

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE
CHANGING LIVES OF THE APATANI
WOMEN IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

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PHILOSOPHY IN DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

By

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This is being submitted to the Rajiv Gandhi University for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology.

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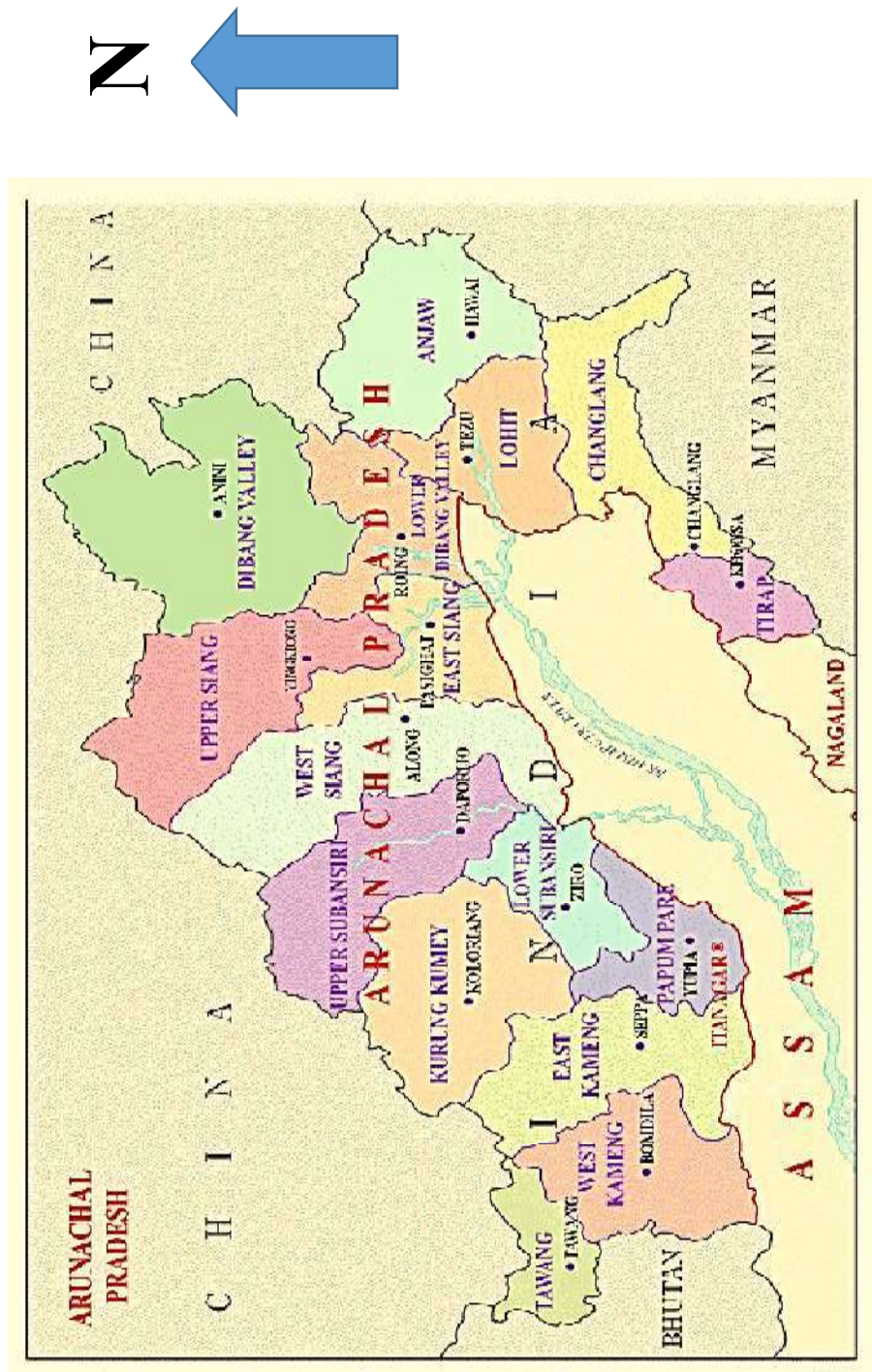


Fig. 1 Map of Arunachal Pradesh

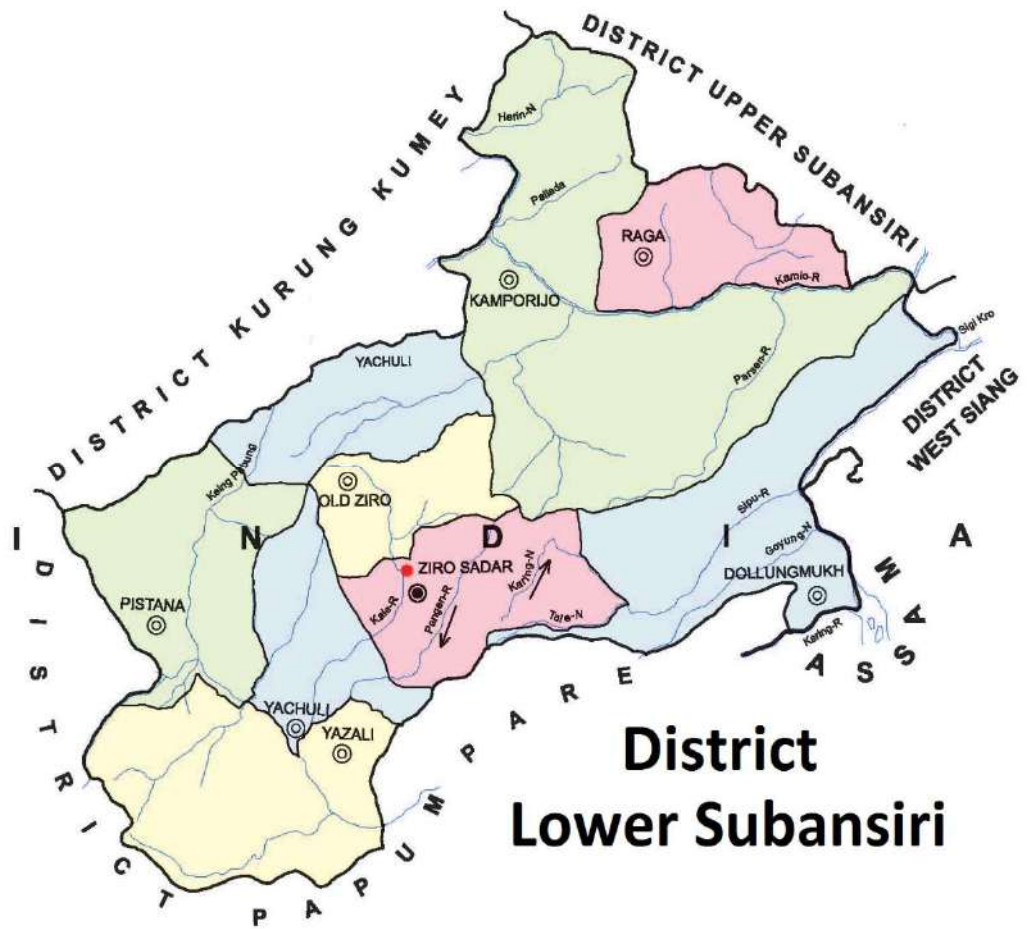


Fig. 2 Map of Lower Subansiri District (Not to Scale)

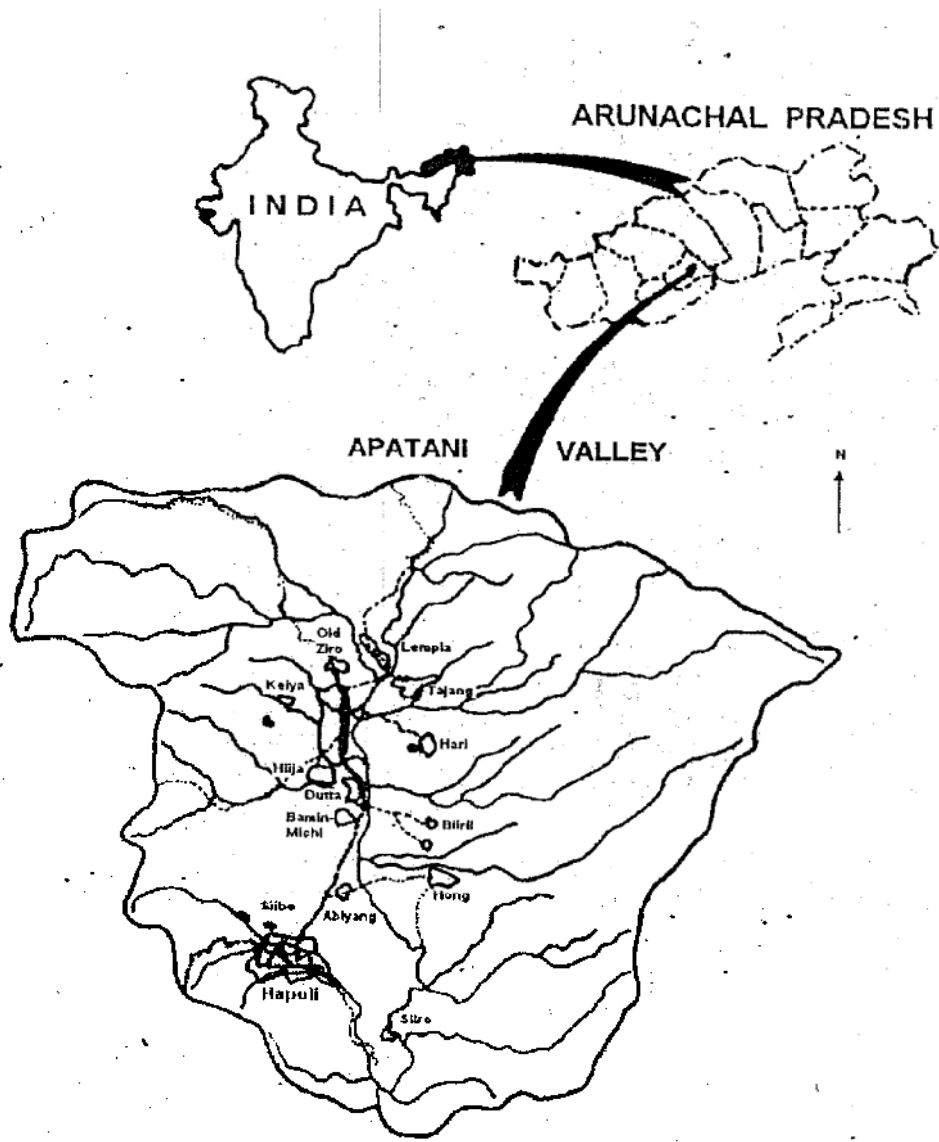


Fig. 3 Map of Ziro (Study Area)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE STUDY

Women are an integral and inseparable part of the society irrespective of its nature, form and structure, in fact, humanity itself is a combination of man and women- biologically, socially and culturally. The existence of society itself is the testimony of importance of women's present in the society, because human societies are the outcome of joint enterprises of men and women ,man and women share equal important in perpetual life on earth. "Women have been visualized by poet, novelists, and artists as a source of inspiration, as romantic and ritual partner, or a company. The soft motherly, sisterly or daughterly feelings ingrained in women have always been the subject of thought and quoting" (Saraswathi 1995:59). "Women are the builder and moulder of a nation's destiny. Though delicate and soft, she has a heart far stronger and bolder than man. She is the supreme inspiration for man's onward march, an embodiment of peace, love, piety and compassion" (Gavit, Chand 1989:157)

Many social sciences are coming up with the motto to study women. Anthropology is one such discipline, which always had a vision and mission to study women and unveil the contribution of women in the society. "Feminist anthropology" or "Anthropology of women" is the term used for the anthropology that study women. Henrietta L. Moore's(2000) book 'Feminism and anthropology' is an important text where author has dealt with the development of a feminist approach in anthropology, examining the ways in which the study of gender has influence the recent development of the discipline of anthropology. She considers the application of feminist work to key areas of anthropological research, and addresses the question of what social anthropology has to contribute to contemporary feminism. According to her, women were not ignored in tradition anthropology rather always valued the contribution of women in the society, as it is the study of man in its totality. She adds, "Women have

always been present in ethnographic accounts, primarily because of the traditional anthropological concern with kinship and marriage. The main problem was not, therefore, one of empirical study, but rather one of representation” (ibid: 2000:1). Thus the new ‘anthropology of women’ thus began in 1970s, by confronting the problem of how women were represented in anthropological writing which was suffering from multiple lairs of constraints. One such bias is imported by the anthropologist who brings various assumptions and expectations about relationships between women and men; second one is inherent in the society where women are perceived as subordinate to men and third one may comes from the comparative notions of western culture which talks about asymmetrical gender relations (Op. cit, 2000:2). Vitso (2003) remarked “anthropologist have given specific attention to the roles played by women folk, and their behavior patterns in the perspective of diversified social phenomena are now being recorded with general emphasis to view the working of a society in its traditional set-up”.

According to the latest available report, 49.7 percent of the world populations are women (Roa 2007), which means women constitute nearly half of the total population of the world. Despite such an intimate connection of man and women, society have always been discriminatory towards women and started attributing a lower status to women. Millions of women spend their lives within the four corner of the wall, but still contributes towards family and society. These were the women who silently carrying out traditional, domestic and agricultural task, but has not been paid attention. So there contributions to family and society have not been acknowledged. They have been treated as subordinates to man. From time immemorial women had been sharing equal responsibility in every walks of life, be it a household, economy or other ritualistic work.

As Thakur (1995: VII) said “the tribal women have, particularly played a dominant role in not only in agricultural operations, but also in the field of crafts and economy. In this way, in the socio-economic sphere, the tribal women have an important position more or less equal to that of man.” It is general believe that status of tribal women are better than their counterparts in caste women.

According to Xaxa (2008:475), “However, the economic burden and workload of tribal women as well as their access to education, food and nutrition, modern occupation and political participation, especially in the modern context, have not been the kind of attention they deserve”.

There were, however, some anthropologist, sociologist, philosophers, thinkers, reformers and law-givers that were aware of this injustice towards women. Their ideas and actions directed at improving the condition of women sowed a hope in defeated minds.

With the passage of time world’s perception on women has changed. Slowly and steadily the world has acknowledged and realized the contribution and potential of women. So, one could see an increasing number of women a gradual sprouting of awareness about their status. “Latter half of the 20th century saw a revolution in women’s awareness of their identity, their feelings and emotions, their roles and requirements” (ibid:2008). With the advent of women’s movement in different countries, women’s studies were pioneered in the United States where today, they are most –developed and well established. This country also declares the year 1975 as ‘international women’s year’ and subsequent U.N. Women’s Decade (1975-1985), a ground was prepared for a scientific analysis of the status and role of women in society. Social scientists in most parts of the world started putting in their efforts to promote a better understanding of women. Even government did not lag behind. State funds could be seen being pumped in various committees and institutions for promoting research related women.

Ban ki-moon, the Secretary-General of United Nation made a statement on World Population Day, 11th July 2009, “In the midst of the worst economic crisis in generations, we must find the most effective ways to continue progress towards achieving the millennium development goals. There is no better path than the focus of this year’s world population Day: investing in women and girls”. Ester Boserup’s (1970/1998) book needs a special mention which is considered as the radical text to bring in to sharp focus the contribution of women to the sphere of production systems in non-European societies. Boserup’s search for complicities

in social and human relationships in the non-European cultures heralded a new departure in the contemporary thinking in the field of women's studies and influenced new generations of anthropologists.

India, with women Prime Minister at the top of the affairs in 1970s and early 1980s, was even more eager to understand the problems of women and improve the situation. It also witnesses many reform movements, which advocates for the equal opportunities and equal status of women. Mahatma Gandhi remarks "women as the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capabilities. She has the right to participate in very minutest detail in the activities of man and she has equal of freedom and liberty with him". In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "If education has to be limited to men or women, it should be given to women, for then it would more surely be passed on to the next generation" (cf. Chand 1989:163). Nehru was also of the opinion that women should take the fullest part in political work. That will give them a greater status in India than any other thing else. But apart from this, women should also work for the removal of all disabilities from which their sex suffers (ibid: 1989).

It is generally believed that the progress of the country cannot be in its proper place until the women of that country achieve economic independence and enjoy equal status with the men in the society. The effort of different social societies, reformers and voices of these leaders has brought dramatic change in the lives of the women. Their work became the inceptive of different rights and protection render to women by Indian constitution. As such, today Indian constitution are providing right to equality, protection against exploitation, reservation etc. On the other hand it boosts the women to raise their voice against gender inequalities and women group are mobilizing so that things will change. Women's associations are developing initiatives to fulfill various fundamental needs: food, housing, eliminating illiteracy, education, and contact with other, essential services. They create activities that allow them both to earn and use the various skills and areas of expertise in different living condition.

In India, good number of literature are available in the form of books, articles, papers published in various journals and magazines, regarding various issues connected with position and status of women in India in general, their political, legal, education and other dimensions. A selected few can be mentioned here. In fact, John (2008) recent anthology provides us a historical backdrop of women studies in India which is obviously more focused on the issues related to the women in caste societies though tribal issues are not ignored. Issues related to history, development, violence, law, education health family, religion, sexualities, literature and media are discussed by eminent scholars of India (Desai, Majumdar, Banerjee, Mohanty, Chakrabarty, Bagchi, Bhasin, Krishnaraj, Agarwal, Shiva, Karlekar, Tharu, Butalia, Haskar, Agnes, Dube, Sangri Nair, Dev Sen, Niranjana etc.).

Seth (2001) tried to trace the status and position held by women in India over the ages. Through her survey she brings out the fact that women still lacked political and economic power. Singh (2005) made an attempt to unveil the relationship between the political mobilizations of rural women. Pathy (2007) provides an overview of the impact of globalization on family and women, and she adds, "Today globalization has become an objective reality shaping lives, cultures and institution. In this recast family and women are the first and worst affected". Sucharita and Rao (2008) made an attempt to get deeper insight on the empowerment of women through SHGs (Self Help Groups). Narayana (1998) discussed the need for political empowerment of women through reservation in its decision making bodies like parliament, and state legislature in the same line as at 'panchayat' village level in India. Bhadra (1999) has analyzed the situation under which India girl children are living and identifying the sexual inequalities within the household and society at large. All these studies have raised certain crucial issues related to the changing status of women in our society and problem faced by them (ibid: 2003).

In the context of North East India in general and Arunachal Pradesh in Particular, such studies related to tribal women are very few in number, though the questions of women equality or women empowerment are in much talk in the present

scenario of the states. According to Xaxa (2008:475), there has been more analytical discussion on the status of women in tribal societies in recent years. Earlier, they were portrayed as having a better status than women in caste societies, with physical mobility, choice in marriage, access to property and resources which are based on monographs and other published literature. “However, the economic burden and workload of tribal women as well as their access to education, food and nutrition, modern occupation and political participation, especially in the modern context, have not been given the kind of attention they deserve”, Xaxa adds (ibid: 2008).

State like Arunachal Pradesh is home to 26 major tribes and 100 sub tribes and the recent Human Development Report (2006) and more specifically, The Gender-related Development Index (GDI) suggest needs for addressing women issues in this frontier state where patriarchy is still a dominant force reflected within the larger canvas of society, economy and obviously polity of this tribal state. In spite of works on the tribal societies in general, mostly monographs, rarely serious scholarly attention is hardly given to the issues which are tribes specific or which are having general implications for the women of this state cutting across the cultural or ethnic boundaries.

Rao (2003) tried to analyze various socio-economic dimensions of women in Arunachal Pradesh in which he discusses about developmental programmes for women, economic status of women, and issues related to the self help groups. But his study cannot be considered as comprehensive because his study confine only to five tribes. Mibang and Abraham (2003) confined various articles on women and education from different authors who discussed the importance of education in the lives of women. They emphatically mentioned that education is the most powerful instrument, which enables the women to understand and develop their potential. It can help them to free themselves from the shackles of traditional captivity and gender discrimination.

In context of the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh, which is the core area and constitute the universe of present study, faces the same problem. In contemporary

Arunachal, Apatanis are considered as one of the advanced tribes who are known to the outside world through the works of Haimendorf (1962, 1980). Of course, later on many, Apatani scholars also worked extensively on this tribe taking various issues where women voices are marginally or rarely found. No single work has been done on Apatani women on the light of the Xaxa's argument or the larger issues rose by other eminent scholars. According to Haimendorf most of the agricultural work is done by women and they are very hard worker. "Most Apa Tani wives work so hard that little energy is left for interests outside their home" (Haimendorf 1962:97). Haimendorf (1980) other work mostly consists of the changing socio-cultural lives of the Apatanis. He also made a kind of comparison between his first and second visit to the valley. But he failed to discuss, what kind of changes Apatani women experienced within three decades. In 1953, Ursula Graham mentioned briefly about Apatani women's role in economic activities and also reflected on their physical features, "their faces were tattooed, they wore huge black nose plugs, their quilted skirts were shapeless bunched and they clutched their sack jackets round them" (ibid: 1980:61). Takhe (1993:64), an Apatani scholar, mentions, "society considered that men folk is higher in status than women folks in the society but responsibility of duties to shared by both in the field, home, and family affair". Though he agreed that women share equal responsibilities in the society but he did not go in to the detail about the multiple roles and contribution of women in the society.

Existing literature failed to address the issues which concern the lives of the Apatani women or do not lead us anywhere to understand what is happening to this segment of Apatani population when the tribe as such passing through the rapid phase of transition like many other neighboring tribes who are residing within or outside the valley or within the state in general. Hence, there is an urgent need for systematic study in the light of the modern scholarship to understand the changing lives of the women in Apatani society in regards to their contribution and reciprocal historical locations in various domains, such as, family, household, economic, polity and beyond in the contemporary globalize world.

1.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Women's issues, or for that matter gender studies being an emerging area of research, can locate substantive literature which concerns women across the world though in the context of present research we will try to concentrate more which concerns women of India, Northeast as a region and more specifically Arunachal Pradesh. Some of the works of the leading or pioneering scholars are already referred in the context of setting the statement of study.

Ehsanul Haq (2007) in her paper tried to view the relation between patriarchal ideology and the problem of declining gender-ratio in India and she identifies some of the factors for the declining gender-ratio in India.

- 1) The neglect of girls resulting in their mortality at younger ages;
- 2) High maternal mortality;
- 3) sex selection female abortion;
- 4) Female infanticide; and
- 5) The change in the sex ratio at birth.

But according to author these are only the intermediate, subordinate and subservient role, rather the fundamental causal factor deeply rooted into the organic structure of Indian society. Author says that one of the dominant features of Indian family is its patriarchal character where male hegemony, male line of social decent and an in-built structured form of hierarchically arranged social inequality.

Tewari (2008) had done empirical study on girl child education in India. This study is based on sample of 240 children belonging to the age group of 5-10 years from Allahabad city (Uttar Pradesh). Her study shows that, more children from higher caste and higher income groups are attending the school as compare to lower caste and lower income group. Study also reveals that tuition facility is provided more to boys than girls in both income and caste groups. The study shows that most of the girls drop their school due to economic reasons and household responsibilities and only few of them drop-out relating to the lack of interest.

Nath's (1995) article deals with status declination of the tribal women of the Sundarbans as they are alienated from agriculture. This is because the land under agriculture is largely being transformed for brackish water shrimp farming which offer very little scope of female participation. This situation has pushed tribal women in tragedy and engages them in other works, such as domestic service, liquor selling, shrimp farm labour etc. these jobs despite of slightly improving their economic condition, cause to bring down their status.

Narayana (1998) discussed the need for political empowerment of women through reservation in its decision making bodies like parliament, and state legislature in the same line as at 'panchayat (village) level in India. Representation of women in higher bodies of political authority has been considered a prerequisite for the success of democracy at the grass root level. Sachchidananda and Niraj (2006) relate the question of women empowerment as a means for accomplishing community development.

Taking women's participation in the Jammu Agitation during 2008 over the issues of transfer of land to the Shri Amarnath Shrine Board Bhatia (2009) tried to reveal the fact that women even in a most conservative situation are mutely subjugated to their day to day experiences of repression.

Samal (1993) analyzes the status of women in central Himalaya particularly in the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Author reveal that women in the hill put more than 15 hours a day in works and interprets their hard work as their enterprising nature based on culture and community perception of shared needs. Author also talked about legal status of women and opportunity for social participation.

Saraswathi (1995) tries to focus on the changing status of women in the Kurichian community, which is a matrilineal society. Author tried to view the changing status of women by citing some examples by which author tried to show the changing lives of women are taking place due to the introduction of education. Medougall (2000) has revealed the gender differences in literacy attainment in Uttar Pradesh. 1951-1991 reveals significant regional variations in female achievement and the gender gap.

Chatterji and Angana (1990) in her paper attempts to situate women in the present context of national development, to assess their condition since the changes in their status and study the link between economic progress and the class to which the women belongs, for studies have indicated that there is a close connection between the two.

Bhadra (1999) in her edited book aims at analyzing the situation under which Indian girl children are living and identifying the sexual inequalities within the household and society at large. The papers that have been compiled in this volume, range from those analyzing the status of girl child in India to her socialization process, gender stereotyping, discrimination changing age at marriage, girl child labour, child prostitution, and ameliorative legislations for her status enhancement in family, society and changing trends in these areas.

Banerjee, Mitter (1998) in their paper address two contemporary issues. One related to Indian working women response to technological changes and globalization; and second relates to the impact of these changes on women's work in India. The study examines women of diverse background and their correlation with changing technologies in the past and present, in different regions and industries of the country. The paper further analyses the position of Indian women's movement in context with women's traditional role in the society.

Kanungo (1993) discusses the struggle of dalit women for existence and to protect themselves against the hostile social environment. While discussing the hazards dalit women are facing, it also comments upon the handicaps of dalit women like lack of education and poor economic condition. It expresses the view that the movements dealing with the position of dalit women need to develop strategies to sustain initiated by such movements to ensure that they sustain their positive impact.

Majumdar (1991) discusses at length the effect of modernization on the rural women. It states that the declining status of the rural women is not because of technology alone. It is the result of a combination of forces in the form of literacy, caste and class barrier, low self perception of women and the

lackadaisical attitude of the Govt. towards issues. It is also emphasized that to increase the participation of women in agricultural development it is not enough to review the policy matters alone. They will be effective only when there will be social change in favour of women, particularly those from the most marginalized classes.

Das (2000) in her article studies the status of Mahila Mandals, the traditional local women's organization, during India's struggle for independence, in early 20th century. It analyses the tremendous potentials of these women's groups to address women's strategic gender needs and whether they are traditional associations that consolidates gender inequalities or simply formed to enable women to successfully enter into public domain.

Sucheta (2001) in her paper, focus the influence of socio-political movement on women. To quote her "the question of women's empowerment in the west is an outcome of several protest movements of women against discrimination. Such movements have given birth to a whole body of literature on gender". She further discusses about the active participation of women in language movement and Boroland movement.

In the Context of Arunachal tribes, Langkam's (2004) studied exclusively on Padam women where she discusses about institutional linkages of marriage, family with women and their contribution in economic sector in the modern context.

Tau (1998) makes an analytical discussion on the role of Nishing women in family, marriage, economic activities. She also discusses about impact of education on women and the constraints, which stand in the way of women's education.

Coming to the Apatani situation we have discussed Haimendorf's perspectives. With the more recent works Tatung (2000) analyzes the change and continuity in the agricultural practices among the Apatanis. According to him, "...transplantation and harvesting all the agricultural operation are done by the

women. Their role, now-a-days became much more prominent than their male counterparts". Though he accept the contribution of women in agriculture is much more then the male folk, his writing does not contained in detail the contribution of women in agricultural practices.

Punyo (2006) discusses about Dapo; social control mechanism and Dapo committee, who works as a means of social control. But nothing has been written about women's participation in Dapo committee or how does the social control apply to a women in Apatani society.

Nath (1996) analyze the economic life of Apatanis by discussing various means, such as agriculture, forest, animal husbandry, fisheries, household and trade. But he failed to discuss the women's contribution in the economic life of the Apatani society.

Takhe (1996) compiled book which is a collection of writings on agricultural festival of Arunachal Pradesh. As many as twenty articles on festivals of the major tribes are written by different authors. *Dree* festival of Apatani is clearly described by Takhe, where he discusses mythology, meaning, procedure and significance of the festival.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present study on the Apatanis has been focused on the following objectives:

1. To locate historically the contribution of women in the domestic sphere,
2. To understand relative position of Apatani women in respect of traditional social systems regulated by various customary laws and how question of property inheritance is defined in traditional and emerging context?
3. To locate women's role in the organization of production and their contribution in the economy of the family in particular and in the society as a whole.
4. To gauge their access to decision making processes in the context of both traditional and emerging electoral political systems in Arunachal Pradesh,

5. And finally, to understand the role of education in changing lives of Apatani women.

1.4 UNIVERSE OF STUDY

Hill ranges in all directions in the Ziro-I circle of Lower Subansiri district surround the Ziro valley, inhabited by the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh. The valley lies at an altitude of 1564m (Hapoli) and 157 m (Old Ziro) above the main sea level.

The valley is surrounded by Ziro-II circle in the west, north-west, Tana Raga circle in the east and north-west, Dolungmukh circle in the east, Kurung Kumey district in south –east and Papum Pare district in south.

Originally, the valley consisted of seven villages viz. Hong, Hari, Biila, Dutta, Hiija, Mudang Tage and Michi Bamin. But due to rapid growth of population some new villages came up namely; Siiro, Lempya, Biirii, Nenchahya, Hakhe Tare and Siibey. And many families have also settled at Hapoli and old Ziro towns from various villages.

As per 2011 census, the total population of the Ziro sadar circle and Old-Ziro circle both inhabited by the Apatanis has 35,919 person of which 17490 are male and 18429 are female.

Researcher being an Apatani by birth, will try to incorporate most of the Apatani villages within the universe study, as she is willing to conduct extensive interviews and other necessary methods in all the villages so that cross section of women population can be covered irrespective of rich and poor, literate and illiterate, or rural urban divide. Some of the Apatani women or the families who are settled in state capital areas, such as Itanagar and Naharlagun, had been incorporated with the universe of the study to address the theme in a comprehensive way.

1.5 SOURCES OF DATA

Data for the study has been collected from the field work conducted in the Ziro valley the district head quarter of Lower Subansiri District of Arunachal Pradesh. Some secondary data has been collected from government files and administrative reports, official acts, and records of Panchayat offices. Both published and unpublished works are also used as source of secondary data. Information has also been collected from elderly person, Gaon Burahs, Gaon Buris, and Panchayat Members. Moreover researcher being an Apatani by birth has an involvement with the community through her every day's experience and negotiate with lives which are hugely valued dimension in contemporary practice in the discipline of Anthropology.

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND TOOLS

In order to build up an integrative data both empherical as well as statistical data were used. In empherical most of the conventional methods in Anthropology, such as, interview, observation, case study, audio-visual techniques, etc. have been employed. In accordance with the situation both participant and non-participant observation have been employed. However, extensive use of case history or biographical method had been highly useful to understand the actual nature of change and the factors responsible for the same. And the used of statistics in the form of table and their interpretation that reflected the respondent's opinion in numerical form, mostly collected through closed-ended question. This has been useful in drawing some rough conclision on the basis of the numbers of respondent's opinion it hold for. This particular methodology also depend the recent debate raised to the anthropological method of using only empherical methods and tools. Hence in this study both empherical and statistical were used.

The main tools for the study were well-designed structured questionnaire-cum-interview schedule. Both open and closed-ended questions have been employed. The responses had been tabulated in a coding sheet to have clear views of replies of the respondents. The figures were converted into percentage for easy analysis.

Since, the study area covered all the villages inhabited by the Apatanis in ziro valley; Lower Subansiri District Arunachal Pradesh, the sample of four hundred seventy five respondents were selected through purposive random sampling and having reliable informant in each village have made easy in selecting respondents from their respective villages, keeping in mind the age, education level and occupational variation. So that selected respondents justify the voices of the masses of all generation. There are seven original villages in the *Apatani* valley; *Hari, Biila, Hija, Bamin Michi, Mudang Tage, Dutta* and *Hong*. Beside these original villages, in order to accommodate the growing population, more villages/settlement area came up and many families have also been settled at Hapoli town as well as state capital from various villages. So respondents were from these original villages and also from Hapoli and State Capital Itanagar and Naharlagun. Moreover, researcher, being an Apatani has tried to ventilate her observation; experience at different domains of life linked with current them of the study.

