control mechanism of the Apatanis*; **Sila Dele's** (2007) *Juvenile Delinquency in Idu Mishmi Community*; **Kokom Gao's** (2006) *Ecological and socio-economic implications of hunting practice of Adis*; **Taw Azu's** (1998) *Women in Nishing Society (a Case study of Yachuli Circle of*

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Lower Subansiri District, Arunachal Pradesh; **Leki Norbu's** (2002) *Utilization and Management of Animal Resource by the Monpas of A.P.*; **Dimso Manyu's** (2003) *Understanding Indigenous Trade: A study on the Roles of a few Mishmi Clans of District Lohit, Arunachal Pradesh*; **Rajiv Meso's** (2005) *Priesthood among the Idu Mishmis (A case study of Idu Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh)*; **Nending Butung's** (2010-2011) *Analysis of Culture Reflection in Oral Narratives: The Apatani Tribe at Perspective*; **Raju Balo's** (2008-09) *A Study of the Growth and Status of Elementary Education in East Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Tage Pugang's** (2008-09) *A Study of Social Reality of the Apatanis in Selected Folk Narratives*; **Tenzin Yeegha's** (2008-09) *A Study of Symbolism in the Dances of Tawang Monpas*; **Tade Sangdo's** (2007-08) *A Study on Festivals and Rituals of the Nyishi (A Case Study of East Kameng District of Arunachal Pradesh)*; **Millo Mamung** (2008-09) *Transformation of Tribal Economy and Workforce Participation in Arunachal Pradesh (A Case Study of the Apatanis)*; **Koj Tacho's** (2006-07) *A Study of Buliang of the Apatanis in Contemporary Society*; **Fames Linggi's** (2005-06) *A Study on Economics of Indigenous Industrial Activities of Arunachal Pradesh with special reference to Idu Community*; **Tarun Mene's** (2006) *Suicides among the Idu Mishmis: An Anthropological study of the tribe of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Kamjai Taism's** (2003-2004) *The Tangsa Traditional Polity in Transition (A Case Study of Changlang Circle of Changlang District, Arunachal Pradesh)*; **Taba Soring's** (2003-2004) *Crime, Punishment and Village Authority in Traditional Nyishi Community (A Case Study of Three Nyishi Villages of Pipsorang Circle under Kurung Kumey District in Arunachal Pradesh)*. **Nongja Singpho's** (2004-2005) *A Study of Folk Narratives of the Singphos of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Wangda Gyatso's** (2004-2005) *A Study of Employment and Income Situation in Small-scale industries (SSIs) in Tawang District of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Kalen Lego's** (2002-2003) *The Production, Exchange and Distribution System in Adi Village: A case study of Ngopok village under Mebo Circle, East Siang District, Arunachal Pradesh*. **Tashi Kayi's** (1998-99) *Role of Rural Bank for the Development of Rural Sector in Arunachal Pradesh (A Case Study of APRB, Lumpo Branch, Nari Sub-division, East Siang District)*; **Bulu Baruah's** (1997-98) *Teaching, Learning, Technology and Students' Achievement in schools of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Helina Mantaw's** (1996-97) *Poverty Alleviation Programmes and Tribal Development (A Case Study of the Khampti Tribe)*, etc.

Ph.D. Dissertations

Sarit Kumar Chaudhuri's (2000) *A Tribe in Transition: A Study of the Mijis of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Vineeta Dowerah's** (2003) *Oral Narratives of Nocte Society*; **Gindu Borang's** (2005) *Indigenous Institutions of the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Egul Padung's** (2006) *Emergence of Pasighat: A case study on the Dynamics of Urban Growth*; **Juri Dutta's** (2007) *Tribal life and society in select novels of Lummer Dai and Yeshe Dorjee Thongchi*; **Srinibash Panda's** (2009) *Imperial Dynamics in India's North East Frontier: A case study of Arunachal Pradesh (1824-1914)*; **Otem Pertin's** (2008) *Musup and Raseng of the Padam: A Study in Cultural Continuity and Change*; **Kangki Megu's** (2008) *A Study of Tourism and Economic Development in Arunachal Pradesh: Problems and Prospects*; **Jumyir Basar's** (2011) *A Study of Indigenous Knowledge System in Development Policies and Programmes with Special Reference to Resource Management by the Galo of Arunachal Pradesh*, etc.

Publications of NGOs and Research Institutes: For example we can cite **Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore's** publications of *Apatani*

Grammar (1985) by P.T.Abraham and *Mishmi-English-Hindi Dictionary* (1991) by G.Devi Prasada Sastry; **Anthropological Survey of India's** publications such as J. Sarkar's *Society, Culture and Ecological Adaptation among three tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (1987), P. Lal, and B.K. Dasgupta's *Lower Siang People* (1979) and P. Dutta and S.I. Ahmed's *People of India Arunachal Pradesh* (1995); **Vivekananda Kendra Institute of Culture's** *Traditional Systems of the Nocte and Traditional Systems of the Tangsa and Tutsa* in 2005; **Itihas Sanklan Samiti's** *Itanagar-A Profile* (2002) edited by J.Begi and publications of **North Eastern Social Research Centre**, Guwahati on Arunachal issues included in volumes edited by Walter Fernandes and his team. Anthropological Survey of India in its Journal Vol. 52, No. 4, Dec 2003, has carried 7 out of 14 papers on ethno medicine of selected tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. We have also discussed Anthropological Survey of India's other works in different places. Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manava Sangrahalay (IGRMS), Bhopal occasionally promotes research on Arunachal tribes. In its recent endeavour it has published a book entitled *Amazing Arunachal Pradesh* (2013) authored by M. C. Behera and K. K. Misra.

Faculty members of AITS have published more than fifty books (authored/edited) on different aspects of life of Arunachalee tribes. The themes include marriage, village studies, indigenous knowledge, folklore, ethnomedicine, religion, grammar, identity, and many others

Creative works

The scope of tribal studies is not confined to academic researches only. The beauty of tribal culture, its encounter with external forces and the emerging contradictions in changing situation of Arunachal Pradesh has captured the sensitive mind of creative writers. It is not a surprise to find tribal authors like Lummer Dai, Y.D.Thongchi and Mamang Dai writing on their own culture as it encounters external forces of change. There is a humanitarian overtone in their writings and a critical description of the cultural change; somewhere a conflict between tradition and modernity is noticed in their writings. Lummer Dai's *Paharor Xile Xile* (In the Midst of Rocks of Hill), 1961; *Pritibir Hanhi* (The Smile of the Earth), 1963, *Mon Aru Mon* (Heart to Heart), 1968; *Kainyar Mulya* (Bride Price), 1982 and *Upur Mahal* (Higher Level) are novels written in Assamese. Y.D. Thongchi's *Saba kota Manuh*, *Mouna Ounth Mukhar Hriday* (Silent Lips, Talking Heart) situate the culture in the changing context. Mamang Dai's *Legends of Pensam* (2006) is a search of her own cultural identity through her journey from the past to the present. Besides, she also writes poems on themes pertaining to own culture; some of them are compiled in *River Poems*. her other creative works include *Once Upon a Moontime: From the Magical Story World of Arunachal Pradesh*, *The Sky Queen* and *Stupid Cupid*. Not only Arunachalee writers, but also others have shown their creative genius. Mention may be made of *Into the Hidden Valley* (2016), the novel written by Stuart Blackburn. He has brought alive the Apatani worlds during colonial period.

2.6 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed communities of Arunachal Pradesh as a broad social category. This category includes the politico-administrative concept of Scheduled Tribe and ethnic communities. Moreover, tribal habitats have also been discussed. We have classified tribes on the basis of bio-genetic variability and language in order to situate them in Tribal India.

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- In Indian context, as you have learnt in unit I, tribes do not exist in isolation. This proposition also holds for the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh who had relations with Tibet, Ahom and later with the British.
- Tribes almost have their contiguous territory. But political division has put them in different administrative districts. The discussion on geographical and political divisions of tribes has been presented to explain tribal habitats in different perspectives.
- We have also discussed politico administrative development of the state in order that you understand the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in the context of Tribal India. Finally, we have briefly presented studies conducted on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. We have categorised various phases of growth of tribal studies and cited some examples for a better understanding of thematic diversity.

2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Ahom:** Descendants of ethnic Tai people who accompanied Tai prince Sukhapaa of Mong Mao, presently in Yunnan Province to India. Sukhapaa established a kingdom in Assam in 1228 which is known as Ahom Kingdom; Ahoms ruled Assam till 1826.
- **Crude Birth rate:** $(\text{annual births} \div \text{annual mean population}) \times 1000$.
- **Crude Death rate:** $(\text{annual deaths} \div \text{annual mean population}) \times 1000$.
- **Demography:** Scientific study of population and its characteristics like literacy, birth and death rates, sex ratio, density, etc.
- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.
- **Ethnos:** Ethnic group, a common culture.
- **Exogamous:** Marriage practice outside the group, opposite to endogamous.
- **Ideal type:** Pertaining to the idea which is considered to be perfect and thus, a model to follow.
- **Infant Mortality Rate:** $(\text{Number of deaths during 1 year of age which occurred among the population of a given geographical area} \div \text{Number of live births which occurred among the population of the given geographical area during the same year}) \times 1000$.
- **Paik:** An adult male whose name was registered for state service during Ahom rule .
- **Posa:** A type of payment made to some Nyishi, Galo, Adi and Sherdukpen villages by the Ahom rulers and later by the British as a peace measure.
- **Sex-Ratio:** Number of female population per thousand of male population expressed in percentage.
- **Tribal Sub-Plan:** An integrated strategy of development of tribals in Fifth Schedule Areas of India introduced during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

2.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. (a) False (b) False (c) True
 (d) True (e) False

2. The sources are a) outside import with or without a meaning in language system, b) a territorial link, c) own name

Outside import with or without a meaning in language system-Aka, Abor, Dafla

A territorial link- Nocte, Wancho, Monpa

Own name - Nyishi, Puroik, Adi

3. Nocte. Because one of the words which form the name Nocte has territorial significance. *Noc* means village and *te* means people. So Nocte means people living in village.
4. Hrusso and Koro. The tribe is not consanguinal as the two groups do not share a common descent.
5. No. The Chakmas, the Hajongs, the Adivasis and the Nepalis, for example, living in the state are not STs of Arunachal Pradesh.
6. Arunachal Pradesh is an autonomous state as per the provisions of the Article 244A and a Special State under the provisions of Article 371H.
7. (a) False (b) True (c) False
(d) False (e) False
8. (a) True (b) True (c) True
(d) False (e) False

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2.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the anomalies in listing tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in Census records with example.
2. List the geographic divisions in Arunachal Pradesh? Present the distribution of tribes in each division.
3. Write a note on the language groups in Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Give a brief account of administrative growth of in Arunachal Pradesh.
5. Briefly discuss various phases of growth of tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh.

Long-Answer Questions

1. The name of a tribe comes from different sources. Discuss.
2. Outline the demographic features of Arunachalee tribes.
3. Are the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh isolated groups? Justify your answer by citing two examples.
4. Explain the importance of *posa*.
5. Discuss the territorial evolution of Arunachal Pradesh starting from British rule.

2.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT-III SOCIETY AND EMERGING ISSUES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Society and Social Organization
 - 3.2.1 Social Life
 - 3.2.2 Social Organization
- 3.3 Emerging Issues
 - 3.3.1 Land Relations
 - 3.3.2 Occupational Diversification
 - 3.3.3 Modern Polity
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Key Terms
- 3.6 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 3.7 Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Readings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

You have studied in the previous unit that the Arunachal society is not homogenous as broadly speaking it consists of tribal and non-tribal population. Except a few like the Nepalese, Chakmas and Adivasis etc. other non-tribal populations do not have a community identity in Arunachal Pradesh because these groups of people are migrant groups from different communities from outside of Arunachal Pradesh and are thus mixed groups. Further, the non-tribal population again can be categorized as settlers and non-settler migrants. The second group is the mixed population group of migrants which consists of participants in development process and their family members.

Since Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal state we will discuss the society of Arunachal Pradesh as ‘Tribal Arunachal Pradesh’. You have studied in the earlier section that the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to different bio-genetic and linguistic groups, even though they belong to the greater Mongoloid stock. In addition to this broader bio-genetic commonality, there is another common feature among them in that they are all patriarchal in nature. Moreover, they did not exist in complete isolation at least from the time they were reported in colonial writings. These writings report not only inter-tribe interactions but also contacts and interactions with Tibet, Myanmar and the Assam plains. As a matter of fact, all the tribes inhabiting Arunachal Pradesh migrated from different places of Tibet and Myanmar during different time periods. It is common to find relatives of many tribal groups living across the Indian border.

