

Development, Ethnicity and Gender



Tiplut Nongbri



This book addresses some of the issues that are of enduring interest to students and teachers in the social sciences. Though the three major themes, viz., development, ethnicity and gender around which the essays revolve are by no means new, the chapters have a distinctive quality, focussing on some of the subjects that are peripheral to the mainstream research.

Some of the key issues dealt with in the book are the protracted debate on indigenous peoples; the effect of development and environmental degradation on tribes and the inter-linkages between them; state intervention on natural resource management; and the link between ethnicity, matriliney and gender, an area that has remained unexplored so far.

Pitched against the backdrop of the central tribal belt and North-East India the book offers specialists in the field as well as students and researchers a close view into the fast changing contours of life that confront these marginalised people. The author's experiential location in the study universe and the emic perspective that underlined the analysis give an additional edge to the book.

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and Gender

Select Essays on Tribes in India

Tiplut Nongbri



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*To my parents
Mrs Nongbri Nongbri and late Mr. Morello Lyngdoh*

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Tiplut Nongbri

1

Introduction

This book brings together a collection of essays on tribes in India. The papers have been written at different points of time and in response to different needs. Consequently, they cover a wide range of issues which, on the outside, appear disparate and isolated from each other. However, beneath the difference lies a common theme that binds them together. The subject-matter that makes up the book represents both the changing contours of tribal societies in the country and the author's own interest in the subject.

As the title of the book suggests, the papers fall into three broad categories, viz., development, ethnicity and gender, with social change providing the overarching link between the three. However, I have not dealt with any of the themes as a separate entity but discussed each one of them as part of the empirical problem within which they occur. The idea is not to go in for abstract theorisation as this has the tendency to dilute the significance of the problem and deflect it from the empirical context within which it is embedded.

Although the initial impetus for writing the papers grew out of my involvement in teaching courses on tribes, family and kinship and ecology at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University, the motivation was buttressed by my own experiential location within the matrilineal tribal society. This biographical specificity helped me to develop an internal critique of mainstream theories that

seek to look at tribes primarily from the purview of the dominant society. While these theories did help to provide valuable information and insights into the world of the ethnically, geographically and socially diverse tribal population, and brought them into the larger intellectual and political discourse, they missed out on many vital aspects of the problem.

The book takes a sharp departure from the *etic* view of mainstream sociology by looking at the problem from the perspective of tribes. Such an approach is built on the assumption that an appreciation of native categories and thought (*emic* view) will not only sensitise us to the inner dynamics and nuances of the society, but also help us understand the people's aspirations and goals which are highly critical for the success of any policy. The approach demands that we do not blindly treat tribes as an undifferentiated and monolithic category but also cautions us to be aware of the internal differentiation and divisions that beset the society. The methodological caveat built into the approach also helps us to challenge the established view that tribal societies are free of inequality, and to interrogate the unequal gender relations created and nurtured by the patriarchal social order both within the tribal society and the state machinery.

Chapter 2 looks at the evolution of tribal studies in India since the activity began in the eighteenth century till the end of the twentieth century. The chapter provides the necessary backdrop to the themes and arguments that follow and it is one of the two chapters that have been specially written for this book. Though the discussion is built on the works of earlier scholars to bring out the political use to which sociology and social anthropology have been put both in the colonial and post-colonial period, it moves beyond these to take in new developments in the field. In this endeavour the argument takes a hard look at the neglect of issues relating to the natural environment, gender relations and the international debate on the indigenous peoples in recent works in sociology and social

anthropology. The chapter argues not only for a more ecological and gender sensitive [tribal] sociology, but also takes the debate on indigenous peoples to a new height. The latter is vital as the protracted concept of tribe has further been complicated by the United Nation's move treating tribe and indigenous peoples as analogous categories.

Chapter 3 examines closely the rise of tribal politics. Focussed on the tribal belt of central India it traces the link between the process of political mobilisation among tribes in the region and the devaluation of their culture and tradition by the twin policy of assimilation and the lopsided pattern of development carried out by the state. While the process was motivated by the desire for autonomy it has its roots in the unequal power relations between the tribes and the dominant society. Although tribal politics which evolved as an aspect of modernisation and change cannot be strictly isolated from national politics, it has a distinctive identity that is shaped by years of subjugation and devaluation of their culture and tradition in the hands of the more advanced population.