Table 1. 1 Village wise distribution of Respondents

| Name of Village | Number of respondents | | | Total |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| | Villagers/Masses | PRI Members | Gaon Buri | |
| Bamin Michi | 40 | 17 | 1 | 58 |
| Mudang Tage | 30 | 15 | 3 | 48 |
| Dutta | 30 | 15 | 2 | 47 |
| Hija | 25 | 18 | 2 | 45 |
| Bulla | 40 | 28 | 2 | 70 |
| Hari | 30 | 25 | 1 | 56 |
| Hong | 40 | 32 | 4 | 76 |
| Hapoli | 35 | 10 | - | 45 |
| Itanagar/ Naharlagun | 30 | - | - | 30 |
| Total | 300 | 160 | 15 | 475 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of field work done in the study area

According to Table 1.1 the total sample of the respondents are 475 selected from the all seven original viallages of the Apatani valley and some sample has also collected from Hapoli and state capital, because many Apatanis are also settled there. The respondents belong to different background and from all the walks of

life. Village wise distribution of the respondents were- from Bamin Michi village there were 58 respondents, of which villager are 40, PRI 17 and 1 Gaon Buri. From Mudang Tage village total respondents were 48, of which 30 respondents were villager, 15 PRI members and 3 Gaon Buris. From Dutta Village, total respondents were 47 out of which 30 were villager, 15 were PRI members and 2 are Gaon Buri. In Hija village total respondents were 45 out of which 25 villager, 18 were PRI members and 2 were Gaon Buri. From Bulla (Tajang, Kalung, Reru) total respondents were 70 of which 40 respondents were villagers, 28 were PRI members and 2 were Gaon Buris. From Hari village total respondents were 56, out of which 30 respondents were villager, 25 PRI members and 1 Gaon Buri. Hong village consist of 76 respondents, of which 40 were villager, 32 were PRI members and 4 were Gaon Buri. From Hapoli total respondents were 45 comprised of 35 denizens, 10 PRI, there is no Gaon Bura/Buri and hence no sample had been collected. From state capital Itanagar and Naharlagun total respondents were 30 and there are no PRI and Gaon Buri and so no sample had been collected. Here it is important to mention that these samples of respondents' were selected with the careful consultation with the key informant of each village. There were at least two key informants in each village. The roles of these key informants were crucial because they are well acquainted with their village.

While selecting Apatani respondents, the age, education level and marital status of the respondents have been taken care of. So that samples of respondents should represent from all the age group and from all the walks of life; illiterate as well as literate and married as well as unmarried.

Table 1. 2 Age and Education level of the respondents

| Respondent's Educational level | Age of Respondents | | | | Total |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------|
| | 26-36 years | 36-45 years | 46-55 years | 55 years and above | |
| Illiterate | - | 18 (10.2) | 77 (43.5) | 82 (46.3) | 177 |
| Below 10 th standard | 23 (17.1) | 59 (43.7) | 47 (38.8) | 6 (4.4) | 135 |
| Higher Secondary | 45 (46.4) | 38 (39.2) | 12 (12.4) | 2 (2.06) | 97 |
| Graduation & Above | 39 (59.1) | 19 (28.8) | 8 (12.1) | - | 66 |
| Total | 107 | 134 | 144 | 90 | 475 |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of field work conducted in 2012

Table 1.2 shows the age and education level of all the respondents. Analysis of the Table 1.2 shows that there were 177 (37.3%) respondents out of total 475, who do not know how to read and write. Careful study reveals that maximum illiterate belongs to the age group of 56 years and above, that constitute 46.3% and 43.5 % belong to 46 to 55 years of age and the lowest was observed for the age group of 36 to 45 years at 10.2%. Respondents who studied below 10th standard were 135 (28.4%) of which highest respondents belong to the age group of 46 to 55 years which is about 43.7%, followed by age group of 36 to 45 years that makes 43.7%. next age group 26 to 35 years comprises of 17.1% and the least belongs to the age group of 56 years and above i.e., 4.4%. In higher secondary level respondents were those who studied above matriculation but below graduation. In this category there were 66 respondents. Highest number of respondents were from the age group of 26 to 35 years that comprise 39 (59.1%) number of respondents, followed by age group 36 to 45 years which is 28.8% and least with 12.1% belong to the age group of 46 to 55 years. 66 numbers of Respondents were graduate, of which 59.1% belong to age group of 26 to 35 years, 28.8% belong to age group 36 to 45 years and 12.1% belong to 46 to 55 years of age group. There were no graduate respondents from the age group of 56 years and above.

Table 1.3 Marital Status of the Respondents

| Marital Status | 26 – 35 years | 36 - 45 years | 46 - 55 years | 56 years and above | Total |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Married | 67 (17.72) | 114 (30.15) | 132 (34.92) | 65 (17.19) | 378 |
| Unmarried | 39 (73.58) | 14 (26.41) | - | - | 53 |
| Widow | 1 (2.32) | 6 (13.95) | 12 (27.90) | 25 (58.14) | 43 |
| Divorce | - | 1 (100) | - | - | 1 |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of field work conducted in 2012

Table 1.3 depicts the marital status of the respondents. Out of total 475 respondents, 378 were married of which 17.72% belong to 26 to 35 years, 30.15% belong to 36 to 45 years, 34.92% belong to 46 to 55 years and 17.19% belong to 56 years and above. 53 respondents were unmarried of which 73.58% and 14% belong to age group of 26-35 years and 36-45 years respectively. 43 respondents were widow and 1 divorcee.

These selected samples of respondents were studied. As said earlier their views have been tabulated and converted into percentage for the easy analysis. Some of the case study has also been included

It may be mentioned here that with publication of books by James Clifford & George Marcus (1986), Marcus and Fischer (1986) and Clifford (1988) some important questions are raised about established practices of fieldwork, ethnographic preparation and interpretations. This critique of Anthropology is a part of ongoing movement in social sciences known as postmodernism. So researcher tried to take care of the emerging debates so that the question of polyphony, contesting ideas, and the intricacies of anthropological knowledge as well as fieldwork tradition (Das, 1998, Kloos, 2004) etc., can be dealt with while collecting and analyzing data and constructing ethnographic realities.

Moreover, the researcher, being an Apatani by birth, is also aware about the current debates related to 'etic' and 'emic' perspectives in Anthropology (Obeyesekere, 2004, Srinavas, 2004, Mascarenhaskeyes 2004) which Narayan (1998) brings out excellently by arguing how 'Native' is the native's points of

view. Moreover, researcher believes what Lambek (2002:3) said, “The best anthropology is also self critical; here our concern with overcoming the various and multiple forms of ethnocentrism and intellectual narrowness remains a characteristic feature of any contribution that wishes seriously to be taken as anthropological”.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The present study is organized into eight chapters as mentioned below:

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

It deals with the problem of study, objectives of the study, actual methodology followed, universe of the study along with the literature review.

Chapter II: LOCATING THE APATANIS THROUGH TIME AND SPACE

This chapter gives brief introduction of the Arunachal Pradesh, Lower Subansiri District. This chapter also introduces Apatanis, their distribution within Ziro valley, their socio cultural life in brief.

Chapter III: WOMEN IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE

This chapter has focus on role of women in the family and household matters and their struggle in everyday life from historical perspective. Effort has also been made to locate the differences in their views and approaches towards domesticity.

Chapter IV: WOMEN IN THE CHANGING ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE APATANIS

This chapter has made an effort to focus on the contribution of women in the changing economic life of the Apatanis. Various economic activities of Apatani women have also been incorporated.

Chapter V: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND QUESTIONS OF PROPERTY INHERITANCE

In this chapter effort has been made to locate space of women in various social institutions, such as family, marriage. This also deals with the rules of property

inheritance, both movable and immovable, which is crucially associated with the question of women empowerment.

Chapter VI: WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL AND STATE POLITY

In this chapter effort has been made to locate the women's space and role in the Buliang the traditional village council of Apatani and it also examined the level of participation in Panchayati Raj Institution; modern polity in the grass root level and tried to analyze their understanding and awareness on Panchayat Raj Institutions.

Chapter VII: WOMEN AND EDUCATION

This chapter was deal with the literacy status of the women. An attempt has been made to locate various success stories which have brought significant change in the lives of Apatani women in rural or urban areas.

Chapter VIII: CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the discussions in previous chapters, in this chapter tried to draw some conclusions in response to the emerging women questions across the contextual divide.

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By

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CHAPTER IV

WOMEN IN THE CHANGING ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE APATANIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an effort has been made to focus on the contribution of women in the changing economic life of the Apatanis. Generally the term economy is always associated with the means or process by which goods are produced, distributed and consumed by the people. There are possibilities that economy could be presumed as only those activities that involves money but in the past many society- indeed, most that are known to anthropology, did not have money, still they had their own economic systems with or without involving money. In fact this has been in the practice since time immemorial in every society until the currency was introduced, turning barter system into a formal market where every commodity was bought using money as a medium of exchange. Economy forms the backbone of every society and plays significant roles in shaping the structure of the society; region and nation at large and hence economy is one of the most significant constituents in community life. Every society has access to natural resources- land, water, plants, animals, minerals and every society has cultural rules for determining who has access to particular resources and what can be done with them. All societies have their own practice and norms specifying how people gain access to natural resources; customary ways of transforming or converting those resources, through labor, into necessities and other desired goods and services; and custom for distributing and perhaps exchanging goods and services¹⁹.

Like any other community, Apatani too has well defined economy system which is revolving around agriculture and rely much in the land use pattern. Takhe (1993:172) writes 'among the hilly tribes of the North-Eastern region of India, the Apatanis are believed to be the decedents of learned and highly affluent

¹⁹ Emmer and Emmer book Anthropology 2007

family. They are not only specialized in socio-political organization but also in economic, culture and religion. Their traditional economic system is unique and self sufficient. The source of the entire early economy of the Apatanis was agriculture.’ Apart from agriculture, hunting, fishing, knitting, weaving, cane, bamboo, wood works and domestication of cattle and fowls etc. were the other economic activities of the Apatanis. Out of many economic activities of Apatanis, agriculture forms the main and basis of all other activities in which Apatanis subsist since time immemorial. Many scholars had also written on the importance of agriculture in Apatani society and agreed that the Apatanis economy is primarily based on agriculture. ‘There traditional economy system is unique and self sufficient. The sources of the entire early economy of the Apatanis were agriculture’ (ibid: 1993:172). Haimendorf (1980:27) writes “Ever since the Apatanis established themselves in their present habitat rice-cultivation on irrigated terrace-fields has been the main base of their economy.” The importance of agriculture can also be seen in Haimendorf (1962:18) where he suggested irrigated rice-land as the most valuable property of the Apatanis. Haimendorf in the same book writes that the influence and prestige of Apatani depend largely on the size of the land he holds and land is the main source of individual wealth, and all other and less permanent possessions are mainly valued as means of acquiring more land (ibid:16). So, those Apatanis were believed to be economically sound, who possesses large agricultural land, which means the prosperity of a man was measured by the land he owns, so the bigger the land the richer he was assumed to be. From these statements it appears that agriculture was given most important that it turn to be largest economic activities of the Apatanis and possession of land was the source of individual wealth. Here it is quite clear why Apatanis had given more important to agriculture than other economic activities, because agriculture and land holding is closely knitted and inter related to each other and their existence itself is for one another and by one another. Therefore in those days every parent had a wish that their daughter may get married to someone who possesses large numbers of paddy field and that would make them feel secure for the future of their daughter.

4.2 WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION IN APATANI ECONOMY

It is quite clear that Apatani's economy largely revolved around agriculture and hence women play an important role in economic life of the community because Apatani women play larger part in managing agriculture than its counter part. As rightly pointed by Rao (2003:2) in the tribal socio-economic set up, it is the women who occupy dominant role rather than the men, consequently their social status is much higher when compared to their counterparts in other parts of the country. However, contribution of tribal women towards the family starts from childhood and continues unabated till their death. Apatani women have been known for their hard working nature and undoubtedly they play an important role in agriculture, which forms the main economic activities; where the only requirement is 'hard work' and Apatani women are believed to be the epitome of hard work. In olden days cultivation had been the main occupation of Apatani women; in fact this was in practice among Apatanis since remote past until it has witnessed the new dawn of developments in their valley and showed the seeds of exposure and modernity, which slowly started sprouting and eventually bear fruits of changing life in every sphere. And this was further boosted by the introduction of formal education in the valley. Slowly people started acknowledging the importance of education in their lives and subsequently started opting different occupations on the basis of their education level and interest and hence there were various means for them to earn for their livelihood.

In purview of Economic contributions by the women, those activities had been included which are directly measurable in terms of money as well as those that do not contribute directly in the household income as some of the activities cannot be directly measured in terms of money like doing household chores, imparting education to children, fulfilling emotional and psychological needs of the family, etc. yet contributed equally in building economy of the family. To gauge the women's contribution in the economic system of the Apatanis, effort has been made to study different occupation that Apatani women were opted for and various means of generating income have been carefully studied. Because ones occupation and income they generate speaks lot about the financial status of the

family and subsequently affecting the economy of the family in particular and society in general. For this purpose 300 respondents have been selected according to the Table 1.1 total sample of respondents were 475 but excluding PRI and gaon buri only 300 respondents have been studied. These samples of respondents belong to different occupations and to have ideas about their contribution in the family economy; each occupation has been studied separately. Table 4.1 shows the occupation of the respondents.

Table 4. 1 Occupation structure of the Respondents

| Sl. No. | Respondent's occupation | Age of Respondents | | | | Total |
|---------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | 26-35 years | 36-45 years | 46-55 years | 56 years and above | |
| 1 | Farmer | 12 | 26 | 52 | 30 | 120 |
| 2 | Govt. Employee | 16 | 26 | 12 | 1 | 55 |
| 3 | Business | 15 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 47 |
| 4 | House wife | 32 | 28 | 12 | 6 | 78 |
| | Total | 75 | 96 | 90 | 39 | 300 |

Source: compiled by research on the basis of field work at ziro in 2014

The analysis of the Table 4.1 shows that 120 respondents were farmers. Respondents those who were govt. employee were 55 in numbers. Respondents earning their livelihood by taking up some business constitute 47 in numbers and housewife constitutes 78 numbers. On the basis of these occupations, the contribution of women in social economy and more particularly in their family economy has been studied and presented as follows.

4.2.1 Farmer

Farmers are those who engaged in agriculture, raising living organisms for food or raw materials. The term usually applies to people who do some combination of raising field crops, orchards, vineyards, poultry or other livestock. Farmer might own the farmed land or might work as a laborer on land owned by others²⁰.

²⁰ Wikipedia [https://en.m.](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/)

Traditionally, agriculture has been the oldest and main occupation of Apatanis for both male and female since time immemorial. A popular Apatani proverb says '*tanw hw jebi danw*' meaning 'Apatani dwells in the wet land which refers to wet rice cultivation' signifying the importance of wet rice cultivation in the Apatani valley. Apatani women have always been praised for the meticulous land use and therefore every inch of the cultivable land is not left unused and still this tradition is followed by the present generation, where many women folk especially in village agriculture has become their main occupation or source of livelihood. A close look of the village life, reveals that almost all the women folk are farmer by nature except few village women who works in a private and government office, because everyone owns an agricultural land, no doubt the size of the land holding varies from one family to another family. What is important here is their contribution in the family economy, most of them have *jebi agi* (wet rice paddy field), *yorlu* (vegetables garden), this land are usually situated at some distance from the settlement area, most probably to save the vegetables from fowl and other domestic animals. *Balu* (kitchen garden) is situated near by their residential areas, *yapyo* (millet garden) usually are situated at the outskirts. Accordingly from wet rice cultivation they harvest varieties of paddy, some of the variety of the paddy found in ziro are *Pyaping*, *Pyare*, *Elang*, *Empu*, *Mipyra*, *Rade*. From both *Balu* and *yorlu* vegetables of various kinds are collected for self-consumption and some time they even sell it in the market. Some of the common vegetables they grow in their gardens are; varieties of *perung* (beans), *Taku* (cucumber), *Tero* (chilly), *Tapey* (pumpkin), *Taki* (ginger), *Tanyi* (maize), *Giya Hamang* (brassica juncea var), *byako*, *takung* (peach), plum, *squash* (*sechium edule*), potato and from *yapyo* they harvest *sarse* (millet), millet is also grown in the bund or dyke of the paddy field. Millet constitutes one of the important diets of the Apatani. It is eaten as breakfast and mostly used for preparing millet beer. In recent past a slight change has been noticed in the uses of *yorlu*, *balu* and *yapyo*, in olden days these garden except *Yapyo* which was for the millet cultivation and other two types of garden that is *yorlu* and *balu* were for mixed cropping, that is people use to grow varieties of vegetables and also some fruits mostly for self consumption. But in the last few years, people of this valley are opting for kiwi plantation,

tomato, cabbages and cauli flower cultivation which is presently booming in this part of the valley and turning to be a good business. Today many Apatani women are successful in this business and contributing much in the economy of family in particular and the community in general.

Here, it is worth mentioning that the agricultural practice of Apatani involves lot of hard work, they put all their dedication and energy into it and make sure that their paddy field remain clean free of weeds round the year. More over the method of tilling of the soil is managed manually with iron hoes, digging stick and wooden batons. The women spend whole day in the agricultural field. It is often joked that their paddy fields are cleaner than their houses. There are series of activities and procedures that are to be followed systematically and this process is repeated every year.

4.2.2 Patang a Labour Institution

Another important component of Apatanis agricultural practice is '*Patang*' (reciprocal group), *Patang* and agricultural activities goes together and therefore it cannot be deal separately. The term '*Patang*' stands for union or gang of labour who among themselves reciprocate their labour to one another. To meet the various needs of agricultural activities Apatanis fromed a reciprocal group called *patang*, where the Apatanis get an opportunity to meet together and mutually help each other. Haimendorf (1962:43) also discussed about the division of labour and writes 'from childhood every Apa Tani boy and girl belongs to a labour gang (*patang*) and this association continues to some extent in later life. Thus a man who has to rebuild a rice terrace will ask some of his *patang* friends to help in the work, and in turn he will work on their field whenever his assistance may be required. Similarly women often join tedious work of transplantation rice-seedlings, a group of four or five women working in turn on each other's fields. No payment is made for such mutual assistance, but the person on whose field the group works is expected to provide a midday meal.' Haimendorf (1980:43) in his another book discusses about *patang* "the most important institution for the reciprocal assistance in agricultural work was the labour-gang (*patang*) composed of members of several households. From childhood onwards every Apa Tani boy

and girl belonged to a *patang* and this association continued until marriage and sometimes even longer.” *Patang* is not a new concept, this has been in practice since time immemorial, in fact this was the one of the many institutions outside home where all the socialization took place and played important role in inculcating the moral values in young ones, which helps them to be a faithful, hardworking members of a community. In earlier days, when there was no formal institution unlike today, every boys and girls started their community life in this institution of *patang*, and learned the values and important of punctuality and hard work. In one group of *patang*, member varies from four to ten and sometime even more than that, mostly of same age group and of same village. They work in one another’s field in turn wise and in doing so an elder who lead them in field would guide and direct them at the same time they get to hear folklores and folk tales; educating them with the culture and tradition of the Apatanis. And young boys and girls too directly or indirectly would share their experiences and morality they learn at home with one another, so they grow together seeing and learning from one another; essence of community life.

But in due course of time, this institution of *patang* of Apatanis had gone through major changes in terms of its participation. The role played by *patang* no doubt remains somewhat similar but the drastic changes we notice today is of non-participation of younger generation in it. In earlier days both young boys and girls, when they attend age of around seven, they were engage in *konchi patang* (morning *patang*) who worked in the field from 4 am till 8 am, their entry into the institution of *patang* usually starts by carrying manure like animal waste, *mubu* (fire residue), *pwnang* (rice hulls) and *pohi* to their paddy field or to vegetable garden. But now the participation of young Apatanis in agricultural activities has almost disappeared, because these days the younger generation are made to concentrate their time only in studies by their parents. When researcher asked, have you ever been to *patang*? to a young girl Koj Muryang, she replied ‘I never been to *patang*, I would like to experience it but my mother will never allow me, because she wants me to devote most of my time in my studies’. Every parent wants their children to pursue education instead of cultivating agriculture, and

when same question was asked to an old lady of age 58 years Mrs Dusu Punya, replied “of course yes, it won’t be an exaggeration if I said that I have spent my entire life in agricultural activities, in fact it is our part of life”

If agricultural activities are done by *patang* members that saves money, as *patang* are not paid but work in mutual understanding in turn wise. Therefore *patang* too contribute a lot in economy of the Apatanis. So it is important to see how many of the respondent farmers are in *patang*, and this status will tell the management of labour for the cultivation; for if they are member in *Patang*, then they usually don’t hire labour for the agricultural activities, even if they do, it would be less than those who are not in *patang* but in some cases they too hire labour from outside *patang* or sometime to their own *patang*, this is the case when the agricultural field they own is large and need more labour force to accomplish the task. And on the other hand, those who are not *patang* member, they fully rely on hired labours for the cultivation. So, to have the idea about the numbers of women respondents who are *patang* member following questions was asked. The question and their responses are given in Table 4.4

Table 4. 2 Response pattern of the respondents to the question

| Number of the respondents | Are you a <i>patang</i> member? |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Yes | 92 |
| No | 28 |
| Total | 120 |

Source: compiled by research on the basis of field work at ziro in 2014

Analysis of Table 4.2 reveals that as many as 92 respondents are member of *patang* and only 28 respondents do not belong to any *patang*. This analysis speaks lot about the labour force they put into their cultivation, those who are in *patang* do not hire labour for the cultivation, which directly or indirectly helps in saving money.

An effort was also made to know the participation of men and women in agricultural work, particularly the kind of activities they are involved in, the report of which has been presented below in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 3 Details of Participation of Men and Women in Agricultural Work

| Sl. No. | Activities | Wife | Husband | Daughter | Son | <i>Patang</i> |
|---------|---------------------------|------|---------|----------|-----|---------------|
| 1 | Land preparation | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| 2 | Sowing seeds | ✓ | | | | |
| 3 | Aru (weeding) | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| 4 | Pager (repairing of Bund) | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| 5 | Kutu (leveling) | ✓ | ✓ | | | ✓ |
| 6 | Transplantation | ✓ | | ✓ | | ✓ |
| 7 | Manure & fertilizer | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| 8 | Irrigation | ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| 9 | Harvesting | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 10 | Seed preservation | ✓ | | | | |

Source: compiled by research on the basis of field work at ziro in 2014

This question had been administered to total 120 families. The table 4.2 reveals the actual participation of women in agriculture, according to the field work conducted in ziro, all the ten listed activities of agriculture are done by women, husband helps in kutu (leveling of the paddy field), irrigation and in harvesting. Daughters do help in transplantation and harvesting, similarly son helps in harvesting. And *patang* (reciprocal group) also helps in some of the activities such as; land preparation, aru (weeding), pager (reparing bund), Kutu (leveling), transplantation and in harvesting. It is quite interesting to note that women take part in all the ten procedures of agriculture that has been listed here. This is because as Rupa (2014) rightly pointed out that “the labour participation has changed this is the influence of the education the younger generation are engaged themselves in the education. Therefore, their participation has become very negligible. Moreover the participation of male in agriculture has lessen up in due course of time, this is basically the influence of the other secondary activities, the male member migrated out from the village and settled in the town area, doing other work to earn income for the family. This is one of the basic reasons the women in the village are heavily burdened of the agricultural activities and they actively participate in land management of agriculture.”

To see the nature of the consumption from their own production, a separate schedule of question was prepared. The ideas behind putting this question was to know if their production from agriculture fulfill the family demand and helps in saving money from buying necessary commodity from the market or is agriculture productions a substitute of the money. This question had been administered to only farmers, so according to Table 4.1 there are 120 farmers out of total 300 respondents.

Table 4. 4 Respondents have been ask if they buy additional rice and vegetables from market for the family consumption

| Items bought from market | Yes | No | Total |
|--------------------------|----------|-------------|-------|
| Local rice | 18 (15%) | 102 (85%) | 120 |
| Vegetables | 5 (4.2%) | 115 (95.8%) | 120 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

Analysis of the Table 4.3 reveals that the respondents who buy local rice constitute 15% out of total 120 respondents, these are the women who have large family members compare to other and hence the rice from her cultivated land run short. On the other hand 85% respondents don't buy local rice from the market. Regarding vegetables only 4.2% of them buy from the market, during off season and sometime due to their busy schedule at some other work and they could not devote their time for cultivation in vegetable garden, and rest 95.8% don't buy it, for whatever she grows is sufficient for the family, apart from this many of the vegetables grower agrees that their production are more than sufficient that they could even sale some in the market or give it to other vegetable seller in whole sale price. According to the data presented in the Table 4.3, it is quite clear that women as farmer do contribute a lot in the family economy. But buying other edible items which cannot be grown in their garden does not come under this, as they use to buy other stuffs from the market.

4.2.3 Government Employee

Women in the workforce earning wages or salary are part of a modern phenomenon. This is the direct impact of education and globalization that today many Apatani women are absorbed in government job. Moving out from their

traditional occupation, that is agriculture, which was the primary source of livelihood; people started looking for alternate sources and feels that government job are the most reliable source of income. For many Apatani families, working in government sector become sole and primary source of income. Today many Apatani women are seen holding various important post in government setup. The contribution made in the household income by the working women enhances their status not only in their families but in the society as well. The income of a family has a direct bearing upon the education, standard of living and health of all its members especially the women. Therefore the contribution of working women as government employee in the family economy cannot be denied. The samples of respondents belong to different profession and level, such as; teacher, nurse, gazetted officer (medicine, administration, and engineering), police, and clerical have been collected. According to the field work and interview conducted with these working women, it is revealed that they are happy and content in whatever profession they may be. Some of the respondents were single bread earner of the family and some belongs to the family where both the husband and wife are working. Working of both husband and wife make their financial position stronger. “If it was not for my wife’s salary, it would have not been possible to build our house and buy small plot of land²¹.” So today Apatani women are contributing even in buying assets for the family out of her earning. Another working woman replied to the question- Do you think working women enhance the financial status of the family? “There is no doubt about it, but it is extremely difficult for a woman to handle both house and the office simultaneously. But somehow because of my husband’s support I could manage both at the same time²²,” Takhe Otung²³ replied to the question- do you think wife should also work? “yes I feel both the couple should work, because now a days everything is too expensive, only one source of income is not enough” to the question- what do you do with your salary? Tage Oka²⁴ replied “my salary and my husband’s salary are not separate; I mean our salary is used for the same purpose; from household

²¹ Narrated by Narang Opo, husband of a working woman, on November 2016, Ziro.

²² As narrated by Koj Kanya, a working woman on November 2016 Itanagar

²³ Narrated by Takhe otung, June 2015 Naharlagun

²⁴ Narrated by Tage Oka, May 2017

to children's education." These are the few instances researcher came across on the process of personal interview with the respondents and these examples are enough to give the view of women's contribution towards family economy.

Table 4.5 Occupation structure of the respondents

| Type of profession | Number of respondents | In percentage |
|--|-----------------------|---------------|
| Nurse | 12 | 21.81 |
| Gazetted officers (Administration, medical, Engineering) | 10 | 18.18 |
| Police (S.I.) | 1 | 1.82 |
| Clerical | 18 | 32.73 |
| Teacher | 14 | 25.46 |
| Total | 55 | 100 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

Analysis of Table 4.4 reveals that out of total 55 respondents 21.81% were nurse, 18.18% of them were officers in different fields, 1 Police, 32.73% of them were clerk in various offices and 25.46% were teachers.

While enquiring the utilization of their earned money, respondents were asked series of questions, like:

1. Is your working supported by family/husband?
2. What was your main purpose of working?
3. Do you agree that your earning/salary helps your family in saving money?

Table 4.6 Showing the number of respondents whose family support them in working; government job

| Responses | Numbers of respondents | In Percentage |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------|
| Yes | 55 | 100 |
| No | - | - |
| Total | 55 | 100 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

Analysis of the Table 4.5 shows that their families support them in working in government sector. According to the interview conducted in the field area, it was

observed that among all the professions, government jobs are the most preferred one. In fact that is the reason why agriculture is declining day by day and is slowly replaced by other government as well as private organization jobs and people are turning to it to generate income for their living. Here it is worth mentioning that many paddy fields in the ziro valley are not into cultivation, because people are moving out from village and outside ziro to other part of the state for income generation in various field; both government as well as private sector. For example Dusu Aku²⁵ of Hari village explains “Since my husband’s job is in Itanagar, we are staying here so we cannot cultivate our paddy field and vegetable garden. Therefore I request my husband’s older brother’s wife, who stays at village to cultivate the paddy field as well as vegetable garden. (Personal interview on February 2017)

Table 4.7 Respondents purpose of working

| Purpose | Numbers of respondents | In percentage |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| To enhance financial status of the family | 45 | 81.82 |
| To fulfill my dream | 7 | 12.73 |
| Because family insist | 3 | 5.45 |
| | 55 | 100 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

From Table 4.6 it is clear that as many as 81.82% of the total 55 respondent’s reason behind their working was to enhance financial status of the family, 12.73% of the respondents wanted to fulfill their dream and only about 5.45% took up their occupation on insist of their family. It is quite clear from this table that most of the respondent’s reason is to enhance financial status of the family, which in turn has direct impact on the economy of their family.

²⁵ Narrated by Dusu Aku of Hari village on September 2016 Itanagar

Table 4. 8 Data showing whether wives earning help in saving money

| Responses | Number of respondents | In percentage |
|--------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Fully agree | 39 | 70.9 |
| Partially | 16 | 29.1 |
| Total | 55 | 100 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

The analysis of the Table 4.7 reveals that 70.9% of the total 55 respondents agreed that their salary and earning helps in saving money in their family and about 29.1% are of the opinion that, it is not necessary that it will increase their savings but it definitely helps in improving their living standard, for instance, Yanga who is a teacher by profession said “I think the more we earn the more we spent, especially when someone has a big family even two sources of income doesn’t make much difference” Opinion varies but the fact is that, working women surely enhance the financial state of the family.

4.2.4 Business

Business was never a popular source of livelihood among Apatanis, though barter system existed in the Apatani society especially with neighboring tribe. Hamendorf (1980), Ursula (1953) and other early visitors and writers of Apatani valley often refers to the barter practice of Apatanis with neighboring tribes. But the expansion of commercial activities started in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the establishment of some government agencies first at Old Ziro and later at Hapoli led to the arrival of a number of non- Apa Tani officials and their families. To cater for their immediate needs a cooperative store was open and few small shops owned by Apa Tanis sprang up in imitation of this store (Hamendorf 1980). So, the seeds that was sowed four- five decades back, bears fruits in this part of the valley, that today many Apatanis are well established business man and women too did not lack behind but manage to set its foot in this venture. Though these areas are relatively new for the Apatani women but the height they scale as entrepreneur is of worth praising. Women entrepreneurs are creating jobs, innovation and contributing to the various economies just like their male counterparts and more compelling, are the contributions women entrepreneurs make to society. There is growing evidence that women are more likely to

reinvest their profits in education, their family and their community. Ironically traditional measures of economic development and business performance do not often capture the true transformational benefits of these transformational businesses.

In business as occupation, following categories has been included; Table 4.8 shows different categories and the number of respondents in it.

Table 4. 9 Type of Business categories and number of respondents

| Types of Business | Number of respondents | In Percentage |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Vegetable seller | 13 | 27.66 |
| Meat seller | 4 | 8.52 |
| Beauty Salon | 7 | 14.89 |
| Cloth shop | 13 | 27.65 |
| Home Stay | 3 | 6.38 |
| Local Beads seller | 3 | 6.38 |
| Handloom Industries | 2 | 4.26 |
| Progressive Farming | 2 | 4.26 |
| Total | 47 | 100 |

Source: compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

4.2.5 Apatani Women in Vegetable Vendors

Vegetable seller are those who sale vegetables mostly local production at local vegetable vendors. They sit in the vendor from morning 8 am till 7 pm every day and for most of them this forms as the sole source of livelihood and are the only bread earner of the family. Today vegetable vendor plays an important role in the lives of entire inhabitants of this valley both Apatani as well as non Apatani, because their kitchen runs through it. “Vegetables that are imported from outside ziro may not be available round the year for some reason, especially during monsoon season when there are numerous road blockage but our vendor remain

open throughout the year, supplying the needs of every house hold”²⁶. Below table shows some of the product and their price.

Table 4. 10 List of agricultural products and its price

| Sl. No. | Product | Price |
|---------|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Chilli of varieties (handful) | 10 |
| 2 | <i>Giya Hamang</i> (one bunch) | 10 |
| 3 | Byako (handful) | 10 |
| 4 | Beans (one bunch) | 10 |
| 5 | Cucumber (1 kg) | 30 |
| 6 | Pumkin (one medium size) | 15 |
| 7 | Cabbage (1 kg) | 20 |
| 8 | Peach (1 kg) | 40 |
| 9 | Plum (1kg) | 30 |
| 10 | Chayote/squash (1 kg) | 40 |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

4.2.6 Apatani Women in Meat Market

Meat selling is another new area for Apatani women. Because in Apatani society slaughtering of animal, processing, dealing and handling of meat have always been a masculine work. This is reflected in the various social and religious ceremonial occasions, where men are instructed to slaughter, and estimation of quantity of meat to be required, distribution of the meat were all done my men folk. But with the changing time, though this aspect remain same in all the social and religious ceremonies of the Apatanis and women were never seen managing meat, but outside these ceremonial ritual women are one step ahead of men in meat commercial places, no doubt this is a new phenomenon, earlier meat market was dominated by male, there were hardly any women associated with this business. Because people’s perception was that, women are too soft to handle meat as it involves slaughtering of animals, processing and other related stuffs and hence cannot manage meat business. But with shifting times many Apatani

²⁶ Narrated by Tasso Yagiyang (personal interview on March 2014 at Hapoli vegetable vendor)

women are seen in the meat market doing this business. And for many of them this business is the only source of income, for instance when researcher met these hard working women in the meat market and asked them about their business they said “for us this is our *Nessu* (granaries) from where we feed our family”²⁷ according to them they are in this business since last 20 years. These women are mostly seen selling pork, chicken and fish. Most of the pigs and chickens they slaughter and sell in the market are brought from Assam but now a days local people have started supplying pigs and chicken to the butchers in the market, as many of the Apatanis started their own piggery and poultry farming. The fish they sell are mostly from local women, who bring it from both paddy field and fish farm. Some of the meat sold and its price are given below.