By now you must have understood that the Arunachali society is a society in diversity which manifests across tribes. As there are different tribal groups, certainly each group has its distinct identity. This distinctiveness is largely the distinct perception that the people of a tribe nourish. Basically, their distinct identity emerges from differences in social organization schemes, spoken tongues, faiths, practices and so on. Therefore, we will discuss social organization of tribes in general and with reference to a few tribes as examples. The general discussion will be useful to appreciate Arunachali society which is a manifestation of diversity.

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A tribe as a distinct group has its own organizational set up. You will find more than one tribe having similar set up. In other words, a group of tribes could be identified on the basis of similar scheme of social organization along the line of grouping different relations vertically and horizontally. Horizontally, a group of families would be organized into a lineage and a group of lineages say, into a clan. When an organization of family, lineage and clan is arranged in ascending order, the family is placed first followed by lineage and clan. Such an arrangement is a vertical arrangement of social organization.

In addition to commonality in the organization of social groupings of a group of tribes, there may be commonality in the system of governance as well. The tribe may have the central authority or a council of members without any central authority. In this Unit you will learn the nature of Arunachali society with reference to social groupings and their governance system.

You have already learnt that traditional tribes are self-reliant units and enjoy tribal autonomy. But this characteristic of a tribe is hardly found in the process of contact with colonial governance and later in the process of integration with national goals in India. Undoubtedly, there are changes in the traditional ethos of tribes. You will find these changes in various spheres, but we will discuss the issue with reference to the status of women, land relations, occupational diversification and emerging political scenario.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss social life of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh
- Explain the scheme of organization of different tribes
- Explain emerging land relations and occupational diversifications
- Discuss tribal body politics of the past and at present
- Describe the status of women in terms of inheritance rights and empowerment and
- Identify trends of change in recent years

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4.0 SOCIETY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Arunachal region is the abode of a number of tribal groups professing different religions, belonging to different linguistic groups and spreading over different geographical regions. It is the social life of a tribe within the cultural perspective that distinguishes it from others. Besides, tribes also display different schemes of social organization. We will discuss social life and social organizations of a few tribes to appreciate the rich diversity in the state.

3.2.1 Social Life

The communities in Arunachal Pradesh are patriarchal in nature which are organised on the basis of clans, villages and around kinship relations.

The tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh are not egalitarian in nature due to the existence of social divisions along the lines of class and gender. There are distinctions even between the rich and the poor, for example, the Galos call a rich person *Nyite* and a poor person *Nyima*; while the Apatanis refer to the rich as *Miingho* and the poor as *Aroh*.

Marriage: Tribe endogamy is a prevalent practice among tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh, although marriage beyond one's own tribe is not rare. It is an established fact that there were matrimonial alliances between the Aka and the Miji tribes since earlier times. However, the upper division of one community establishes matrimonial alliance only with the upper division of the other community; and similarly the lower division has alliances only with the lower division of the other community. The Padu clan of the Galo and the Padung of the Adi tribe do not enter into matrimonial alliance with each other, in spite of their being two different clans in two different tribes, because they believe in a common origin. Similarly, matrimonial alliances were not traditionally permitted between the Basar and the Riba clans of the Galo and the Perme and Pertin of Adi Padam due to their traditional bond of friendship. However, instances of matrimonial relation between two different tribes/communities living in adjacent villages are not rare. For example, the Khamphtis have had matrimonial relations with the Assamese.

The modes of obtaining a bride, which are still in practice among the tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh, include marriages by negotiation, exchange, elopement, marriage by force/capture and love marriage. In all communities, social recognition solemnises the marriage and for which there are elaborate or notional rituals. Rituals with apparent specificity and deeper connotation are the passages for a bride to attain the status of a wife. The rituals and ritual objects that solemnise a marriage have deeper meanings in relation to a community's world view.

The most common family structures in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh are nuclear, joint and extended types. The families can be monogamous or polygynous. However, in pastoral Monpa community, polyandrous families are also found.

Mutuality: The tribal communities are rich in social capital, both from the community and institutional perspective. Mutual cooperation in the processes of agriculture and house construction are inherent characteristic of their life. *Riglap* or mutual reciprocation of labour, for example, is an institution among the Galos and the Adis. An individual is more of a community person belonging to a family, lineage, clan and tribe. A member sees his/her own benefit through the general benefit of the community.

In many tribes, murder of a person is avenged by his clan members by killing the murderer, and if he/she is not alive or could not be killed, then by killing any member of the clan. Collective consciousness and the principle of sharing characterise tribal communities in general and those in Arunachal Pradesh in particular.

Social Institutions: Social life of tribals in Arunachal Pradesh reflects through various institutional and organizational arrangements. The *Musup/Dere* of the Adis is an institutional arrangement that works for the community. Similarly, *Patang*, a labour corps in the Apatani community is a unique institution of appropriation of community labour. Since childhood, every Apatani boy and girl belongs to a '*Patang*'. It is such a socio-economic institution where the Apatanis get an opportunity to come together and mutually help each other. Among the Galos, mutual labour exchange takes three forms depending on its nature, these are:

- (i) *Rigur*: free labour exchange between the relatives;
- (ii) *Rige* or *enlik*: reciprocal labour exchange; and
- (iii) *Riglap*: Labour exchange on payment in kind or cash.

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In various community works like construction of houses, performance of important rituals like *togu panam* (mithun sacrifice during marriage), *hurin* (household ritual for prosperity), *peka* (performed by hunters and warriors), *mopin* (household and common festival for prosperity), etc., it is the village community which provides the labour. As all members of the village community are bound in a reciprocal bond, a sense of community feeling pervades at all levels including individual household works.

Appropriation of community labour is an important component in *kiruk* (community hunting) and in both community and group fishing like *hibok*, *hipe*, etc.

In the *dir tachi* ritual of the Galos it is mandatory for all the households in the village to provide labour for a day in the fields of the nodal family which performs the *yidum lignam* (sacrifice of animals) and *uyi gelik nam* (transportation of effigies from village to river). This family observes longer taboo periods than the other families in the village.

In a tribal community, a widow or a disabled person is not a burden. Even when they do not have working hands in the family, the clan or community members work in the fields without any return. They construct their houses and take care of them when sick. Thus, mutual co-operation extends beyond the community.

The Nyishis and Apatanis have a bonding relation called *Diiliikanii*, and the Apatanis call the Nyishi friend as *Manyang*. The Apatanis have the tradition of leasing out their *mithuns* to their Nyishi *Manyang* on the condition of sharing the calves. The Nyishi friend is invited during festivals like *Myoko* and other rituals. In a normal situation when one visits the other's village, it becomes the responsibility of the friend to look after the friend's safety. Such bonds of friendship not only bring two families together but also the clan members at large with sense of responsibility and oneness. Gifts are exchanged during many rituals. The friendship between different clans in the same tribe is known as *Ajing* among the Adis and *Bunii Ajing* among the Apatanis.

It is said that 'sharing' is a social capital, for it is an insurance against uncertainty. One who shares meat of his game animal with his fellow villagers gets a share from others when they hunt down animals. A share of meat given to *Pator Mijings* after community hunting is an ethical insurance during old age.

A member in the community is secure and safe through the institution of village councils. All the same, the wrong doers in the community are only punished with a fine so that they can change themselves. However, beyond the community, whether it is a clan or a village, the punishment is severe for the same crime.

Interactions between members in a village or a tribe are based on mutuality and any breakdown of relations are corrected through an institutionalised process, in order to maintain social solidarity and cohesiveness. Within the community, the

Check Your Progress

1. Choose the correct word/phrase from the parentheses:
 - (a) Communities in Arunachal Pradesh are (patriarchal / matriarchal).
 - (b) Arunachalee society in general is (egalitarian / differentiated) in nature.
 - (c) Tribe (endogamy/ exogamy) is the general marriage rule among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.
 - (d) Rituals solemnise social recognition of (marriage/ divorce).
 - (e) In Arunachal Pradesh you will normally find nuclear, joint, (extended/ single parent) types of family.

fine or punishment is compensation — a corrective measure for reinforcing inclusion, and not a process of exclusion.

Changing Trend

The social life of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh is in transition and these changes are noticed in all aspects of life, whether it is political, cultural, religious or economic. The joint family is replacing nuclear family system. Mutuality has a monetary dimension in place of exchange of labour and items. The family that remains absent in community work makes alternative arrangement in terms of payment of money or hired labour. The game from hunting by individual hunter is brought to the market for sale or sold in the village. Traditionally, the tribal social life has predominantly been rural in character and according to Census of India 2011 at present there are tribal people living in 27 census towns. Out of the total, the population of the STs was enumerated in the said census at 1,61,975 persons who lived in urban centres constituting 17 per cent of the total numbers. The tribal social life undoubtedly takes part in the process of urbanisation.

You will find women in public sphere of social life. A number of teachers, professionals, technocrats, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, social activists, journalists, freelance writers, police, etc. are women. In recognition to their services Ms. Mamang Dai and Ms Bini Yanaga have been honoured with the award of Padmashri. Though the traditional mind-set privately does not feel elated at the changing role of women, it nevertheless appreciates the changes. Not only in PRIs, have women also participated in representative democracy. You will find quite a good number of women legislators in the state. In addition to this, women raise their voices against social evils and on their rights from various platforms. Mentioned may be made of Arunachal Pradesh Women Welfare Society, State Women Commission, etc.

In social life, there is the differentiation in status-role. You have already learnt social hierarchy in chieftaincy and gerontocracy. The women do not have inheritance rights to landed property. There is a gender bias in terms of participation in traditional village councils and in some rituals. But this trend is changing. You will study this in various sections in this unit. You know that the communities are patriarchal. There is a preference for male child, but a girl child is not discriminated against. Incidences of female infanticide, sex determination, etc. do not occur in Arunachal communities at all.

Education plays a significant role in the process of social change. Census of India 2011 records a literacy rate of 64.6 per cent among STs (65.38 per cent for the state in general), constituted by 71.5 per cent ST male literates and 58.0 per cent ST female literates. In rural Arunachal Pradesh the literacy rate is 60.4 per cent and it is 84.6 per cent in 27 census towns that constitute the urban Arunachal Pradesh. In rural areas ST literacy stands at 67.7 per cent for males and 53.3 per cent for females. Similarly, in urban Arunachal Pradesh, literacy stands at 90.3 per cent among ST males and 79.4 per cent for ST females. As on 31.3.2014, there were 3744 educational institutes in the state including one Central University, one National Institute of Technology, one Deemed University, 18 Degree Colleges, 09 Professional/Technology Colleges and 02 Polytechnic Institutes.

The social attitude toward health care is also changing. This is evident from the number of modern health care institutions existing in the state. Along with traditional health care practices, one state hospital, 06 general hospitals, 07 district hospitals,

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Check Your Progress

2. State whether the following statements are True or False:
 - (a) Community interest is more important than individual interest in traditional tribal society.
 - (b) Appropriation of community labour through a type of informal institution is a feature in most of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh.
 - (c) Sharing is a onetime adjustment to ensure equality when inequality is noticed.
 - (d) Compensation is a measure to correct the behaviour and action of a wrong doer.
 - (e) Tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh enjoy equal ownership rights in land.

63 Community Health Centres, 143 Primary Health Centres and 584 sub-centres are available up to 2014 in the field of modern heal care.

The processes of assimilation and acculturation also bring about changes. You will find that the Buddhist features in animist Bugun tribe, Tikhak sub-group of Tangsa and Nah group have resulted from the process of assimilation. In assimilation members of one culture merge into another culture. Changes in dresses, food habits, etc. can be an example of the process of acculturation. In this process changes take place between two interacting communities. In fact, acculturation entails a two-way process of change. You will find Arunachalis adopting to the dresses and food items of non-Arunachalis. At the same time there are many instances of taking on the dresses and food habit of Arunachalis by non-Arunachalis.

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3.2.2 Social Organization

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been organised broadly into two broad social categories, namely Cephalous and Acephalous. In other words, the societies have either a centralised authority or are without one.

In addition to this each tribe has its scheme of social organization. In some tribes there are moiety divisions and this moiety division is also recorded in groups like the Minyong which now form a sub-tribe. There are tribes which are spread across sub-tribe divisions. Whether it is a moiety or a sub-tribe organization, it is divided into phratries and clans or clans. The clan organization is common to every tribe.

Table 5.1 Clean Organization

Adi (The generic tribe)	Galo (Tribe)	Khampti (Tribe)	Tangsa (Tribe)
↓	↓	↓	↓
Tribe	Territorial Division (Lare, Pogo Lodu-Karka....)	Phratry (Namchoom, Lungkeing, Chaotang group; Mansai, Manfai, Khamoo, Kokma group)	Sub-tribe (Longchang, Yogli, Muklom, etc.)
↓	↓	↓	↓
Moiety	Phratry (Loyi, Loya, Lomi, Lollen, Lotem Group, etc.)	Clan (Namchoom, Manpong, Manlong, etc.)	Clan
↓	↓	↓	↓
Phratry	Clan (Loyi, Basar, Potom, Nochi, etc.)	Lineage	Family
↓	↓	↓	↓
Clan (Mibang, Tatak, etc. for example)	Lineage	Family	Individual
↓	↓	↓	
Sub-clan	Family	Individual	
↓	↓		
Lineage	Individual		
↓			
Family			
↓			
Individual			

The traditional Minyongs are divided into two moieties-*Kuming* and *Kuri*. The Moiety is further divided into Phratry (*olung*), *olung* into clans (*opin*) and *opin* into sub-clan (*pinmik*). A *pinmik* is divided into *odong* (lineage) and lineage into *erangs* (families). All tribes, however, do not follow the same scheme of socio-political organization. We present four examples in Table 5.1 to show the differences.

Check Your Progress

3. How do you describe the social life of the people in Arunachal Pradesh?
4. What do you mean by taboos? Why do people observe taboos?
5. Give two examples of mutuality in tribal social life.
6. Do you think the social status of women has changed? Why?

In tribes which have common ancestors, the community has moiety divisions. For example, the Apatani tribe is divided into *Gyuchii* and *Gyutii*, while the Minyong group of the Adi tribe into *Kuri* and *Kuming*. Traditionally, marriage is not allowed between upper and lower moiety divisions. The social division of the Sherdukpen is better categorised as sub-tribe division. Similarly, the Tangsa, the Wancho, the Nocte, the Monpa have sub-tribe divisions. The sub-tribe organization is territory based in most cases. The Monpas are divided into Tawang Monpa (Northern Monpa), Kalaktang Monpa (Southern Monpa) and Dirang Monpa (Central Monpa). But socially the Dirang and Kalaktang Monpa call themselves *Tsangla*, but the Tawang Monpa call them *Shershokpa* (the people of the east). Separately, the Dirang Monpas are called Danganngpa and the Kalaktang Monpas as Rongnangpa. The Monpas of Kalaktang and Dirang call the Tawang Monpas as Brama though they call themselves only Monpa.

The Wancho community is also territorially divided into Lower and Upper Wanchos depending on the two branches of the migration to the present settlement from Sangnu. Manlong (2006) informs us that from *Sangnu*, Wanchos were divided into two sub-groups i.e. *Tangjen* and *Tsangjen*. Later, they migrated to different directions and places. The groups which migrated towards south are called *Tangjen* (Upper Wanchos) and the group which migrated towards North-west is called *Sangjen* (Lower Wanchos). But socially the tribe is also divided into three hierarchal groups such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle order born out of the wedlock between a *Wangham* father and *Wangpan* mother) and *Wangpan* (ruled). We do not have adequate information to name these divisions either as moiety or sub-tribe. It could be two different clans bound by affinal relations.

In the social organization of the Khamptis there is no moiety, sub-tribe or territorial division. You will see the scheme of their social organization in Table 5.1 Lila Gogoi (1971) has informed us, quoting from Alexander Mackenzie, the migration of the Khamptis in batches in 1835 and 1850. During field study in 1985 a few families were reported having migrated around Independence. According to migration history the descendents of Chau-Lungken who first migrated to India are now Namchoom and Lungkeing clans, and the descendents of his brother Chautang are now the Chautang clan of the Khampti tribe. The group of these clans is a phratry as they consider themselves brother clans and is traditionally exogamous. However, it was reported that all the Namchooms come from different lineages. Though we do not have written documents, it was reported that ancestors of these lineages belonged to the same consanguineal kin group in Myanmar and assumed Namchoom title in India after their migration in different periods following the first groups of kins.

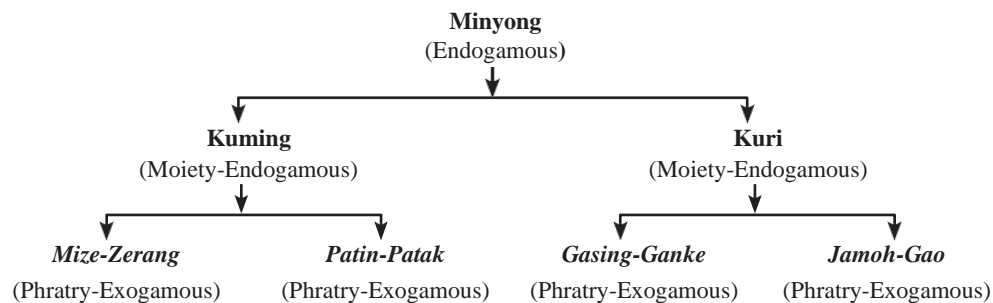
Clearly, the Khamptis have clan divisions next to the tribe. However, there are some clans which form an exogamous group. For example, Mansai, Manfai, Kokma and Khamho are brotherly clans and do not have affinal relations. Similarly, the Namchum, Chaotang and Lungkeing clans traditionally do not have such relations. We can say that the Khamptis also have phratry division below the tribe level organization. The tribe or sub-tribe or phratry organization has also exogamous divisions that determine marriage spheres. We have already discussed with reference to four clans of the Khamptis which form an exogamous sphere. The Namchum, Chaotang and Lungkeing clans also form an exogamous group.

Existence of exogamous social sphere is common to every tribe. The Minyong group of the Adis has also exogamous marriage spheres. As the phratry is exogamous, so are also all its subdivisions-*opin*, *pinmik*, *odong* and *erang*. But the moiety is not

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exogamous and it is not strictly endogamous. We can see the exogamous marriage spheres of the Minyong as under:

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As a rule, clans are exogamous. But there are exceptions also. The Hage clan of the Apatanis and Pertin clan of the Padams are endogamous. Probably, what continues to be called as a clan might have developed features of a phratry or sub-tribe. In fact, we continue with the nomenclature of social organizations of a tribe once they are categorised. It may be the possibility that many earlier phratries have evolved to the status of the tribe and lineage to clan or phratry. But study of social organizations of a tribe is not a dynamic process and we accept the given information. Moreover, an earlier tribe will not accept its division into a number of tribes given present socio-political dynamics.

You will find that all the tribes are not organised along genealogical line. There are upper and lower divisions. There are different groups forming into a tribe; Lare, Pugo and Niz-Karka/Lodo-Karka, for example, are three different groups among the Galos. Similarly, two groups, Hrusso and Koro, form the Aka identity. The Sherdukpen community is divided into *Thong*, comprising the aristocrat clans and the *Chhao*, comprising the commoner clans. The Miji society is also divided on the same line into *Nolluh* and *Nob'k*. Similarly, the Nocte society is also divided into chief and commoner clans.

The Khamptis have three social divisions, namely *Phanchau*, *Phan-e-on* and *Paklung*. The Phanchau division consists of the royal clans, the Paklung is the commoners' division, while the Phan-e-on comprises the clans of lower division in the community. These genealogically unrelated groups have formed the Khampti tribe in India. It also does not seem to be genealogical (consanguineal) before its migration to India. We learn from Lila Gogoi that during Chau-Cham's rule in Myanmar, Manchey was an independent chiefdom. Probably, the chiefdom had a chief of Manchey group of people. The Manchey (also spelt as Manci, Manjey), comes from a royal dynasty, so also Munglang. Even some Singpho families have been christened as Khamptis. Nevertheless, at present, the Khampti is a tribe of consanguineal and affinal relations, meaning a kinship based tribe in India.

As far as studies are available, all the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are kin based. Even if initially two or more unrelated groups form the tribe, in course of time affinal relationship is established. Wangham and Wangsa are consanguineal groups, whereas Wangham and Wangpan are not consanguineal groups,. But these two groups have affinal relations and so they together form Wancho community. So also is the case with Thong and Chao groups of Sherdukpen tribe.

Despite the fact that the tribe is a kinship organization you will find social divisions other than kinship sphere. Earlier writers like Haimendorf, Elwin, Mackenzie, Dalton have mentioned of free born and slaves in almost all tribes in

the state. T. T. Cooper mentions in the context of the Khampti, 'Free-born people also possess numerous herds of tame buffaloes and oxen used for tilling the ground, and also as a means of barter with the Mishmees'. Obviously, there is a group which is not free born. Elwin in his book *Philosophy for NEFA* has also mentioned of the existence of slaves which was abolished by the British.

In the Nyishi community there were two types of slaves, *Nera* and *Beta*. The Nera class is said to be Nyishi by birth that entered into the position because of non-payment of fines/loans, etc. The other category consists of slaves purchased from other tribes and captured during raids. In fact, tribes like Khampti, Singpho, Adi, Galo, Miji, Nyishi, etc., had slaves to help them in agriculture and other activities. A *pagbo* is a male slave while a *pagne* is a female slave in the Galo community. But you cannot understand such sharp divisions in present society. In the Khampti community, along with the freeborn and slaves, there is a priestly class, whose members are Buddhist monks and *shamans*.

You will find that in some tribes the clan and lineage have a common boundary. The Mongmaw clan of the Khamptis, for example has families of four generations. Similarly, the Langkhun clan is also a lineage as it has few families of four to five generations. Mansai clan of five generations depth trace the common progenitor who lived in Kherem village. In Galo tribe, the Nyoris present the status of phratry, clan and lineage as the growth of population is slow and do not have many branches. So is the case with Doso and Saring clans of Damro village which have less than 10 households. However, a few writers club these two clans as sub clans of Ratan clan because of their settlement in Ratan territory.

The scheme of social organization of a tribe continues since the time it was first recorded. Over the years, internal contradictions have emerged in the scheme. Pertin clan in Adi Padam sub-tribe is no more exogamous. So is the case with the Hage clan of the Apatanis. On the other hand, the phratry exogamy is breaking down. In Galo tribe, the group of Loyi, Loya, Lomi, Lotem and Lollen that once formed an exogamous phratry due to their common forefather, Aalo has been divided into two phratries; Lomi and Loya forming one exogamous phratry and Loyi, Lotem and Lollen forming the other. Inter-marriage between clans of these two phratries takes place though each newly emerged phratry is exogamous.

There are also examples when a lineage claims clan status. Families in Badu lineage of Riba clan have started using Badu title. Such trends often crop up but are fluid in nature. After asserting the lineage identity for a distinct clan status, families also drop the title after a few years and adopt the old title.

One of the criteria of tribal social organization is clan exogamy. But when clans like Pertin, Perme, Hage, etc, become endogamous, it implies that the clan has grown to the status of a phratry. In other words, the lineages have displayed clan characteristics. In that case the criterion that the members of a clan trace their origin from a totem or from an ancestor whose historicity is uncertain does not hold. Obviously, there is a need to look afresh at the social organization of the tribes in an academic perspective. In doing so, however, people's sense of identity should be addressed with caution.

Normally, the family organization of many tribes is of nuclear type. However, in some tribes like the Adis, Khamptis you will find joint family system. Among the Nyishi and Miju (Kaman) Mishmi extended family system is the traditional practice. In recent years, however, the trend is shifting towards nuclear family type rapidly.

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Further, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal in nature. You have learnt the meaning of these terms in unit-II. Obviously, on the basis of authority families are patriarchal. This could be a reason of gender bias in representation in traditional councils.

Cephalous Tribes

The cephalous tribes are the Khampti, the Singpho, the Nocte, the Wancho and the Tangsa. These tribes have chieftains. The chieftainship is also diverse in nature. It is either tribe based, village based, territory based or a combination of them. The Khamptis have a chief for the whole tribe called the *Chou-pha Konmung* and for each village called the *Chou-man*. In Khampti community, family is the basic social institution formed through marriage and consists of husband, wife (wives) and children. The society is patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal in nature. Normally, the Khamptis live in joint families, but in case of misunderstanding among members' shortage of space, the family breaks up and the married sons establish separate households.

The Nocte and the Singpho have *territory and village based chiefs*. On the other hand, the Tangsa and the Wancho have village based chiefs. There are also instances of territorial chief among the Wanchos. For example, the Chief of Senua receives yearly offering from other Wancho and Nocte villages. These tribes do not have a tribe level chief. The two important territorial chiefs in Nocte tribe are Borduria and Namsang Chiefs. Interestingly, the gift of Nature has been used as a source of authority. In Tirap District, there are a few natural saline wells, a large number of which fall into the territory of Borduria and Namsang villages. On the basis of ownership of these wells the chiefs have extended their authority to other villages who accept them as paramount chiefs. Otherwise, the Noctes would have village chiefs. Among the Singphos the Ningroo chief and Bisa Gam are two important territorial chiefs. The chief is hereditary in the family and among the Khamptis it can extend to the clan in case there is no apparent successor in the family.

In chieftaincy, the social division is *hierarchical*; the society is stratified with division of unequal status. The Wancho tribe for example, as we have said, is divided into three hierarchical groups such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle group) and *Wangpan* (ruled). Similarly, the Khampti tribe is divided into three social divisions namely *Phanchau* (ruling clans), *Paklung* (commoner clans) and *Phan-e-on* (clans with further lower status).