Table 4. 11 List of Meat and its Rate

| Meat sold | Rate |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Pork | Rs. 250 Per Kg |
| Chicken (broiler) | Rs. 200 Per Kg |
| Chicken (local) | Rs. 300 Per Kg |
| Fish | Rs. 150 Per Kg |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

4.2.7 Apatani Women in Beauty Salon

Beauty Salon is another profession where many young Apatanis are making their living. Beautician as a profession is relatively new in this valley, the first beauty Salon in the Ziro valley, one could remember was in and around 1996 or 1997, the beauty salon’s name was Yasse Beauty Palour, narrated by Bamin Yanku on 12 January 2017. This can be viewed as a demarcation that marks the beginning of self consciousness and of course the direct impact of the modernization in the lives of Apatani women. Bamin Opung, elderly woman of Bamin village narrated “earlier woman who goes to the Beauty salon was viewed as indecent and therefore even for treading of eye brow people used to hide and go.” But the situations have changed, as many Apatani women visit salon and has become a

²⁷ Narrated by Gyati Yake, Dani Yalu and Hage Omang who sell meat.

part of their life. Today many young and educated Apatani women are well trained in beauty-salon. Now there are dozens of beauty-salon in Ziro-Hapoli town, recently researcher had spotted four beauty-palour in Apatani villages, three at Hija village and one in Mudang-Tage; the opening of Beauty Salon in Apatani villages speaks volume about the changing perception of the people. But close enquiry of this beauty salon at village reveals that two of the beauty salon has already closed down due to fewer customers, and one at Mudang-Tage village is still running. According to interview the customer in the beauty salon is of both apatanis as well as non Apatanis. Some of the services provided to the women in the Beauty Salon are given below.

Table 4.12 List of Services in Beauty Saloon and its Rate

| Service Provided | Rate (Rs.) |
|------------------|------------|
| Facial | 1500-2700 |
| Hair Cut | 150-300 |
| Hair Spa | 700-900 |
| Facial Massage | 400-600 |
| Pedicure | 450 |
| Waxing | 120 |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of the data collected during field work 2016.

4.2.8 Apatani Women in Cloth Shop

In ziro and Hapoli town good numbers of cloths shops are available and among them many are run by the Apatani women. The path breaking work of Gyati Mamung, cannot be ignored here for she is the first Apatani woman to open cloth shop in Hapoli, way back in 1975²⁸. She was lone women shop keeper for many years and it was only since a decade back that many Apatani women followed her in this trade. Now a days one can find many Apatani women running cloth shops in the market and it has become their way of earning for their family, contributing much in the family economy. “To run the cloth shop one need dedication and consistence because if you lose your daily customer it will be hard to get them back” narrated Dusu Naring (personal interview on June 2016 at her shop;

²⁸ Case study has been incorporated

Hapoli). Today many of the women folk are earning good amount in this business and are contributing in the family economy. Some of the shops have cloths brought from Dimapur and some other neighboring states. These shops keep all the clothes that are worn by all ages' male, female and children. And there are few show rooms as well, where traditional dresses of both men and women are sold. These show rooms are getting popular day by day, as Apatani women have never parted from its traditional attire and they love to wear their traditional dresses in modern blended form, and for this requirement the show room are ideal place, fulfilling their demands. In near future more such show room is expected to come up.

4.2.9 Apatani Women Running Home Stay

Home stay as occupation for house wife is a recent phenomenon. When it comes to home stay, the growing popularity of Abasa Home stay at Siro Village, which is situated at the distance of 4 km from main town Hapoli district head quarter of lower subansiri will never go unseen and unheard. The proud owner of this Home Stay is Mrs Kago Kampu wife of Er. Kago Habung. Today she is credited with many awards in her name for the outstanding achievement and contribution to the promotion of tourism in the state.

4.2.10 Women in Traditional Bead Trades

Ornaments had always been close to the heart of women and has occupied special important in the lives of Apatani women, for this is the only assets women own from her parent. In olden days traditional Bead was not a commercial commodity because these were a part of assets for every house hold. Traditional Beads were given to the daughter during marriage but it was sometime used in barter for other valuable commodity. There are few Apatani women who take up selling of local beads as their main occupation. While taking interview (case study has been provided in the following) with these local beads seller, it has come to know that, earlier they used to sell beads at their home and the buyer comes and some time they go house to house of those who were interested to buy. But now they have permanent shop of beads in the market.

4.2.11 Apatani Women in Handloom Industries

Handloom activities occupy a significant place in the lives of Apatani women. Earlier in the absence of readymade garment unlike today, all the garment worn by male, female and children were self-made and as weaving is categorized in feminine work in the Apatani society the responsibilities of making garment for the family and herself was solely relied upon women folk. With changing time, some of the Apatani women carried forward the legacy of the weaving landed down from the predecessor. And as a result there are few Apatani women who have set permanent mark in this sector and are contributing distinctly in the economy system of the Apatanis. They scale a height in different level and for this credit also goes to the different sponsor, government as well as nongovernment organization that helped them in realizing their dream financially. The women entrepreneur in this sector used their creativity and revived the traditional design with modern concept so to match the present demand of the youngster.

4.2.12 Apatani Women as Progressive Farmer

In olden days agriculture was the main occupation of the women, which suited much with the industrious Apatani women, but their agricultural product and practice was a replica of self-sufficient economy. There was hardly any commercial use of the product, except in few cases barter system was practiced. But now with the changing time Apatani women are well aware of the present demand and the benefits associated with it, hence they take farming commercially and this has been successfully running so far because of their industrious nature, for which Apatani women are known for. In this category both men and women Apatanis are excelling. Zeroing down to only women progressive farmer, the name of Kago Kampu of Siro village and Nani Jalyiyang of Reru Village cannot go unnoticed (Case studies have been incorporated). Both the women are doing extremely well in their business and earning good amount, making huge difference to their family economy.

Following are some of the case studies of the women in various occupations, which will definitely help to understand the women's contribution in the economy of the family in particular and in society in general.

4.2.13 Case 1:- Apatani Woman as Vegetable Seller

Name: Gyati Nare

Sex: Female

Age: 50 years

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 23 February 2016 at her resident; Ziro.

I am Mrs. Gyati Nare from hari village, married to Lt. Gyati Bida. I have five children; two girls and 3 boys. My eldest daughter got married and my other daughter and older son are studying in college outside ziro and my two sons are with me at home they too are studying in schools. When I got married to my husband everything was fine, if not very rich but at least we had everything we needed. Things got worse when my husband died and all the responsibilities were on my shoulders. To look after my children I had to do something, but I had no clue. Since I am not educated so won't be eligible for other job, where education qualification are required, and then I thought of selling vegetable at the local vendor, since then it has been more than twelve years I am selling vegetables at hapoli vegetable vendor. I have no other source of income; this is the only source of income for my family. As I sit at the vendor whole day usually from morning 8 am to 7 pm in the evening, so I don't get time to cultivate vegetables at my garden, so I prefer buying different product from the villager who cultivate but do not sit in the market to sell. My monthly income varies because selling and the availability of product are related to each other and depend upon season. When seasonal fruits and other seasonal eatable item are available, my monthly income varies from Rs. 14,000 to 15,000. And in other months usually my monthly income varies from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000 only. I am thankful to God that I could manage our house hold expenses and my children's education with my earning.

4.2.14 Case 2:- Apatani Woman as Vegetable Seller

Name: Kago Aja

Sex: female

Age: 50

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 23 February 2016 at Hapoli Vegetable Vendors; Ziro.

I am Kago Aja, at present me and my family reside at Hapoli near by this market, my husband's name is Kago Apa. We have 5 children and I am the only bread earner of my family, my husband does not have a job and we don't have other source of income except few paddy fields. I have decided to sell vegetables by seeing my other friends who were in this business earlier than me. I come to the market every day and most of the product that I sell is bought from the villager. I feel it is better to come and sell some vegetables then to be at home wasting my time. In return we at least get some amount. And to be honest, my earned money, though it is not huge amount but still helps me a lot in managing household expenses, it also helps me in my children's education. My monthly earning varies from Rs. 7,000 to 10,000/- I don't regret for joining this business rather I am enjoying coming to the market, this place (vegetable vendor) has become my second home where I spend my whole day.

4.2.15 Case 3: Apatani Woman as Beads Trader

Name: Tamo Asung

Sex: female

Age: 56

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 24 November 2015 at her Shop, Hapoli

I am Mrs Tamo Asung wife of Lt. Tamo Gambo. I have three daughters; two of my daughters got married and youngest one is doing her post graduation. My husband died when my children were still very young, I was left alone to look after my children, I was so tense and worried about my three daughters, from where do I feed them and how would I raise them up. In the initial years of my husband's death, I used to sell rice beer at my home but that was not sufficient for the household expenses and my children's education. In those days I had a hobby

of collecting different traditional beads and arranged them in a beautiful sequences and this work of mine was liked by others. Many women would come and ask me to help them in arranging their traditional beads, which I would happily help them. In olden days traditional beads was not a commercial commodity, only in rare condition they used to sell it. So, I thought, it will not be a bad idea if I buy traditional beads from neighboring state Assam in Lakhimpur. Because in those days in Lakhimpur our traditional beads were available not original one of course, but were replicate traditional beads. So, it was somewhere in 1990 I went for the first time in Lakhimpur and bought different traditional beads. It was not easy for a woman to go to other state for commercial purpose, but still with few friends I continued this trade. I remember those days the bus fare was only Rs. 50. And it took more than ten hours to reach there. Slowly I started to concentrate on this trade and it became my only source of income. Since last twenty three years I was practicing this trade from home, buyer used to come to my place and sometime I used to visit those houses who were interested to buy. In 2013 my humble beginning achieved its full status as in that year I could open an exclusive traditional beads shop in the main market at Hapoli. I owe it to my dedication and hard work and when I look back my life I am contend for whatever I have done. Earlier I with my daughter stayed at rented house but now we have our own house. My monthly earning varies from Rs. one lakh to one lakh and fifty thousand per month. To bring Beads I don't take help from other and I still go to Lakhimpur to bring beads at least twice a month I don't have problem in fact I enjoy doing this tread.

4.2.16 Case 4: Apatani Woman in Handloom and Handy Craft

Name: Haj Akang

Sex: Female

Age: 45

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 24 March 2016 at her Residence; Itanagar.

I am Haj Akang, married to Haj Dodung who is the Director of Textiles and Handicrafts, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. I believed Handloom activities occupy a significant place in the rural economy in terms of employment and

income generation. However, I realized that weaver are scattered in settlement, handloom activities are unorganized and are being practiced with old technology of traditional loom and conventional design resulting in the actual economic value of their products. I wanted to contribute a bit in this regard to our society but could not do much though I was working as trainer at craft centre ziro, Government of Arunachal Pradesh. My dream was turned into reality when with the support of my husband my effort “Arun Kutir Uyog Cooperative Society” was formally registered in 1992. After this I resigned my post of trainer, because I wanted to devote my full time for AKUCS. I started with one handloom and one employee after few years the employee increased to two with two handlooms; slowly I also opened one emporium where all my productions were sold. It was at slow phase until I got scheme from Rural Industry Service Sector government of India (RISS), who sponsored 5 lakhs of which 4.5 lakhs was sponsored by RISS and I put 50,000 through this sponsor money I could take AKUCS to a next level. Another turning point for my venture was when “Scheme for Fund Regeneration Traditional Industry” from IIE (Indian Institute of Entrepreneurship), Guwahati, Govt. of India. Under this scheme as many as 500 women weavers and artisans have been involved and out of them 30 SHGs have been formed. They have been issued artisans card, Health Insurance Card, General Insurance etc. and also bought new handloom with modified version which were never used before in the whole Apatani valley. Now by the grace of God AKUCS is running smoothly, two emporiums have been set up both at Hapoli but in different location to sell all the production. In this emporium all kinds of cloth are available and all are product of my industry, to name some of my products, Galey (Traditional Wrap-Around for women) of varies traditional and modern blended, Traditional coat and jackets for both men and women. Traditional apparel for kids, traditional Muffler, tie, for men, traditional shawl, and recently that is last year in 2015 we also bought latest sweater machine, therefore sweater are also available at my emporium. Regarding income generated from this industry, it depends upon season because in some season the product are sold in large number than in compare to the other. For example during Myoko, Subu-Murung and Dree people buy traditional attire in large quantity, in those ceremonial occasion monthly

income reach upto two lakhs but in other months buyers are less so minimum monthly income used to be in and around fifty to sixty thousand. I suggest for hard working women sky is no limit.

4.2.17 Case No. 5: Apatani Woman in Clothe Shop

Name: Tallo Asung

Sex: Female

Age: 28

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 11 September 2016 at her Shop; Gandhi Market Hapoli.

I am Miss Tallo Asung, I am not yet married, and we have eight siblings, three boys and five girls. I am the third youngest so I have two younger brothers. My parents are uneducated and they are farmer. Since we have big family with eight siblings, it was not possible for my parents to give us a quality education; I studied only till class ten. From very young age I grew up in a situation where I felt the need and importance of money. After my matriculation I wanted to help my parents financially but did not have any idea. There after I decided to join training in beauty salon, with much persistence for my parents' permission I got trained in beauty salon, after my training got over I could not open my own beauty salon because my financial position was not good. So for few years I work at other's beauty salon and the amount I got was not enough to help my parents and two younger brothers financially. One of my older sisters was running cloths shop that time, and she suggested me that I should try this business. From her I learnt all the related stuff like from where to buy material, how to fix prices, whom to deal for the material etc. since 2012, I am doing this business and I am quite content now. Now my monthly earning varies from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000. With this amount I am able to look after my parents and two younger brothers.

4.2.18 Case 6: - Apatani Woman in Cloth Shop

Name: - Gyati Mamung

Sex: - Female

Age: - 70

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 11th September 2016 at her Shop; Gandhi Market Hapoli.

I am Gyati Mamung, married to Gyati Tago. I am the first Apatani women to open shop at market and I am also a second batch among Apatani women who studied matriculation. If I have to speak about how and when did I start my Shop, it goes back to 1974. I passed class ten in the year 1973, my father died when I was 2 years old; I studied at Hari School up to class 3 and from class 4 to class 10 I studied at Banastali, Rajasthan. After my matriculation I got married so didn't study further. One day I heard that in co-operative society two sweater machines are there for sale and instantly I told my husband to buy it for me, my husband agreed and went to the cooperative society but we were so disappointed because the sweater machines were all sold out. Later I heard that one machine was sold to a Doctor and the other one I forgot, my husband seeing my disappointment over not getting sweater machine, He ordered it for me from Bombay now we call it Mumbai. I was so excited and started learning it by myself by reading manual which comes along with the machine and I started to making sweater and slowly it turn into a profession, I decided to open shop in the market in the year 1974, in those days I used to get lots of order from all age group both men and women and also for the children. My shop was running quite well because that time there was not much cloth shop in the market, few were there that too run by non Apatanis. But latter on few more Apatani women came up with the same business, they were as I could remember Habung Rinyo, Lento Yarang and Kojing Rinyo and another woman was Miido Yaming, she was running Hotel at that time. As far as I remember Lt. Miido Yaming was the first women in hotel business. About my earning it varies, I mean there was a time when my income from this shop was much better than today, this happens because with changing time peoples' choices also changed and people prefer more fine material, which is available at market. Now I don't use sweater machine any more but I still run

the shop, only the changed I have made is the product and the items that I kept, I sell all kinds of clothes mostly for women I also do kept traditional beads, shawl and gale. I do not regret for my past as many of my friend used to say “why you didn’t join government job” yes that’s true, If I wanted I could have got nice job because that time there were very few Apatanis who could studied upto matriculation. But I am satisfied because I followed my dream and no regret over that. I raised my children and give them good education my oldest daughter is Associate Professor in Government College. Now I am 70 years old and my shop has become a place for keeping myself busy and involved. I have a special attachment with this shop, I don’t view this shop as a source of earning but it is more of my yesterday’s good memory and my favorite pastime.

4.2.19 Case 7: - Apatani Woman as Progressive Farmer and home stay

Name: Kago Kampu

Sex: Female

Age: 37

Date and place of interview: The interview was conducted on 17 September 2017 at her resident; Siro village.

I am Kago Kampu wife of Er. Kago Habung. I have five children, three daughters and two sons. I studied till class ten after my matriculation I got married so could not pursue my higher studies and was busy in my house hold chore and looking after my children. I grow vegetables especially tomato and also run Home Stay which is very popular among tourist. Tomato was not grown earlier for commercial purpose; I am the first one to grow tomato in ziro valley. I had first encountered tomato cultivation in west Kameng District, when my husband was posted there as Asst. Engineer PHED in 1996-97. Tomato cultivation was quite successful in the district, seeing that I was so motivated and wanted to grow tomato. So I tried to cultivate some in our quarter’s kitchen garden, it yielded good number of tomatoes. By then I was well acquainted with the procedure and the technique for growing tomatoes. So in 1998, I set up my own tomato garden at Siiro Village. Since climate condition of ziro is quite similar to that of West Kameng district, my trial cultivation was successful in my first attempt. Next

year me and my husband bought hybrid variety of tomato from Tezpur, Assam for Rs. 50,000 and that gave us more crop than previous year. Now I earn 6 lakhs annually. When I started growing tomatoes for the first time, people discouraged me but now many of my fellow farmers too started growing tomatoes. One thing I make it sure is that of complete organic farming. I don't use chemical fertilizer. Initially I cultivated only tomatoes but now in my garden I cultivate all the vegetables like, cabbage, caulis flower, broccoli, chilly of different varieties, corn etc. I supply my products in Itanagar, Daporijo and many local vegetable traders too come to buy from my garden in a whole sale price. In 2007, I received the best progressive Farmer's award from the department of agriculture in the district level.

My other endeavor is Home Stay, this is my recent venture. I thought of trying something new, because I feel I have achieved in farming whatever I wanted to be and is running smoothly. Therefore I also run Home Stay since 2011; the name of my home stay is "Abasa Home Stay Siiro Village" in my home stay tourist from both domestic as well as foreigner visit. All the management including housekeeping is done by me along with my one staff. In 2013 I was awarded with special Jury Award by Arunachal Tourism Award 2013 for the outstanding achievement and contribution to the promotion of tourism in the state. Such kind of acknowledgement and award motivate me to work harder. From my home stay I earn 4 lakhs to 5 lakhs annually. All these (farming and home stay) could be possible only because of my husband's support. My husband always stood with me and permitted and cooperated in whatever I wanted to try.

4.3 HOUSE WIVES

According to Table 4.1 Occupation structure of the respondents the fourth category of occupation is house wife that constitute 78 respondents out of total 300. While for many 'house wife' as occupation may be weird but in the process of field work in the Apatani inhabited areas researcher came across that house wives too contribute in family economy. Housewives help ensure the smooth functioning of households, imagine if she went on an indefinite strike, or fell

sick, but the work they perform whether cooking, cleaning, or raising kids is never recorded as economic activity. So women's economic contribution in family economy means all those activities of the household work which generate income or cause saving. For instance an Apatani proverb goes "*Bwnw denki myodu dwling, Milo denki myolo dwling*" which means meticulous women help family sustain even with little food grain throughout the season" this Apatani proverb signify the rule or mode for women, demarcated by the society that women especially house wife should know how to manage home with even little food grain available at home, and if supposed the paddy grain that was stored in the *Nessu* (granary) finishes before harvest of the current year, that would be a shameful situation not only for the whole family but for the house wife for she is the manager of *Nessu*. Therefore since time immemorial Apatani women were taught how to use every single food grain judiciously and meticulously, so the responsibility of feeding whatever they have at home to the family throughout the years was all on her shoulder. Bamin Usung, 80 years old women of Bamin Village responded to the question-how did house wife manage home in terms of securing food for the family? "In those days we had to be extra careful because food grain was not in plenty unlike today. For this generation it is very easy to manage food for the family even if one finishes her old paddy grains before harvest new grains, she has enough option to meet the shortage which is easily available at the market and co-operative. But in our time there was no other option but to be careful in using each grain, we keep on counting and monitoring the months and the availability of paddy grain at the store house. And if we feel that paddy grains will not be enough till coming harvest we used to be extra careful. In that case most of the time we substitute our breakfast with tanyi (corn) and mire (millet powder), eat more vegetables than rice. Our success in managing had been decided on or during harvest time, if we were still left with paddy grains at our *Nessu* or granary, then we were successful in managing it and we were counted as good manager and hence Bwnw Denki (Good women), and if store house were empty during harvest we were categorized in bad manager, so Bwnw Dema (bad women) and bear all the troll from the family members as well as clan and villager for our incapability in managing food grain for the family. In those

days women who manage well used to buy mithun (*bos frontalis*), land and ornament from the left over paddy.”***(Personal interview on 12 march 2016 at Bamin Village) . So, this was the instances, where the managing power of the Apatani women in early days have been seen and what about the present generation’s house wives, are their role and contribution towards family economy changed? Similar question had been asked to the young women 35 years old house wife, Yachang Yanya of Dutta village, the question put to her was – how do house wives of this generation are contributing in family economy? “For me both working and non-working women’s contribution is equal. Only difference is that former earn in the form of money and latter saved the money from the expenditure. For those women who earn huge salary this concept may not be applicable but in job of low salary, they goes to office every day and for house hold work they keep helper paying 3000 to 4000 per month and they also spend money for their children’s tuition fees abs also send their children to the dy care centre, that charges 3000 to 4000 per month. And we house wife whom society views as non-working women saves this expenditure.” Therefore many Apatani women directly or indirectly are contributing in household economic by performing household chores like managing their home, looking after their children and perform other domestic responsibilities. Both literate as well as illiterate women remain busy in these activities.

So, since time immemorial Apatani women had been taking active part in the economy of the family in particular and society in general. Another fact cannot be denied here is that, though Apatani society is a patriarchal in nature but still women were given relatively good position in management economic activity, be it agriculture and its production and most importantly manager of a granary. Though the authority and ownership of family’s wealth has always been a male member of the family, and acknowledging women’s contribution in the economy system of the community is a different story.



Photo 4.1 Apatani woman selling vegetables



Photo 4.2 Apatani woman selling meat



Photo 4.3 Apatani woman selling different varieties of agriculture products

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE
CHANGING LIVES OF THE APATANI
WOMEN IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
FOR AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTORATE OF
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By

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CHAPTER VI

WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN POLITY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has been divided into two sections. In the first section the *Buliang* the village council of Apatani has been discussed and effort has been made to locate the women's space and role in the *Buliang* the village council of Apatani. And in second section of this chapter attempt has been made to examine the level of the participation in Panchayati Raj Institution; modern polity in the grass root level and tried to analyze their understanding and awareness on Panchayat Raj Institutions.

SECTION-I

6.2 BULIANG AN INTRODUCTION

To ensure peace and harmony in the society there must be an instrument through which this can be managed or carried out. The tribal societies of Arunachal Pradesh have their own distinctive self governing councils that ensure the peace and harmony in the society. As Dubey (1996) a village council that has been functioning as effective village government; supported by social and religious sanctions, since time immemorial. Perhaps this could be the reason for the peaceful co-existence of all the community in this part of India; Arunachal Pradesh. These village councils are known by different name in different communities and in Apatani community of Arunachal Pradesh the village council is known as *Buliang*. The representatives of the clans, who in their plurality constitute a kind of village government, are the *Buliangs* (Elwin 1959).

Early visitors of Apatani valley like C. V. F. Haimendorf, a German born and his wife Elizabeth Barnado (Betty) who came to Apatani valley as special officer for Subansiri Area in March 1944 and worked until May 1945 had written good account on 'the maintenance of law and order' in his book '*The Apa Tanis and*

their neighbour' in this particular chapter of his book, he tells a lot about how Apatanis deal and maintained law and order in the society and it also talked about the role played by *Buliang* in such cases. According to him *Buliang* are men of character and ability, drawn from among the members of a lineage which, owing to its wealth and status, always furnishes one or two *Buliang* or chosen on account of their personal standing in the community. Takhe (1993) in his book writes 'The members of the *Buliang* are not ordinary people; they are the man of wealth, statesmen, man of ability, capability and expert in tribal laws or customary law. So, people respect them and do not quarrel with them. On the contrary, they honour their decisions; however they have no absolute power to do arbitration and do not take any action unless a dispute of public or individual have become public issue. But when they take action people must honour their decisions. So *Buliang* is an administration by the people, for the people and of the people.' They act as the representatives of the clan in the village level, in community level they act as the representative of the village and outside community they act as the representatives of the community. So, *Buliang* are the representative of the clan, village and community who arbitrate on behalf of them with truth and without bias. The post of *Buliang* is hereditary. Hence, by nature it is an inherited post, where father nominates son for the post. Generally, the eldest son is nominated. However, there is no hard rule in Apatani customary laws that his eldest son only should be nominated because the nomination depends upon the willingness of the father and the capability of his son (Ibid 1993). So even the youngest son can hold this post if he has ability and expertise in tribal laws. If one has no male child his immediate cousin who is capable is nominated to this post.

6.2.1 BULIANG AND ITS ORIGIN

The *Buliang* in the Apatani society is believed to be as old as human society; it was existed since time immemorial. *Leegang Kago* a Priest from Mudang-Tage village says "*Buliang hii doging geyling lyihoka genta lining*" which means *Buliang* was created along with the creation of universe. Another Priest said "when human was created *Buliang* was also created because *Buliang* is for man's

harmony and without human being the existence of *Buliang* is meaningless and not possible. Takhe Ribia, chairman of Supung *Buliang* Council says ‘*miyu duma ranpa Kwdi Buliang dutw, kwdi pabyo mi dwlyang luyang nwpa, hokw Mwdo Buliang Duri tw, mwdo pabyo mi kanw pa, ho kami so wpyo Buliang Duling Tw, wpyo Buliang hw miyu Buliang twku, miyu mima, halu gwra mi sangw nwpa.*’ meaning before creation of human being *Buliang* was already existed; at first *Kwdi Buliang* (earth *Buliang*) existed to settle any dispute arise related to the earth, next *Mwdo Buliang* (atmospheric/sky *Buliang*) to settle the dispute in their domain and then came *wpyo Buliang* (human *Buliang*) refers to the present *Buliang* and was existed for the peaceful coexistence of all the human being. When human society evolved for the first time, it was felt that there is a need for an authority to maintain the society. Takhe (1993) writes that the post of *Buliang* is inherited and it was created with the creation of human society in the universe. Oral literature of the Apatanis reveals that when this society was evolved, it was turned into a serious disorder due to war and hostility among people in absence of law and order. Therefore, this post was created in order to neutralize war and hostility and establish peace and harmony in the society through the *Buliang*. Tado (2001) there was a quarrel among all the inhabitants of the universe. There were feud between the sky and the earth and between the rocks and the plants as well as among human beings. Thus everybody was at one another’s throat and complete chaos prevailed. Hence, a few people were asked to volunteer to settle the feuds among different disputes of the universe. The people who volunteered to arbitrate the disputes, thus, became *Buliang*. Their decisions were accepted as just and equitable by the disputants. Since, then, *Buliangs* were accepted as arbitrators of disputes to establish peace in the society.

Thus, the institution of *Buliang* the village council of the Apatani is not a new creation, but is as old as human society, and was created for the peaceful coexistence of all human being. *Buliang* stand as the highest authority of socio-political and judicial administration of the society.

6.2.3 ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF BULIANG

The *Buliang* of Apatani is vested with the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the society. The administration of justice, peace and harmony were established in the society during those days due to its existence. Therefore, people respected and honored his decisions. The power of the *Buliang*, no doubt is limited and they neither constitute a tribal government nor do they function in the manner of judges in a court of law Hamendrof (1962:100) In Apatani society every citizen has been given the freedom to live their lives with dignity and honour, sharing equal space in the society and allowing one to maintain its privacy and has given a choice of decision whether to seek *Buliang* for justice or to solve the cases by themselves. But if disputes become public issue and if any individual or any clan or village has appealed *Buliang* for justice, then *Buliang* intervene and ensures that justice is delivered to the innocent and strongest punishment to the culprit. So, the ultimate solutions are given by the *Buliang* and the decision of *Buliang* become final and binding and everyone honour their decision, because their arbitration is based on truth and are without bias. So, there was peace and harmony in the society and trust and responsibility upon *Buliang* had always remained at the highest. But since last few decades the power and function of *Buliang* both judicial and administrative has been reduced due to the introduction of Indian penal code and establishment of administrative block in the Apatani Valley. Though *Buliang's* functions are reduced in certain areas but it does not lose its importance in Apatani society, *Buliang* still plays an important role in socio-religious life of the Apatanis.

Therefore another important function of *Buliang* can be seen in the socio-religious life of the Apatanis, for example, In *Myoko***, *subu taning* and *Murung* festivals of Apatanis. Perhaps this is the major function of *Buliang* these days. Ursula (1953) also wrote a chapter on *Murung* festival, but did not mention the role of *Buliang* in this ceremony. The *myoko* festival starts or begins with the ritual called *Khwbo Amang***. This ritual is a procession of *Buliang* lead by the priest. It is important to note that women folk be it a wives or daughters of *Buliang* were not allowed to accompany in this procession.

The *Buliang* of the entire Apatani community are classified into two broad groups' viz.:

- 1) *Tailyang-Hao* and *Twnw-Dwbo*,: comprised of *Hari*, *Kalung*, *Dutta*, *Mudang-Tage* and *Bamin Michi* villages.
- 2) *Niichi-Niitii*, *Reru-Tajang* and *Diire-Hija Buliang*: comprising of *Reru*, *Tajang*, *Hija* and *Hong* villages.

For the better coordination among all the *Buliangs* of different villages an apex body of *Buliang* was founded in the year 2012, called 'Supung *Buliang* Council' Table 6.1 presents the village wise distribution of the *Buliang*. According to Table 6.1 the total numbers of the *Buliangs* are 159, and as per the information gathered during field study, out of total 159 *Buliangs* 5 of them are death and hence their 4 widows and 1 daughter are custodian of the post *Buliang*, because their sons and brother are still young.

Table 6. 1 Village wise Distributions of Buliangs

| Sl. No. | Name of the village | Numbers of <i>Buliang</i> |
|---------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Niitii</i> | 16 |
| 2 | <i>Niichi</i> | 11 |
| 3 | <i>Reru</i> | 23 |
| 4 | <i>Tajang</i> | 20 |
| 5 | <i>Diire</i> | 10 |
| 6 | <i>Dija</i> | 14 |
| 7 | <i>Talyang Kalung</i> | 11 |
| 8 | <i>Hao Buliang (Hage)</i> | 17 |
| 9 | <i>Pato</i> | 6 |
| 10 | Dutta | 9 |
| 11 | Tadu Tage | 12 |
| 12 | Bamin Michi | 10 |
| | total | 159 |

Source: compiled by researcher based on By-Law and Constitution, Supung *Buliang* Council- 2015 and data are collected by researcher during field study at Ziro.