Along with the chiefs, there are councils among cephalous tribes. The council of the Khamptis is known as *Mukchum*; and that of the Noctes is known as *Ngongwang*. Sometimes the tribe may not have a genealogical origin and in such a case, each group with different dialect/language may have a different name for the village council. The traditional village council of the Koro group of the Akas in East Kameng District is called *Nelley*, while that of Hrusso group of the Akas in West Kameng District is called *Malley/Mele*. Similarly, in the Tangsa tribe it is known as *Ruung*, *Rangtun* and *Rungkathin* by the Longchang, Muklum and Yogli sub-tribes respectively.

Acephalous Tribes

The societies with acephalous socio-political organizations have four variants: clan organizations, village councils, gerontocracy and a system of arbiter or go-between.

The organizations are informal and more often situational. You will also find councils at different levels-village, group of villages and tribe.

Gerontocracy prevails among the Apatanis and Sherdukpens. The village organization of the Apatanis is called *Buliang* whose members (also called the *Buliangs*) are more or less hereditary. The *Buliang* also exists at the inter-village and tribe levels. Besides, there is the *Gondu* who acts as an intermediary between conflicting parties. He is authorized to settle disputes without calling the *Buliang*. But when a matter relates to the whole tribe, a *supung dapo* — a tribe-level organization — is organized. In a Sherdukpen village the body politics is called *Jung*, which has a member from the *Thong* group of clans as the chief. The position of chief is not hereditary — chieftainship is not restricted to a family or a particular clan; rather it is held only by the upper division of the community, i.e., the *Thong*.

You will find a type of social division in societies with gerontocracy. The Sherdukpen community has two social divisions, namely *Thong* and *Chao*. The clans in the *Thong* group are the descendants of the chief who migrated and established the community. In Apatani community there is also a type of social hierarchy. The fact that the *Buliang* is hereditary is an evidence of different social status. Takhe Kani (1993) writes, 'The tradition of the Apatani society is stratified as *Gyuchi* (plebeian), *Gyutii* (patrician), *Mitti* (patrician master) and *Miira* (slave)'. However, these status divisions are vanishing rapidly.

As has been stated, the village councils are ordinarily informal in nature. These councils do not have centralised authority like that of in chieftaincy. The councils are more or less democratic in nature. However, the word democracy should be used with caution. In all the village councils, women membership is conspicuously absent. In other words, democratic sense is limited to male members only. So we can use restricted democracy to understand the decentralised nature of village councils.

The democratic village councils are of three categories: The first one is the council of the Monpas with an elected head of the council called *Tsorgen*. The second is a council of all the adult members of the village, popularly known as *Kebang*, for example, among the Adis. But in practice, elderly men with knowledge of tradition and skill in oration actively participate during any session of the council. Apparently, there is a gender bias with regard to membership of the council. The membership is not permanent and the council is held when the need arises. The system has further extended beyond the village to cover a group of villages and finally to all the villages. This system is popular among the Galos and Adis — the council for the group of villages is practically a territorial body known as *bango Kebang*. The *bogum bokang* is the apex body and is a tribe level institution.

There are also members with specific assignments in the scheme of socio-political organizations. Besides, there is a type of village council organised through a mediator. This practice prevails among the Nyishis and Tagins — the mediator or arbiter is called *Gingdung*. Among the Mishmis, the village or clan elder organises the council inviting other members when the need arises.

Some village councils have office bearers too. In the Miji community; the village council, the *Laubang/Syambang*, has *Nokhu* as the head and a *Gobo* (informer) as a member. A *Gobo* is selected for five years while a *Nokhu* is selected with unanimous consensus from the people, and continues in office till his death or relinquishment of the post.

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Check Your Progress

State whether the statements are true or false:

1. All the tribes have moiety division.
2. Existence of exogamous social sphere is a common feature in every tribe.
3. Chieftain type of society displays social stratification.
4. A tribe in Arunachal Pradesh is based on kinship relations.
5. Clan endogamy is a feature in tribal social organisation of Arunachal Pradesh.
6. Hierarchical social division exists in acephalous tribes.
7. Tribal village councils are gender discriminatory.

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3.3 EMERGING ISSUES

Arunachal Pradesh is not a territory incognito. It has become a part of national territory and national goals. In the process many opportunities and challenges have emerged. You will learn these opportunities and challenges with reference to land relations, occupation and political dynamics.

3.3.1 Land Relations

Arunachal Pradesh is predominantly a tribal state. Census 2011 records 68.8 per cent of its population belonging to APST (Arunachal Pradesh Scheduled Tribe) category. The rest belongs to non-APSTT category which includes both Arunachali and non Arunachali population. Even before independence, a few villages of Adivasis (tea garden Adivasis) and Assamese were established in the territory which is now Arunachal Pradesh. These villages are located in Changlang and Namsai districts bordering Assam. In Chowkham area of Namsai and Tezu area of Lohit district a few Assamese and Nepali villages existed even before independence. This is also the case in Pasighat and in some other areas of East Siang district bordering Assam. These people enjoy rights to land ownership, but cannot sell their land to any non-Arunachali. In addition to these populations we find migrants from various states of India to meet human resource requirement in state sponsored development process. These people neither own land nor do have any rights over land in the territory.

Another group of post-independence migrants to the state is found settled in some places of the state. One section of this group of people like Tibetan and Chakma refugees from Tibet and Bangladesh respectively have been settled by the government. The other section of the group is Indian nationals who were settled by the government after Chinese aggression in 1962. Das (1995:82-83) informs us that 2275 families belonging to Assam, ex-servicemen, ex-Assam Rifles personnel, ex-NEFA employees, Chakma and Tibetan refugees were settled by the government in the territory during the transitional phase between 1963 to 1971. Out of the families 90 per cent belongs to Chakma refugees who were settled in Khagam, Miao, M'pong and Kharshang of Changlang district and Chowkham of present Namsai district. Ex- NEFA and Assam Rifle personnel were settled in Vijay Nagar of Changlang and Bhalukpung of East Kameng districts.

As per the provision of the Constitution of India, land belongs to the tribal people living in it. The Government is not the custodian of the state land. But after Independence you can find the land that belongs to the government, to the settlers like refugees and Assam Rifles personnel in addition to the tribal people.

Tribe and Land

The nature of relations of a tribe with land is excellently articulated by Verrier Elwin in the following words:

The tribal people are bound to their land by many and intimate ties. Their feeling for it is something more than mere possessiveness. It is connected with their sense of history, for their legends tell of the great journeys they made over the wild and lonely hills and of the heroic pioneers who made the first clearings in the forest.

This means land belongs to the tribe linked with the sense of history and thus to the community for the purpose of use. In other words, land is community owned. In Arunachal Pradesh a tribe lives in villages which are either clan based or multi-clan settlements. Traditionally, a family cannot own land in two or more villages.

As mentioned, a community is not always the tribe; it could be a village, clan, or a lineage. When a tribe has territorial spread you will find settlement of members of other tribes, though this phenomenon is not very ancient. In fact, there was no identity of the people as 'tribe' by themselves till colonial administration and academicians labelled it. A group of people moved from one place to another in a single batch or in batches and claimed these places belonging to them. They had to fight with others also for territorial claims. For all practical purposes land belonged to the village community.

This sense of community ownership of land which includes forests, rivers, hills, etc. even has changed during 19th century. In this regard, T. T. Cooper's (1873) observation of Khampti land relation provides a useful account:

Although the chief is Lord of the soil, the whole community till it on the cooperative system, the chief having his portion allotted to him; after which the produce is equally divided between each house; according to the number of hands in it who have helped in the cultivation... Besides common land small plots are also cultivated by individuals.

Land, as has been mentioned, belongs to the community, particularly tribes living in it. The communities, as you know, are of two types: cephalous and acephalous. Accordingly, in the management of land, the role of the institution of village government is of two types. The land belongs to the chief in the cephalous community like the Wangcho, Nocte and Khampti as Chieftainship is the form of village authority among them. The Chief is assisted by the elders and clan heads in the control of land and the management of access to it. In the case acephalous tribes like the Adi, Nyishi, Tagin, Galo, the village authorities are custodian of village land. Except pastoralist Borkpas and hunter-gatherer Puroiks other communities almost live settled village life and pursue agricultural activities. So people developed attachment to the plots they cultivated over the years within the village and thus private ownership emerged. This private ownership is not exclusive; it rather operates within the customary frame. Nevertheless, community ownership exists in forests, rivers, jhum fields, hunting and trapping tracts, etc. However, individual ownership is gradually replacing the community ownership over these assets. Even you will find jhum fields, river segments, etc. under the ownership of individual households.

Inheritance

You have already learnt about the nature and practices of inheritance rules among the tribes in India. In this section you will study the rules of land inheritance among the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. As you know, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are patrilineal. So land is inherited along male line. In principle women do not have any rights to landed property. In the absence of male children, the land goes to the nearest patrilineal kin as per customary norms. Generally, primogeniture rule is followed in every tribe, though the degree varies. In traditional Apatani community of Arunachal Pradesh, however, both primogeniture and ultimogeniture rules are followed in the

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matter of inheritance of ancestral landed property. The eldest son gets cultivable land, groves, etc. while the youngest one who would look after parents gets house, homestead land, remaining plots and movable properties like domestic animals and birds. The middle sons do not have the rights to inherit ancestral property. However, if a father purchases land during his life time that land could be shared with middle sons. This practice of primogeniture is attenuated in tribes like the Khamptis, Adi as all the sons inherit landed property; the eldest son in some cases getting a little more. In Nyishi tribe, a man practising polygyny, inheritance from father comes to sons through mother whose cultivated family land is distinctly recognised.

Daughters do not have any inheritance rights in landed property even in the absence of a socially approved male heir. A woman may normally pass through three stages, unmarried life in parental house, life with husband and life without husband (widow). There are two possibilities of a woman staying in parental house. First, she may remain unmarried throughout her life or return after divorce or separation from husband. In this case she may be without father. A woman, without husband or father, has a residual life interest in land. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. In the latter case it is not life interest in the entire land, but a maintenance right. In fact, the life interest is also ideologically governed by the ethics of maintenance principle. However, if the widow marries outside the family circle of the husband she is deprived of this maintenance rights. This traditional maintenance right of unmarried girls or widow exists in almost all the tribes. After the death of the girl or widow the land returns to the lineage as per customs. In Galo community of Arunachal Pradesh an unmarried girl also enjoys the rights to use a plot for herself. However, such a practice is not a case of inheritance rule.

Land Relations: State and Tribe

Before contact with formal system of governance, the land belonged to the tribes. But with the advent of administration in tribal areas, land was required by the government for its administrative use and infrastructure creation, also for welfare of people. So the government acquires land for the purpose and now the land of the territory belongs to government through acquisition and to the tribal communities through traditional ownership rights. The regulation enacted during colonial period still continues. The government acquires land in public interest under the provisions of section 4 (1), (2) and 5A (2) of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The state is yet to have an Act dealing adequately the various issues related to effective management of land. There are three old regulations which are supposed to govern the land till today. These are:

- Balipara Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation of 1947
- Sadiya Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation of 1947
- Tirup Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation, 1947

But these acts recognise the customary rights on land and the power of village council. The institution of village council has gone through changes also. The first wave of change began with the introduction of the institutions of Gaonburah (Village Headman) and Dobhasis (Interpreter) by the British rule. The second wave of change

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made its beginning with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) by the state government. Operationally, in the state now, two types of local governments exist and function at the grassroots level. The one that continues with the legacy of the tradition may be distinguished as traditional village government. PRI, the other one that exists and functions under an Act of law of the state government may be distinguished as modern. But the matter of land issues is addressed by the traditional village council headed by Gaonburah.

In addition to the above Acts, The Arunachal Pradesh (Land Settlement and Records) Act, 2000 is available chiefly to facilitate revenue administration and prepare land records. There is also a Commissioner (Land Management) and a Directorate in the state for management and administration of land in the state. The Commissioner issues notifications under the provisions of LA Act, 1894 to acquire land in public interest as and when necessary. Broadly, therefore, the land in the state belongs to the government after acquisition and to tribes traditionally. This is also recognised in the Act, 2000. Clause 9 (1) in Chapter III of the Act reads:

All lands, public roads, lanes and paths and bridges, ditches, dikes and fences on or beside the same, the beds of rivers, streams, nallahs, lakes and tanks, and all canals and water course and all standing and flowing water, and rights in or over the same or appertaining thereto, which are not the property of any person or community are hereby declared to be the property of the Government.

Land records: There is no cadastral survey of land in the state except in few cases though conduct of survey and settlement is one of the activities of the Directorate. The activity however, is piecemeal in nature. The areas targeted under it are the government land in the capital complex and district, sub-divisions and circle headquarters. Land records are prepared and provided when sought for. Documentary proofs of land are required more often for undertaking various development activities and particularly where credit from formal banking institution is involved. Since such records are not available in the present system, the government of Arunachal Pradesh has introduced a system of issuing land possession certificate (LPC) to the holder of the land to fulfil such necessity of the people. The Deputy Commissioner is the recommending authority and the state government is the approving authority of such land possession certificate.

Land Use and Holdings Pattern

The territorial area of the state accounts for 83,743 km². As against this, the reporting area that figures in land use statistics of the government stands at 54,978 km². This means that the reporting area of the state is less by 34.35 per cent as compared to its total territorial area.

Out of the reporting area, the use of land on cultivable and uncultivable account stands at 5.72 and 94.28 per cent respectively. On cultivated and uncultivated account, the corresponding area covers 3.54 per cent and 96.46 per cent. With cultivable land (5.72%) if the area put to non-agricultural use (0.08%) and the forest area under Anchal Reserve (0.64%), Village Reserve (0.58%) and day today use of villagers, say one or two per cent are added, the total area under human intervention remains around 8 per cent of the reporting area. Table below shows area under broad land use categories in the state.

Broad Land use Category, 2004-05

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<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Area (Km²)</i>	<i>% to Geog Area</i>	<i>% to Reporting Area</i>
Geographical Area	83743.00	100.00	
Reporting Area	54978.00	65.65	100.00
Total Cultivable land	314.27	3.75	5.72
Total Cultivated land	194.63	2.32	3.54
Total Uncultivable land	5183.49	61.90	94.28
Total Uncultivated land	5303.13	63.33	96.46
Nine fold Categories of Use			
Forest area	51540	61.55	93.75
Land put to Non-Agri. Uses	4.59	0.05	0.08
Barren & unculturable Land	20.95	0.25	0.38
Pasture / Grazing Land	3.95	0.05	0.07
Misc. Tree Crops & groves	35.98	0.43	0.65
Culturable Waste	36.65	0.44	0.67
Old Fallow	47.02	0.56	0.86
Current Fallow	30.43	0.36	0.55
Net Area Sown (NAS)	164.19	1.96	2.99

Source: Statistical Hand Book

Arunachal Pradesh Development Report (2005) informs that former Dibang Valley district has highest net area shown, being 6.54 hectares per family. On the other hand, Twang district has recorded the lowest net area shown, being 0.66 hectares per family. This difference could be attributed to availability of land, practice of cultivation and population concentration. In Dibang Valley district it was reported in Agricultural Census that the people largely practised community based jhum cultivation. It is also further reported in the state development report that the high land availability has kept the problem of landlessness in the state to a minimum.

Over the years there is a shift in the pattern of operational holdings in both gross and net area shown under shifting and permanent cultivation.

Though there is no land survey and settlement and verifiable land records (except urban centres) in the state, Agricultural Census operation has enumeration system and according to 2000-01 records, the number of operational holdings stands at 1.07 lakhs in the state. Across the holding categories, the marginal category accounts 14.04 per cent, small- 18.78 per cent, semi-medium- 34.04 per cent, medium- 27.80 per cent and large- 5.33 per cent. These categories account 1.90 per cent, 6.73 per cent, 24.57 per cent, 43.49 per cent and 23.30 per cent of total operation holdings respectively. The holding categories were recorded 7.67 per cent

with 0.71 per cent operational holdings under marginal category, 11.96 per cent with 2.77 per cent operational holdings under small category, 25.91 per cent with 11.63 per cent operational holdings under semi-medium category, 36.40 per cent with 35.0 per cent operational holdings under medium category and 18.06 per cent with 49.89 per cent operational holdings under large category in 1970-71. Reportedly, there is an increase in number and area under marginal, small and semi-medium categories and decline of the same in other two categories.

You will also find that the share in total operated area under jhum has declined from 94.27 per cent in 1970-71 to 68.04 per cent in 1995-96. During the period the share in total operated area under permanent cultivation has increased from 5.73 per cent to 31.96 per cent. The same trend is recorded in the share of net area shown during the period of reference. Under jhum it has declined from 75.69 per cent to 51.16 per cent and under permanent cultivation it has increased from 24.31 per cent to 48.84 per cent.

Changing trends

Traditional tribal land relations in Arunachal Pradesh have changed particularly due to administrative interventions from the time of colonial rule. During post-independence period along with exposure to administrative intervention for welfare the tribal people have also been exposed to contact with non-Arunachalis in the process. The following trends have emerged in traditional land relations in the state:

1. Community ownership coexists along with private ownership and the trend is towards increasing individual rights on land.
2. Cadastral survey and land records are not available for all categories of land.
3. Customary rules still govern the practices of land transfer and inheritance. Land is inherited along male line, though trend of transfer of land by parents to daughters has emerged in a very small scale. Instances of tribal women marrying outsiders and enjoying usufructuary rights over paternal land have been reported. The children of the couple also enjoy this right as long as they live there. However, the right is not transferable to others. The land reverts to the family or lineage if the children of the couple settle elsewhere.
4. Tribal women with income have started purchasing land in administrative centres. Land is also allotted to female applicants by the government in administrative headquarters subject to fulfilment of conditions and availability. To get benefit of schemes like Indira Awas Yojana land is recorded in female beneficiary names.
5. Inequality in ownership of land holdings has emerged. A number of households have occupied more land for plantation and commercial crops.
6. There is a gradual decline in jhum fields and increase in area under permanent cultivation.
7. Tenancy system has emerged as people shift from traditional subsistence mode of agriculture to scientific cultivation and to non-agricultural activities like business, jobs, etc.
8. Land is commoditised; it can be sold and purchased even in rural areas within customary frame.

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3.3.1 Occupational Diversification

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Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were traditionally engaged in mainly primary sector activities. These included hunting, gathering and other forest activities, cattle rearing, fishing and agriculture. In primary sector activities, however, mining and quarrying were not undertaken till 1971 as is evident from Table 5.2. In addition to it women were engaged in weaving to meet domestic clothing needs. A few people were found practising iron smithy and pot making in a small scale. These works were not regular and depended on the interest and skill of the individual. It was not a family profession either. Inter and intra tribe barter exchange also existed though it was not a regular occupation. Similarly, basket making was a leisure time activity but had utility as a support to other activities. Labour payment was reciprocated in terms of labour or kind. These activities were traditional occupations of people for livelihoods. But there was no tribe wise, family wise or activity wise specialisation in occupations though gender division was a distinct feature. The people combined different activities even in a day's routine.

With government interventions through plan programmes for all-round development, many new avenues have opened up. People are found engaged in different activities. In fact, they are engaged in activities which did not exist earlier and existing sectoral activities have been diversified. You will find construction, mining and quarrying, transport, etc. are additional activities in corresponding sectors. It is worth mentioning that development interventions started right from 1947. Nevertheless, as you can see from Table 5.3 that some activities shared less than one per cent workforce participation even in 1971, after more than 20 years.

Though there is no specific study, still you will find in the field that many Arunachalis are employed in sectors like education, health, public administration, transport, banking, hotel, etc. in addition to this people also pursue their traditional occupations.

You can learn the nature and extent of occupational diversity with reference to sectoral distribution of works and changes therein. Arunachal Development Report (2005) informs us about it which is presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. You will find that occupations in tertiary sector have increased from 1971 to 2001 as shown in Table 5.2. During this period there is a decline in primary sector activities. Secondary sector occupations have increased but very marginally in comparison to tertiary sector, though these have increased more in urban areas than in rural areas.

Table 5.2 Change in Sectoral Distribution of Workers Over a Period of 30 Years

Area/Workers		Primary sector		Secondary sector		Tertiary sector	
		1971	2001	1971	2001	1971	2001
Arunachal Pradesh	Persons	80.44	62.27	0.44	11.41	19.12	26.32
	Male	68.78	51.57	0.65	14.54	30.56	33.93
	Female	97.12	81.70	0.14	5.74	2.74	12.55
Rural	Persons	82.92	74.14	0.36	9.17	16.72	16.69
	Male	72.30	64.59	0.55	12.18	27.15	23.23
	Female	97.38	89.04	0.11	4.47	2.50	6.49
Urban	Persons	8.01	8.40	2.78	21.57	89.21	70.03
	Male	5.39	6.70	2.58	22.63	92.03	70.64
	Female	45.99	15.40	5.75	17.22	48.26	67.39

Table 5.3 Change in Work Participation in Sectoral Activities

Sectors	Percentage of Workers	
	1971	1991
Primary sector	80.44	67.44
Cultivators	78.34	60.36
Agricultural labourers	1.96	5.13
Livestock/forestry/fishing	0.14	1.77
Mining and Quarrying	0	0.18
Secondary Sector	0.44	8.66
Manufacturing in Household Industry	0.31	0.19
Manufacturing in Other than in Household Industry	0.04	2.49
Construction	0.01	5.98
Tertiary Sector	19.12	23.29
Trade and Commerce	0.58	3.31
Transport, Storage and Communication	0	1.13
Other Services	18.54	19.47
TOTAL	100	100

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Census, 2011 also records work participation in agriculture and other activities in the state. Table 5.4 shows percentage distribution of total workers as cultivator, agricultural labourers and workers in household industries and other category of works.

Table 5.4 Work Participation as per Census, 2011

Workers	Cultivators (%)	Agricultural labourers (%)	Household Industry workers (%)	Other Workers (%)
Total	57.8	3.9	1.3	37.0
Male	46.4	3.5	1.1	49.0
Female	75.5	4.5	1.5	18.5

It is clear that agriculture is still predominant with 57.8 per cent as cultivators and 3.9 per cent as agricultural labourers. Tertiary or service sector activities occupies second place recording 37.0 per cent of work participation. However, activities in household industry are very insignificant with 1.3 per cent of participation. A greater percentage of women have been recorded in agriculture than in other work category. The trend is also notice in other two tables.

As you know, tribal people were engaged in primary sector activities. Gradually, participation rate in this sector is declining and the rate in secondary and tertiary sector occupations has been increasing. In other words, occupations are not confined to traditional or primary sector activities alone.

3.3.1 Modern Polity

Modern polity among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is not a total deviation from the traditional ethos. In modern polity, the first M.P. was nominated in 1952 to represent the tribes of North Eastern Frontier Tracts of Assam, which is now Arunachal Pradesh. In many cases there is a fusion of traditional and modern authority. So, in this section we will discuss the political life in tribal communities both in general

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and in some specific contexts with reference to tradition and recent practices. In other words, what the people do, how they do and why they do certain activities that we call political in nature will be our focus of discussion both in the past and present. The discussion on above lines will give you an understanding of political life of tribal people. In general, you will learn activities which people perform, faiths and beliefs related to those activities, individual or group that enjoys the authority and the motive behind functioning of political institutions.

Ideology

The motive changes over time and among communities. However, a common force exists across political institutions. You will find that the political institution of a society ensures stability, peaceful coexistence; controls chaos and conflict and thus establishes conditions for survival and sustainability of the community. To achieve this objective, the ideology they follow varies from time to time and community to community. At one time it could be *tooth for a tooth* and *an eye for an eye*. At the other, it could be the issue of creating awareness and realisation of the adverse impact of wrongs. For this purpose, the actions to be initiated, for example, awards and punishments, also vary. Roy (1960) transcribes an elaborate introductory speech (*abe*) made at the beginning of the proceedings of an Adi village council (*kebang*) that throws light on the ideology behind its functioning. He writes:

Oh! Villagers and brethren let us strengthen our customs and *kebang*, let us improve our regulations; let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment; let them speak out in a bold voice unabashed and undaunted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform; let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide differently for different persons; let us be guided by reason and see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties. Let us keep nothing pending, let us decide while the dispute is fresh, lest small disputes grow big and continue for a long time. Let the *ajeng* (fine) be levied reasonably. Let it be commensurate with the guilt and be just. Poverty should have compassion and justice be tempered with mercy. We have met in this sacred place of justice; we have come together for a *kebang* and let us speak in one voice and decide on one verdict. Here are iron pots and brass pots brought by the accuser and the accused; here stands the mithun. So let us decide and mete out justice so that all these go to him who is in the right.

Traditional political life in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh needs clarification. In 1945 Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Act was enacted and enforced in the then NEFA. Since then the tribal councils work within the general framework of this Act. The Act recognises the tribal authority and gives tribal councils very wide powers, but limits the types of 'punishment'. Elwin (1959) writes, '...in fact the heavy punishments of former days have already almost entirely disappeared. Girls may still have their hair cut for immorality, but they are no longer stripped naked and beaten. Offenders are no longer buried alive, rolled off cliffs, or pushed into rivers to drown; already, of their own accord, the people have adopted the system of compensation, which in practice is adjusted to the wealth and position of the accused'. Needless to say, the guiding principle of punishment is compensation to the victim or his/her family.