6.2.4 Women's space in Buliang

In those days *Buliang* being a powerful mechanism through which all the important decision pertaining to community, be it a social, religious and judicial were made by them and it has always been a male dominated institution. Nowhere in the oral literature talks about women *Buliang*. Yachang Yapii an elderly women of Dutta village responded to a question, why there is no women *Buliang*? “*Buliang* are the permanent member of a clan where as women are not a permanent member of a clan where she is born, because she gets married and moves to husband's clan , and in fact this is the sole purpose of being women, so women were never born to be a *Buliang*. This is the nature and custom of Apatani as the saying in Apatani goes “*nyimw mi nyibo pa sanw mi kwdi pa*” which means women are for other (not for the family) so as the leaves of a tree are for the soil (as leaves are bound to fall down on the ground)”. But if any member of *Buliang* dies whose sons are young, in that case wife of the *Buliang* becomes the custodian of the husband's post and it does not give her a permanent membership or make her *Buliang*. She is just a custodian of the post till her son become mature enough to hold the post of *Buliang*. In such cases mother represent her son in any meeting conducted by the *Buliang* but her presence in the meeting does not show her importance because she is never consulted on any matter nor she gives any opinion in any regard. Her only role in the meeting is to prepare food, rice beer and serve them. When her son attends the age of maturity, mother automatically passes the legacy of *Buliang* to her son. Here, it is important to note that the space of Apatani women in the institution of *Buliang* is just of a custodian; she cannot become *Buliang* in her life time. Women were only meant for preparing and serving wine and food during *Buliang* meeting or any ceremony, ritual, celebration related to *Buliang*. Beyond this what remains with women is just simply the name tag as ‘wife’, ‘widow’ and ‘mother’ of *Buliang*, an essence of patriarchal society. Case study of a woman; who was a wife of a *Buliang* and custodian of the post has been taken for clear and better understanding of the situation. (Koj 2018)

6.2.5 Case study: wife of *Buliang* and her role

I am Dusu kopiayang wife of late Dusu Haliang of Hari village. I have 6 children, 4 sons and 2 daughters. My husband was a *Buliang* and he was quite active and so participated in all the matters concerning *Buliang*. But when my husband died in the year 1993 my sons were still young and was not yet ready to join *Buliang* in my Husband's place. So, I use to attend any meeting or gathering of *Buliang*, though my presence in the meeting had never replaced my husband's, because I could not do what my husband would have done like; arbitrating cases, participating in *Subu-Murung* and *Myoko* ceremonies with other *Buliangs*. In a meeting I used to listen to their discussion and most of the time I would help them in preparing food and rice beer and served them. I feel the purpose for my attending meeting was like securing a Place for my Son because some day, one of my sons would become *Buliang* in my husband's place. So today my eldest son is mature enough he has his own family and independent and I believed that he is capable of handling any situation, so I have handed over *Buliang* to my eldest son. I think as a wife of *Buliang* I too played an important role along with my husband. Wives of *Buliang* had an extra duty to be maintain, especially during winter season because those are the season for *Myoko*, *murung* and *sudu-taning* festival of Apatani, for instance other women in the village had a choice of their own, whether to keep *O* (rice beer) and *tapyo* (local salt) at their houses and therefore were not compulsory for them, but for the wives of *Buliang* we make it a point to keep at least some *O* (rice beer) and *tapyo* (salt) at our houses, because in these ceremonies visiting of *Buliang* and other guests from other villages at the *Buliang's* house were very common. And if we are not ready with that necessary stuff it would be a disgrace for our *Buliang* husband and we never wanted that to happen, therefore we were extra careful in this regard. We enjoyed doing our duty and never felt burdened and in fact we are fortunate to be a wife of a *Buliang* because if not in a significant way but at least in small ways we too are contributing in social work. Those days there were unity among all the wives of *Buliang*, we did every activities together, we even had a fund by contributing Rs. 200 each. I still remember one incident; one of our friends (wife of *Buliang*) did not turn up in a *murung* ceremony where we had to carry rice beer and served the

people at *Murung* festival. Therefore rest of us decided to ask her for a fine usually in cash for not accompanying us, since it was decided that all of us should participate in such ceremonies or in any other works of *Buliang* and if one failed, fine should be imposed on her. So accordingly we all went to her residence and asked her for a fine but she refused to pay any fine, so we siege one water bucket from her house and later she repossessed her water bucket by paying fine in cash, I exactly don't remember the amount but of course it was in cash.

While narrating her story she expresses her joy and was quite content for whatever contribution she had made as a wife of the *Buliang* and she has no regret. But women's contribution towards *Buliang* and having permanent membership in the institution of *Buliang* are the two side of a same coin. Hence, it is not possible for a woman to be a *Buliang* in her life time. Here question arise why women were never included in *Buliang*. To know the views for not inducting women in the Institution of *Buliang*. A questionnaire was prepared to assist their ideas for the same. There were 120 respondents, constituting of both male and female in equal numbers who were above 46 years of age. The composition of the sample were; 15 *Buliang* members, 5 priest, 5 Gaon Buras, 5 Gaon Buris, 40 Panchayati Raj members and 50 villagers, And their responses have been catagorised into four basic reasons cited by the respondents. Below is the table showing the numbers of the respondents in different categories of response.

Table 6. 2 Reasons for not inducting women as Buliang

| Reasons | Number of Respondents | | Total | |
|--|-----------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | Male | Female | No. | % |
| Birth place; women are not permanent member of any clan. | 27 | 26 | 53 | 44.2 % |
| Incapable; women are physically weaker than men. | 13 | 14 | 27 | 22.5 % |
| Division of work; women are busy in a feminine job. | 10 | 8 | 18 | 15 % |
| Purity; menstrual cycle of women make her impure. | 10 | 12 | 22 | 18.3 |
| Total | 60 | 60 | 120 | 100% |

Source: Data collected by researcher, during field study 2016.

Above Table 6.2 shows the different reasons that respondents** assume for the non inclusion of women in *Buliang*. They also shared their views while substantiating their responses. Following are the analysis made on the basic of their reasons they have cited.

- 1) Birth place; women are not permanent member of any clan: This statement was supported by 53 respondents of which 27 are male and 26 are female, that makes 44.2 percent of the total respondents. According to them *Buliangs* are permanent member of a clan so as the men, men remains in one clan, from the birth till he die. But, women changes her clan forever when she gets married. These respondents would love to quote very popular proverb of the Apatani “*Nyimw mi Nyibo pa, sanw mi kwdi pa*”. If we see the meaning of these words separately; *Nyimw* means women, *nyibo* means guest (here it refers to-for others not for own family) and *sanw* means leaves of a tree, *kwdi* means soil of the ground. So if we put this in a sentence; women are for other (as she gets married leaving her own family and clan) and leaves are for the soil (as leaves of a tree is bound to fall down on the ground). So for them women has no permanent clan neither her birth clan, because she relinquishes her birth clan when she

gets married. Therefore women were not included in the institution of *Buliang*.

- 2) Incapable; women are physically weaker than men: The second reasons cited by the 27 respondents of which 13 are men and 14 are women, making 22.5 percent of the total respondents is that ‘women are physically weaker than men’ for those respondents men are physically stronger than women ‘*pinw si milo bomi tamo yado pa putw*’ meaning God has created men to be a stronger than women and so role of *Buliang* involves negotiation, arbitration in hostilities between individual, villages and even some time between communities, thus it is not possible to send women in such places because, alone with wisdom one need to be physically strong for such job and men has both.
- 3) And the third reason being ‘Division of labour’ believes in feminine and masculine work. 18 respondents are in favour of this category, of which 10 were men and 8 were women that constitute 15 percent of the total respondents. According to them women were busy whole day in managing all the household affairs like, cooking, cleaning utensils, collecting firewood, agricultural work, taking care of children, husking, taking care of the domestic animals and washing clothes etc. and that could be the reason why women were not involved in community services like *Buliang*, as they could not spare extra time for it.
- 4) The fourth reason being ‘purity’ 22 respondents supported this of which 10 were men and 12 were women that constitute 18.3 percent. People believed that menstrual cycle of women make her impure. That is the reason why in Apatani society young girl are allowed to climb *Lapang* but when she attend puberty, she is restricted from climbing there. In this line another reason they had cited was that women cannot climb *Lapang*; *lapang* is a traditional raised platform made of wooden planks and it is considered sacred in Apatani, where ceremonial rituals like *Subu*, *Murung*, *Ropi* etc are performed and *Buliang* hold sittings in *Lapang*, be it for arbitrating, taking important decision regarding welfare of the village and community and adding to this, old-age customary laws of Apatanis

forbids women from climbing *Lapang*. Therefore women were never inducted as *Buliang*.

The analysis of the table tells that both the gender agrees and cited reasons for not inducting women in *Buliang*, their responses are based on their own understanding and experience. Interestingly both women as well men agree that women cannot climb *Lapang*, particularly older generation are very strict about it. For instance, Tasso Opi an elderly woman of Hari village thinks that the sanctity of *Lapang* should be maintain, how modernized people may become. She scolded to one of her friends who was trying to dry her paddy on *Lapang* and warn her not to repeat it again, she narrated. This is the very reason why even today in *Dusu Lapang* and *Hage Lapang* of *Hari* Village a sign board is attached where it is written “*nyimw Lapang chama ke*” meaning “women don’t climb *Lapang*.” But in some village for instance in *Tapi Lapang* of *Hong* Village women Gaon Buri are frequently seen participating in *Lapang*, when they hold meeting of Gaon Buras and Gaon Buris. Tilling Yam present President Women wing for AYA (Apatanis Youth Association) responded to the question- Do people allow women to climb *Lpang*? “It depends on village, because in some village the rigidness is still practice but in *Tapi Lapang* of *Hong* Village restriction over women’s entry into *Lapang* is almost absent. Many social activities like awareness programme are usually conduct there, where men as well as women speaker give speeches from the *Lapang* for example on 10th september 2011, fire awareness and importance of sanitization was organized by *Hong* employment association where many dignitaries came, one among was Jarjun Ete former chairperson of APWWA (arunachal Pradesh women welfare association) who spoke about fire prevention in ziro valley from *Lapang* and I talked about uses of plastic and keeping surroundings clean. This is just an example. There are many instances where women are seen climbing on the *Lapang*, like during vaccination, ASHA and mother with their babies climb *Lapang* to get their baby vaccinated.”

The survey in this question made the based for another interesting question that is ‘whether women of Apatani society are satisfied with the system of non inclusion of women in *Buliang*’ this can be of worth studying in the Apatani patriarchal society. Therefore in this chapter effort has also been made to know the women’s stand on how they feel for not including women as *Buliang*. To know the resentment and the contentment in this regard, a separate questionnaire were prepared and this question was administered to only women respondents of the previous question. So, there were 60 women respondents, age above 46 years. The question put forward before them was; should women be included in *Buliang* – ‘No’ or ‘Yes’? Substantiate your answer. Below table shows their response and the number of the respondents.

Table 6. 3 Responses of the respondents to the question should women be included in *Buliang*?

| Response | Number of women | In Percentage |
|----------|-----------------|---------------|
| No | 51 | 85% |
| Yes | 9 | 15% |
| Total | 60 | 100% |

Source: Data collected by Researcher during field study 2016.

Out of 60 women, 51 women that constitute 85 percent of the total respondents said ‘NO’ and they have no resentment for not including women in *Buliang*. For instance Hage Kari elderly women of Hari village, answered with a smile ‘*nyimw Buliang engo mi enkoda, udey alu mi huna luchi ko?*’ meaning ‘if women becomes *Buliang*, who will do the household work? According to the research many of the women especially older generation feels that women should remain in a house looking after family, doing house hold and agricultural works. For these women, customs and tradition of their fore father, including division of labour for men and women should be honoured. They believe in Apatani proverb ‘*mehi kekang, milo kego*’ which means ‘wife is inferior and husband is superior’ that shows their unconditional love for husband. So they did not show any resentment or disappointment for not allowing women to be a *Buliang*.

Submissive nature of the Apatani women can be seen here and also the deep rooted faith in the patriarchal Apatani society. And out of 60 only 9 respondents that constitute 15 percent of the total respondents are with 'Yes' response. According to them women should be included in *Buliang*. For these respondents women are equally capable in every works, and the notion that women are incapable and weaker than men is only because women have never given a chance to prove her potential. And if given an opportunity woman can even excel men. But the respondents of this category are content because women now a days are getting equal rights in every sphere of life, women has also started taking active part in decision making bodies at the grass root level through Panchayati Raj Institution.

However, the introduction of the modern politics in the valley has change the whole course of political lives of Apatanis and subsequently, the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution has change the outlook of Apatani women in politics and helped women to take active part in the decision making process at grass root level.

But before Panchayat Raj Institution, the people of this valley witness the emergence of the institution of *Gaon Buras*, in those days they played an important role in maintaining peace and harmony in the society. Therefore the role played by *Gaon Buras* cannot be ignored. Some of the writers even argued that, with the appointment of the *Gaon Buras* the political, judicial and administrative functions hitherto performed by the *Buliang* have been taken over by the former. Now, the role and functions of the *Buliang* is limited to performance of socio-religious (ritualistic) functions during socio-religious ceremonial festivals like *Myoko* and *Murung* only. Takhe (2008) writes 'When Indian administration came into being in Apatani valley in the early 50s the role and function of *Buliang* gradually diminished due to appointment of Gaon Buras and introduction of Panchayat Raj'. The *Gaon Buras* so constituted under the 1945 Regulation as Village Authorities act like a bridge between the public and the law enforcing agencies. As the representatives of the District Administration they are required to come forward to assist the Administration and Police

whenever situation arises. They owe their position and importance to the Government and are bound by government instructions issued from time to time. The *Gaon Buras* are to make the people obey the orders of the Government. The *Gaon Buras* remained a backbone of district administration during NEFA days. They brought people closer to the administration and vice-versa, thereby facilitating the growth of the administration. For any dispute the villagers came to the Gaon Buras for settlement for they were directly under the administration. Graham (1953:69) 'Now the red cloth was remarkable institution. It was issued only to government interpreters and officially-recognized headmen and it conferred a special status; its wearer was sacrosanct, he was vested with authority and behind him stood the British Government. An attack on the red cloth was an attack on the Government itself and could not be allowed to pass³⁴. (Gambo 2016:4) the Gaon Bura were appointed under the provision of Assam Frontier Administration Act of 1945, the first Gaon Buras among the Apatanis were Padi Lalyang of Reru, Kago Bida of Hija, Chigin Nyime of Dutta, Punyo Tamer of Hong and Gyati Tadu of Hari. They were appointed by the Dr. Haqimendorf and Capt. Davy 1944-45. (Takhe 1993:398)

In the beginning there were only Gaon Buras but in 2007 a new phase for Apatani women were introduced when four Apatani women were appointed as Gaon Buri by the District Administration, on 14th August 2007. They were; Hibu Yaja of Hong Village, Michi Yapiang of Bamin-Michi Village, Millo Pubiyang of Tajang Village and Lt. Hage mamu of Hari village³⁵. The second batch was appointed on 5th September, they were Radhe puming, Koj Oche, Hage Eli, Tapi Byako, Punyo Yaje, Narang Yanya and so the appointment for Gaon Buri was made phase wise until it reaches 57 Gaon Buris. At present there are total 285 which comprise of 228 Gaon Buras that makes 80 percent and 57 Gaon Buris making 20 percent. The details of the Village wise distribution of the Gaon Bura and Gaon Buri are given in Table 6.4.

³⁴ Red cloth most probably colour of the coat of Gaon Bura.

³⁵ Narrated by Hibu Yaja, first batch of Gaon Buri of Apatani valley.

Table 6. 4 Village wise distribution of Gaon Bura and Gaon Buri in Apatani Valley

| Sl. No. | Name of HGB/GB | Father's/Husband's Name | HGB/GB | Village |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------|-------------|
| 1. | Shri Tamo Chobing | Late Tamo Dolo | HGB | Bamin |
| 2. | Shri Tilling Grayu | Late Tilling Tajung | HGB | Bamin |
| 3. | Shri Tilling Apo | Late Tilling Mibi | GB | Bamin |
| 4. | Shri Tilling Morth | Late Tilling Hinda | GB | Bamin |
| 5. | Shri Bamin Dogin | Late Bamin Lali | GB | Bamin |
| 6. | Shri Michi Taker | Late Michi Tani | HGB | Michi |
| 7. | Shri Michi Talo | Late Michi Bakhang | HGB | Michi |
| 8. | Smti Michi Yapiang | Late Michi Tagur | HGB | Michi |
| 9. | Shri Michi Habung | Late Michi Sambyo | GB | Michi |
| 10. | Smti Michi Ampi | W/O Shri Michi Tani | GB | Michi |
| 11. | Shri Dulley Junja | Late Dulley Tallang | GB | Michi |
| 12. | Shri Mudang Pai | Late Mudang Tamo | HGB | Mudang Tage |
| 13. | Shri Mudang Pilya | Late Mudang Tamer | HGB | Mudang Tage |
| 14. | Shri Tage Tagyang | Late Tage Tade | HGB | Mudang Tage |
| 15. | Shri Buru Butang | Late Buru Kojing | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 16. | Shri Buru Tanyo | Late Buru Tayo | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 17. | Shri Leegang Taji | Late Leegang Tamo | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 18. | Shri Liagi Niting | Late Liagi Magang | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 19. | Shri Mudang Pumbo | Late Mudang Taming | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 20. | Shri Mudang Tani | Late Mudang Tabin | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 21. | Shri Tadu Kojin | Late Tadu Buda | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 22. | Shri Roto Nibo | Late Roto Koji | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 23. | Shri Tage Pai | Late Tage Tassang | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 24. | Shri Tage Tadey | Late Tage Rika | GB | Mudang Tage |

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------------|-----|-------------|
| 25. | Shri Tage Talang | Late Tage Tabing | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 26. | Smti Tage Yassung | W/O Shri Tage Karu | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 27. | Smti Tage Yattung | W/O Lt. Tage Chelyang | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 28. | Smti Mudang Yam | W/O Lt. Mudang Mali | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 29. | Smti Mudang Yattung | W/O Lt. Tady Yubey | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 30. | Smti Mudang Riyo | W/O Lt. Mudang Bukar | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 31. | Smti Buru Yassung | W/O Buru Byai | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 32. | Shri Tage Tajo | Late Tage Dolley | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 33. | Shri Tadu Yarang | Late Tadu Yubey | GB | Mudang Tage |
| 34. | Shri Koj Buda | Late Koj Khoda | HGB | Dutta |
| 35. | Shri Koj Taming | Late Koj Tayo | HGB | Dutta |
| 36. | Shri Hiinyo Guro | Late Hinio Dolyang | GB | Dutta |
| 37. | Shri Koj Taker | Late Koj Doley | GB | Dutta |
| 38. | Smti Hinio Yase | W/O Hinio Tayo | GB | Dutta |
| 39. | Smti Koj Oche | W/O Koj Buda | HGB | Dutta |
| 40. | Smti Moby Choku | W/O Lt. Moby Tabin | HGB | Dutta |
| 41. | Shri Koj Taki | Late Koj Pussang | GB | Dutta |
| 42. | Shri Koj Tari | Late Koj Ganya | GB | Dutta |
| 43. | Shri Koj Tade | Late Koj Lailyang | GB | Dutta |
| 44. | Shri Yachang Tacho | Shri Yachang Tago | GB | Dutta |
| 45. | Smti Koj Rinyo | W/O Shri Koj Lailyang | GB | Dutta |
| 46. | Smti Koj Yamang | W/O Lt. Koj Tacha | GB | Dutta |
| 47. | Shri Chiging Khoda | Late. Chiging Buda | GB | Dutta |
| 48. | Shri Dani Kena | Late. Dani Radhe | HGB | Hija |
| 49. | Shri Taku Taming | Late. Taku Sira | HGB | Hija |
| 50. | Shri Kime Apa | Late Kime Tallang | HGB | Hija |
| 51. | Shri Kime Randa | Late Kime Tapu | HGB | Hija |
| 52. | Shri Kime Tara | Late Kime Tagyang | HGB | Hija |

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------|-----|------|
| 53. | Shri Kime Tayung | Late Kime Tabhi | HGB | Hija |
| 54. | Shri Nada Kena | Late Nada Pillang | HGB | Hija |
| 55. | Shri Nada Tadii | Late Nada Chobin | HGB | Hija |
| 56. | Shri Nending Chatung | Late Nending Tagyung | HGB | Hija |
| 57. | Shri Pura Bakhang | Late Pura Chilyang | HGB | Hija |
| 58. | Shri Pura Hinda | Pura Junja | HGB | Hija |
| 59. | Shri Taku Koyang | Late Taku Pugang | HGB | Hija |
| 60. | Shri Dani Randa | Late Dani Tayo | HGB | Hija |
| 61. | Shri Nada Tamer | Late Nada Tatung | HGB | Hija |
| 62. | Shri Dani Takhe | Late Dani Tamo | HGB | Hija |
| 63. | Shri Dani Tabyo | Late Dani Buda | HGB | Hija |
| 64. | Shri Dani Taki | Late Dani Ribya | GB | Hija |
| 65. | Shri Dani Yakang | Late Dani Tagyung | GB | Hija |
| 66. | Shri Haj Chatung | Late Haj Tamer | GB | Hija |
| 67. | Shri Haj Tam | Late Haj Pilya | GB | Hija |
| 68. | Shri Kago Tado | Late Kago Dulle | GB | Hija |
| 69. | Shri Kago Tayang | Late Kago Tamang | GB | Hija |
| 70. | Shri Kime Jarbo | Late Kime Tabii | GB | Hija |
| 71. | Shri Kime Nipa | Late Nenko Pali | GB | Hija |
| 72. | Shri Nenko Tamo | Late Nenko Pali | GB | Hija |
| 73. | Shri Puna Gyati | Late Puna Miido | GB | Hija |
| 74. | Shri Nending Pugang | Late Nending Koyang | GB | Hija |
| 75. | Shri Pura Rido | Late Pura Halley | GB | Hija |
| 76. | Shri Pura Sira | Late Pura Delyang | GB | Hija |
| 77. | Shri Pura Soka | Late Pura Buda | GB | Hija |
| 78. | Shri Pura Tagyung | Late Pura Karu | GB | Hija |
| 79. | Shri Pura Talley | Late Pura Doilyang | GB | Hija |
| 80. | Shri Pyagang Tayo | Late Pyagang Karu | GB | Hija |
| 81. | Shri Taku Donyi | Late Taku Riku | GB | Hija |

| | | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------------|-----|--------|
| 82. | Shri Taku Lampung | Late Taku Tarang | GB | Hija |
| 83. | Shri Taku Tamer | Late Taku Gyati | GB | Hija |
| 84. | Shri Taro Mikhi | Late Taro Ekha | GB | Hija |
| 85. | Smti Puna Rilung | W/O Shri Puna Tai | GB | Hija |
| 86. | Shri Kago Radhe | Late Kago Ranka | GB | Hija |
| 87. | Shri Dani Tath | Late Dani Tassang | GB | Hija |
| 88. | Shri Pura Buda | Late Pura Chalyang | GB | Hija |
| 89. | Smti Pura Yapa | W/O Pura Tato | GB | Hija |
| 90. | Smti Nada Odi | W/O Nada Salla | GB | Hija |
| 91. | Smti Puna Yaming | W/O Puna Niting | GB | Hija |
| 92. | Shri Dusu Pugang | Late Dusu Taming | GB | Hija |
| 93. | Shri Pura Oming | Late Pura Tada | GB | Hija |
| 94. | Smti Kago Sito | W/O Late Kago Sira | GB | Hija |
| 95. | Smti Kime Yaya | W/O Lt. Kime Taka | GB | Hija |
| 96. | Shri Kime Tamer | Late Kime Butang | GB | Hija |
| 97. | Shri Kime Yayu | W/O Kime Hinda | GB | Hija |
| 98. | Smti Pura Rone | W/O Lt Pura Halle | GB | Hija |
| 99. | Shri Taku Bida | Late Taku Tayung | GB | Hija |
| 100. | Shri Taku Chada | Late Taku Nana | GB | Hija |
| 101. | Shri Taro Rambo | Late Taro Tallo | GB | Hija |
| 102. | Shri Pura Tayang | Late Pura Tallo | GB | Hija |
| 103. | Shri Pura Tamo | Late Pura Chilyang | GB | Hija |
| 104. | Shri Nada Haniya | Late Nada Tadu | GB | Hija |
| 105. | Smti Nada Pabo | W/O Lt. Nada Donyi | GB | Hija |
| 106. | Shri Taru Yaka | Taru Kojin | GB | Hija |
| 107. | Shri Mihin Tayo | Late Mihin Butang | GB | Hija |
| 108. | Shri Millo Chatung | Late Millo Habung | HGB | Tajang |
| 109. | Shri Millo Chailyang | Late Millo Ruja | HGB | Tajang |
| 110. | Shri Millo Koyang | Late Millo Tabin | HGB | Tajang |

| | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----|--------|
| 111. | Shri Ngilyang Jarbo | Late Ngilyang Tapa | HGB | Tajang |
| 112. | Shri Ngilyang Tailyang | Late Ngilyang Jile | HGB | Tajang |
| 113. | Shri Ngilyang Tarang | Late Ngilyang Dibo | HGB | Tajang |
| 114. | Shri Radhe Rambo | Late Radhe Tapa | HGB | Tajang |
| 115. | Shri Radhe Tasser | Late Radhe Sira | HGB | Tajang |
| 116. | Shri Rubu Tangu | Late Radhe Kacho | HGB | Tajang |
| 117. | Shri Tage Nibo | Late Tage Kechi | HGB | Tajang |
| 118. | Shri Mihing Pugang | Late Mihin Mali | HGB | Tajang |
| 119. | Shri Mihin Taling | Late Mihin Tagang | HGB | Tajang |
| 120. | Shri Millo Nyime | Late Millo Ruja | HGB | Tajang |
| 121. | Shri Millo Hinda | Late Millo Lai | HGB | Tajang |
| 122. | Shri Tage Tade | Late Tage Khokhung | HGB | Tajang |
| 123. | Smti Rubu Bune | W/O Shri Rubu Laling | HGB | Tajang |
| 124. | Shri Mihin Rambo | Late Mihin Kuru | GB | Tajang |
| 125. | Shri Millo Tabing | Late Millo Yakang | GB | Tajang |
| 126. | Shri Misso Rambo | Late Misso Radhe | GB | Tajang |
| 127. | Shri Misso Tamang | Late Misso Dibo | GB | Tajang |
| 128. | Shri Radhe Habung | Late Radhe Kojing | GB | Tajang |
| 129. | Shri Radhe Tamang | Late Radhe Tapa | GB | Tajang |
| 130. | Shri Tage Doilyang | Late Tage Chailyang | GB | Tajang |
| 131. | Shri Tage Tagru | Late Tage Sha | GB | Tajang |
| 132. | Smti Millo Yaja | W/O Late Millo Lailyang | GB | Tajang |
| 133. | Smti Radhe Puming | W/O Late Radhe Tapa | GB | Tajang |
| 134. | Shri Rubu Tara | Late Rubu Pussang | GB | Tajang |
| 135. | Shri Rubu Tayo | Late Rubu Tallo | GB | Tajang |
| 136. | Shri Ngilyang Tarang | Late Ngilyang Tamer | GB | Tajang |
| 137. | Smti Rubu Oku | Late Rubu Tamo | GB | Tajang |
| 138. | Smti Mihin Diming | Late Mihin Talang | GB | Tajang |

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|------|--------------------|---------------------|-----|--------|
| 139. | Shri Millo Lampung | Millo Chilayang | GB | Tajang |
| 140. | Shri Rubu Takii | Late Rubu Dollo | GB | Tajang |
| 141. | Shri Habung Buda | Late Habung Byai | HGB | Reru |
| 142. | Shri Habung Koyang | Late Habung Milo | HGB | Reru |
| 143. | Shri Khoda Doley | Late Khoda Jarbo | HGB | Reru |
| 144. | Shri Nani Bida | Late Nani Shah | HGB | Reru |
| 145. | Shri Nani Diibo | Late Nani Tahu | HGB | Reru |
| 146. | Shri Nani Pilya | Late Nani Tagio | HGB | Reru |
| 147. | Shri Nani Tatu | Late Nani Kago | HGB | Reru |
| 148. | Shri Nani Dolley | Late Nani Sha | HGB | Reru |
| 149. | Shri Khoda Tallang | Late Khoda Bida | HGB | Reru |
| 150. | Shri Duyu Bath | Late Duyu Khambo | HGB | Reru |
| 151. | Shri Duyu Doley | Late Duyu Lampung | GB | Reru |
| 152. | Shri Duyu Kojin | Late Duyu Habung | GB | Reru |
| 153. | Shri Duyu Tatung | Late Duyu Chilyang | GB | Reru |
| 154. | Shri Habung Kojing | Late Habung Doley | GB | Reru |
| 155. | Shri Habung Pilya | Late Habung Kojing | GB | Reru |
| 156. | Shri Habung Tako | Late Habung Tayo | GB | Reru |
| 157. | Shri Habung Tallo | Late Habung Guro | GB | Reru |
| 158. | Shri Khoda Chatung | Late Khoda Taje | GB | Reru |
| 159. | Shri Khoda Pumbo | Late Khoda Tayu | GB | Reru |
| 160. | Shri Kuru Kano | Late Kuru Nipa | GB | Reru |
| 161. | Shri Kuru Tayo | Late Kuru Tabing | GB | Reru |
| 162. | Shri Nani Pussang | Late Nani Pullo | GB | Reru |
| 163. | Shri Nani Taker | Late Nani Grayu | GB | Reru |
| 164. | Shri Padi Mali | Late Pdi Delyang | GB | Reru |
| 165. | Smti Nani Pubyang | W/O Lt Nani Millo | GB | Reru |
| 166. | Smti Nani Omang | W/O Lt Nani Pussang | GB | Reru |
| 167. | Smti Nani Yallo | W/O Nani Tabio | HGB | Reru |

| | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|-----|--------|
| 168. | Shri Nani Taling | Nani Tabio | GB | Reru |
| 169. | Smti Habung Yaming | W/O Lt Habung Tabin | GB | Reru |
| 170. | Smti Duyu Ottung | D/O Lt Duyu Buker | GB | Reru |
| 171. | Shri Duyu Gyute | Late Duyu Haniya | GB | Reru |
| 172. | Shri Habung Ribya | Late Habung Pilya | GB | Reru |
| 173. | Shri Nahi Haniya | Late Nani Sala | GB | Reru |
| 174. | Shri Kalung Ganku | Late Kalung Dibo | HGB | Kalung |
| 175. | Shri Kalung Pugang | Late Kalung Nime | HGB | Kalung |
| 176. | Shri Lod Doilang | Late Lod Tai | HGB | Kalung |
| 177. | Shri Subu Sala | Late Subu Lai | HGB | Kalung |
| 178. | Shri Tailyang Khoda | Late Tailyang Buker | HGB | Kalung |
| 179. | Shri Tailyang Tago | Late Tailyuang Buda | HGB | Kalung |
| 180. | Shri Subu Bakhang | Late Subu Jilley | HGB | Kalung |
| 181. | Shri Lod Ekha | Late Lod Tatu | GB | Kalung |
| 182. | Shri Lod Tago | Late Lod Sira | GB | Kalung |
| 183. | Shri Nako Jille | Late Nako Pada | GB | Kalung |
| 184. | Shri Tailyang Abing | Late Tailyang Nibo | GB | Kalung |
| 185. | Shri Tailyang Rambo | Late Tailyang Akha | GB | Kalung |
| 186. | Shri Nako Kojing | Late Nako Kano | GB | Kalung |
| 187. | Smti Kalung Yaming | W/O Lt. Kalung Gyati | GB | Kalung |
| 188. | Shri Tailyang Halley | Late Tailyang Ekha | GB | Kalung |
| 189. | Shri Kalung Gambo | Late Kalung Chatung | GB | Kalung |
| 190. | Shri Gyati Chatung | Late Gyati Gyati | HGB | Hari |
| 191. | Shri Gyati Tayung | Late Gyati Tamer | HGB | Hari |
| 192. | Shri Hage Bath | Late Hage Ngilyang | HGB | Hari |
| 193. | Shri Hage Chatung | Late Hage Takha | HGB | Hari |
| 194. | Shri Hage Dibo | Late Hage Ganku | HGB | Hari |
| 195. | Shri Hage Gyati | Late Hage Ganku | HGB | Hari |

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|-----|------|
| 196. | Shri Hage Hanya-I | Late Hage Tatung | HGB | Hari |
| 197. | Shri Hage Hanya-Ii | Late Hage Tatu | HGB | Hari |
| 198. | Shri Hage Kano | Late Hage Gyati | HGB | Hari |
| 199. | Shri Hage Riku | Late Hage Doilyang | HGB | Hari |
| 200. | Shri Hage Siira | Late Hage Mali | HGB | Hari |
| 201. | Shri Hage Tagia | Late Hage Mubi | HGB | Hari |
| 202. | Shri Hage Taley | Late Hage Tapa | HGB | Hari |
| 203. | Shri Nending Bida | Late Nending Taming | HGB | Hari |
| 204. | Shri Tasso Dole | Late Nending Taming | HGB | Hari |
| 205. | Shri Tasso Tarang | Late Tasso Lampung | HGB | Hari |
| 206. | Shri Tasso Hailyang | Late Tasso Pusang | HGB | Hari |
| 207. | Shri Hage Chobing | Late Hage Gyati | HGB | Hari |
| 208. | Shri Tadu Nambo | Late Tadu Pussang | HGB | Hari |
| 209. | Shri Tasso Tapa | Late Tasso Mope | HGB | Hari |
| 210. | Shri Tsaa Tangu | Late Tasso Bida | HGB | Hari |
| 211. | Shri Dogin Kago | Late Doging Kano | GB | Hari |
| 212. | Shri Dusu Tajang | Lat E Dusu Akha | GB | Hari |
| 213. | Shri Dusu Tarang | Late Dusu Lali | GB | Hari |
| 214. | Shri Gyati Taming | Late Gyati Guth | GB | Hari |
| 215. | Shri Hage Grayu | Late Hage Tatu | GB | Hari |
| 216. | Shri Hage Hiba | Late Hage Tagang | GB | Hari |
| 217. | Shri Hage Hinda | Late Hage Nipa | GB | Hari |
| 218. | Shri Hage Pugang | Late Hage Bida | GB | Hari |
| 219. | Shri Hage Tade | Late Hage Jarbo | GB | Hari |
| 220. | Shri Hage Tangu | Late Hage Tadu | GB | Hari |
| 221. | Smti Hage Ali | Late Hage Taka | GB | Hari |
| 222. | Smti Hage Yapa | Late Hage Koji | GB | Hari |
| 223. | Shri Hage Yubey | Late Hage Onku | GB | Hari |
| 224. | Hage Kojing | Late Hage Ekha | GB | Hari |