Elwin (1959) further writes, 'Where an autocratic system has previously existed, it (*the Administration*) is trying to associate with the Chief a number of elders and give them a stronger voice in village affairs'. According to the provisions of this

Act, *gaonburah* (head of the village), who is the representative of the Administration got a place in the council. In other words, in many tribes the traditional head became the representatives of the Government. The villagers choose the head which is ratified and recognised by the Government with the presentation of a red coat.

It is obvious from the above paragraph that the functioning of councils has changed to some extent from the practices before 1945. So when we say traditional political life, it covers the practices that prevailed before 1945 and the changes thereafter. Nevertheless, the practices followed in tribal communities, before 1945 or thereafter, that we call tribal political life are not as distinct as we see around us. There is no domain of activities which can be exclusively called political in a tribe. You have studied in unit II how oath is taken the name of Supreme Being. Elwin (1965) writes that the council is supported by supernatural sanctions, and to give false evidence, for example, may call down the vengeance of the gods as well as excite the scorn of man. Sacrifices are made to avert supernatural displeasure, to beseech the divine blessings on the council's deliberations, and to ensure peace between the contending parties. So, political activity is linked with faiths and beliefs. In family types in unit II which primarily deal with social aspects of life, you have studied patriarchal and matriarchal family types that depend on whom the authority lies. The notion of heredity associated with chieftain type of societies has a social context. In other words, the political institution is also linked with the social aspects of life. So, you will learn political life as integrated and interconnected with all other aspects of life.

Members of Council

In tribal councils, the head is either elected as is the case with the Monpas, or a hereditary chief as among Khamptis, Wachos and Noctes, or is an informally recognised person on the consideration of age and capability. The authority in council is derived from the convention of tradition as rooted in culture. Elwin (1965) writes, 'They all derive their authority from ancient times and the fact that they are the expressions of the will and power of the whole people'. Normal criteria of membership are age, knowledge in customs and practices, character, ability, and oratory skill. In some tribes, wealth and influence of the person is considered.

Membership is open and informal to male members on the basis of the above criteria in Adi Kejang. Normally, clan elders with the above qualities are members in the Kejang though all adult male members can participate in principle. Among the Nyishis, even the *gingdung*, the mediator who organises the *Nyel* (Nyishi village council) when need arises is a man of influence and wealth with oratory skill and knowledge in customary rules and practices. In chieftain type of societies, the chief who is the head of the council inherits the position.

Besides the head, there are other functional members in some of the councils. In others, the power is delegated to the youth groups. Elwin (1959) informs us that in Apatani community the village council, called *Buliang* is of three types. The *Buliang* of the young men, called *Ajang Buliangs*, are employed as messengers, go-betweens and assistants of the *Yapa Buliangs*. But, Kani (1993) informs us that what is presented as types are in fact three divisions of the council according to age gradation. In Apatani tribe, the council is known as *Buliang* and the members are also called *Buliangs*. The council exists at clan level, village level, and tribe level. Elwin (1965) also notes that ... 'the moshup or dere boys of the Adis, the morung

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boys of the Wanchos and Noctes have always played an important part in looking after their villages, maintaining paths, helping in cultivation, providing a simple relief service...' Pertin (2009) informs us that *Musupkos* (*musup*, i.e. dormitory boys) deliver important messages through *gokying*, an announcement of any kind of community programmes. In case of non-compliance of the punishment or breaking of taboo *Mushupkos* perform *kumsung saanam* (forcible collection of paddy from the granary of the offender). During feuds, the youths used to do the scouting. In *mushups* or *morungs* they always remain alert to any types of accident.

In councils of some tribes, priests have a role to play. During trial, the priests examine, chicken liver, or egg yolk to predict good omen for selecting *jhum* field or for hunting. A priest also renders his service at the time of conducting ordeal. In Tangsa village council (Ruung), for example, *Shamman*, the priest is an important member who predicts good or bad omen before any expedition like community hunting, waging war against the enemy or searching suitable land for new settlement. If the omen in favour is predicted by the *shamman*, the expedition is performed and if not it is dropped.

Inequality, hierarchy and exclusion

The political life does not display the ideal of egalitarianism. You will find inequality in every tribe and hierarchy in some tribes. As you know Arunachal societies are patriarchal. In principle women are excluded from exercising the social authority or power like members of the council. In fact, no instances are recorded where a woman heads a council or is a member in it. Women do not take part in decision making, but can make complaint, give witness, attend the council to watch the proceedings and in some tribes to arrange food and drinks. The nature of composition of councils displays exclusionary traits, the first being the gender bias. The nature of heredity to the post of headship/member in the council in chieftain type of communities, or in gerontocracy is exclusionary. It does not allow free competition among all the clans or groups of people living in a village under democratic spirit.

Among the Wanchos, Noctes, Khamptis and the Singphos the chief is hereditary in the family, or at best in the clan. In Nocte chieftaincy, the *Nokbang* (commoner) and *Mikhiak* (people forming a still lower status) do not have the right to head the Council. The Wanchos have three social divisions such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle order born out of the wedlock between a *Wangham* father and *Wangpan* mother) and *Wangpan* (ruled). Even a member from *Wangsa* group has no right to the post of chief though members and advisers come from this group. Obviously, exclusion of clans and groups as head in the council are pronounced in chieftain type of societies.

Even in non-chieftain type of societies exclusion is a distinct feature. We have already mentioned the gender and age bias. The Buliang in Apatani community, though not a chieftain type of society, is hereditary in the family. Anita Sharma (2013) informs us that the traditional Sherdupen community was governed by a central administrative council based at Rupa. Though Shergaon has a council, originally it was affiliated to Rupa. Most of the sizeable villages have a council (Jung) whose head, now *gaonburha*, comes from the Thong clans. The same pattern is followed for the post of *Jungme*, i.e. ordinary members. Only for the post of the *Kachung/Kaching* members come from Chao clans. A council may have one or two or more than two *Kachungs* who work as couriers, messengers and watchmen of the village.

In case of more than one *Kachung*, a leader is selected between the two or among them if three or more. They take care of the store of the village council, organise activities like meetings, festivals, important days, and ensure strict observance of taboos and social discipline. In Monpa community all people do not have the right to the post of Tsogen. Norbu (2008) informs us that only *khraimi* (those who own taxable land) are eligible to the post of Tsogen. The *surmi/naamtong* (those who do not own taxable land) have no such right. In other words, landless people do not have the right to head the village council of the Monpas.

Role of village council in political life

The political life of tribals in Arunachal Pradesh is governed through various roles played by the council. Elwin (1965) has made a threefold classification of these roles as: judicial, administrative and developmental. By developmental role he means the functioning of development officers through involvement of village councils. This is not a traditional function of the council. However, the council has its traditional role of development of the village. We may include construction and maintenance of paths, bridge, water sources, etc. But Elwin groups these activities under administrative function of the village council. The judicial function includes settlement of various disputes. We may classify the traditional functions of village council as that of settlement of disputes, community works and village safety and security.

Disputes may broadly relate to criminal and civil matters. Theft, murder, rape, incest, adultery, elopement with a married woman, killing of *mithuns*/domestic animals, sorcery and witchcraft, assault and inflicting physical injuries, breaking of taboos, quarrelling and fighting are serious offences and hence can be grouped under criminal cases. Judicial role of the council is associated with settlement of criminal and civil cases. The council imposes fines as compensation for the loss to the victims. If the accused does not pay the compensation, an alternative course of action is taken. The person, who does not pay compensation, is handed over to the victim's family. He or she is left at the mercy of the person or family or clan. Payment of compensation has a community dimension. When the person is not able to make the payment the lineage or the clan group comes forward to bail him/her out.

Civil matters broadly relate to marriage and land disputes. Marriage disputes normally cover divorce, elopement, breaking of marriage negotiation, matter relating to marriage exchanges (earlier known as bride price). The village council decides all sorts of land disputes including maintenance of village boundary. It settles land disputes between families, decides upon land allotment to families and new settlers, to development projects like school, hospital, government offices, etc. Inter-village encroachments are settled by joint meeting of councils of two or more villages as the case may be. But in tribes like the Adis the dispute is settled by the territorial and tribe level councils such as Bango Kebang or Bogum Bokang Kebang. Some issues like adoption, inheritance disputes, disputes over hunting and trapping ground, absence in community works are also civil in nature.

Community works include community fencing, fixation of date and time for festivals, rituals, community fishing and hunting, construction of irrigation channels, and clearance of *jhum* fields. We have already mentioned some works under what Elwin called administrative work.

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When a new village has to be set up, the council visit different places/sites; ensures water supply, longer hours of sun shine, locational safety and quality of soil for cultivation. Matters regarding inter-tribe or inter-village feuds are decided in the council. Details of raids are also planned in earlier days.

Present Context

The village governance in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh is in transition. The changes have resulted from the government interventions. The first intervention, as you know, was the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (I of 1945). The Act recognised the traditional village authorities of the tribes to administer the villages. But the functioning of the council did not remain informal as the Act provided the frame of its functioning. A sort of uniformity prevailed in the composition of the council with the entry of recognised members to the council of Chieftains. The traditional head of the council formally became the head of the village, designated as *gaonburha* in government records. In councils, where there were other members, they got the recognition with the designation of *gaonburha*. Nimachow (2011) informs us that the position of village elders (*Nyetri Kheo*) in the council of many Aka villages, for example, is held by the appointed *gaonburhas*. We have already discussed that the nature of punishment which became more compensatory in nature.

The second ripples of change came with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system in 1967. The Panchayati Raj system was introduced in the state at four levels — the level of village, *Anchal*, *Zila* and the state. At the village level, the traditional councils functioned side by side with the village Panchayat. Beyond the village level, at the *Anchal* and *Zila* levels, the *Anchal Samiti* and *Zila Parishad* are the higher Panchayati Raj Institutions corresponding to a circle and a district respectively. At the apex is the Agency Council consisting of the then Governor of Assam, the MPs from NEFT, the Vice-Presidents of *Zila Parishads*, three representatives elected by each *Zila Parishad*, and the Adviser to the Governor as an *ex-officio* member.

The system again changed when the NEFA became Union Territory in 1972 and a full-fledged state in 1987. Further, 73rd Amendment to the Constitution strengthened the Village Panchayats. You will find the same person in some tribes like the Sherdukpen and the Khamptis is both traditional head and *gaonburha*. You will find *gaonburhas* constituting a majority of the members in the council as is in Kembang or Nyel. The elected Panchayat members are also members in many village councils, but they conduct the councils as per the tradition. In Khampti villages, the post of Chauman (traditional village head) is different from the post of the head of the Village Panchayat. While the traditional council look after disputes and other traditional issues, the Panchayat looks after developmental works following relating to government programmes and schemes. Sometimes, the village head is consulted. However, differences are also noticed between the traditional head and the panchayat head in the selection of beneficiary and implementation of programmes. You will find the Adi Kembang in many villages functioning effectively in settling disputes. In a nutshell, the traditional councils and modern Panchayats coexist in tribal villages. Their working area is distinct in some villages and in others they have merged together.

The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India has brought changes in the sphere of participation. All adult members, irrespective of social sections, enjoy the

rights to participate in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Needless to say, the people exercise their voting rights to elect Gram Panchayat Members (GPMs) and ASM as their representatives to the Village Panchayat. Any adult member, until and unless disqualified otherwise, has the right to contest for any post of PRIs. The *gram sabha*, the important component of PRIs, has empowered all adult members to place their view points and participate in decision making. According to this amendment 30 per cent of seats in PTIs are reserved for women. As a result, contrary to traditional political institutions, the women are not excluded from participation in decision making. No doubt, tribal women play a major role in PRIs.

In addition to the Panchayati Raj system in the state another development also marks a change in traditional political life. It is the participation of the people in representative democracy of the country both at national and state levels and introduction of election. The political process made a small beginning, as already mentioned, with the nomination of Shri Choukhamoon Gohain (Namchum) as MP in 1952. The seat to Lok Sabha further increased by one in 1971, and during the same year the state opened its account in Rajya Sabha by sending Shri Todak Basar as its first MP in Rajya Sabha. However, real political process began with the introduction of elections during its Union Territory phase. In 1977 the people of the state exercised their franchise for the first time to elect their representatives for the Lok Sabha.

Prior to it, on August 15, 1975, a Provincial Legislative Assembly with 30 members was constituted with Mr. P.K. Thungon as the Chief Minister. Its members were elected by an electoral body. But the first general election for the Assembly was held in February 1978. When Arunachal Pradesh attained full-fledged status in 1987, the seats in the State Assembly were increased from 30 to 60.

3.4 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed tribal life in Arunachal Pradesh. This is discussed with reference to social organization, emerging issues and women in changing society.
- Life of a community gets expressions through activities belonging to different spheres. The spheres of activities are broadly cultural, religious, social, political and economic in nature. They present cultural, religious, social, political and economic aspects of life of people. You have learnt these aspects in general and with reference to few individual tribes as case studies.
- As you know, in the tradition of a tribe all aspects of life are integrated and interconnected. Therefore, in the discussion of a particular aspect, a few references pertaining to other aspects of life have come up. For example,

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Check Your Progress

10. What are the objectives of punishment?
11. The traditional political institution is gender discriminatory. Justify.
12. Even non-chieftain type of societies can be exclusionary. Prove with examples.

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the status role of women in terms of participation in village council has been referred to in social aspect of life.

- Society is dynamic; so also the aspects of life. That is why you have learnt changing trend in various aspects of life. Largely, you have learnt tribal way of life in the tradition and the emerging trend consequent upon assimilation, acculturation and development interventions. The emerging issues have been discussed with reference to land relations, occupational diversification and modern polity. Women empowerment is also an emerging issue in tribal society. We have discussed the nature and scope of empowerment of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh. The issue of inheritance is discussed to appreciate women rights in land and thus the issue of empowerment.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Acephalous society:** A society where there is not centralised authority.
- **Cadastral Survey:** Survey or mapping land boundaries.
- **Cephalous society:** A society with centralised authority like a chief.
- **Contemporary:** Belonging to the same time or period as the one mentioned.
- **Egalitarian:** The belief that everyone is equal and should enjoy same rights and opportunities.
- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.
- **Exogamous:** Marriage practice outside the group, opposite to endogamous.
- **Fallow land:** Land which is left uncultivated to restore fertility.
- **Levirate:** The custom of a man marrying his deceased brother's widow (sister-in-law).
- **Moiety:** One of two basic sub-divisions of tribe.
- **Oath:** To speak out in the name of supernatural power; the act of calling upon a deity to stand witness to the veracity of what one says.
- **Ordeal:** The practice of determining guilt or innocence by asking the accused to undergo certain acts believed to be under the control of supernatural power.
- **Patriarchy:** The system where power and authority rests on male members.
- **Phratries:** A kinship group composed of families with a notional common ancestor. In the organization of tribes, it refers to a group of clans.
- **Rites of passage:** Rituals to mark the transition from one stage of life to another, for example puberty ritual.
- **Sacred:** As was used by Emile Durkheim, refers to what is not a part of the normal world, including forbidden knowledge or practices and ritual activities. It is opposite to 'profane'.
- **Shaman:** A ritual specialist who mediates between the human and spiritual world through trance.
- **Social capital:** Value and practice of trust, cooperation, mutuality, reciprocation in the society.

- **Social Organization:** Significant grouping of members of a society.
- **Sorrorate:** The custom of a woman marrying her deceased sister's husband (brother-in-law).
- **Supernatural:** Something which is not subject to the laws of the nature.
- **Tenancy:** The custom of leasing out land.
- **Usufructuary:** By virtue of use, usufructuray rights- the right enjoyed because of use.

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3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Patriarchal (b) Differentiated (c) Endogamy
(d) Marriage (e) Extended
2. (a) True (b) True (c) False
(d) True (e) False
3. The society in Arunachal Pradesh is patriarchal in nature. There is inequality across gender. Women do not have rights to own landed property. The society is organised on the basis of social groupings. Broadly the society is of two types: cephalous and acephalous—on the basis of central authority. Social institutions like marriage, appropriation of community labour, and values like mutual cooperation, community interest, sharing, etc. characterise the society in Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Taboos are prohibitions. There are movement taboos, food taboos, etc. People observe taboos because its violation would incur supernatural punishment. Moreover, taboos also make the result of rituals effective.
5. Mutuality in general sense refers to reciprocal cooperation. It is more visible in mutual labour exchange. This practice exists in agricultural activities and during house construct.
6. Yes. Women take part in decision making as Panchayat members. They have entered into public sphere of like as professionals and techno-bureaucrats. They have been able to raise their voices against social evils.
7. (a) False (b) True (c) True
(d) True (e) False
8. (a) False (b) True (c) True
(d) True (e) False
9. (a) False (b) True (c) False (d) True
(e) True (f) False (g) True
10. To ensure about social cohesion, to make the wrong doers realise his mistake and to compensate the loss incurred to the victim
11. In traditional political institutions of chieftain type societies women are not members. When the council is informal and open like the *kebang* women do not take part in decision making.

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12. Non-Chieftain type of societies has different political institutions- gerontocracy, democratic village councils, and arbiter system. In such institutions, women are generally excluded from taking decision. In gerontocracy, there is social hierarchy like the Thong and Chao of Sherdukpen. In such a society a section of the people is excluded from decision making. The slaves/serfs are also excluded from participation.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Tribal social life is founded on the principle of mutuality and sharing. Discuss.
2. Traditional Political life in Arunachal Pradesh is exclusionary. Do you agree? Justify.
3. What do you mean by the word 'empowerment'? Why is it absent in traditional society? Give your answer with examples.
4. Give a brief account of inheritance rights of women in traditional tribal society.
5. What is the emerging trend in tribal land relations? Discuss.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the trend of change in social life of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Enumerate contributing factors of change.
2. Discuss various stages of change in political life of the people in Arunachal Pradesh.
3. Discuss the judicial and administrative functions of village councils.
4. Discuss the nature of inequality in landholdings.
5. Do you think the status of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh is changing? Give answer with examples.
6. There is a shift in economic life from primary to secondary and tertiary sector activities. Do you agree? Why?

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UNIT-IV SOCIETY AND EMERGING ISSUES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Women and Society
 - 4.2.1 Inheritance
 - 4.2.2 Women and Empowerment
- 4.3 Summary
- 4.4 Key Terms
- 4.5 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 4.6 Questions and Exercises
- 4.7 Further Readings

4.0 INTRODUCTION

You have studied in the previous unit that the Arunachal society is not homogenous as broadly speaking it consists of tribal and non-tribal population. Except a few like the Nepalese, Chakmas and Adivasis etc. other non-tribal populations do not have a community identity in Arunachal Pradesh because these groups of people are migrant groups from different communities from outside of Arunachal Pradesh and are thus mixed groups. Further, the non-tribal population again can be categorized as settlers and non-settler migrants. The second group is the mixed population group of migrants which consists of participants in development process and their family members.

Since Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal state we will discuss the society of Arunachal Pradesh as ‘Tribal Arunachal Pradesh’. You have studied in the earlier section that the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to different bio-genetic and linguistic groups, even though they belong to the greater Mongoloid stock. In addition to this broader bio-genetic commonality, there is another common feature among them in that they are all patriarchal in nature. Moreover, they did not exist in complete isolation at least from the time they were reported in colonial writings. These writings report not only inter-tribe interactions but also contacts and interactions with Tibet, Myanmar and the Assam plains. As a matter of fact, all the tribes inhabiting Arunachal Pradesh migrated from different places of Tibet and Myanmar during different time periods. It is common to find relatives of many tribal groups living across the Indian border.

By now you must have understood that the Arunachali society is a society in diversity which manifests across tribes. As there are different tribal groups, certainly each group has its distinct identity. This distinctiveness is largely the distinct perception that the people of a tribe nourish. Basically, their distinct identity emerges from differences in social organization schemes, spoken tongues, faiths, practices and so on. Therefore, we will discuss social organization of tribes in

general and with reference to a few tribes as examples. The general discussion will be useful to appreciate Arunachali society which is a manifestation of diversity.

A tribe as a distinct group has its own organizational set up. You will find more than one tribe having similar set up. In other words, a group of tribes could be identified on the basis of similar scheme of social organization along the line of grouping different relations vertically and horizontally. Horizontally, a group of families would be organized into a lineage and a group of lineages say, into a clan. When an organization of family, lineage and clan is arranged in ascending order, the family is placed first followed by lineage and clan. Such an arrangement is a vertical arrangement of social organization.

In addition to commonality in the organization of social groupings of a group of tribes, there may be commonality in the system of governance as well. The tribes may have the central authority or a council of members without any central authority. In this Unit you will learn the nature of Arunachali society with reference to social groupings and their governance system.

You have already learnt that traditional tribes are self-reliant units and enjoy tribal autonomy. But this characteristic of a tribe is hardly found in the process of contact with colonial governance and later in the process of integration with national goals in India. Undoubtedly, there are changes in the traditional ethos of tribes. You will find these changes in various spheres, but we will discuss the issue with reference to the status of women, land relations, occupational diversification and emerging political scenario.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss social life of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh
- Explain the scheme of organization of different tribes
- Explain emerging land relations and occupational diversifications
- Discuss tribal body politics of the past and at present
- Describe the status of women in terms of inheritance rights and empowerment and
- Identify trends of change in recent years

4.2 WOMEN AND SOCIETY

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Women in Indian society belong to weaker sections. This is the idea about women and important considerations for their development in almost all the countries of the world. In India, tribes also belong to weaker sections. Obviously, tribal women are doubly vulnerable on this count. The idea of weaker section means that women are not equal to men; they do not enjoy equal rights like men counterparts. It is not therefore a surprise to find equality claims in contemporary feminist movement. In the field of development or political participation you will find gender issue as a significant point of discussion and consideration. This is the case in general and issue of tribal women in particular.

In some quarters there are opinions that tribal women enjoy better position as compared to non-tribal women. The Dhebar Commission Report of 1961 states that a tribal woman is not a drudge or beast of burden. She is found to be exercising a relatively free and firm hand in all aspects of her social life unlike in non-tribal societies. When compared to 'non-tribal' counterparts, the general impression is that tribal women enjoy a better status. This is because in tribal communities there is no stigma of widowhood and often of unwed mother, no purdah system and no dowry unlike in non-tribal communities. A tribal woman can divorce and remarry easily. She earns and is, therefore, to a great extent financially independent.

But this is a myth, for the position of an individual, for example a woman, is examined in relation to the culture she belongs to. In fact, you will find status differentiation between male and female members in tribal societies also. Of course in matrilineal tribe, women's position is considered better. The daughter, only one, inherits family property. Among Garos it is the youngest daughter who inherits family property which belongs to mother. Here the comparison is made about the status of women belonging to two different cultures-patriarchy and matriarchy. In matriarchy, the inheritor daughter is subject to cultural prescriptions. In the event of her decision to stay with her husband elsewhere she has to forego the right. Moreover, a male member, especially from maternal side, manages the landed property, though the right of ownership vests in the female. Therefore, in a culture, a comparison shows that men and women have different status, often marking inequality.

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But in patriarchy women in general do not enjoy equal rights with men in many aspects of life. With reference to these aspects the status of women can be compared with men. One of such aspects is inheritance.

4.2.1 Inheritance

We have discussed the rules of inheritance of property in tribal societies in Unit-3, in detail. In this section, a brief account of women's inheritance in the context of Arunachal tribes will be presented.

As you know property in tribal societies are of two types: moveable and immovable. Moveable property normally includes livestock, beads and ornaments, bride wealth of any form (land traditionally does not constitute a part of bride wealth), utilitarian objects like loom, utensils and other household articles. Hunting equipment and traps also are moveable properties especially of hunting gathering tribes. Among the pastoral tribes you will find livestock as the most valuable moveable property.

Ownership of movable property has male and female domains. For example, hunting equipment, traps, animals in pastoral community belongs to male ownership domain. Women do not have rights to inherit such types of movable property. Beads, ornaments, bride wealth, etc., on the other hand, belong to female domain of ownership. Therefore, in case of bridal wealth, beads and ornaments, etc. the ownership rest on the woman and is transferred to daughters and daughters-in law. In other words, daughters and daughters-in-law have rights to inherit mother/mother-in-law owned movable property. The woman owning domestic birds and animals could dispose them in exchange or as gift to daughters or use them for domestic rituals or consumption purpose. However, there is no established norm guiding inheritance practice of such properties.

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are patriarchal in nature. Naturally inheritance rights of immovable property like land rest on male line. Normally sons inherit father's property and in the absence of sons, lineage male members or other male relatives inherit the property as per cultural norms. In principle women either as daughter or wife does not have right to inherit father's/husband's land property. She enjoys maintenance rights as per customary practices.

A woman passes through two major phases of life: married and unmarried. During unmarried stage, maintenance of the daughter is responsibility of parents/family members till her marriage. There is the possibility that the daughter may not marry thorough out her life. In that case her maintenance depends on the family and if she wants to be dependent, she is allowed to cultivate a family plot for herself on availability. However, this practice is not the inheritance rule. Only the women enjoy usufructuary rights as long as she is alive and capable of cultivating. After

her death, the land reverts to family. Even in some tribes like the Galo, a daughter can cultivate a plot by herself independently before marriage.