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----|------|
| 225. | Smti Hage Yarang | W/O Lt. Hage Gambo | GB | Hari |
| 226. | Smti Hage Anya | W/O Shri Hage Tarung | GB | Hari |
| 227. | Shri Hibu Dampyo | Late Hibu Tako | HGB | Hong |
| 228. | Shri Hibu Nyani | Late Hibu Bida | HGB | Hong |
| 229. | Shri Kago Navin | Late Kago Tabi | HGB | Hong |
| 230. | Shri Kago Tath | Late Kago Ekha | HGB | Hong |
| 231. | Shri Narang Murpu | Late Kago Narang Kago | HGB | Hong |
| 232. | Shri Punyo Nikang | Late Punyo Takha | HGB | Hong |
| 233. | Shri Takhe Hinda | Late Takhe Tana | HGB | Hong |
| 234. | Shri Takhe Pulo | Late Takhe Tupe | HGB | Hong |
| 235. | Shri Tapi Tale | Late Tapi Kacho | HGB | Hong |
| 236. | Shri Tapi Tana | Late Tapi Tamo | HGB | Hong |
| 237. | Shri Tilling Apio | Late Tilling Kojing | HGB | Hong |
| 238. | Shri Tilling Duri | Late Tilling Mobing | HGB | Hong |
| 239. | Shri Tilling Tayu | Late Tilling Nana | HGB | Hong |
| 240. | Shri Budi Nibo | Late Budi Lento | HGB | Hong |
| 241. | Shri Kago Khoda | Late Kago Rure | HGB | Hong |
| 242. | Shri Talo Talin | Late Talo Grayu | HGB | Hong |
| 243. | Smti Narang Yamyang | Shri Narang Tam | HGB | Hong |
| 244. | Smti Hibu Yassing | W/O Lt. Hibu Nyipa | HGB | Hong |
| 245. | Smti Hibu Yama | W/O Shri Hibu Tama | HGB | Hong |
| 246. | Smti Bullo Rija | W/O Lt. Bullo Hakhe | HGB | Hong |
| 247. | Shri Budi Kuniya | Late Budi Chatung | GB | Hong |
| 248. | Shri Bullo Miri | Late Budi Tani | GB | Hong |
| 249. | Shri Bullo Tagur | Late Bullo Tapu | GB | Hong |
| 250. | Shri Hibu Tani | Late Hibu Kena | GB | Hong |
| 251. | Shri Hibu Yaze-Ii | Late Hibu Lento | GB | Hong |
| 252. | Shri Kago Bukhe | Late Kago Loder | GB | Hong |
| 253. | Shri Kago Nana | Late Kago Doley | GB | Hong |

| | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----|------|
| 254. | Shri Kago Ranchi | Late Kago Guro | GB | Hong |
| 255. | Shri Kago Tapu | Late Kago Tarang | GB | Hong |
| 256. | Shri Mudang Taku | Late Mudang Pullo | GB | Hong |
| 257. | Shri Narang Tagur | Late Narang Tari | GB | Hong |
| 258. | Shri Narang Taming | Late Narang Karu | GB | Hong |
| 259. | Shri Punyo Taje | Late Punyo Dole | GB | Hong |
| 260. | Shri Tapi Buttung | Late Tapi Tacho | GB | Hong |
| 261. | Shri Tilling Tako | Late Tilling Talu | GB | Hong |
| 262. | Smti Bulyu Piira | W/O Lt. Bulyu Dith | GB | Hong |
| 263. | Smti Hibu Yaza | W/O Lt. Hibu Appa | HGB | Hong |
| 264. | Smti Punyo Yaze | W/O Shri Punyo Nyale | GB | Hong |
| 265. | Smti Tapi Byoko | W/O Shri Tapi Uma | GB | Hong |
| 266. | Smti Takhe Sibi | W/O Takhe Kago | GB | Hong |
| 267. | Smti Punyo Rija | W/O Punyo Tau | GB | Hong |
| 268. | Smti Punyo Paya | W/O Lt. Punyo Yasa | GB | Hong |
| 269. | Smti Tallo Yassa | W/O Lt. Tallo Tanyo | GB | Hong |
| 270. | Smti Takhe Rissang | W/O Shri Takhe Tatung | GB | Hong |
| 271. | Shri Kago Koji | Late Karo Tari | GB | Hong |
| 272. | Shri Mudang Tayo | Late Mudang Richo | GB | Hong |
| 273. | Shri Padu Tana | Late Padu Laling | GB | Hong |
| 274. | Shri Bullo Tagyung | Late Bullo Tido | GB | Hong |
| 275. | Smti Takhe Rija | W/O Lt. Takhe Tajo | GB | Hong |
| 276. | Smti Hibu Densu | W/O Shri Hibu Chatung | GB | Hong |
| 277. | Shri Hibu Lampung | Late Hibu Yama | GB | Hong |
| 278. | Shri Takhe Haniya | Late Takhe Tayo | GB | Hong |
| 279. | Shri Dullo Tado | Late Bullo Tarang | GB | Hong |
| 280. | Smti Kago Yaja | W/O Shri Kago Taka | GB | Hong |
| 281. | Smti Kago Yabo | W/O Shri Kago Bath | GB | Hong |
| 282. | Smti Tallo Rija | W/O Shri Tallo Apa | GB | Hong |

| | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------------|----|------|
| 283. | Smti Tilling Empu | W/O Shri Tilling Anje | GB | Hong |
| 284. | Smti Nami Opyung | W/O Lt. Nami Tadu | GB | Hong |

Source: Data collected during field work from office of the Legal Metrology Ziro, Lower Subansiri; Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.

Table 6. 5 Village wise distribution of Gaon Buras and Gaon Buris

| Name of village | No. of Gaon Buras | No. of Gaon Buris | Total |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| Bamin Michi | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| Mudang Tage | 16 | 6 | 22 |
| Dutta | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| Hija | 50 | 9 | 59 |
| Tajang | 29 | 5 | 34 |
| Reru | 28 | 5 | 33 |
| Kalung | 15 | 1 | 16 |
| Hari | 33 | 4 | 37 |
| Hong | 38 | 20 | 58 |
| Total | 227 | 57 | |

Source: compile by researcher on the basis of official record of legal metrology, Ziro Lower Subansiri District, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.

SECTION - II

6.3 PANCHAYAT RAJ INSTITUTION

Panchayati Raj Institutions have always been considered as a means to good governance and 73rd Constitutional Amendment was effected in the hope that it would lead to better governance and provide political space to the disadvantage section of the society like schedule caste, schedule tribes and women. Panchayati Raj is not a new phenomenon, the institution of local self government have flourished in India since long time. The provincial governments under the government of India Act 1919 established the village Panchayats in many part of the country. Things improved under the Act of 1935 which granted autonomy to provinces. In 1946, when popular ministries resumed office, there was a spate of legislation or covering new area (Dubey 1996:3).

However the history of Panchayat Raj Institution dates back to the community development programmes, the community development programme was started in India, just after independence (1952) it was inaugurated on 2nd October 1952. It was a multi project programme with the aim of an overall development of rural people. This programme consisted of agriculture, animal husbandry, irrigation, cooperation, public wealth, education, social education, communication, village industries etc. There are officials for each activity at district level to plan execute and evaluate the programme up to the village level³⁶. Within a few months of the launching of these pilot projects, it was prominently experience that the people were ready even keen, for the programme. The people in all the project areas responded enthusiastically and indeed much beyond the expectations of the Government and the sponsors of the programme. This fact emphasized the need for a rapid extension of the programme to other parts of the country. But the country's resources were not sufficient to sustain a comprehensive plan of the same magnitude as contemplated in the first 355 projects. The Government therefore decided to launch alongside the community development programme another programme which was somewhat less intensive in character, called the National Extension Service programme. The National Extension Service programme was formulated in April 1953 and it was inaugurated one year after the 55 community projects that is, on October 2, 1953³⁷. Though both Community Development Programme (CDP) and National Extension Service (NES) were launched with high expectation, they actually failed to achieve the desire results in terms of evoking popular participation. The National Development Council suggested for the appointment of Balwan Rai Mehta committee. So, subsequently in January 1957 committee headed by Balwan Rai Mehta was appointed, to review critically the working of the CDP and the NES and to suggest measure for more people's participation. The committee recommended setting up of three tier system of rural local government known as 'Panchayat Raj' as an instrument for democratic decentralization and mass mobilization at the grass roots level and for better implementation of community

³⁶ Cited from Wikipedia.org

³⁷ www.argiinfo.in

development programmes. Consequently, almost all the states and union territories in the country now have Panchayati Raj institutions in one form or another.

In Arunachal Pradesh, the community Development programme was ushered in for the first time, with the establishment of an Agricultural Research Institute at Pasighat, in 1950 (Chanbe 1973) Subsequently, the community development programme was introduced in North East Frontier Tract on 2nd October 1952. Meanwhile, the National extension service was also organized for the entire country. The first National extension service Block was set up in Namsang of Tirap District, whereas, the first Community Development Block was launched at Pasighat in siang Frontier division of the then North East Frontier Agency. Gradually, the Community Development Block was extended to the remaining parts of Arunachal Pradesh. The Community Development Block was introduced in the state with the objectives of simultaneous social, cultural and economic development. Therefore, the Blocks were entrusted with task of rural development (Seema 2016).

The urgent need for the rapid socio-economic development was felt in the tribal areas of Arunachal Pradesh, then North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) after the Chinese aggression in this part of India. The Chinese aggression of 1962 resulted into a sudden transition in the administrative policy of Government of India towards North East Frontier Agency. Consequently, the Government of India shifted its policy of isolation towards tribal people of North East Frontier Agency and adopted the new policy of integrating the indigenous tribes with rapid socio-economic development. It was during this period that the North East Frontier Agency designed its administrative machinery in order to achieve the objectives of bringing the area to the mainstream of national life as quickly as possible and to involve the people to take part in developmental activities (Bath 2001:3). This could have been possible when committee was appointed, popularly known as Dying Ering Committee. In early 1964, a Four- member Committee was setup under the Chairmanship of Late Daying Ering to study the system under which authority was exercised by different Tribal Institutions in Arunachal Pradesh (the

then NEFA) and make its recommendations for adoption of Panchayati Raj System through legislation. The Committee recommended for establishment of a three-tier Panchayati Raj Institutions viz. Gram Panchayats, Anchal Samities and Zilla Parishads. On acceptance of recommendations the President of India promulgated the NEFA Panchayat Raj Regulation, 1967 w.e.f 2nd October, 1968 making provision for constitution of 3-tier Panchayati Raj institutions. During last 3 decades of existence of Panchayati Raj institutions elections were held regularly till 1992. Panchayati Raj Institutions established under the provisions of NEFA Panchayati Raj Regulation 1967 were dissolved from 14th September 1997. Consequent upon 73rd Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1992, new State Act and Rules for conducting elections to Panchayati Raj Institutions were to be enacted but the State of Arunachal Pradesh being a tribal State, the issue of reservation as provided for in the Constitution for SC came in the way. This could be resolved by the Constitution (Eighty Third Amendments) Act, 2000 which came into force w.e.f 8th September, 2000. On removal of the impediment of reservation issue the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act, 1997, the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Preparation of Electoral Roll) Rules, 2002, The Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Delimitation of Constituencies and Reservation of Seats for Women) Rule, 2002 and the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj (Conduct of Election) Rules, 2002. The First General Election for Panchayati Raj Institutions under new Act following 73rd Amendment to the Constitution was held in 2003 and subsequent General Election was held in 2008, after interval of five years³⁸.

6.3.1 Political participation of Apatani women; Panchayat Raj Institution

It is clear that participation of Apatani women in the *Buliang* the village council of the Apatani was almost absent nor Apatani women were interested to be a *Buliang*, though the wife of *Buliang* supported their husband in their own way and widow played a role of a custodial of the post until her son grow matured enough to hold the post of *Buliang* is a different side of the coin, that was never

³⁸ State Election Commission of Arunachal Pradesh (www.secap.inc.in)

counted and always remained behind the scene. But the introduction of the modern politics in the valley has change the whole course of political lives of Apatanis and subsequently, the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution has changed the outlook of Apatani women in politics and helped women to take active part in the decision making process at grass root level. It will be interesting to note the changing attitude of Apatani women towards politics, for this is the same valley where women taking part in politics was like a taboo but with changing time women has achieved totally a different level in terms of political participation. This could have been possible due to the coming of formal education as well as modern politics with women reservation quota and also because of the changing outlook of both men and women towards womens' participation in politics; as both men and women have started to accept that women too are equally capable of taking part in politics.

The term 'political participation' has a very wide meaning. It is not only related to 'Right to Vote', but simultaneously relates to participation in: decision making process, political activism, political consciousness, etc. Political activism and voting are the strongest areas of womens' political participation. The Apatani women's first steps toward politics was their participation in the political process as voter, this happened in the year 1978. Because on the basis of the Universal Adult Franchise took place in the state only in 1977. Even in this first parliamentary election in Arunachal only half the population exercised their franchise as there was no election in Arunachal West Parliamentary Constituency, the lone candidate being elected uncontested. But the first Assembly Election in 1978 ensured a popular participation of the people of Arunachal in electoral politics (Bath 2001). Along with the rest of the state, in Apatani valley too, the wave of the modern politics ushered in the year 1978, when first general election was held, because it was in this election that electoral politics was first introduced in the state. Women started participating in politics and enjoyed their political rights as voter; in India, the right to vote is a legal right that is provided to every citizen above the age 18 subject to certain disqualifications. For many years women's' participation in politics was

restricted only to voters due to lack of political awareness and most of them thought that their political rights were only to cast their vote in general election. This perception changed when the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act 1997, which was enacted to replace the north East Frontier Agency Pachayat Raj Regulation, 1967, provides for all India types of Panchayat Raj system in Arunachal Pradesh. This Act was passed in conformity with the 73rd constitutional Amendment Act, 1992. Thus, it provides for the constitution of Panchayat at village level, block level and District level with uniform tenure of five years. The other provision of the Act is also almost same as the provision of the 73rd Amendment, 1992 (Lali 2011).

The most significant about The Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act 1997, is that it made provision for thirty-three percent i.e., one-third of the total seat reserved for the women in the entire three-tier. This provision empower women to a different level and provided life changing opportunity to take part in grass root politics making turning point in the political history of Apatani women. The first general Election for Panchayati Raj Institutions under new Act following 73rd Amendment to the constitution was held in 2003 and subsequently General Election was held in 2008 and 2014 after every five years. Since then there was no looking back for Apatani women.

In Apatani valley there are seven Anchal Samiti Blocks, each block has gram Panchayat Members, Anchal Samiti Members and one Ziila Parishad Member each. Below table 6.5 shows the detail of the Panchayat members in different Anchal Samiti Blocks-

Table 6. 6 Block wise distribution of Panchayat Members in the Apatani inhabited area according to the general election of the Panchayat Raj Institution 2013.

| Name of the Anchal Samiti blocks | ZPM | | Anchal | | Gram | | Total |
|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | |
| Diibo | 1 (1.03) | 0 (0.00) | 15 (15.46) | 9 (9.27) | 25 (25.77) | 47 (48.45) | 97 |
| Hija | 1 (1.33) | 0 (0.00) | 12 (16.00) | 5 (6.67) | 22 (29.33) | 35 (46.67) | 75 |
| Tajang | 0 (0.00) | 1 (1.54) | 10 (15.38) | 6 (9.23) | 13 (0.20) | 35 (53.85) | 65 |
| Reru-Kalung | 1 (1.41) | 0 (0.00) | 9 (16.67) | 8 (11.27) | 23 (32.39) | 30 (42.25) | 71 |
| Hari | 1 (1.26) | 0 (0.00) | 12 (15.19) | 6 (7.59) | 26 (32.91) | 34 (43.04) | 79 |
| Niichi | 0 (0.00) | 1 (1.49) | 9 (13.04) | 8 (11.59) | 20 (28.98) | 31 (44.93) | 69 |
| Niitii | 1 (1.51) | 0 (0.00) | 11 (16.67) | 6 (9.09) | 14 (21.21) | 34 (51.51) | 66 |
| Total | 5 (0.96) | 2 (0.38) | 78 (14.94) | 48 (9.19) | 143 (27.39) | 246 (47.12) | 522 |

Source: Compiled by researcher on the basis of result of Panchayat election 2013, Arunachal Pradesh, Directorate of Panchayat, Itanagar 2013

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage

The above table gives good view of the women Panchayat Raj Members, where every tier of the PRI has proportionate women members in it. It is well understood that the introduction of Panchayati Raj in Apatani Valley has proof that this system has become a turning point in the lives of Apatani women. For this is the same valley where women were never seen in the public platform, but today women are sharing equal space along with male Panchayat members in taking active part in decision making processes.

Table 6. 7 Numbers of women Representatives in Panchayat Raj in the Apatani inhabited areas, according to Panchayat Raj general election 2013

| Name of the three Tiers | men | women | Total numbers of PR members |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Ziila Parishad Members | 5 (71.4 %) | 2 (28.6 %) | 7 (100%) |
| Anchal Samiti Members | 78 (62%) | 48 (38 %) | 126 (100%) |
| Gram Panchayat Members | 143 (36.8 %) | 246 (63.2 %) | 389 (100%) |
| Total | 226 (43.3 %) | 296 (56.7 %) | 522 (100%) |

Source: Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015.

Here separate table has been prepared to show the strength of the women members in all the three tiers of the Panchayat Raj Institution in all Apatani inhabited areas.

The analyses of the Table 6.6 shows that in ziila Parishad out of 7 members 2 are women, that makes 28.5 % of the total seats, while in Anchal samiti 48 Panchayat members are women out of total 126, making 38 % of the total members and in Gram Panchayat 246 members are women out of 389 members that constitute 63.2 % of the total members. If we look at the seat sharing among male and female members, apart from Ziila, where 28.5 % are women, the other two tier of the Panchayat Raj Institution, that is Anchal samiti and Gram Panchayat has reached the reservation percentage for women that is 33% in fact these two tier has exceeded the reservation quota, that is 38 % and 63.2 % respectively. This signifies the good status of Apatani women in Panchayat Raj Institution.

The over view of the women members in Panchayat Raj is so impressive but it would be incomplete if we don't study their roles and responsibilities as women Panchayat members and their general awareness on Panchayat raj Institution. The same question also applies to general public especially women folk; if they are aware on Panchayat Raj Institution. So to be acquainted with such related

questions a schedule of questionnaire for women Panchayat members and general public women were prepared separately. Table 6.11 to Table 6.16 were administered to women Panchayat members only and Table 6.17 were administered to 300 general public women. For this study sample of 150 respondents that constitute 50.6 percent of total women Panchayat members in Apatani inhabited areas were interviewed out of total 296 women Panchayat Members including all three tiers of the Panchayat Raj Institution. The samples of respondents were selected from all the villages of Apatanis and from all three tier of the Panchayat Raj Institution viz. Ziila Parishad Members, Anchal Samiti Members and Gram Panchayat Members and the samples 150 respondents from Panchayat members were from different background in terms of; age, marital status, occupation and literacy.

Table 6. 8 Village wise distribution of number of Respondents (women representatives in PRI)

| Sl. No. | Name of the Village | No. of respondents |
|---------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Hari | 25 |
| 2 | Biila (Reru, Kalung, Tajang) | 28 |
| 3 | Hija | 18 |
| 4 | Mudang-Tage | 15 |
| 5 | Bamin-Michi | 17 |
| 6 | Hong | 32 |
| 7 | Dutta | 15 |
| | Total | 160 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

According to the Table 6.7 the village wise distribution of the respondents are 25 from Hari village, 28 from Biila, 18 from Hija, 15 from Mudang-Tage, 17 from Bamin-Michi, 32 from Hong and 15 respondents from Dutta village.

6.3.2 Level of Education and Age of the respondents (women representatives)

Age and education has always remained one of the important factors in selecting leaders and therefore essential attribute to the modern leadership. In this context

education level has been categorized into five; (1) Illiterate: those who do not know how to read and write, (2) Primary: those who have studied standards 1st to 5th, (3) Below Matriculation: those who have studied standards 6th to 9th, (4) Higher secondary: those who have studied standards 10th to 12th and (5) Graduation and above: those who have completed graduation and above levels.

Table 6. 9 Level of Education and Age of the women representatives in PRI.

| Respondents' Education | Age of the Respondents' | | | | Total |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------|
| | 26-35 Years | 36-45 Years | 46-55 Years | Above 56 Years | |
| Illiterate | - | 9 | 20 | 39 | 68 |
| primary | 2 | 11 | 16 | 2 | 31 |
| Below Matriculation | 9 | 9 | 11 | - | 29 |
| Higher Secondary | 17 | 8 | 2 | - | 27 |
| Graduation and above | 4 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| Total | 32 | 38 | 49 | 41 | 160 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

The above Table 6.8 shows the age and level of educational qualification of the respondents. It can be observed that most of the illiterate PRI members belong to age group of 45-56 years and above and age group ranging from 26-45 years are literate with educational qualifications ranging from primary, matriculation, higher secondary and graduation. Thus, one can conclude that both literate and illiterate respondents participate as Panchayat Raj members.

Table 6. 10 Marital Status of the respondents (women representatives in PRI)

| Marital Status of the Respondents' | Numbers of respondents | In Percentage |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Married | 132 | 82.5 % |
| Widow | 28 | 17.5% |
| Total | 160 | 100 % |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Marital Status is another important aspect of women leaders that cannot be overlooked. From table 6.9 it is clear that 82.5% of the respondents are married and 17.5% are widow. Thus both married and widows are given equal opportunities in PRI.

Table 6. 11 Occupation structure of the Respondents (women representatives in the PRI)

| Type of Occupation | Numbers of respondents | In percentage |
|--------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Farmer | 94 | 58.75 |
| Business | 23 | 14.37 |
| House wife | 43 | 26.87 |
| Total | 160 | 100 % |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Studying occupation structure of the respondents gives the ideas about financial status of the sample respondents. Here it is important to mention that in farmers category, those women have been included who do the cultivation in their own agricultural field, mostly managed by the family members and sometimes they do hire labors, and also women who work in other's agricultural paddy field or in gardens for wages are included. Next category, business as occupation includes shops, vegetables vendor, local beads seller and weaving, these becomes their primary source of income. In the category 'both farming and business', women practices both farming and business simultaneously and the last category 'house wife' are those women mostly mothers' of small kids who are not in a position to practice any of the above occupations due to her busy schedule at home, looking after her children and doing house hold chore. Thought her work cannot be converted into currency but her contribution is no less than the other occupations. From the Table 6.10 it is understood that 94 (58.75%) are farmers, 23 (14.37%) of the respondents are into business and 43 (26.87%) are house wives.

Table 6. 12 Data on whether women’s representative Panchayat Members are aware of their power and function

| Responses | Numbers of respondents | In percentage |
|-----------|------------------------|---------------|
| Aware | 53 | 33.1 |
| Not aware | 76 | 47.5 |
| Not fully | 31 | 19.4 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

This question had been asked to women’s representative Panchayat members to know their awareness on the duties of the three tiers of the Panchayat Raj. According to table 6.12, out of total 160 respondents 53 (33.1 %) are well aware about their power and function of the PRI, 76 (47.5 %) respondents are not aware about their power and function and 31 (19.4) knows but not fully. So almost half of the respondents were not well aware about the power and function of PRI members and most of the respondents belong to GPM (Gram Panchayat Member) which has the highest number of women representatives that is 246 (63.2 %) against 143 (36.8 %) male representatives out of total 389 GPM in ziro valley.

Table 6. 13 Respondent’s readiness to contest election in general quota

| Responses | Number of respondents | Numbers in percentage |
|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Yes | 25 | 15.6 |
| No | 99 | 61.9 |
| Don’t know | 36 | 22.5 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Interestingly out of total 160 respondents, only 25 (15.6%) of them wanted to contest in general quota if they were given chance, 99 (61.9%) of them were not interested in contesting election in general quota and 36 (22.5 %) of them were

no idea whether to contest election or not. It is worth mentioning here that most of the women representatives in ziro valley were selected uncontested on the willingness and approval of all the clan members mostly to fill the women's quota. According to the PRI general election 2013 result, out of 7 ZPM 4 ZPM including 1 female contested election and rest 3 of them won election uncontested. Among ASM (Anchal Panchayat Member) 8 of them contested election of which 5 of them were women and 3 were men out of total 266 ASM. And all the GPM (Gram Panchayat Member) were uncontested hence selected, which has highest numbers of women representatives that is 246 (63.2 %) against 143 (36.8%) men representatives out of total 389 GPM.

Table 6. 14 Data to know whether women's representatives of Panchayat discharge their duties by themselves or take help from other

| Responses | Number of respondents | Numbers in percentage |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Self | 103 | 64.4 |
| Husband and relatives | 57 | 35.6 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

According to the analysis of table 6.14, out of total respondents 103 (64.4 %) of them discharge their duties by themselves and 57 (35.6 %) of them take help from their husband or family members. This issue have been concern for many, for instance Tilling Doley, Ex ZPM of Nwtw and present ZPM Bamin Siri of *Diibo* expressed serious concerned over proxy practice among PRI members (interview with them have been given). An instances researcher comes across in Bamin and Hija village of the studied area was when she approached to one of the PR member, and as started questioning, husband of the respondent said 'I can tell you better, because in most of the work I helped her because my wife is ignorant in this field more over she use to be busy whole day with household chore and agriculture work.' But there are some women who are against such practice. Tilling Yam of Hong village, during her tenure as ASM chairperson, she was very strict about such practice among PRI members. In her words "I literally

argued with many of my colleague's husbands for not sending their wives in a meeting or any other activities." Smti Gyati Rinyo ASM of Hari village too is against such practice, "I do attend all the meeting by myself and even developmental work I supervised and don't take help from my husband, because I feel the opportunities we get should be fully utilized and should not give other, not even our husband to take over and until and unless we try and learn things by ourselves how can we progress." Dusu Yakang GPM of hari village said "I do all the works which I am capable of but some works especially paper related works, I am compelled to take help from my husband as I cannot read and write"

Table 6. 15 Data on the attendance of the women's representatives of Panchayat in any meetings of Panchayat.

| Responses | Number of respondents | Numbers in percentage |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Always | 126 | 78.7 |
| Sometime | 34 | 21.3 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

From above table it appears that, out of total 160 respondents 126 (64.4%) of them do attend all kinds of meeting and another 34 (21.3%) were not regular in meeting. This means most of the women representatives do attend all the meeting related to the PRI, which is definitely a sign of progress in this field.

Table 6. 16 Data on awareness about the women's quota among the women Panchayat representatives.

| Responses | Number of respondents | Numbers in percentage |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Yes | 133 | 83.1 |
| No | 6 | 3.7 |
| Not fully | 21 | 13.2 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Regarding awareness on reservation quota for women candidates. The respondents' response shows that 133 respondents that constitute 83 % of them are aware about reservation quota. Therefore majority of the women

representative knew the policy of seat reservation for women and 6 respondents that is only 3 % does not know about it and 21 respondents were not fully aware. So over all women representatives are well aware about the reservation quota for women.

Table 6. 17 Data on the source of the motivation that help them to become Representatives in Panchayat Raj Institution.

| Source of motivation | Numbers of respondents | Numbers in percentages |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Self | 12 | 7.5 |
| Husband | 73 | 45.6 |
| Relatives/Clan | 75 | 46.9 |
| Total | 160 | 100 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Above table shows the motivation for their participation in PRI election. It was learned that only 12 respondents were self motivated; they themselves decided to take part in the election another 73 respondents has become PRI members because their family and husband wanted and supported them and on the other hand 75 respondents were supported and recommended by the clan members. It appears that Apatani women has still long way to go in term of making independent decision in political lives.

The above queries which have been administered to the women representatives of Panchayat Raj reveals that though women share a good numbers of seats in two tiers that is Anchal Samiti and Gram Panchayat, but their actual role and their understanding of the responsibilities are not up to mark as it should have been. The reason cited by many of them is that they cannot read and write and hence does not have confident enough to do the work alone by themselves. Another reason for not able to participate fully in all the responsibilities of PRI is their lack of time, because they are busy in house hold chore and other agricultural work.

The same queries should also be applied to the women of common masses. Therefore the awareness on the Panchayat Raj Institution and its related issues were administered to the common masses as well. The samples of respondents

comprises of 300 women of various field, age group, marital status, education background have been asked. For this, 5 set of questions were prepared to see their awareness on the Panchayat Raj Institution and related political issues, which is presented in the following Table 6.18.

Table 6. 18 Awareness of women masses about Panchayat Raj Institution and related issues

| Awareness about | Knows | Don't know | Not fully | Total |
|--|----------------|----------------|---------------|-------|
| Who elect or select ASM, GPM, ZPM | 149 (49.67) | 70 (23.33) | 81 (27.00) | 300 |
| What are the duties of ZPM, ASM, GPM | 78 (26.00) | 141 (47.00) | 81 (27.00) | 300 |
| What is the quota reservation for women | 218 (72.67) | 28 (9.33) | 54 (18.00) | 300 |
| What is Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act, 1997 | 89 (29.67) | 134 (44.67) | 77 (25.67) | 300 |
| What is Adult franchise or when can one cast vote | 238 (79.33) | 27 (9.00) | 35 (11.67) | 300 |

Source: compiled by the researcher on the basis of data collected during field work in the study area, 2015

Note: Figures in brackets are in percentage

These questions were administered to all the 300 women masses. According to the responses they made to the question who elect or select ASM, GPM and ZPM; out of 300 respondents 49.67% knows, where as 23.33 % don't know and 27 % knows but not fully. On the question regarding duties of PRI members 26 % could able to tell the duties of PRI members, on the other hand 47 % could not tell and 27 % knew but not fully. Regarding quota reservation for women, 27.6 % of them heard and know about it where as 9.33 % respondents does not know about it and 18 % does not have complete idea about it. Awareness regarding Arunachal Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act 1997, out of total respondents only 29.67 % knows and they are educated younger generation, on the other hand as many as 44.67 % of them does not know about it. And about Adult Franchise or when

one can vote as many as 79.33 respondents knows and 27 respondents do not know it an 11.67 % knows but showed little confusion in this regard.

Interview with the Zilla Parishad Members

Case 1: Name: Punyo Paya

Sex: female

Age: 46

Designation: ZPM

Punyo Paya, ZPM of *Nwchi* narrated to the question, how do you enter politics “Even before I take part in politics I was active in social work at village level. But when I learned that this time ZPM seat of the Block is reserved for women, I thought of trying for the same. Because especially in our society, women hardly take any part in politics and when reservation quotas for women are being given, I feel we should come forward and grasp the opportunity. Fortunately with the support from my family members and all the *Niche* people I was selected uncontested. I am trying my best to deliver my duties in every possible way. I as ZPM is the head of my block under me there are 17 ASM and 51 GPM. We all men as well as women had to work in coordination for the all round development of the village. I never felt discrimination for being women ZPM, all ASM and GPM seek and take my advice in any matter. One thing I felt very important is the support from the family member, especially husband. Because at time we have to stay out from home or we cannot give full time to the household chore and if in such condition our family does not support or understand us, there could be changes that misunderstanding between family member come up. I am fortunate that my husband understands and supports me morally and gives me space to exercise my duty for what I have been called for.”

Researcher also took interview of two male ZPM (Tilling Doley from nitii Anchal Samitii and Bamin Siiri from Diibo Anchal Samitii) asking them their perception about the women’s participation in panchayati raj institution.

Case 2: Name: Tilling Dolley**Sex: Male****Age: 50****Designation: Ex. ZPM****Date: February 2012**

Researcher- What do you say about women reservation in Panchayati Raj Institution?

Respondent- 33% reservation has been introduced for women so that women can also take part in the grass root level that is Panchayat. This can be fulfilled only if women take interest in taking part in Panchayat but it is not so women are just puppet of their husband. Since 33% reservation for women has introduced, seat in the panchayat for man is limited. So what happens is that women are being politicalised. Husbands make their wives as Panchayat member and wives are completely dictated by their husband. Many of the women Panchayat leaders are not interested in politics but because of their husband's interest they contest in Panchayat election. Even after election women do not play any role, all the duties, decision is taken by their husbands. Therefore women are not at all doing their job. I feel women are blocking other efficient candidate. Therefore I feel women reservation policy is not benefiting Apatani women. So it would be better if this reservation is cancelled.

Researcher- Apart from cancelling, is there any other solution or option to bring it in a right track?

Respondent- If cancelling is not possible and reservation to be continued, then women should not listen to other not even to her own husband. And if at all they cannot stand by themselves. Then they should not take part in Panchayat, rather they should give those seats to a male member who are efficient enough to hold this post. In spite of their incapability they hold the post of Panchayat; they are directly blocking other well and capable men's way. Therefore I feel until women are well aware about rights and duties; this reservation policy should be put on hold at least for some time, until they are ready to hold the post. Otherwise women reservation causes loss for the society as well as community.