After marriage, the maintenance rights of a woman rest on husband as long as he is alive. She would cultivate the land owned by her husband. In case of the death of the husband the widow does not have any right over husband's landed property. She may have a residual life interest in land meant for maintenance. However, this right is subject to her not remarrying outside husband's family circle. If she remarries, she foregoes the right of life interest in land. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. When they are young, the woman remains as the custodian of land on their behalf. After husband's death, children take care of the maintenance responsibility.

The issue of inheritance has another dimension. A widow may marry her husband's brother/lineage brother as per sororate and levirate practices followed in the community. In that case the brother-husband inherits property. This type of marriage is often labelled as 'widow inheritance'. This practice exists in most of Arunachali tribes.

Another trend is noticed in the matter of land transfer and ownership. There are instances where a father legally transfers land to a daughter. Moreover, many women have started purchasing land in their names. Obviously ownership rights rest on them. But how this land will be inherited depends on future practice, for in tradition, there is no such practice and rule.

Life interest in land has an emerging trend in recent years. Many tribal girls marrying outsiders enjoy this life interest in land. There are cases where the land deed is manipulated in the name of the woman giving them legal ownership rights. But to what extent the woman enjoys the rights depends on future, for the tribal land cannot be transferred to non-tribals. In other cases, without any legal rights, when the children of the women would not like to stay after her death, the land will revert to her parent's family. These are some emerging trends for which there are no traditional rules. Moreover, there is no land rule in the state to guide these matters. In future, the practices will determine rule.

4.2.2 Women and Empowerment

In recent years, empowerment of women has been recognized as a central issue in determining the status of women as well as development of a country. In this connection, Human Development Report, 2003 is of immense significance which speaks of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that prominently emphasise on women empowerment. Empowerment of women is a worldwide concept. The last 30 years of 20th century prepared the action plan in the four world conferences on women held at Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). These conferences have helped to strengthen the socio-economic, political and legal dimensions of the role of women. In the Mexico conference it was decided that the decade of 1975 to 1985 be celebrated as the decade of women. During the decade, in 1979 the UNO adopted Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which on 1993 was adopted in India. The concept of empowerment was introduced at the international women's conference at Nairobi in 1985. This conference defined empowerment as a redistribution of social power and control of resources in favour of women.

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Check Your Progress

8. State whether the following statements are True or False:
 - (a) Individual ownership has emerged in land.
 - (b) Primogeniture is the normal rule of land inheritance among many tribes.
 - (c) Residual life interest in land is an inheritance rule.
 - (d) The government occupies tribal land in public interest as per the provisions of Land Acquisition Act 1984.
 - (e) Inequality in land holdings has emerged in the process of development interventions.

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Check Your Progress

9. State whether the following statements are true or false:
- (a) In tradition land is considered as a commodity which can be sold and purchased.
 - (b) Tenancy system has emerged mainly due to shift in family labour to non-agricultural activities.
 - (c) Tertiary sector has been emerging as a significant employment provider.
 - (d) Traditional village council ensures egalitarianism in decision making process.
 - (e) Women empowerment is necessary to raise the status of women in patriarchy.

The emphasis on women empowerment has its origin in their subordinate position in patriarchy and associated ill treatments and non-recognition to their contributions. Not less important is the additional positive contribution of women to general development by enabling their participation meaningfully in development process.

Literally, empowerment means becoming powerful. The question is powerful with regard to what? In a common sense of understanding empowerment is to make an individual, a group, a section of a community or the community as a whole powerful so that the members participate, decide upon, get access to and enjoy freedom of choices in matters which they are deprived of or denied to within the existing system.

As you know, tribes in India have been integrated to national development process. Obviously empowerment of tribal women is an important subject of national commitment.

You are already aware that Arunachali tribes are patriarchal in nature. In a patriarchy, in principle and practice, participation and decision making power rests on men. In economic matters, village councils and religious affairs women are subordinated to men's decision. Cultural prescriptions and taboos prohibit women to take part in many aspects of life. Though they participate in economic and religious activities, they do not have decision making power. In Adi kebang for example, and for that matter in all village councils, women may lodge complaints, stand as witness, serve food and beverage, but can neither be a member nor can participate in decision making process. Obviously, in these spheres tribal women are not empowered in traditional system.

However, this does not mean that women at all do not have any power to take decision. In marriage matter, a girl can exercise her choice in the selection of life partner. In some tribes, the girl enjoys pre-marital sexual freedom. More significantly a woman can decide upon the use of produces. What she earns from keeping poultry birds, pigs or selling clothes is spent by her. The produce of the land cultivated by an unmarried girl is used according to her desire. The women can decide upon whom to transfer her movable property- to daughter or daughter-in-law.

As you know in the process of development tribal economy is linked to market though in a very minimal scale. Tribal women for a long time have been selling some produces in local markets. You will find tribal women selling clothes, vegetables, fruits, etc. in administrative centres. From their earnings they purchase their personal necessities. Even they spend the money for children education, medicine, dress, toys, eatables, etc. Empowerment of tribal women can be observed, though to a very limited extent, in domestic sphere of life. In public sphere, however, it was conspicuously absent in traditional society.

Such instances of decision making power, however, do not improve upon their general status of subordination in a patriarchy. Women empowerment is not related to these instances, it is rather an ideological assertion against subordination in patriarchy in general. The empowerment which we talk about is the power given to women through government interventions so that their status in patriarchy improves at par men's power.

At present, you will find two systems in Arunachal Pradesh. One is the emerging formal system through government interventions and the second one is

the continued traditional informal system. Similarly, you will find corresponding public spheres – one at formal level and other at informal traditional level.

Due to development and education schemes, the level of empowerment of tribal women is rising in the formal system. You will find tribal women as administrators through civil services and working as police personnel, doctors, teachers, lawyers, technocrats, bankers, journalists, writers, executives, social workers, entrepreneurs, and in other formal institutions and sect oral activities. These women are decision maker in accordance with the position they hold. In addition, they have access to state resources as income earners. Thiers contribution to state economy is recognised unlike in traditional system.

You will find Self-Help Group (SHG strategy for women empowerment. Self-Help Group model was introduced as a core strategy to achieve empowerment in the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) with the objective to organize women into Self-Help Group, and thus, marked the beginning of a major process of empowering women. This has empowered women to organise into SHGs, maintain their accounts, organise their activities, and interact with development personnel and so on. In Arunachal Pradesh women organised into Women Welfare Society have raised their voice against ills of society that subordinates women. You will find women voice in State Women Commission. There are district and local level women organizations which advocate for equality eradication of practices of gender discrimination. These women empowered in formal system interventions in public sphere of informal traditional system for general women empowerment. When a woman is prohibited to organise traditional religious festivals like Mopin, she can do so in capital complex. Such women stand as ‘interface’ between tradition and modernity, though women empowerment in traditional life is yet to make a significant dent.

However, in political sphere empowerment in tribal women can be observed. The state has sent women representatives to the State Assembly and Parliament of the country. Besides, due to 33 per cent reservation women participate as members in Panchayati Raj Institutions. The government has been appointing some women GBs (women village head) since 1987. These members participate in village council meetings which have emerged as a combination of tradition and modernity. You will find another trend of women empowerment in revival religious organizations. In revival movements like Donyipolo, Nani Inteya, etc. women play leading role in conducting prayers and some other activities.

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4.3 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed tribal life in Arunachal Pradesh. This is discussed with reference to social organization, emerging issues and women in changing society.
- Life of a community gets expressions through activities belonging to different spheres. The spheres of activities are broadly cultural, religious, social, political and economic in nature. They present cultural, religious, social, political and economic aspects of life of people. You have learnt these aspects in general and with reference to few individual tribes as case studies.
- As you know, in the tradition of a tribe all aspects of life are integrated and interconnected. Therefore, in the discussion of a particular aspect, a few references pertaining to other aspects of life have come up. For example,

Check Your Progress
13. What are the objectives of punishment?
14. The traditional political institution is gender discriminatory. Justify.
15. Even non-chieftain type of societies can be exclusionary. Prove with examples.

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the status role of women in terms of participation in village council has been referred to in social aspect of life.

- Society is dynamic; so also the aspects of life. That is why you have learnt changing trend in various aspects of life. Largely, you have learnt tribal way of life in the tradition and the emerging trend consequent upon assimilation, acculturation and development interventions. The emerging issues have been discussed with reference to land relations, occupational diversification and modern polity. Women empowerment is also an emerging issue in tribal society. We have discussed the nature and scope of empowerment of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh. The issue of inheritance is discussed to appreciate women rights in land and thus the issue of empowerment.

4.4 KEY TERMS

- **Acephalous society:** A society where there is not centralised authority.
- **Cadastral Survey:** Survey or mapping land boundaries.
- **Cephalous society:** A society with centralised authority like a chief.
- **Contemporary:** Belonging to the same time or period as the one mentioned.
- **Egalitarian:** The belief that everyone is equal and should enjoy same rights and opportunities.
- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.
- **Exogamous:** Marriage practice outside the group, opposite to endogamous.
- **Fallow land:** Land which is left uncultivated to restore fertility.
- **Levirate:** The custom of a man marrying his deceased brother's widow (sister-in-law).
- **Moiety:** One of two basic sub-divisions of tribe.
- **Oath:** To speak out in the name of supernatural power; the act of calling upon a deity to stand witness to the veracity of what one says.
- **Ordeal:** The practice of determining guilt or innocence by asking the accused to undergo certain acts believed to be under the control of supernatural power.
- **Patriarchy:** The system where power and authority rests on male members.
- **Phratries:** A kinship group composed of families with a notional common ancestor. In the organization of tribes, it refers to a group of clans.
- **Rites of passage:** Rituals to mark the transition from one stage of life to another, for example puberty ritual.
- **Sacred:** As was used by Emile Durkheim, refers to what is not a part of the normal world, including forbidden knowledge or practices and ritual activities. It is opposite to 'profane'.
- **Shaman:** A ritual specialist who mediates between the human and spiritual world through trance.
- **Social capital:** Value and practice of trust, cooperation, mutuality, reciprocation in the society.

- **Social Organization:** Significant grouping of members of a society.
- **Sorrorate:** The custom of a woman marrying her deceased sister's husband (brother-in-law).
- **Supernatural:** Something which is not subject to the laws of the nature.
- **Tenancy:** The custom of leasing out land.
- **Usufructuary:** By virtue of use, usufructuray rights- the right enjoyed because of use.

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4.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- 13.(a) Patriarchal (b) Differentiated (c) Endogamy
(d) Marriage (e) Extended
- 14.(a) True (b) True (c) False
(d) True (e) False
15. The society in Arunachal Pradesh is patriarchal in nature. There is inequality across gender. Women do not have rights to own landed property. The society is organised on the basis of social groupings. Broadly the society is of two types: cephalous and acephalous—on the basis of central authority. Social institutions like marriage, appropriation of community labour, and values like mutual cooperation, community interest, sharing, etc. characterise the society in Arunachal Pradesh.
16. Taboos are prohibitions. There are movement taboos, food taboos, etc. People observe taboos because its violation would incur supernatural punishment. Moreover, taboos also make the result of rituals effective.
17. Mutuality in general sense refers to reciprocal cooperation. It is more visible in mutual labour exchange. This practice exists in agricultural activities and during house construct.
18. Yes. Women take part in decision making as Panchayat members. They have entered into public sphere of like as professionals and techno-bureaucrats. They have been able to raise their voices against social evils.
- 19.(a) False (b) True (c) True
(d) True (e) False
- 20.(a) False (b) True (c) True
(f) True (e) False
- 21.(a) False (b) True (c) False (d) True
(g) True (f) False (g) True
22. To ensure about social cohesion, to make the wrong doers realise his mistake and to compensate the loss incurred to the victim
23. In traditional political institutions of chieftain type societies women are not members. When the council is informal and open like the *kebang* women do not take part in decision making.

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24. Non-Chieftain type of societies has different political institutions- gerontocracy, democratic village councils, and arbiter system. In such institutions, women are generally excluded from taking decision. In gerontocracy, there is social hierarchy like the Thong and Chao of Sherdukpen. In such a society a section of the people is excluded from decision making. The slaves/serfs are also excluded from participation.

4.6 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

6. Tribal social life is founded on the principle of mutuality and sharing. Discuss.
7. Traditional Political life in Arunachal Pradesh is exclusionary. Do you agree? Justify.
8. What do you mean by the word 'empowerment'? Why is it absent in traditional society? Give your answer with examples.
9. Give a brief account of inheritance rights of women in traditional tribal society.
10. What is the emerging trend in tribal land relations? Discuss.

Long-Answer Questions

7. Discuss the trend of change in social life of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Enumerate contributing factors of change.
8. Discuss various stages of change in political life of the people in Arunachal Pradesh.
9. Discuss the judicial and administrative functions of village councils.
10. Discuss the nature of inequality in landholdings.
11. Do you think the status of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh is changing? Give answer with examples.
12. There is a shift in economic life from primary to secondary and tertiary sector activities. Do you agree? Why?

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