Researcher- As you has said. Women listen to their husband. How about making husband aware about the rights and duties of wives as a Panchayat Members and let them know that proxy rule is offense and punishable in the eyes of law?

Respondent- That's why I suggest those women who think, they cannot opposed their husband should not at all take part in Panchayat and surrender themselves and give other a chance. We cannot campaign husband not to interfere in wives mater. Because husband could have many reasons behind that, first it could be political pressurized from other and more over women's first and foremost duty is to look after her household duty, if she cannot look after her children and husband how she can look after society.

Case 3: Name: Bamin Siri

Sex: Male

Designation: ZPM

Date: September 2012

Researcher: what do you say about women representatives in Panchayat Raj Institution?

Respondent: Women and men are different since childhood. It is visible even in their daily conducts. Women usually look every thing in detail and their thoughts are deeper on the other hand men take every thing very casually and their views are usually of general types. So I thing women will be better in developmental activities for they care each aspect in details. Women are like frog in the well, who only see sky from the below but can not see out side the well, so don't know what is happening around them. Therefore I feel 33% reservation for women in Panchayat is very good beginning, through which women can take part in decision making body and also their views can be included. Very soon there will be a 50% reservation that I believe will enlarge the scope of women in politics. I strongly oppose proxy where husbands take decision on behalf of their wives. System of proxy can be seen in the panchayat meeting, where husbands of women Panchayat leader attend meeting and take part in decision making.

Researcher: Do women panchayat member fulfill their duty or exercise their rights and duties?

Respondent: yes some women Panchayat members are very active in all the activities and hence full filling their duties and some time even more efficient than male members, because they are hard working by nature. But at times, though women are given rights and power to say in the meeting, they hardly share their views. I think we have to wait for another 3-4 years to witness 100% participation of women in panchayat Raj Institution. Due to illiteracy women are unable to depend themselves. Once women are given education regarding Panchayat and it's important, I think this problem will be solve to some extend.



Photo 6.1 Mrs. Koj Oche, an Apatani Gaon Buri



Photo 6.3 A notice board restricting women from climbing lapang (which reads; women don't climb lapang)



Photo 6.4 Health program conducted on lapang by women; Breaking the taboo



Photo 6.5 Gaon Buris, participating in the celebration of 'International women's Day'



Photo 6.6 Myoko ceremony programme on lapang, women are seen serving in Lapang, which was once taboo for women to climb on.



Photo 6.7 Gaon bura and buri holding meeting at lapang; sharing equal space with men in decision making process



Photo 6.8 Cultivating gourd, an important item used in various ceremonies

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Education is believed to be the main factor resulting in social change and modern education in India has played an important role in upward social mobility. The significant of education were felt by everyone and hence become primary objective to access education. Modern education in India has played a key role in the process of changing the status and social mobility. It not only adapts an individual to existing or emerging social situation but also has a creative role in the sense that it has the potential of liberating minds from the shackles of the established culture. (Khurshid 2011). According to Banks (1969:207) education smoothens the path of innovation by breaking down traditional attitudes and so lessening the resistance to change. It helps to wean the developing societies away from the old and towards the new, it inspires belief in progress, in efficiency, in achievement and in rationality. It also helps people to become aware of their social and legal rights and become active participants in the process of economic development and social change. Dube (1976:105) holds that “education broadens the mental horizons of people and enables them to evaluate social and cultural traditions and to reset new goals. It suggests alternatives to tradition and indicates the ways through which these can be achieved.”

Many academic discipline has also understood the important and role played by the education in shaping present society. Anthropology too has it sub-field called education anthropology or the anthropology of education that deals and examines the educational system from a cultural point of view, including informal as well as formal education. Education anthropology is a way of examining educational systems from a cultural anthropologist point of view. (Comitas and Dolgin, 1979) because anthropologist do understand the important of cultural transmission. Cultural transmission involves the transfer of a sense of identity between generations sometime known as enculturation and also transfer of identity

between cultures, known as acculturation. Accordingly, it is not surprising that education has and can be strongest medium in both enculturation and acculturation. Education is the most vital instrument to bring changes economically, socially and culturally, and hence education is considered as the most powerful among all the instruments. This implies that education as an instrument is used as a mechanism for bringing desired changes in the society. It would be incomplete if we study social changes without incorporating education as one of the powerful medium or instrument for the changing society, because education is believe to be the biggest weapon used in changing lives and for that matter whole society can be changed in a desire direction. Indian Government also gives priority to the women education and for this special commissions and committees was set up from time to time to ensure education for women of all categories, cutting across all culture and diversities. Therefore, introduction of modern education in the Apatani valley proof to be the junction between olden days and present days.

Against this backdrop of the importance of women's education in changing lives of women, an attempt has been made to know the present literacy status of the Apatani women and important of modern education that changes the lives of Apatani women. An attempt has also been made to locate various success stories which have brought significant changes in the lives of Apatani women in rural or urban areas.

7.2 EDUCATION IN LOWER SUBANSIRI DISTRICT

The progress of education in the district of lower subansiri had been discussed in the gazetteer for lower subansiri, published by the Government of Arunachal Pradesh. Where it is written "Till 1947, the district of Subansiri remained as an area of darkness in the field of education. Not a single educational institution was there and literally the entire population was illiterate. After independence in 1947, there began a new era of educational progress and development in the area. In the month of September, 1947, the Department of Education was constitute under the charge of an Educational Officer with headquarter at Sadiya which was

at that time the head quarter of the Sadiya Frontier Track. Mrs. Indira Miri was appointed the first Educational Officer and it was she who led the pioneering work in the field of education into this region. In December 1947, a Teachers' Training Institute was set up at Sadiya which produced trained teachers who were sent to interior Subansiri areas to open new schools." So basically till 1947 there was no formal education in the Apatani valley and the first important step taken towards educational progress in the valley was the establishment of two Lower Primary Schools at Kore and Pap at Ziro in 1948-49, opened respectively by Kandarpa Nath Ojha and Probhat Chandra Saikia who were the first two school teachers in the district. Ojha died of malaria in 1949 and the school at Kore was closed. The other school at Pap was gutted by fire on 11th June, 1949 (Choudhury 1981)

The school at Papii was reopened in the year 1950. Another Primary School was opened at Old Ziro in 1951. In 1953 four schools came up at Hari, Hong, Hija, and Biilla villages. Then, the teachers posted were Lakshinath Borghain and Jagat Chandra Baruah (for Hong school), Dharma Nath Sharma(for Hari school), Mahendra Gogoi (for Bula school), and Gunaram Deka (for Hija school) names of the first batch of students were Shri Koj Bagang, Shri Yalyang Tade, Shri Hage Tada, Shri Dusu Jarbo, and Shri Khoda Pusang. However, girl child were strictly discouraged from going to schools in those days (ibid: 292-305). Though the defunct schools were reopened and another four new schools have been opened in the valley in 1953 but for the girls it was only after six years they could enrolled themselves in the schools, that too only few of them³⁹.

³⁹ Narrated by Hage Anya, first Apatani woman to be enrolled in a school.

Table 7.1 Population and Literacy rate of Lower Subansiri District from Census 1981 to 2011

| Census year | population | | | Literacy rate | | |
|-------------|------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Total | male | female | Total literate | Male literate | Female literate |
| 1981 | 1,13,300 | 60,155 (53.1) | 53,145 (46.9) | 21,452 (18.93) | 16,255 (27.02) | 5,197 (9.78) |
| 1991 | 154,589 | 81,423 (52.7) | 73,166 (47.3) | 50,614 (32.74) | 33,015 (65.2) | 17,599 (34.8) |
| 2001 | 55,726 | 28,425 (51) | 27,301 (49) | 26,969 (59.39) | 15,729 (58.3) | 11,240 (41.7) |
| 2011 | 83,030 | 41,843 (50.4) | 41,187 (49.6) | 54,057 (74.35) | 29,470 (54.5) | 24,587 (45.5) |

Source: State Statistic Office; Itanagar, govt. of Arunachal Pradesh.

Note: Figure in brackets is in percentage

The literacy rate of four census year that is 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 of Lower Subansiri speaks volume about the growth of education in Lower Subansiri District of Arunachal Pradesh. According to table 7.1, the total literate in 1981 census was 21,452 with 16,255 (75.77 %) male literate and only 5,197 (24.22 %) female literate. In 1991 literate person increase to 50,614 with 65.2 % person male literate and 34.8 % person female literate. In 2001 census the ratio of male and female literate improved with 58.3 % male literate and 41.7 % female literate and in 2011 census shows even better ratio of male and female literate, with 54.5 % person male literate and 45.5 % person female literate out of total 54057 literate. In last three decades the increase in female literacy rate is clearly visible as 24.22 % person female literate in 1981 census, after three decades it increases to 45.5 % person literate in 2011 census. This is the result of the people's awareness and acceptance of the importance of female education.

Table 7. 2 The number of educational institution and students in the district (undivided Subansiri District) during the years 1972-73 to 1978-79

| Year | Number of educational institutions | | | | | Number of students | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Higher secondary/ Secondary school | Middle School | Junior/ primary school | Nursery/ Pre-primary School | Total | Boys | Girls | Total |
| 1972-73 | 3 | 9 | 78 | - | 90 | 5141 (83.2) | 1039 (16.8) | 6180 (100) |
| 1973-74 | 3 | 9 | 78 | - | 90 | 5496 (80.3) | 1348 (19.7) | 6844 (100) |
| 1974-75 | 4 | 14 | 88 | 1 | 107 | 6595 (78.2) | 1841 (21.8) | 8438 (100) |
| 1975-76 | 4 | 19 | 103 | 2 | 128 | 5990 (80.4) | 1459 (19.6) | 7449 (100) |
| 1976-77 | 4 | 18 | 129 | 2 | 153 | 6668 (77.5) | 1941 (22.5) | 8609 (100) |
| 1977-78 | 5 | 21 | 153 | 4 | 183 | 9049 (77.4) | 2648 (22.6) | 11697 (100) |
| 1978-79 | 5 | 26 | 167 | 8 | 206 | 8236 (73.4) | 2981 (26.6) | 11217 (100) |

Source: statistical Hand Books of Arunachal Pradesh. 1972-73 to 1978-79 in Gazetteer of India Arunachal Pradesh Subansiri District.

This has been studied to have an idea about the numbers of educational institution and the number of students in undivided Subansiri around three decades back. The analysis of the table 7.2 reveals that, there were only 90 educational institutions by 1971-72, in 1974-75 it increased to 107, in 1975-76 the educational institutions increased to 128, by 1976-77 the educational institutions were 153, the following year it became 183 and by 1978-79 the total educational institution became 206, including 5 higher and secondary schools, 26 middle schools, 167 junior/ primary schools and 8 nursery/pre-primary schools. Here it is important to mention that, the District Subansiri was undivided when this census was being taken. For instance on 13th May 1980, Subansiri District was

bifurcated into 'Lower Subansiri' and 'Upper Subansiri District.' Upper Subansiri was formed by covering the area of the then Daporijo Sub-Division and the rest of the area of the erstwhile Subansiri District came under Lower Subansiri. On 22nd September 1992, Lower Subansiri was again bifurcated to form a new district called 'Papumpare'. Again in 2001, another new district by the name 'Kurung-Kumay' was born out of Lower Subansiri district, hence the Subansiri District was combination of these four Districts. So keeping this in mind if one looked at the number of educational institution and number of student it is quite low. And the ratio between girls and boys students shows huge difference. In 1972-73 total number of students were 6,180 out of which 5,141 were boys that makes 83.2 percent and girls constitute only 1,039 that is 16.8 percent. The table also reveals that, in last seven years that is 1973-1979 the girls student increased but in very low rate, as shown above from 16.8 percent to 19.7 percent, then to 21.8 percent, next 19.6 percent, 22.5 percent, 22.6 percent and in 1978-79 it constitute only 26.6 percent out of total students. By this we can understand that though girls were enrolled in the schools but in very negligible number.

Now it would be interesting to look at the present Lower Subansiri's number of educational institutions and the number of students.

According to Table 7.3 there are total 255 educational Institutions under government of Arunachal Pradesh as on 31st march 2014. As mention earlier, the then, subansiri was undivided District, constituted of present Districts Lower Subansiri, Papumpare, Kurung Kumey and Upper Subansiri which had 206 total educational institutes during 1978-79. But now a separate Lower Subansiri District alone has total 255 educational Institutions, which is quite impressive and of course the achievement in the last three decades.

Table 7.3 Number of educational institutions in Lower Subansiri District under Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh, as on 31-03-2014.

| Sl. No. | Type of Institutions (Ar. P. Govt. only) | Number of Institution |
|---------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | College | 1 |
| 2 | Hr. Secondary School | 6 |
| 3 | Secondary School | 11 |
| 4 | Middle School | 78 |
| 5 | I.V. School | 145 |
| 6 | Pre-primary school | 15 |
| 7 | Total | 255 |

Source: District Statistical handbook of Lower Subansiri 2013-14

Table 7.4 Number of students in education Institution under government of Arunachal Pradesh as on 31st march 2014.

| Level of education | Number of students | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Total |
| Higher Secondary School | 2085 (51.5) | 1967 (48.5) | 4052 |
| Secondary School | 1195 (48.2) | 1282 (51.8) | 2477 |
| Middle School | 3342 (50.1) | 3340 (49.9) | 6682 |
| I.V./Primary/Pre-primary School | 3500 (49.8) | 3523 (50.2) | 7023 |
| Total | 10122 (50.1) | 10112 (49.9) | 20234 |

Note: Number in the bracket is percentage

Source: District Statistical handbook of Lower Subansiri 2013-14

According to the Table 7.4 the number of students of both Boys and Girls at present scenario is depicting the changing mindset of the individual and society as a whole. Where both boy and the girl child have given equal opportunity of education. In table 7.1, it was clear that in 1978-79 the boys constituted 73.4 percent where as girls constituted only 26.6 percent from the total 11217 students. But at present overall percentage of the Boys are 50.1 percent and on the other hand girl constitute 49.9 percent of the total students 20,234.

Coming to the Apatanis who inhabit the district head quarter or Ziro valley. In the state of Arunachal Pradesh, the Apatanis are one of the most literate tribe. 2011 census substantiate this point. Lower Subansiri district with 74.35% literacy rate stands 2nd only to Papumpare district (79.95%) in literacy rate. Within Lower Subansiri district Ziro-I CD block which is mostly inhabited by this tribe ranks 1st with 73.74 percent followed by Ziro-II (60.39%) and Tamen-Raga Block (48.98%). There are total 68 Government Educational Institutes in Ziro valley and in addition to this there are as many as 33 private or non-government educational Institutes that have been established. The number of government and non-government educational institutions in Ziro Valley is presented in Table 7.5

Table 7. 5 Distribution of Educational Institutions under Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh in Apatani Inhabited Areas as on 31-03-2014.

| Name of the Circle | College | Hr. Secondary School | Secondary School | Middle School | I.V. School | Pre-Primary School | Total Institution |
|--------------------|---------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ziro (Sadar) | 0 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 18 | 0 | 33 |
| Old Ziro | 0 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 21 | 3 | 35 |
| Total | | 2 | 5 | 19 | 39 | 3 | 68 |

Source: Compiled by the researcher on the basis of data available at DDSE, Ziro. District Statistical Hand Book of Lower Subansiri District 2013-2014.

Table 7. 6 Distribution of Non-Government Educational Institutions as on 31-03-2014

| Name of the Circle | College | Hr. Secondary School | Secondary School | Middle School | I.V. School | Pre-Primary School | Total Institution |
|--------------------|---------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Ziro (Sadar) | 1 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 22 |
| Old Ziro | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 11 |
| Total | 1 | 3 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 0 | 33 |

Source: DDSE, Ziro. District Statistical Hand Book of Lower Subansiri District 2013-2014.

Special mention must be made of Non-Government College, the St Claret College, Ziro the only college in the entire Apatani Valley. Till 1979-80, The

Jawaharlal Nehru College at Pasighat which was established in the year 1965 was the only destination for pursuing degree level education for students of this Valley. In 1979-80, another degree college was established at Itanagar. Since then several govt. colleges were set up across the state except in this Valley. There was a dire need of a degree college in the valley which was fulfilled in the year 2003; credit goes to the Catholic Missionaries and the generous land donors of Reru village. This college is permanently affiliated to Rajiv Gandhi Central University. Now this college offers and imparts quality degree level education to students from the Valley and from other districts of the State.

Knowing the importance of women's education and change in their status an attempt has been made to know the women's perception regarding education. For this question like 'how important is education' had been asked to few of the selected post graduate students of Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar. Here it is worth mentioning that in this post graduate university, there are 242 Apatani students of which 86 are men and 156 are women, so women outnumbered the men in this university⁴⁰. When asked about the importance of education in one's life, Leegang Aniya, a post graduate student replied "man cannot enjoy life to its fullest without education, because education not only helps in seeking job but it also helps to live a life in accord in this globalised world. Where every society, culture, technology, everything that is under the sun is connected in one way or the other and cannot live without the other and medium of this is education." Another young woman, *Yasa* a graduate student answered to this same question "as food is important for the body so as the education is for life." When this same question was asked to Dusu puniya of hari village who never went to school replied "education is very important because education gives one a social status. People give more importance to well educated women in compare to illiterate. They are lucky they can read and write, I wish I too had studied. When she was asked why she never went to school, she replied "had I knew that going to school would be this benefit, I would have studied. In those days we thought that learning agriculture work is enough for our survival, after all, only these work

⁴⁰ Source: Apatani Student Union, RGU

will feed our stomach and going to school is just wastage of time.” Everyone should be educated no matter what profession one chooses, because education can provide doctor, engineer, administrator so as it can also provide well educated farmer who will be dealing all the farm related activities with the latest technology available and can know the scientific reason in farm related activities.

Many of the respondents show their regret for not going to school and blame their ignorance. Now every mother in the Apatani valley is so determined to educate their children, so that one day their children will not blame them for not sending them to school. So, in the past education of women was viewed as wastage of time but now lot of changes and improvement are taking place, hence showing tremendous progress in educational status of Apatani women. Against this backdrop, it is necessary to examine the attitude of women towards the girl child education.

7.3 ATTITUDE TOWARDS GIRLS EDUCATION

When respondents were asked, whether girls should be educated or not. It is interesting to note that all of the respondents expressed their willingness to educate their daughters. Kago Nasung of Mudang-Tage village, mother of two sons and 5 daughters said “I was not sent to school because my parents didn’t knew the importance of education, but I understand and know the important of education. So, I will definitely educate my daughters (personal interview, June 2017). Yachang Yabyang 55 years old and a mother of three sons and three daughters said “I have given if not big but small immovable property to my all three sons but I have not given any thing to my daughters, only one thing I could give to my daughters is the education, which I believe will never leave them in starvation; through their education they will definitely manage for their livelihood” therefore giving education to your daughter is not less than any treasure much more worth than any property.

It is heart moving to see many Apatani mother, working so hard to educate her children; both sons and daughters. Many of them are vegetables seller, daily wage earner their main motive is to educate her children. This is the present

scenario, where everyone is well aware of the importance of education. Thus mothers no longer consider educating daughters as a wastage of time as earlier generations perceived and thought that women are for household chores, agricultural works, rearing children, weaving clothes etc. Further it was found that among both male and female children of the respondents the level of education was almost the same. Majority of the respondents send their sons and daughters to the same schools. Hence they show an unbiased attitude towards their daughters and value education equally for both sons and daughters.

Another important practice where we see the growing consciousness of education is *Patang*, it is important to mention that *patang* (reciprocal group) is a unit or circle of friends usually of the same age group, who work in the paddy field in turn. In earlier days it was the important mechanism in operating agricultural works. Especially during those days when the economy was mostly dependent on agriculture. There are three types of *Patang*: *Akha* (old *Patang*), *Nyimung Patang* (youth *Patang*) and *Hemey Patang* (Children *Patang*). So almost everyone was a member of *patang*. (Detail practice of *patang* has been discussed in the previous chapter 4.) Now the *Nyimung Patang* and *Hemey Patang* are very rare in the society. Because the *Nyimung* (youth) are pursuing their higher studies and even if they are not studying further they would be doing jobs in government sectors as well as in private sectors, but they do help their parents in holidays and especially during paddy transplanting and in harvesting the youth take an active part in helping their parents, but they hardly form *patang* (reciprocal group), and some of the young women who are neither studying or doing any particular job are still in *patang*. And *hemey* (children) *Patang* are almost absent in the society. This is due to the coming of education. Today people are giving preferences to study and doing jobs, be it govt. or private, than cultivating paddy fields. Because they believe that their cultivation does not meet their entire daily requirements, which is the demand of today's lifestyle. "Therefore I and my husband are trying our best to give the best education to my children, so that in the future my children will not depend on others for their needs but should know how to earn themselves for their

livelihood, Said Michi Monya⁴¹ a mother of three daughters. Tage Dumi, 17 years old girl, who studies in class 12th replied to a question, have you ever in a patang “no I never went to patang, because my parent did not allow me to but yes I used to help her in paddy field and in gardening during my school vacation”, by her statement one can understand how society has changed, there was a time when children; both boys and girls were not sent to school because of these works, but now it is all opposite, children are not engage in agricultural works because they have to go schools. This is the real transformation that society has witnesses in these few decades.

After discussing the changing attitude of Apatani towards education; the next step is to see the extent of change and the level of the empowerment achieved by the Apatani women.

7.4 IMPACT OF EDUCATION IN THE LIVES OF APATANI WOMEN

In true sense modern education has empower Apatani women. Universally education is believed to be the life changer, so is very true for the Apatani women. It seems education has given wings to the Apatani women; today they are flying high and lack nothing. Education has given them the life they dream of, and it is the most potential means to bring about permanent change in the socio-economic and cultural outlook of the people. Through education, new ideas are disseminated and a new life brought into being, hence it is an important factor for raising the living standard of the people. Hence following case studied will enlighten the impact of education in the lives of Apatani women.

7.4.1 Case 1: Story of a school teacher who witnesses the growth of the education in Apatani valley.

Name: Mudo Dumi

Sex: female

Age: 52 years

Date and place of the interview: February 2016 at her residence; Club Road Hapoli.

⁴¹ In a personal interview, mother of three daughters, in fact this is the same view from almost everyone.

(Mudo Dumi a teacher by profession; who has been teaching in the government school since 1984, she narrated her experience in class room situation regarding student's behavior, especially the girl students.)

I have been teaching in a school for last 28 years and witness tremendous change in the education system among Apatanis particularly in girl's education. When I joined my job as a teacher, there were only few girl students and they were poor in their studies. At first my perception about girl student was that; girls are usually weak in studies as compare to both apatani boys and non-tribal boys and girls, because their performance in class room and exam was very poor. But slowly I understood the reason for their poor performance in their studies. A close look into their daily activities made me realized how busy they were at their home and even if they get free time they don't study but spend their time in playing around. In those days when girls attend the age of 7 years they are considered as capable of helping her mother in small works, like collecting water, cleaning dishes and as baby sitter; looking after their young sibling. So these girls were busy helping their mother at home, especially when their mother goes to paddy field, looking after young one was solely rest on their shoulder. And those who could worked at paddy field were formed a group called patang⁶, who works in their field turn wise. There were usually two shift called *Arro* (morning between 5:00 am to 8:00 am) and *Alying* (afternoon 3:00 pm to 5:00 pm) patang, one before school and another after school. So basically these little girls were busy whole day. And even if they themselves don't go they had to look after their younger ones and do household work in the absent of their mother, because their mother would be engaged in *Alying Patang* and *Arro patang*. So basically there was no time left for them to study at home, from early morning till evening they were busy and at night they were so exhausted, so studying at home was a distant dream they even could not open their text books not even once a day. That was the time when parents did not relished the importance of education and hence children were left at their own interest, if the children are interested in studies, then fine, otherwise there was hardly any guidance from parent's side. But in due course, I have witnessed tremendous change in parents' attitude towards their children's education. The value and importance of education was vibrant in the

air throughout the valley and parents started to understand the power of education and hence started giving more importance to education and this change in parents' attitude towards children's education paved the way not only for son but also for girls' education. And that time even our government started promoting girl child education. Slowly parent encouraged their girl child to study hard and gave them same opportunities as they have given to their son. And so my previous perception about girl student was changed totally, because as we can see; if girls are given time and opportunities, she can be equally good as boys and some girls are even better than boys. Best example we see in a recent UPSC result, that Hage Mamu, being a lady created history by becoming first IAS from our community through direct entry. (Narrated with very delightful face). And of course how can I forget the contribution that AYA (Apatani Youth Association) made in those days for the upliftment of the women folk in our society. I feel fortunate to be an eye witness to the formation of AYA in the year 1974. AYA in those days was very active and worked for the welfare and the upliftment of the society. I remembered three out of many agendas of AYAs' were (1) to educate girl child, (2) to abolish Tattoo and nose plugs and (3) to stop child marriage, of which I feel these three agendas was successfully achieved by the AYA. So today, result is in front of us, girls are sharing equal space in every field including education, nose plugs has been completely banned as well as child marriage, in recent few decades not a single child marriage has been found.

7.4.2 Case 2: Story of a woman who made her dream come true by becoming Mrs India (first from Arunachal Pradesh and North-East India), in spite of her busy schedule at home as well as at her work place, who is a doctor by profession.

Name: Duyu Meena Mudang

Age: 39 years

Profession: Doctor (homeo)

Date and place of the interview: October 2017

Due to the Side Effects of our existing Polygamous Society, I along with my Siblings had a very bad and hard phase of childhood as well as adulthood days. And as such, I grew up thinking that I was the most ugly and imperfect human

being ever existing on earth. My confidence level was degraded to such an extent that I struggled even to tell my name in school or in public. Was reluctant even to make friends or to meet people. But slowly when I started converting every obstacle into opportunities, I started to realize that, 'whatever happens, it happens for the best and better.' Because everything has got its own season and reason. And thus accepting what cannot be cured has to be endured. And then my determination and perseverance paid off. In my opinion, as compared to some of the existing very orthodox and too conservative society in our own country, I feel most of the tribal women in Arunachal except for some living in remotest areas are enjoying almost equal status at par with the man except for some reservations for man in inheriting the ancestral property rights. At present scenario, most of the girl child is not deprived of Right to Education and the incidence of female Feticide is very low compare to the other States.

When I decided to take part in Mrs India 2017 beauty pageant, my journey started by giving online audition in the month of October 2016, then audition for Northeast at Shillong on 10th December 2016, where I emerged as the winner and qualified for Semi-finals, then next I had to compete with Northern states and West Bengal apart from Northeast states at Mrs India North 2017, which was held at Radisson Blue, New Delhi from 5th to 8th April 2017. From there, I qualified for National Grand Finale which was held at Feathers Hotel, Chennai from 3rd to 5th July 2017, where I had to compete with all the 46 Winners from respective Zones from all over India and Overseas. And finally I was crowned MRS INDIA 2017. The journey was really tough, very long and too strenuous but I could manage to bring home the most prestigious title and the crown of Mrs India 2017.

In my opinion, compare to some of the existing very orthodox and too conservative society in our own country, I feel most of the tribal women in Arunachal except for some living in remotest areas are enjoying almost equal status as par with the man except for some reservations for man in inheriting the ancestral property rights. I feel that beauty pageants in the tribal society is nothing but one more way to uplift and empower our women to see the wider

world out of the boundary of stereotypical kitchen material and to see better herself in many ways. Because I believe each one of us are blessed with different inherent qualities. And as such, I strongly believe that beauty pageants contribute positive effects to society and give the common platform to voice your choice with essence, be it Ambassador of Goodwill and Peace, and to signify your Advocacy for the Cause You Choose.

The recent goals I've accomplished in the pageant world is no doubt bringing home the most prestigious National title and Crown of Mrs India 2017 for the first time in the entire history of Arunachal Pradesh and for the entire Northeast as a whole.

Apart from my own sacrifices which is obvious, but the greater sacrifices were made by my Husband and my Children to have had sacrificed those precious moments not spent with me. And the greatest sacrifices were made by my Parents and Siblings who had to sacrifice their personal time and whole energy in taking care of my Three Children and the Home, by passing sleepless nights. So, I owe my Crown to them because without their Support and sacrifices, this successful journey was never possible.

7.4.3 Case 3: Story of a determined woman who did not give up her passion for education even after marriage and being in motherhood.

Name: Tage Ampa

Age: 35 years

Date and place of the interview: on 12 March 2017 at her residence, Pachin Colony Naharlagun.

Although my parents were not educated they understand the importance of education and never discriminated between siblings for that we are fortunate enough. I was a student who dreamed of becoming something worthy someday. I have done my matriculation from Government school of Aalo, and passed class XII (Sc) from Higher Secondary School, Itanagar. I joined B.Com stream at Dera Natung govt. College, Itanagar in the year 2001, when I was in B.Com 2nd Year I got married and became a mother due to which I left my studies to take care of

my daughter. I was losing my confidence in myself day by day, when my daughter was 3 year old and she started going to school , I realised I need to continue my studies to regain my confidence in myself which was on the verge of extinction. I realized the importance of education and I was determined to continue my further studies. My husband as well as my in laws and my family member were a big support for me and stood like a stong pillar to support me. I then joined B.A. 1st year at Dera Natung Govt College in the year 2005 but still I was not able to attend my classes regularly because I had to take care of my daughter and also my in laws were very old and they often fall ill but finally I got my degree in 2007 in second class. After graduation I was interested in pursuing L.L.B, but again due to non availability of this course in Itanagar I had to leave my dream of becoming a lawyer. I did not lose my hope, I got admission in Department of Education, RGU, Rono Hills and started going classes on regular basis as by that time my daughter was 5 years old. I finished my post graduation in 2009 with a first class distinction and I was also a Gold Medalist in our department. In the same year I cleared my NET examination and on a voluntary basis I started teaching at Department of Education, RGU in the year 2010 to April 2012. In the same time I cleared my entrance examination for Ph.D and was a full time research scholar in the department. In the first month of 2012 APSSC advertised one post for Assistant of Professor for the department of Education. There were 22 candidates for a single post but I was confident in myself and gave my interview with full confidence in July 2012. Out of 22 I got selected, I could achieve this because I believed in myself and never stopped working even after failure and even after marriage.

7.4.4 Case 4: a story of the mother who set an example, showing that daughter too is no less than a son and they too deserve good education.

Name: Mihin Yakha

Age: 49 years

Date and place of interview: October 2017 at her residence, S P colony Hapoli.

I am happily married to Mihin Tadii of Reru village and working under government of Arunachal Pradesh. We have seven daughters and we are content of whatever God has given to us, as we see our daughters growing we are

actually blessed. In olden days people had different opinion about those who does not have male child and very often that would result in second marriage in hope of male child, in such cases even wife does not have much to say. But people's mind set have changed along with the changing time. I was never complained by any of my family members for not giving them a son. I am fortunate to have my husband, who is so understanding, he too never complained me for not having male child, don't know whether he might be sad inside but never express his discontent, in fact he would calm me whenever I am little disturbed. Today I and my husband try our best to give education to our daughters. Though we are not very rich like other but in our own capacity we did our best and are still doing. Because our daughters are precious to us, our eldest daughter Mihin Rosie has done MBA and B. Ed, Second daughter Mihin Sunia has finished her BDS (bachelor of Dental Surgeon) and currently preparing for her PG entrance exam, third daughter Mihin Nania finished her MBBS and currently pursuing PG. Her fourth daughter Minih Anku done her M. Sc. Agriculture and recently she has been appointed as Assistant Agriculture Officer, under government of Arunachal Pradesh, and the interview is conducted by APPSC (Arunachal Pradesh Public Service Commission), fifth daughter is pursuing BHMS, Sixth daughter Mihin Ampa is in class XII science and the last youngest one Mihin Ampa is in classes IX. It gives me joy when I see them performing well in their studies and many times they were top in their respective classes even some time in District.

7.4.5 Case 5: A story of a woman, who was one among the first batch of Apatani women to enrolled in school.

Name: Hage Aniya

Age: 65 years

Date and place of interview: 23rd February 2012 at her residence, Hari village Ziro.

I got married when I was a small kid to my Lt. husband Hage Randa, actually it was a child marriage. I don't remember when and how they arranged our marriage but when I realized I was already married. In those days my father was a Head Gaon Bura and so was a prominent figure in the society, every one

respected and honoured him. Hosting guest/visitors at our home was common phenomenon, when ever VIPs official as well non official visitors came to our village, they would always come to our house and I still remember my mother would give them *jekhe tarw* as gift. Our home was also maintained using table cloth of *pyaming plulye*. That time my age might be eight or nine years, as I have said earlier, by that time I was already married but I was still in my parent's house and only during ceremony like myoko, murung I used to go and stay at my in-laws house, which was not far because we were in the same village. I think those visitors from outside might have said to my parents that they should send me to school, that time my parent had two children me and my brother but of course later after many years gap they had two more children. My father sent me to school for the first time in 1961 at Hari School and I was the first Apatani girl to be enrolled in the school. My husband's parent too was well to do and my in-laws did not want me to go school rather they wanted me to be at home and look after house hold chore and their other relatives too was not happy about it. On other side our relatives too scolded my parents for sending me to school. Because that time people were ignorance about the benefit and importance of education. Even I personally was unaware of the importance of education, I went to school just because my father asked me to. I still remember no one not even single person would appreciate me, instead they looked down and would say that I am lazy and just to escape from household chores and agricultural work I am going to school. But in spite of all those negative comments I studied till class V at Hari School with my father's support. Lemba Babu of that time selected few girls from influential family for further studies and only two of us were selected for this, me and Lt. Hage Yapa, and send us to Banasthali Vidyapith. So I went to Banasthali, then all the criticism came to my parent, they said I was trying to discord my childhood marriage. But still I studied in Banasthali till class VIII. After my class VIII exam I came home for vacation, and never went back to Banasthali for further study because my in-laws never wanted me to study further. In that vacation I had to make one decision between further studies and settles life with husband. After careful deliberation I decided to settle with my husband and hence my further studies were curtained forever. Though I could not continue my study

and could not achieve what I should have, but I passed class VIII with good marks, this was even announced in All India Radio.

7.4.6 Case 6: Story of a woman who tried every possible way to get education.

Name: Yachang Yap

Age: 60

Date and place of interview: on 20th January 2017 at her residence, Kasingsa (Nirjuli)

I exactly don't remember the year when I tried my last effort to pursue education; at that time I was 11 years old. But most probably it was somewhere around 1970-71, if one remember the great landslide in subansiri district which completely blocked our district from Assam for many long months they could definitely tell the exact year, because during that time I made an effort to enroll myself in school. I wanted to study so much but my parent never allowed me, for them "going to school is wastage of time and girls are to concentrate in household chores and agriculture activities, after all from these activities we will be feeding our stomach" this is what my parent would say whenever I requested them for school education. One of my maternal uncle whenever he visited our house he would ask my father to let me study but my parent would not listen to him. In those days few of my friends were already enrolled themselves in school and one of my friends was studying at Lakhimpur; Assam. She was in the village for her vacation, she used to narrate the stories of her school. I and my friend would ask her to take us too to her school. On this our friend suggested to save money about twenty rupees in cash and to buy two frock and two panties each and told us that we will go by helicopter because road was blocked due to landslide. And we happily agreed and requested her to not disclose this plan to anyone. We started preparing, those days it was really hard to get even one rupee but somehow we had decided to work hard, the lone source of earning was by working in others paddy field for wages. Usually working in other's paddy field was not encouraged because our parent wanted us to devote our all time in our own paddy field but working in patang was okay for them because we are being

reciprocated by our patang friends. Slowly without our parent's knowledge in between we started earning by working in other's paddy fields. That time our one day wage was two Rupees and from those two rupees we could actually buy one big size basket full of paddy grain. We started to buy paddy grain from out of whatever we had earned. Made it rice by drying and pounding it by ourselves and sold the rice to the women who make rice beer, that time some women in kudung barang¹¹ were doing business of selling rice beer. So that way we managed to save thirty rupees each and also bought pairs of frock and inner wear. I and my friend decided to go and tell our friend that we are ready with the said money and dress, so we went to her place in the evening and told her everything. She said to get ready for day after tomorrow and we will be going by helicopter which leaves at 9 am from Nenchayang helipad. We were so happy that our dream of getting education was about to be fulfilled. So next morning I told my friend that today would be last for us to work in paddy field for tomorrow we are leaving for Lakhimpur so let's try to finish work in the paddy field. Both of us went to our own paddy field that day. When I came back home from paddy field in the evening I saw my friend's mother coming out from our house. I got suspicious and went inside our house and saw my parents were silent and did not say anything. One thing that strike my mind was my money and new clothes that I bought was in old trunk which was kept in luchi. I quickly rushed to the luchi and opened the trunk and found that the money that I saved and the clothes I bought were not there. I shouted where is the money and the clothes that I kept? Then my parent started rebuking me. I cried bitterly and my dream of studying was shattered forever. That day was my last attempt to get education, after that I never tried again and after few days life came back to normal forgot everything and move on as usual. Had I been given education my life would have been different today.

7.4.7 Case 7: Story of a woman administrator her struggle and commitment towards her job for which she has been call for.

Name: Khoda Rakhi

Designation: Circle Officer

Year of Induction: 2009

Age: 36

Marrital Status: married

I believe education is one part that contributes in a achieving our goals, the other part is our personality which is built over the years by our experiences and understanding of life. Hence, lack of opportunities and understanding things from all round perspective is one of the greatest challenges that I have faced. Right from childhood our society has conditioned us to confine ourselves to gender specific activities due to which we get less or no opportunity in wholesome activities. This directly affects our personality, our choices and our ambitions. Hence, our understanding and handling of situation be it in personal front or work front, tend to be modeled in a gender specific manner where we may miss out the greater picture/ perspective. During our later years this tends to affect our decision-making process as well.

Fulfilling my dream to become administrator and handling other chore as a woman is different side of the coin. I have to juggle between house and office. It's extremely difficult because the nature of work at both places is so different and I am expected to be available and perform well at both places. Hence, I am compelled to seek the help of house maids at home to aid me. We have to learn to be efficient time-managers because a women's time is extremely precious. I feel household chore should be equally shared by both men and women. Nature clearly meant some things to be gender specific like giving birth and breastfeeding of infants, but the rest have been categorized to be gender based by the skewed understanding of the society. Men sharing the household work, apart from giving the women some breathing space, would give the right message to the watchful children and upcoming generation of an equal environment for all. Especially today, when despite lack of experiences and opportunities women are breaking barriers and delving into work spaces which were earlier considered to be a men's domain, men too should make effort to break their barriers and live new experiences of a woman's world. On a lighter note, women around the world are accused of involving themselves in "kitchen Politics". So to drive them out petty kitchen politics, they need to be driven out of their kitchen first. Only then they can participate elsewhere.

Apatani women today are exploring in different fields of employment/work, are educated and confident and outspoken. However, our society is unable to dissociate the gender categorized activities from women of today, due to which there is extreme pressure and burden of expectation upon women today. They are expected to be formally employed and income contributors yet to be excellent in kitchen, agricultural knowledge and socially active as well, i.e. highly productive in every field and multi-talented.

There are yet to witness concrete change in some of the cultural related practice, such as extending of property rights to women, participation in decision making activities and removing of caste barriers from participating in Myoko festivals where women/brides of different caste/tribe are barred from participating.

The right education is able to bring women out of the confines of gender biased standards set by skewed understanding of the society. It helps one to achieve one's true potential and maximize our holistic contribution to our people and our society thereby enabling greater/ better participation. Throughout the world, culture was born out of good reason. Education helps us understand the science behind the existence and rise of our culture resulting in better preservation of one's culture and values. It arouses reasoning greater sense of responsibility towards our duties.

If I have to give piece of advice to the young generation, it would be; be observant, experimental, and participative in any positive activity that draws your interest beyond any gender lives. Our activities, our choices and experiences shape our personalities and design our ambitions. Do not limit yourselves. The most prestigious and fulfilling jobs / works does not have any gender specific tags on them, then why confine or limit ourselves in such manner which gives us limited opportunities and choices? For our nation to be truly a great one, each one of us, men and women has to contribute our worth in various nation building process. Be good citizen and assets of the society.

7.4.8 Case 8: Story of a first lady IFS (Indian Forest Service) from Arunachal Pradesh.

Name: Mrs. Koj Rinya, IFS

2016 Batch, AGMUT

Daughter of Shri Koj Tajang and Smt. Koj Yagyang

I have always marveled at the greatness of personalities like Swami Vivekananda, Mother Teresa, Helen Keller, and so many others for the kind of life they lived. Since my childhood days, nature has inspired me and I also continue to draw strength from many people in my life including my mother.

My parents have always supported and encouraged me in my personal and professional pursuits and problems. They have raised us (me and my brother) with great care and love. As a young girl overcoming the demoralizing experience of child marriage was a challenge for me. My parents stood by me during those days and when I look back now, I think it has me more resilient and grateful in life.

I choose to write for IFS examination due to my interest and educational background in Forestry and environmental sector. I had no idea then, that I would be the first lady from Arunachal Pradesh to crack IFS examination. What I am today is because of my parents and my teachers and of course my hard work and determination played big role in whatever I am today.

But again no matter what feat one achieved the role as wife and mother never change. To manage both home and the office, I try to limit office works to working days and office timing only as far as possible. However at times, it is difficult to maintain such strict discipline. Moreover, because the nature of our duty in forest service is both desk work as well as field work. And of course with changing times and with education and employment our women are becoming economically independent and able to contribute to the family and society. Therefore, the typical traditional division of labour is slowly fizzling out. With changing roles of women, the dynamics in a family is also slowly evolving towards equal partnership in every aspect. As far as access and control over

resources, reproductive and socio-economic condition is concerned; there is a sea change in lives of Apatani women of today's generation as compared to the lives of women some 20-30 years back. Today our women folks are more empowered in every aspect and I feel education has been one of the biggest instruments in bringing change in our live



Photo 7.1 School girls participating in mission clean kwle



Photo 7.2 Young Apatani College Students



Photo 7.3 Rajiv Gandhi University Apatani Students during college festival



Photo 7.4 Mrs. Koj Rinya, First lady IFS of Arunachal Pradesh



Photo 7.5 Mrs. Khoda Rakhi, Circle officer



Photo 7.6 Mrs. Duyu Meena Mudang, Mrs India 2017



Photo 7.7 Modern Apatani lady

CHAPTER - VIII

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

As change is inevitable in any society, *Apatanis* too are going through various changes in their society due to numerous agents like religious, contact with outsider, modernization, and globalization and most importantly coming of formal education. Education remains one of the most important factors for the upward social mobility in the *Apatani* valley. Though the entry of education in the valley is a late phenomenon but it has brought significance changes in the lives of the *Apatanis*.

The present study entitled “Anthropological Study of the Changing Lives of the *Apatani* women of Arunachal Pradesh” discusses the various changes that *Apatani* women went through from the remote and stiff life of domesticity to the modern and liberate life, breaking stereotype that were associated with women for long ages.

The first chapter deals with the statement of the study, objectives of the study, actual methodology followed, universe of the study along with the literature review. Second chapter gives brief introduction of the Arunachal Pradesh, lower Subansiri District. The chapter also provides a historical backdrop of the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley along with growth of urban centers and expansion of population which led to the growth of new villages.

The second chapter gives brief introduction of Arunachal Pradesh and Lower Subansiri District. This chapter also introduces the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley and their socio-cultural life in brief.

In chapter three the women in the domestic sphere have been discussed. Attempt has been made to locate the changes that women faced over the years in the domestic spheres. The study found that in olden days the domestic chore was solely handled by the women folk, in fact that was the prescribed norms of the society and hence domesticity came under the domain of feminine job. The work division among gender is trained from ones childhood. Following work have

been identified as household chore; cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, cleaning house, cleaning utensils, washing clothes, serving food, drying rice, taking care of fowl, dog, cat, pig etc, husking, taking care of children, weaving. In olden days these household chore was done manually by themselves and without assistant. Unlike today, where we see the changes brought by the modernization, for instance using of detergent for washing and cleaning purpose were not there, nor was there a water connection, washing machine and rice mill. Today technology plays important role in the lives of the Apatani women. Though Apatani women of present generation are ease to some extent from those tedious work with the assistant of various technology, but still women's household chore remain same rather increases with the increase in living standard, as present time demands more attention towards children's education, health, house and surrounding maintenance for the hygienic purposes. Women of this generation did not fail to shoulder ever growing responsibility that comes across their way. Its praise worthy that in spite of increase in workloads in their lives they still match with the situation they are surrounded by, keeping themselves update in every field, be it a get up, latest fashion, opting different profession even quite a good number of Apatani women are absorbed in white color job and still look after her family and household chore. On the other hand traditional weaving technique is slowly losing its importance. As many of the young women don't practice it any more, they prefer readymade garment instead of hand made one. In olden days weaving was part of every Apatani women and they were taught since very young age, but now they spend their time in school and in their free time they play with toys and do other activity.

Earlier there was a clear division of labour for men and women solely on the basis of feminine and masculine nature or the harder work was done by men folk and easier work was done by women folk, that was the perception of the people from time immemorial but this perception have changed with changing time. As such women now have managed to walk out from the traditional barrier of domesticity and are seen walking hand in hand with men folk and are equally contributing in every sphere of life. And some respondents even do agree that

their husband do help in the domestic works. In some case even the household chore is shared between husband and wife. That signifies the sea change in the lives of the *Apatani* women, and this could be possible due to the changing mind set of the educated *Apatani* men as they understood that women share equal responsibility outside house hold as such she should not be left alone at home to handle the household chore.

Chapter four studied the contribution of *Apatani* women in the economy system of the family. Economy forms the backbone of every society and plays significant roles in shaping the structure of the society; region and nation at large and hence economy is one of the most significant constituents in community life. Since time immemorial out of many economic activities of the *Apatanis*, agriculture forms the main and basis of all other activities in which *Apatanis* subsist since time immemorial and women's participation in agricultural activities remained paramount; women were the main working force behind agriculture practice in *Apatani*. It has been proven by the schedule of questionnaire administered to all the respondents. Women in olden days contributed equally as men do, but these were rarely appreciated or were lost somewhere in patrilineal society and only men's contribution were visible. Many of the respondents especially older generation have narrated their stories of by gone days where their struggle and their dedication towards agricultural activities could be well understood. *Apatani* women at present generation are still contributing much in the economy of the family in fact even better than before, with the increasing opportunity and varied ways of earning women are opting for other source of income. *Patang* a labour institution have also been studied because *Apatani's patang* (reciprocal labour group) plays an important role in all the agricultural activities. It seems *Apatani* people understood it well, that the laborious agricultural works could be more convenient if it is done jointly with the help of other kinsmen/women. So by forming *patang* group they reciprocal their labour among them. In olden days all the *Apatanis* were in *patang* both young and old alike. Their numbers varies from five to fifteen. But in last few decades the institution of *patang* are losing its popular participation from younger generation. This is the impact of education,

where younger generation is made to concentrate their time only in studies by their parents. No doubt the younger generation does help in agricultural works individually in school holidays but they don't form *ajang patang* (young *patang*). Even the numbers of *akha patang* (old *patang*) are gradually decreasing, as many of them are opting for the other alternative source. Researcher had come across many deserted paddy fields which are left uncultivated and the reason cited by respondents varies from one another. Some of the reasons cited were; lack of time, as they are engaged in other source of generating income, such as government job, different business etc. and for some agricultural cultivation is too expensive, they are of the opinion that, the expenses made for the cultivation and its production is not in proportion and hence the expenses is higher than that of the production. The expenses they are referring here, is the labour charges, because unlike olden days where all the agriculture activities were manually and physically; without help of animal and other farm machine were done by family both male and female and with the help of the *patang*. But with changing time men hardly joined agricultural works even if they are not engaged in other work and as earlier said young people too are busy in their studies. So all the responsibilities were fall upon women's shoulder, hence she had to hire labour for the agricultural activities. If this trend continues in this part of the valley there are chances that more people may shift from agricultural work to some other income generating sources, hence if this aspect is not solve either by making enough labour in low expenses or by introducing farm machinery in this valley to assist the farmers to save old age tradition of agriculture practice of the *Apatanis*.

The contributions of women in their family economy through various occupations have been studied. The respondent's occupations were categorized into Farmer, Government job, Business, and even house wife. Farmers were mostly from village and only few of them were from Hapoli town. To understand the contribution of farmer in the family economy, response sheet of questionnaire based on to know whether the production from their cultivation satisfy the needs of the family or for that matter are their production saves them from extra expenditure. The overall response pattern tells that, the farmers do contribute in

the family economy. Many educated *Apatani* women are absorbed in government job, in this study women in the workforce earning wages or salary have been studied. This is the direct impact of education and modernization, where *Apatani* women are seen moving out from their traditional occupation of agriculturalist, people started looking for alternate sources and feels that government job are the most reliable source of income. As many of the *Apatanis* including women are engaged in this occupation in various capacities throughout the state and even in other nations. According to the interview conducted the working women are making differences in their family economy. It is also observed that working women were fully supported by their family members including their husband, hence showing the changing mind set of the people towards women's free access of every opportunity.

Businesses as occupation have also been studied were various entrepreneurs have been incorporated. Though this venture is relatively new in *Apatani* valley especially for women folk but the progress they have made is of worth praising. Many *Apatani* women are well established making huge difference in the economy of the family in particular and society in general.

In the next chapter 'women in the social institution' tried to studied the relative position of women in various social institutions and made an effort to understand the rules of property inheritance, both movable and immovable, which is crucially associated with the women's empowerment. Family being the basic social unit forms an important component of the whole *Apatani* social structure and all the relation both affinal and consanguineal are established for and by the family, where women plays an significance role in various capacity; as mother, wife, sister, daughter, mother in law, sister in law and daughter in law. Family play as the first agent of socialization, where the personality building takes place and family members plays an important role in it. In this aspect mother comes first agent, with special qualities given by nature such as breast feeding the baby, giving birth and carrying baby for nine long months in her womb can only be done by the mother.

Traditionally primogeniture is the fundamental principles in the *Apatanis*, where all the ancestral properties including original household articles are inherited by the eldest son. And daughter does not inherit immovable property from her parents except ornaments that were given in their marriage. According to the data collected all the respondents were given ornament by her parents. Of course the numbers of ornaments differ from one family to another. But the trend of property inheritance have made some change as daughter too are getting immovable properties, suggested by the data collected (refer table 5.1) though few in number but at least made an impact in the society that women too are inheriting immovable properties. But this does not mean equal sharing of the property between son and daughter because mostly those women inherit immovable property from their parent if only they don't have male child.

Marriage is honored by *Apatanis* and it involved lot of rituals. Though this age old practice still exists another side of the fact is that, in due course of time many changes have taken place in the institution of marriage. The reasons are numerous; education, new social outlook, lack of time and change of religion are some of the factor that has compelled them to change the old age system. Education played an important role in bringing changes in *Apatani* society. It gives the people a broad outlook, their thought are no more confined to their own community but started thinking beyond the community boundary. The very fact can be seen in the matrimonial relations with other communities or tribes. Another significance change is marriage between two sections of the *Apatanis* (*Gyuchi* and *Gyutw*). In olden days marriage between these two section of the *Apatanis* were tabooed but now people overlook these taboos and many *Apatani* enter into nuptial. This suggests change in the structure of the society which may be explicitly brought out through a study on the social structure, which the present researcher could not do due to time constraint. Religion is another fact that led to the changes in marriage system of the *Apatanis*. For example, the advance of Christianity in *Apatani* do not lead to the extinction of traditional ways of the marriage but modify the traditional practices, for instance marriage ceremonies be it *Mabo Inchi Nw*, *Mida*, *Eli Bani* ceremony, all the traditional

practice remain same including gift exchange between bride's family and groom's family except certain aspect like consumption of rice beer and performing of lanker ritual by the priest is not done. Another additional factor for decline of many old age formalities is the time factor and expenses. As the formalities of marriage happen to be lengthy process and involved heavy expenditure, for example all the gift given by the brides' parents to groom during *mida* were of bacon (*yo aso*) of different sizes and to preserved it takes long time and daily care to protect it from insect for which one need to be patient and should be available all the time. And now the life style of the people has changed a lot and they are so busy, people don't get time to look after these bacons. So they opted this with money. Now most of the time people use cash instead of meat which save both time and expenditure. People also use cash in place of mithun and cow. Beside these, now days, modern articles like different kitchen wares are also given to the bride by her parents. On the day of ceremony, apart from local dishes even readymade foods that are available in the market are also served.

Another important change regarding marriage is the fixing of customary rate of the gift exchange in marriage by the committee of different villages. The committee constitutes local officers, panchayat leaders, public leaders, Head Gaon Buras/Buris, and general public of the village. The decision of the committee regarding exchange of gift is published in the form of booklet entitled "*Mida Ari Asa*" (price for *mida*) published in 2009. The motive behind fixing of rate is to maintained parity in exchanges in the society. So that, the way of performing different ceremonies may not differ among the rich and poor people. The committee has also passed a resolution that distribution of extravagant miscellaneous items such as bottle of wine, packet of tealeaves, milk powder, tobacco, salt, biscuit etc. are also totally banned.

In sixth chapter entitled women in traditional and modern polity, in this chapter traditional village council of *Apatani* have been discussed and effort has been made to locate the women's space and role in the *Buliang* the village council of *Apatani*. At the same time examine the level of the participation of women in

Panchayati Raj Institution; modern polity in the grass root level and tried to analyze their understanding and awareness on Panchayat Raj Institutions.

The institution of *Buliang*; the village council of *Apatani*, the upholder of the unrecorded traditional and customary laws had always held an important position in the *Apatani* society. Though at present their judicial and administrative power and function has reduced to some extent due to the introduction of the Indian penal code and administration in the *Apatani* valley, but in the socio-religious sphere, their role still remain important. *Apatani* women do not enjoy the privilege of being part of the Institution of *Buliang*. Though women were never seen negotiating, arbitrating in war and hostility, between the disputes cases or walking along with the *Buliangmen* to a ceremony in different villages but, this chapter reveals the women's contribution for the cause of *Buliang*, which cannot be denied; and yes women do contribute though in a small way but significant one that always remains behind the scene; there is a dedicated wife of a husband who caters all the efforts in her capacity so that her husband's prestige always remain at the highest, this could be understood by the way they get ready with those ceremonial gifts for the guest and maintain all the obligations as a wife of *Buliang* with all sincerity. There is a mother who protects and guides her children even in the absence of her husband, a mother who always tries to secure the future of her son as she became custodian of the post, so that someday her son could become *Buliang* and a woman who never questions the existing patriarchal system and enjoyed her world with contentment, this could be seen through the assessment of question 'Do you think women should be included in *Buliang*?' where 85% of the women feel that women should not be included in *Buliang* and only 15% of the women think that a woman should be inducted as *Buliang*. (koj 2018)

But the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in the Apatani Valley has changed the political lives of the *Apatani* women. It is clear from the table 6.6 that the women representative in PRI justifies the seat sharing among male and female representatives that stands at 56.7 percent out of total number of PRI members from the entire three tiers. Men occupy 43.3 percent. In fact the overall

number of the PRI member outnumbered the male percentage. But if one look closely at the data, it reveals something else. For instance the seat sharing among ZPM (Zilla Parishad Member), shows that out of total 7, men occupied 5 (71.4%) and women are only 2 (28.6 %), which is less than the actual reserved quota for women which is 33 % at present. Among ASM (Anchal Samiti Members) seat sharing stands at 78 (62 %) men representatives and 48 (38%) for women representatives out of total 126 representatives, which is more than the actual reserved seat for women. And among GPM (Gram Panchayat Members) seat shared by men are 143 (36.8 %) and women shares 296 (56.7 %) out of total 522 representatives, here the seat sharing of women out numbered the men's seat. Here it is quite clear that as the tier go up from the grass root level the percentage of women's representatives is decreasing. Hence, women representatives are highest at most grass root level or those who works among the villager at the base line and the percentage of women representatives is lowest at the highest level of the Panchayat Raj Institution. Such differences in the ratio between men and women's representatives in different three tiers could have various reasons; first it could be the perception of the society that thinks women are not capable of holding higher post and so always keep women as men's subordinate. Second reason could be the women's ignorance; their lack of knowledge about rights and duties hinder them in participating as men does, as among Gram Panchayat Member (GPM) majority of them are illiterate and elderly person. Third reason is their busy schedule at home as well as in agricultural works so they are unable to give their time for the other social activities, and lack of interest is another reason among Apatani women, for not progression in the field of politics.

So by and large Apatani women broke those traditional barriers of perception that did not allow women in social activities and hence could not even take part in Buliang the village council of the Apatanis. But with changing time women are seen in the public places and participating in Panchayat Raj Institution and though it may take few more years for women to exercise their power an functions by themselves without taking help from other.

In seventh chapter the women and education have been studied, this chapter presents the literacy status of Lower Subansiri District as general and Apatani valley in particular. The literacy status of the district is second highest in the Arunachal Pradesh, which is next to Papum Pare District. And census 2011 also suggest that Apatani inhabited area that is Ziro district head quarter of Lower Subansiri stands highest in literacy rate among the district.

This chapter has witness the story of women in olden days; their struggle and willingness to pursue education, examples of 1970s had been narrated (refer case no. 6) by Yachang Yap who put her best effort to pursue education but due to her parent's ignorance she was not supported in pursuing education. Hence she could not fulfill her dream of getting education. Another was that of Hage Aniya, she was the first Apatani lady to be enrolled in school. In spite of her willingness to study further, she could only study upto class VIII due to her childhood marriage that certainly associated with social obligation and family responsibility. On the other hand in 1990s people's perception about girl's education had changed at the same time women too could depend themselves from such obstruction as child marriage. For instance Koj Rinya's inspiring story; who could overcome the difficulties of childhood life and created history by becoming first lady IFS from Arunachal Pradesh.

As change is a continuous process, hence cannot assess it with static yard stick of a limited time frame. So, as the Apatani women are progressing in every sphere of their lives and perhaps today's status cannot be ascertain as their final stage of change or progress rather there are space and scope of more such changes to take place accordance with the changing society and people's perception. Moreover today's educated women and mothers are more likely to bring change in the society by raising their daughter in more egalitarian society. Thus, bringing change in the family in particular and in society as a whole.

GLOSSARY

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>Abang</i> | Elder Brother |
| <i>Aba</i> | Father |
| <i>Agyang</i> | Ritual Idle |
| <i>Ajang</i> | Young |
| <i>Ajee</i> | Paddy Field |
| <i>Akha</i> | Old |
| <i>Alli oho</i> | Seeds |
| <i>Allo</i> | Day |
| <i>Ami</i> | Elder Sister |
| <i>Anne</i> | Mother |
| <i>Anu</i> | Younger brother/sister |
| <i>Ari</i> | Price |
| <i>Armin</i> | Ripen |
| <i>Arro</i> | Morning |
| <i>Ato</i> | Grand Father |
| <i>Ayo</i> | Grand Mother |
| <i>Ballu</i> | Garden |
| <i>Basso</i> | Length |
| <i>Bije</i> | Bamboo |
| <i>Buliang</i> | Village Council |
| <i>Byopa</i> | Hat |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Chantii dotii</i> | Universe |
| <i>Chirru</i> | Pocket |
| <i>Danii</i> | Hammer |
| <i>Danyi</i> | Sun |
| <i>Daru</i> | Summer |
| <i>Dedu</i> | Agriculture Implement |
| <i>Deepey</i> | Spade |
| <i>Diime</i> | Famine |
| <i>Donge</i> | Sunshine |
| <i>Dorii</i> | Winter |
| <i>Dotii</i> | Sky |
| <i>Elyo</i> | Sword |
| <i>Emmo</i> | Rice |
| <i>Empii</i> | Husk |
| <i>Endi</i> | Paddy |
| <i>Ganda</i> | Place, land |
| <i>Giidapatta</i> | Big cane basket |
| <i>Gora</i> | Village elders who organize common festivals and rituals |
| <i>Hama</i> | Vegetable |
| <i>Hoggya</i> | Leopard |
| <i>Hutoh</i> | Light |

| | |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>Jebhi</i> | Mud |
| <i>Jomii</i> | Cloud |
| <i>Kaye</i> | Big, Large |
| <i>Kiidi</i> | Soil |
| <i>Kormo</i> | Seed |
| <i>Kormu</i> | Grasshopper |
| <i>Kubu</i> | Rat |
| <i>Lakhii</i> | Cold |
| <i>Lappang</i> | Village platform |
| <i>Lemba</i> | Village |
| <i>Liimma</i> | Root |
| <i>Lypyo</i> | Millet field |
| <i>Maji</i> | Tibetan bell |
| <i>Miilin</i> | Lulin product |
| <i>Morey</i> | Forest |
| <i>Mubu</i> | Ash |
| <i>Muku</i> | Tobacco |
| <i>Naggo</i> | Shrine |
| <i>Nello</i> | House |
| <i>Nesu</i> | Granary |
| <i>Niiman</i> | Leaf |
| <i>Nyibu</i> | Priest |

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Ohoh</i> | Tall, high |
| <i>Pahin</i> | Liver |
| <i>Paku</i> | Plate |
| <i>Pappu</i> | Egg |
| <i>Paro</i> | Hen |
| <i>Pepu</i> | Mat |
| <i>Piida</i> | Pine tree |
| <i>Piilo</i> | Month/Moon |
| <i>Piita</i> | Bird |
| <i>Rupu</i> | Silver |
| <i>Sanni</i> | Tree |
| <i>Sarse</i> | Millet |
| <i>Sii</i> | Cow |
| <i>Siibe</i> | Monkey |
| <i>Siigan</i> | Stream |
| <i>Siiggo</i> | Bridge |
| <i>Subu</i> | Mithun |
| <i>Tagi</i> | Sickle |
| <i>Takhii</i> | Squirrel |
| <i>Taki</i> | Ginger |
| <i>Tahu</i> | Cucumber |
| <i>Talo</i> | Bronze plate |

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| <i>Tassang</i> | Beads |
| <i>Tero</i> | Chilly |
| <i>Tiiko</i> | Money |
| <i>Tiipe</i> | Tattoo |
| <i>Ubu</i> | Hole |
| <i>Uyi</i> | Ghost |
| <i>Yagii</i> | Cane basket |
| <i>Talan</i> | Stone |
| <i>Yalo</i> | Soul |
| <i>Yapung</i> | Sky |
| <i>Yasang</i> | Firewood |
| <i>Yasi</i> | Water |
| <i>Yaso</i> | Cane |
| <i>Yoh</i> | Meat |
| <i>Yo aso</i> | Bacon |

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

As change is inevitable in any society, *Apatanis* too are going through various changes in their society due to numerous agents like religious, contact with outsider, modernization, and globalization and most importantly coming of formal education. Education remains one of the most important factors for the upward social mobility in the *Apatani* valley. Though the entry of education in the valley is a late phenomenon but it has brought significance changes in the lives of the *Apatanis*.

The present study entitled “Anthropological Study of the Changing Lives of the *Apatani* women of Arunachal Pradesh” discusses the various changes that *Apatani* women went through from the remote and stiff life of domesticity to the modern and liberate life, breaking stereotype that were associated with women for long ages.

The first chapter deals with the statement of the study, objectives of the study, actual methodology followed, universe of the study along with the literature review. Second chapter gives brief introduction of the Arunachal Pradesh, lower Subansiri District. The chapter also provides a historical backdrop of the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley along with growth of urban centers and expansion of population which led to the growth of new villages.

The second chapter gives brief introduction of Arunachal Pradesh and Lower Subansiri District. This chapter also introduces the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley and their socio-cultural life in brief.

In chapter three the women in the domestic sphere have been discussed. Attempt has been made to locate the changes that women faced over the years in the domestic spheres. The study found that in olden days the domestic chore was solely handled by the women folk, in fact that was the prescribed norms of the society and hence domesticity came under the domain of feminine job. The work division among gender is trained from ones childhood. Following work have

been identified as household chore; cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, cleaning house, cleaning utensils, washing clothes, serving food, drying rice, taking care of fowl, dog, cat, pig etc, husking, taking care of children, weaving. In olden days these household chore was done manually by themselves and without assistant. Unlike today, where we see the changes brought by the modernization, for instance using of detergent for washing and cleaning purpose were not there, nor was there a water connection, washing machine and rice mill. Today technology plays important role in the lives of the Apatani women. Though Apatani women of present generation are ease to some extent from those tedious work with the assistant of various technology, but still women's household chore remain same rather increases with the increase in living standard, as present time demands more attention towards children's education, health, house and surrounding maintenance for the hygienic purposes. Women of this generation did not fail to shoulder ever growing responsibility that comes across their way. Its praise worthy that in spite of increase in workloads in their lives they still match with the situation they are surrounded by, keeping themselves update in every field, be it a get up, latest fashion, opting different profession even quite a good number of Apatani women are absorbed in white color job and still look after her family and household chore. On the other hand traditional weaving technique is slowly losing its importance. As many of the young women don't practice it any more, they prefer readymade garment instead of hand made one. In olden days weaving was part of every Apatani women and they were taught since very young age, but now they spend their time in school and in their free time they play with toys and do other activity.

Earlier there was a clear division of labour for men and women solely on the basis of feminine and masculine nature or the harder work was done by men folk and easier work was done by women folk, that was the perception of the people from time immemorial but this perception have changed with changing time. As such women now have managed to walk out from the traditional barrier of domesticity and are seen walking hand in hand with men folk and are equally contributing in every sphere of life. And some respondents even do agree that

their husband do help in the domestic works. In some case even the household chore is shared between husband and wife. That signifies the sea change in the lives of the *Apatani* women, and this could be possible due to the changing mind set of the educated *Apatani* men as they understood that women share equal responsibility outside house hold as such she should not be left alone at home to handle the household chore.

Chapter four studied the contribution of *Apatani* women in the economy system of the family. Economy forms the backbone of every society and plays significant roles in shaping the structure of the society; region and nation at large and hence economy is one of the most significant constituents in community life. Since time immemorial out of many economic activities of the *Apatanis*, agriculture forms the main and basis of all other activities in which *Apatanis* subsist since time immemorial and women's participation in agricultural activities remained paramount; women were the main working force behind agriculture practice in *Apatani*. It has been proven by the schedule of questionnaire administered to all the respondents. Women in olden days contributed equally as men do, but these were rarely appreciated or were lost somewhere in patrilineal society and only men's contribution were visible. Many of the respondents especially older generation have narrated their stories of by gone days where their struggle and their dedication towards agricultural activities could be well understood. *Apatani* women at present generation are still contributing much in the economy of the family in fact even better than before, with the increasing opportunity and varied ways of earning women are opting for other source of income. *Patang* a labour institution have also been studied because *Apatani's patang* (reciprocal labour group) plays an important role in all the agricultural activities. It seems *Apatani* people understood it well, that the laborious agricultural works could be more convenient if it is done jointly with the help of other kinsmen/women. So by forming *patang* group they reciprocal their labour among them. In olden days all the *Apatanis* were in *patang* both young and old alike. Their numbers varies from five to fifteen. But in last few decades the institution of *patang* are losing its popular participation from younger generation. This is the impact of education,

where younger generation is made to concentrate their time only in studies by their parents. No doubt the younger generation does help in agricultural works individually in school holidays but they don't form *ajang patang* (young *patang*). Even the numbers of *akha patang* (old *patang*) are gradually decreasing, as many of them are opting for the other alternative source. Researcher had come across many deserted paddy fields which are left uncultivated and the reason cited by respondents varies from one another. Some of the reasons cited were; lack of time, as they are engaged in other source of generating income, such as government job, different business etc. and for some agricultural cultivation is too expensive, they are of the opinion that, the expenses made for the cultivation and its production is not in proportion and hence the expenses is higher than that of the production. The expenses they are referring here, is the labour charges, because unlike olden days where all the agriculture activities were manually and physically; without help of animal and other farm machine were done by family both male and female and with the help of the *patang*. But with changing time men hardly joined agricultural works even if they are not engaged in other work and as earlier said young people too are busy in their studies. So all the responsibilities were fall upon women's shoulder, hence she had to hire labour for the agricultural activities. If this trend continues in this part of the valley there are chances that more people may shift from agricultural work to some other income generating sources, hence if this aspect is not solve either by making enough labour in low expenses or by introducing farm machinery in this valley to assist the farmers to save old age tradition of agriculture practice of the *Apatanis*.

The contributions of women in their family economy through various occupations have been studied. The respondent's occupations were categorized into Farmer, Government job, Business, and even house wife. Farmers were mostly from village and only few of them were from Hapoli town. To understand the contribution of farmer in the family economy, response sheet of questionnaire based on to know whether the production from their cultivation satisfy the needs of the family or for that matter are their production saves them from extra expenditure. The overall response pattern tells that, the farmers do contribute in

the family economy. Many educated *Apatani* women are absorbed in government job, in this study women in the workforce earning wages or salary have been studied. This is the direct impact of education and modernization, where *Apatani* women are seen moving out from their traditional occupation of agriculturalist, people started looking for alternate sources and feels that government job are the most reliable source of income. As many of the *Apatanis* including women are engaged in this occupation in various capacities throughout the state and even in other nations. According to the interview conducted the working women are making differences in their family economy. It is also observed that working women were fully supported by their family members including their husband, hence showing the changing mind set of the people towards women's free access of every opportunity.

Businesses as occupation have also been studied were various entrepreneurs have been incorporated. Though this venture is relatively new in *Apatani* valley especially for women folk but the progress they have made is of worth praising. Many *Apatani* women are well established making huge difference in the economy of the family in particular and society in general.

In the next chapter 'women in the social institution' tried to studied the relative position of women in various social institutions and made an effort to understand the rules of property inheritance, both movable and immovable, which is crucially associated with the women's empowerment. Family being the basic social unit forms an important component of the whole *Apatani* social structure and all the relation both affinal and consanguineal are established for and by the family, where women plays an significance role in various capacity; as mother, wife, sister, daughter, mother in law, sister in law and daughter in law. Family play as the first agent of socialization, where the personality building takes place and family members plays an important role in it. In this aspect mother comes first agent, with special qualities given by nature such as breast feeding the baby, giving birth and carrying baby for nine long months in her womb can only be done by the mother.

Traditionally primogeniture is the fundamental principles in the *Apatanis*, where all the ancestral properties including original household articles are inherited by the eldest son. And daughter does not inherit immovable property from her parents except ornaments that were given in their marriage. According to the data collected all the respondents were given ornament by her parents. Of course the numbers of ornaments differ from one family to another. But the trend of property inheritance have made some change as daughter too are getting immovable properties, suggested by the data collected (refer table 5.1) though few in number but at least made an impact in the society that women too are inheriting immovable properties. But this does not mean equal sharing of the property between son and daughter because mostly those women inherit immovable property from their parent if only they don't have male child.

Marriage is honored by *Apatanis* and it involved lot of rituals. Though this age old practice still exists another side of the fact is that, in due course of time many changes have taken place in the institution of marriage. The reasons are numerous; education, new social outlook, lack of time and change of religion are some of the factor that has compelled them to change the old age system. Education played an important role in bringing changes in *Apatani* society. It gives the people a broad outlook, their thought are no more confined to their own community but started thinking beyond the community boundary. The very fact can be seen in the matrimonial relations with other communities or tribes. Another significance change is marriage between two sections of the *Apatanis* (*Gyuchi* and *Gyutw*). In olden days marriage between these two section of the *Apatanis* were tabooed but now people overlook these taboos and many *Apatani* enter into nuptial. This suggests change in the structure of the society which may be explicitly brought out through a study on the social structure, which the present researcher could not do due to time constraint. Religion is another fact that led to the changes in marriage system of the *Apatanis*. For example, the advance of Christianity in *Apatani* do not lead to the extinction of traditional ways of the marriage but modify the traditional practices, for instance marriage ceremonies be it *Mabo Inchi Nw*, *Mida*, *Eli Bani* ceremony, all the traditional

practice remain same including gift exchange between bride's family and groom's family except certain aspect like consumption of rice beer and performing of lanker ritual by the priest is not done. Another additional factor for decline of many old age formalities is the time factor and expenses. As the formalities of marriage happen to be lengthy process and involved heavy expenditure, for example all the gift given by the brides' parents to groom during *mida* were of bacon (*yo aso*) of different sizes and to preserved it takes long time and daily care to protect it from insect for which one need to be patient and should be available all the time. And now the life style of the people has changed a lot and they are so busy, people don't get time to look after these bacons. So they opted this with money. Now most of the time people use cash instead of meat which save both time and expenditure. People also use cash in place of mithun and cow. Beside these, now days, modern articles like different kitchen wares are also given to the bride by her parents. On the day of ceremony, apart from local dishes even readymade foods that are available in the market are also served.

Another important change regarding marriage is the fixing of customary rate of the gift exchange in marriage by the committee of different villages. The committee constitutes local officers, panchayat leaders, public leaders, Head Gaon Buras/Buris, and general public of the village. The decision of the committee regarding exchange of gift is published in the form of booklet entitled "*Mida Ari Asa*" (price for *mida*) published in 2009. The motive behind fixing of rate is to maintained parity in exchanges in the society. So that, the way of performing different ceremonies may not differ among the rich and poor people. The committee has also passed a resolution that distribution of extravagant miscellaneous items such as bottle of wine, packet of tealeaves, milk powder, tobacco, salt, biscuit etc. are also totally banned.

In sixth chapter entitled women in traditional and modern polity, in this chapter traditional village council of *Apatani* have been discussed and effort has been made to locate the women's space and role in the *Buliang* the village council of *Apatani*. At the same time examine the level of the participation of women in

Panchayati Raj Institution; modern polity in the grass root level and tried to analyze their understanding and awareness on Panchayat Raj Institutions.

The institution of *Buliang*; the village council of *Apatani*, the upholder of the unrecorded traditional and customary laws had always held an important position in the *Apatani* society. Though at present their judicial and administrative power and function has reduced to some extent due to the introduction of the Indian penal code and administration in the *Apatani* valley, but in the socio-religious sphere, their role still remain important. *Apatani* women do not enjoy the privilege of being part of the Institution of *Buliang*. Though women were never seen negotiating, arbitrating in war and hostility, between the disputes cases or walking along with the *Buliang*men to a ceremony in different villages but, this chapter reveals the women's contribution for the cause of *Buliang*, which cannot be denied; and yes women do contribute though in a small way but significant one that always remains behind the scene; there is a dedicated wife of a husband who caters all the efforts in her capacity so that her husband's prestige always remain at the highest, this could be understood by the way they get ready with those ceremonial gifts for the guest and maintain all the obligations as a wife of *Buliang* with all sincerity. There is a mother who protects and guides her children even in the absence of her husband, a mother who always tries to secure the future of her son as she became custodian of the post, so that someday her son could become *Buliang* and a woman who never questions the existing patriarchal system and enjoyed her world with contentment, this could be seen through the assessment of question 'Do you think women should be included in *Buliang*?' where 85% of the women feel that women should not be included in *Buliang* and only 15% of the women think that a woman should be inducted as *Buliang*. (koj 2018)

But the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in the Apatani Valley has changed the political lives of the *Apatani* women. It is clear from the table 6.6 that the women representative in PRI justifies the seat sharing among male and female representatives that stands at 56.7 percent out of total number of PRI members from the entire three tiers. Men occupy 43.3 percent. In fact the overall

number of the PRI member outnumbered the male percentage. But if one look closely at the data, it reveals something else. For instance the seat sharing among ZPM (Zilla Parishad Member), shows that out of total 7, men occupied 5 (71.4%) and women are only 2 (28.6 %), which is less than the actual reserved quota for women which is 33 % at present. Among ASM (Anchal Samiti Members) seat sharing stands at 78 (62 %) men representatives and 48 (38%) for women representatives out of total 126 representatives, which is more than the actual reserved seat for women. And among GPM (Gram Panchayat Members) seat shared by men are 143 (36.8 %) and women shares 296 (56.7 %) out of total 522 representatives, here the seat sharing of women out numbered the men's seat. Here it is quite clear that as the tier go up from the grass root level the percentage of women's representatives is decreasing. Hence, women representatives are highest at most grass root level or those who works among the villager at the base line and the percentage of women representatives is lowest at the highest level of the Panchayat Raj Institution. Such differences in the ratio between men and women's representatives in different three tiers could have various reasons; first it could be the perception of the society that thinks women are not capable of holding higher post and so always keep women as men's subordinate. Second reason could be the women's ignorance; their lack of knowledge about rights and duties hinder them in participating as men does, as among Gram Panchayat Member (GPM) majority of them are illiterate and elderly person. Third reason is their busy schedule at home as well as in agricultural works so they are unable to give their time for the other social activities, and lack of interest is another reason among Apatani women, for not progression in the field of politics.

So by and large Apatani women broke those traditional barriers of perception that did not allow women in social activities and hence could not even take part in Buliang the village council of the Apatanis. But with changing time women are seen in the public places and participating in Panchayat Raj Institution and though it may take few more years for women to exercise their power an functions by themselves without taking help from other.

In seventh chapter the women and education have been studied, this chapter presents the literacy status of Lower Subansiri District as general and Apatani valley in particular. The literacy status of the district is second highest in the Arunachal Pradesh, which is next to Papum Pare District. And census 2011 also suggest that Apatani inhabited area that is Ziro district head quarter of Lower Subansiri stands highest in literacy rate among the district.

This chapter has witness the story of women in olden days; their struggle and willingness to pursue education, examples of 1970s had been narrated (refer case no. 6) by Yachang Yap who put her best effort to pursue education but due to her parent's ignorance she was not supported in pursuing education. Hence she could not fulfill her dream of getting education. Another was that of Hage Aniya, she was the first Apatani lady to be enrolled in school. In spite of her willingness to study further, she could only study upto class VIII due to her childhood marriage that certainly associated with social obligation and family responsibility. On the other hand in 1990s people's perception about girl's education had changed at the same time women too could depend themselves from such obstruction as child marriage. For instance Koj Rinya's inspiring story; who could overcome the difficulties of childhood life and created history by becoming first lady IFS from Arunachal Pradesh.

As change is a continuous process, hence cannot assess it with static yard stick of a limited time frame. So, as the Apatani women are progressing in every sphere of their lives and perhaps today's status cannot be ascertain as their final stage of change or progress rather there are space and scope of more such changes to take place accordance with the changing society and people's perception. Moreover today's educated women and mothers are more likely to bring change in the society by raising their daughter in more egalitarian society. Thus, bringing change in the family in particular and in society as a whole.

GLOSSARY

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>Abang</i> | Elder Brother |
| <i>Aba</i> | Father |
| <i>Agyang</i> | Ritual Idle |
| <i>Ajang</i> | Young |
| <i>Ajee</i> | Paddy Field |
| <i>Akha</i> | Old |
| <i>Alli oho</i> | Seeds |
| <i>Allo</i> | Day |
| <i>Ami</i> | Elder Sister |
| <i>Anne</i> | Mother |
| <i>Anu</i> | Younger brother/sister |
| <i>Ari</i> | Price |
| <i>Armin</i> | Ripen |
| <i>Arro</i> | Morning |
| <i>Ato</i> | Grand Father |
| <i>Ayo</i> | Grand Mother |
| <i>Ballu</i> | Garden |
| <i>Basso</i> | Length |
| <i>Bije</i> | Bamboo |
| <i>Buliang</i> | Village Council |
| <i>Byopa</i> | Hat |

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Chantii dotii</i> | Universe |
| <i>Chirru</i> | Pocket |
| <i>Danii</i> | Hammer |
| <i>Danyi</i> | Sun |
| <i>Daru</i> | Summer |
| <i>Dedu</i> | Agriculture Implement |
| <i>Deepey</i> | Spade |
| <i>Diime</i> | Famine |
| <i>Donge</i> | Sunshine |
| <i>Dorii</i> | Winter |
| <i>Dotii</i> | Sky |
| <i>Elyo</i> | Sword |
| <i>Emmo</i> | Rice |
| <i>Empii</i> | Husk |
| <i>Endi</i> | Paddy |
| <i>Ganda</i> | Place, land |
| <i>Giidapatta</i> | Big cane basket |
| <i>Gora</i> | Village elders who organize common festivals and rituals |
| <i>Hama</i> | Vegetable |
| <i>Hoggya</i> | Leopard |
| <i>Hutoh</i> | Light |

| | |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>Jebhi</i> | Mud |
| <i>Jomii</i> | Cloud |
| <i>Kaye</i> | Big, Large |
| <i>Kiidi</i> | Soil |
| <i>Kormo</i> | Seed |
| <i>Kormu</i> | Grasshopper |
| <i>Kubu</i> | Rat |
| <i>Lakhii</i> | Cold |
| <i>Lappang</i> | Village platform |
| <i>Lemba</i> | Village |
| <i>Liimma</i> | Root |
| <i>Lypyö</i> | Millet field |
| <i>Maji</i> | Tibetan bell |
| <i>Miilin</i> | Lulin product |
| <i>Morey</i> | Forest |
| <i>Mubu</i> | Ash |
| <i>Muku</i> | Tobacco |
| <i>Naggo</i> | Shrine |
| <i>Nello</i> | House |
| <i>Nesu</i> | Granary |
| <i>Niiman</i> | Leaf |
| <i>Nyibu</i> | Priest |

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Ohoh</i> | Tall, high |
| <i>Pahin</i> | Liver |
| <i>Paku</i> | Plate |
| <i>Pappu</i> | Egg |
| <i>Paro</i> | Hen |
| <i>Pepu</i> | Mat |
| <i>Piida</i> | Pine tree |
| <i>Piilo</i> | Month/Moon |
| <i>Piita</i> | Bird |
| <i>Rupu</i> | Silver |
| <i>Sanni</i> | Tree |
| <i>Sarse</i> | Millet |
| <i>Sii</i> | Cow |
| <i>Siibe</i> | Monkey |
| <i>Siigan</i> | Stream |
| <i>Siiggo</i> | Bridge |
| <i>Subu</i> | Mithun |
| <i>Tagi</i> | Sickle |
| <i>Takhii</i> | Squirrel |
| <i>Taki</i> | Ginger |
| <i>Tahu</i> | Cucumber |
| <i>Talo</i> | Bronze plate |

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| <i>Tassang</i> | Beads |
| <i>Tero</i> | Chilly |
| <i>Tiiko</i> | Money |
| <i>Tiipe</i> | Tattoo |
| <i>Ubu</i> | Hole |
| <i>Uyi</i> | Ghost |
| <i>Yagii</i> | Cane basket |
| <i>Talan</i> | Stone |
| <i>Yalo</i> | Soul |
| <i>Yapung</i> | Sky |
| <i>Yasang</i> | Firewood |
| <i>Yasi</i> | Water |
| <i>Yaso</i> | Cane |
| <i>Yoh</i> | Meat |
| <i>Yo aso</i> | Bacon |

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AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE
CHANGING LIVES OF THE APATANI
WOMEN IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

As change is inevitable in any society, *Apatanis* too are going through various changes in their society due to numerous agents like religious, contact with outsider, modernization, and globalization and most importantly coming of formal education. Education remains one of the most important factors for the upward social mobility in the *Apatani* valley. Though the entry of education in the valley is a late phenomenon but it has brought significance changes in the lives of the *Apatanis*.

The present study entitled “Anthropological Study of the Changing Lives of the *Apatani* women of Arunachal Pradesh” discusses the various changes that *Apatani* women went through from the remote and stiff life of domesticity to the modern and liberate life, breaking stereotype that were associated with women for long ages.

The first chapter deals with the statement of the study, objectives of the study, actual methodology followed, universe of the study along with the literature review. Second chapter gives brief introduction of the Arunachal Pradesh, lower Subansiri District. The chapter also provides a historical backdrop of the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley along with growth of urban centers and expansion of population which led to the growth of new villages.

The second chapter gives brief introduction of Arunachal Pradesh and Lower Subansiri District. This chapter also introduces the *Apatanis*, their distribution within *Ziro* valley and their socio-cultural life in brief.

In chapter three the women in the domestic sphere have been discussed. Attempt has been made to locate the changes that women faced over the years in the domestic spheres. The study found that in olden days the domestic chore was solely handled by the women folk, in fact that was the prescribed norms of the

society and hence domesticity came under the domain of feminine job. The work division among gender is trained from ones childhood. Following work have been identified as household chore; cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, cleaning house, cleaning utensils, washing clothes, serving food, drying rice, taking care of fowl, dog, cat, pig etc, husking, taking care of children, weaving. In olden days these household chore was done manually by themselves and without assistant. Unlike today, where we see the changes brought by the modernization, for instance using of detergent for washing and cleaning purpose were not there, nor was there a water connection, washing machine and rice mill. Today technology plays important role in the lives of the Apatani women. Though Apatani women of present generation are ease to some extent from those tedious work with the assistant of various technology, but still women's household chore remain same rather increases with the increase in living standard, as present time demands more attention towards children's education, health, house and surrounding maintenance for the hygienic purposes. Women of this generation did not fail to shoulder ever growing responsibility that comes across their way. Its praise worthy that in spite of increase in workloads in their lives they still match with the situation they are surrounded by, keeping themselves update in every field, be it a get up, latest fashion, opting different profession even quite a good number of Apatani women are absorbed in white color job and still look after her family and household chore. On the other hand traditional weaving technique is slowly losing its importance. As many of the young women don't practice it any more, they prefer readymade garment instead of hand made one. In olden days weaving was part of every Apatani women and they were taught since very young age, but now they spend their time in school and in their free time they play with toys and do other activity.

Earlier there was a clear division of labour for men and women solely on the basis of feminine and masculine nature or the harder work was done by men folk and easier work was done by women folk, that was the perception of the people from time immemorial but this perception have changed with changing time. As such women now have managed to walk out from the traditional barrier of

domesticity and are seen walking hand in hand with men folk and are equally contributing in every sphere of life. And some respondents even do agree that their husband do help in the domestic works. In some case even the household chore is shared between husband and wife. That signifies the sea change in the lives of the *Apatani* women, and this could be possible due to the changing mind set of the educated *Apatani* men as they understood that women share equal responsibility outside house hold as such she should not be left alone at home to handle the household chore.

Chapter four studied the contribution of *Apatani* women in the economy system of the family. Economy forms the backbone of every society and plays significant roles in shaping the structure of the society; region and nation at large and hence economy is one of the most significant constituents in community life. Since time immemorial out of many economic activities of the *Apatanis*, agriculture forms the main and basis of all other activities in which *Apatanis* subsist since time immemorial and women's participation in agricultural activities remained paramount; women were the main working force behind agriculture practice in *Apatani*. It has been proven by the schedule of questionnaire administered to all the respondents. Women in olden days contributed equally as men do, but these were rarely appreciated or were lost somewhere in patrilineal society and only men's contribution were visible. Many of the respondents especially older generation have narrated their stories of by gone days where their struggle and their dedication towards agricultural activities could be well understood. *Apatani* women at present generation are still contributing much in the economy of the family in fact even better than before, with the increasing opportunity and varied ways of earning women are opting for other source of income. *Patang* a labour institution have also been studied because *Apatani's patang* (reciprocal labour group) plays an important role in all the agricultural activities. It seems *Apatani* people understood it well, that the laborious agricultural works could be more convenient if it is done jointly with the help of other kinsmen/women. So by forming *patang* group they reciprocal their labour among them. In olden days all the *Apatanis* were in *patang* both young and old alike. Their numbers varies from

five to fifteen. But in last few decades the institution of *patang* are losing its popular participation from younger generation. This is the impact of education, where younger generation is made to concentrate their time only in studies by their parents. No doubt the younger generation does help in agricultural works individually in school holidays but they don't form *ajang patang* (young *patang*). Even the numbers of *akha patang* (old *patang*) are gradually decreasing, as many of them are opting for the other alternative source. Researcher had come across many deserted paddy fields which are left uncultivated and the reason cited by respondents varies from one another. Some of the reasons cited were; lack of time, as they are engaged in other source of generating income, such as government job, different business etc. and for some agricultural cultivation is too expensive, they are of the opinion that, the expenses made for the cultivation and its production is not in proportion and hence the expenses is higher than that of the production. The expenses they are referring here, is the labour charges, because unlike olden days where all the agriculture activities were manually and physically; without help of animal and other farm machine were done by family both male and female and with the help of the *patang*. But with changing time men hardly joined agricultural works even if they are not engaged in other work and as earlier said young people too are busy in their studies. So all the responsibilities were fall upon women's shoulder, hence she had to hire labour for the agricultural activities. If this trend continues in this part of the valley there are chances that more people may shift from agricultural work to some other income generating sources, hence if this aspect is not solve either by making enough labour in low expenses or by introducing farm machinery in this valley to assist the farmers to save old age tradition of agriculture practice of the *Apatanis*.

The contributions of women in their family economy through various occupations have been studied. The respondent's occupations were categorized into Farmer, Government job, Business, and even house wife. Farmers were mostly from village and only few of them were from Hapoli town. To understand the contribution of farmer in the family economy, response sheet of questionnaire based on to know whether the production from their cultivation satisfy the needs

of the family or for that matter are their production saves them from extra expenditure. The overall response pattern tells that, the farmers do contribute in the family economy. Many educated *Apatani* women are absorbed in government job, in this study women in the workforce earning wages or salary have been studied. This is the direct impact of education and modernization, where *Apatani* women are seen moving out from their traditional occupation of agriculturalist, people started looking for alternate sources and feels that government job are the most reliable source of income. As many of the *Apatanis* including women are engaged in this occupation in various capacities throughout the state and even in other nations. According to the interview conducted the working women are making differences in their family economy. It is also observed that working women were fully supported by their family members including their husband, hence showing the changing mind set of the people towards women's free access of every opportunity.

Businesses as occupation have also been studied were various entrepreneurs have been incorporated. Though this venture is relatively new in *Apatani* valley especially for women folk but the progress they have made is of worth praising. Many *Apatani* women are well established making huge difference in the economy of the family in particular and society in general.

In the next chapter 'women in the social institution' tried to studied the relative position of women in various social institutions and made an effort to understand the rules of property inheritance, both movable and immovable, which is crucially associated with the women's empowerment. Family being the basic social unit forms an important component of the whole *Apatani* social structure and all the relation both affinal and consanguineal are established for and by the family, where women plays an significance role in various capacity; as mother, wife, sister, daughter, mother in law, sister in law and daughter in law. Family play as the first agent of socialization, where the personality building takes place and family members plays an important role in it. In this aspect mother comes first agent, with special qualities given by nature such as breast feeding the baby,

giving birth and carrying baby for nine long months in her womb can only be done by the mother.

Traditionally primogeniture is the fundamental principles in the *Apatanis*, where all the ancestral properties including original household articles are inherited by the eldest son. And daughter does not inherit immovable property from her parents except ornaments that were given in their marriage. According to the data collected all the respondents were given ornament by her parents. Of course the numbers of ornaments differ from one family to another. But the trend of property inheritance have made some change as daughter too are getting immovable properties, suggested by the data collected (refer table 5.1) though few in number but at least made an impact in the society that women too are inheriting immovable properties. But this does not mean equal sharing of the property between son and daughter because mostly those women inherit immovable property from their parent if only they don't have male child.

Marriage is honored by *Apatanis* and it involved lot of rituals. Though this age old practice still exists another side of the fact is that, in due course of time many changes have taken place in the institution of marriage. The reasons are numerous; education, new social outlook, lack of time and change of religion are some of the factor that has compelled them to change the old age system. Education played an important role in bringing changes in *Apatani* society. It gives the people a broad outlook, their thought are no more confined to their own community but started thinking beyond the community boundary. The very fact can be seen in the matrimonial relations with other communities or tribes. Another significance change is marriage between two sections of the *Apatanis* (*Gyuchi* and *Gyutw*). In olden days marriage between these two section of the *Apatanis* were tabooed but now people overlook these taboos and many *Apatani* enter into nuptial. This suggests change in the structure of the society which may be explicitly brought out through a study on the social structure, which the present researcher could not do due to time constraint. Religion is another fact that led to the changes in marriage system of the *Apatanis*. For example, the advance of Christianity in *Apatani* do not lead to the extinction of traditional

ways of the marriage but modify the traditional practices, for instance marriage ceremonies be it *Mabo Inchi Nw*, *Mida*, *Eli Bani* ceremony, all the traditional practice remain same including gift exchange between bride's family and groom's family except certain aspect like consumption of rice beer and performing of lanker ritual by the priest is not done. Another additional factor for decline of many old age formalities is the time factor and expenses. As the formalities of marriage happen to be lengthy process and involved heavy expenditure, for example all the gift given by the brides' parents to groom during *mida* were of bacon (*yo aso*) of different sizes and to preserved it takes long time and daily care to protect it from insect for which one need to be patient and should be available all the time. And now the life style of the people has changed a lot and they are so busy, people don't get time to look after these bacons. So they opted this with money. Now most of the time people use cash instead of meat which save both time and expenditure. People also use cash in place of mithun and cow. Beside these, now days, modern articles like different kitchen wares are also given to the bride by her parents. On the day of ceremony, apart from local dishes even readymade foods that are available in the market are also served.

Another important change regarding marriage is the fixing of customary rate of the gift exchange in marriage by the committee of different villages. The committee constitutes local officers, panchayat leaders, public leaders, Head Gaon Buras/Buris, and general public of the village. The decision of the committee regarding exchange of gift is published in the form of booklet entitled "*Mida Ari Asa*" (price for *mida*) published in 2009. The motive behind fixing of rate is to maintained parity in exchanges in the society. So that, the way of performing different ceremonies may not differ among the rich and poor people. The committee has also passed a resolution that distribution of extravagant miscellaneous items such as bottle of wine, packet of tealeaves, milk powder, tobacco, salt, biscuit etc. are also totally banned.

In sixth chapter entitled women in traditional and modern polity, in this chapter traditional village council of *Apatani* have been discussed and effort has been

made to locate the women's space and role in the *Buliang* the village council of *Apatani*. At the same time examine the level of the participation of women in Panchayati Raj Institution; modern polity in the grass root level and tried to analyze their understanding and awareness on Panchayat Raj Institutions.

The institution of *Buliang*; the village council of *Apatani*, the upholder of the unrecorded traditional and customary laws had always held an important position in the *Apatani* society. Though at present their judicial and administrative power and function has reduced to some extent due to the introduction of the Indian penal code and administration in the *Apatani* valley, but in the socio-religious sphere, their role still remain important. *Apatani* women do not enjoy the privilege of being part of the Institution of *Buliang*. Though women were never seen negotiating, arbitrating in war and hostility, between the disputes cases or walking along with the *Buliang*men to a ceremony in different villages but, this chapter reveals the women's contribution for the cause of *Buliang*, which cannot be denied; and yes women do contribute though in a small way but significant one that always remains behind the scene; there is a dedicated wife of a husband who caters all the efforts in her capacity so that her husband's prestige always remain at the highest, this could be understood by the way they get ready with those ceremonial gifts for the guest and maintain all the obligations as a wife of *Buliang* with all sincerity. There is a mother who protects and guides her children even in the absence of her husband, a mother who always tries to secure the future of her son as she became custodian of the post, so that someday her son could become *Buliang* and a woman who never questions the existing patriarchal system and enjoyed her world with contentment, this could be seen through the assessment of question 'Do you think women should be included in *Buliang*?' where 85% of the women feel that women should not be included in *Buliang* and only 15% of the women think that a woman should be inducted as *Buliang*. (koj 2018)

But the introduction of Panchayat Raj Institution in the *Apatani* Valley has changed the political lives of the *Apatani* women. It is clear from the table 6.6 that the women representative in PRI justifies the seat sharing among male and

female representatives that stands at 56.7 percent out of total number of PRI members from the entire three tiers. Men occupy 43.3 percent. In fact the overall number of the PRI member outnumbered the male percentage. But if one look closely at the data, it reveals something else. For instance the seat sharing among ZPM (Zilla Parishad Member), shows that out of total 7, men occupied 5 (71.4%) and women are only 2 (28.6 %), which is less than the actual reserved quota for women which is 33 % at present. Among ASM (Anchal Samiti Members) seat sharing stands at 78 (62 %) men representatives and 48 (38%) for women representatives out of total 126 representatives, which is more than the actual reserved seat for women. And among GPM (Gram Panchayat Members) seat shared by men are 143 (36.8 %) and women shares 296 (56.7 %) out of total 522 representatives, here the seat sharing of women out numbered the men's seat. Here it is quite clear that as the tier go up from the grass root level the percentage of women's representatives is decreasing. Hence, women representatives are highest at most grass root level or those who works among the villager at the base line and the percentage of women representatives is lowest at the highest level of the Panchayat Raj Institution. Such differences in the ratio between men and women's representatives in different three tiers could have various reasons; first it could be the perception of the society that thinks women are not capable of holding higher post and so always keep women as men's subordinate. Second reason could be the women's ignorance; their lack of knowledge about rights and duties hinder them in participating as men does, as among Gram Panchayat Member (GPM) majority of them are illiterate and elderly person. Third reason is their busy schedule at home as well as in agricultural works so they are unable to give their time for the other social activities, and lack of interest is another reason among Apatani women, for not progression in the field of politics.

So by and large Apatani women broke those traditional barriers of perception that did not allow women in social activities and hence could not even take part in Buliang the village council of the Apatanis. But with changing time women are seen in the public places and participating in Panchayat Raj Institution and

though it may take few more years for women to exercise their power and functions by themselves without taking help from others.

In seventh chapter the women and education have been studied, this chapter presents the literacy status of Lower Subansiri District as general and Apatani valley in particular. The literacy status of the district is second highest in the Arunachal Pradesh, which is next to Papum Pare District. And census 2011 also suggests that Apatani inhabited area that is Ziro district head quarter of Lower Subansiri stands highest in literacy rate among the district.

This chapter has witnessed the story of women in olden days; their struggle and willingness to pursue education, examples of 1970s had been narrated (refer case no. 6) by Yachang Yap who put her best effort to pursue education but due to her parent's ignorance she was not supported in pursuing education. Hence she could not fulfill her dream of getting education. Another was that of Hage Aniya, she was the first Apatani lady to be enrolled in school. In spite of her willingness to study further, she could only study up to class VIII due to her childhood marriage that certainly associated with social obligation and family responsibility. On the other hand in 1990s people's perception about girl's education had changed at the same time women too could depend themselves from such obstruction as child marriage. For instance Koj Rinya's inspiring story; who could overcome the difficulties of childhood life and created history by becoming first lady IFS from Arunachal Pradesh.

As change is a continuous process, hence cannot assess it with static yardstick of a limited time frame. So, as the Apatani women are progressing in every sphere of their lives and perhaps today's status cannot be ascertained as their final stage of change or progress rather there are space and scope of more such changes to take place accordance with the changing society and people's perception. Moreover today's educated women and mothers are more likely to bring change in the society by raising their daughter in more egalitarian society. Thus, bringing change in the family in particular and in society as a whole.