Chapter 4 is basically an extension of the preceding chapter. Shifting the focus to North-East India it documents the political reverberations in the region which culminated in the reorganisation of Assam in the early 1970s. Using ethnicity as an analytical category it examines the process of state formation in the region in the years that followed India's independence, and the tribes' response to it. The process though is deep and complex, triggered in part by the historical and geo-physical isolation of the region and the insensitivity exhibited by the central political leadership to their demand for autonomy and independent administrative arrangements from the state of Assam. This insensitivity has proved extremely costly not only for the Indian state which has to contend with the rising ethnic unrest in the region, but also for the concerned ethnic groups who were/are involved in the movement. As ethnicity thrives on cultural distinctions between groups, it not only sharpens

the cleavage between the ethnics and non-ethnics but also has a tendency to reproduce similar points of distinction between the dominant and less dominant sections within the [ethnic] group, and in the process it accentuates internal conflicts and contradictions. What the chapter shows is that ethnicity does not originate in some primordial enclave but is integrally linked to the processes of the modern state.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the issue of land and forest and the conflict that emerged between the people's rights over their natural productive resources and the policies adopted by the state. Though the discussion is based on processes in North-East India, its findings echo similar experiences elsewhere in the country. As economic categories land and forests have been subjected to a series of legislations from the colonial period to the present times. Available evidence has shown that state policies not only infringed into people's rights but also contributed significantly to the depletion of the country's natural resources, such as water, trees, minerals and soil. For tribes, this phenomenon assumes a particularly serious dimension because of the people's high dependence on nature to meet their survival needs. The chapters show that both state-sponsored development and environmental policies are detrimental to the interest of tribes. Interestingly, the most affected are the poor and women.

Chapter 7 takes on the problems of gender in tribal societies. Using development as a frame of reference it draws attention to the stereotype ideas that sociologists, anthropologists, economists and the public at large have about the position of tribal women. Deceived by women's relative freedom of movement, their high participation in economic activities, and high divorce and remarriage rates, many shared the view that tribal societies are free of gender inequality. As a consequence, while the empowerment of women has acquired the status of a national agenda in the country, in many tribal states political leaders have yet to recognise that gender is an

issue that needs to be addressed. That tribal women are not free from gender subordination is clearly borne out by the fact that tribal customary law and practices are as prejudicial towards women as the personal laws of non-tribal societies. In fact, with their exposure to the process of development and globalisation of the economy, women's problems have multiplied manifold. Although, in practical terms, this is manifested in the form of increased work burden, denial of access to resources and exposure to exploitation (social, economic and sexual), what is a matter of serious concern is women's increasing ideological subordination.

Ideology plays a critical role in the construction of gender and provides the basis for their subordination. Though the degree of subordination varies in specific contexts, the process of development and women's increasing participation in production have not only reinforced their subordination but also led men to interpret and reconstruct gender ideology in a more stringent manner in an apparent attempt to keep them in perpetual subjugation. It is interesting to note how some tribes use ideological tools to restrict women's access to land and productive technology, thereby helping men to retain their position of dominance and control.

That gender inequality is widely pervasive across cultures is evident from the fact that even matrilineal societies, where women are the focus of their kinship organisation, are not spared. Chapter 8 brings this out in vivid detail. Focussed on the Khasi matrilineal tribe of Meghalaya, the paper shows that by bestowing descent rights on women men not only succeed in absolving themselves of the responsibility of bringing up their children (this is seen basically as the mother's responsibility) but also in marginalising them from key areas of decision-making. The main concern of the chapter though is on the link between ethnicity and gender. The subject is wide and complex and addressing the issue within the span of one chapter has not been easy. The impetus for the study has,

however, been provided by the recent attempt made by the Khasi Hill Autonomous District Council to enact a law on the Khasi custom of lineage. Though the bill failed to receive the Governor's assent, it provides a glimpse not only into the role of the state in perpetuating gender inequality but also of the conflict and tensions that accompany a society in transition. A significant point that emerges from the study is that gender cannot be divorced from the social processes that act upon the society within which it is embedded. This is borne out by the fact that the process of political modernisation and change that hit the Khasi society following the retreat of colonialism (see Chapter 4) has not only led to a sharp rise in ethnic consciousness but also in gender consciousness.

On the whole, the book brings out the twin danger of centralisation and homogenisation, on the one hand, and an excessive reliance on ethnicity as a principle of social closure and boundary maintenance between 'we' and 'they', on the other. Quite clearly, centralisation and homogenisation are not only threats to cultural diversity and the rich tangible and intangible heritage that form the mosaic of a civilisation, they also vitiate the social environment and create a sense of insecurity in the marginalised. The logical outcome of which is, as would be seen in the book, a recourse to proto- and ethno-political mobilisation by the marginalised groups to protect their interest. Given that in practice the effects of centralisation and homogenisation are not confined to the symbolic and political realms alone but directly impinge upon people's livelihood and rights over their natural productive resources, this cannot be regarded as an irrational or illegitimate action. However, the danger of ethnic-based social mobilisation, if we may define the process as such, is that there is no end to it. Recent processes in Europe and elsewhere in the world, not to speak of the inter-ethnic feuds on the home turf in the North-East, are strong pointers to its negative effect. But, what needs to be recognised is that ethnicity is basically a product of

an unequal power relation, and the tendency of the dominant group to impose its cultural values and standards on the less dominant [read minority/weaker] groups, with scant regard to their cultural or social sensibilities. In a multi-ethnic and pluralistic society, where the population is made up of culturally distinct groups, failure to respect or accommodate the other's/others' social and cultural distinctiveness can have far-reaching consequences.

As the major part of the book deals with issues pertaining to North-East India, a brief introduction on the region would be in order to place things in their proper sociological perspective.

North-East India constitutes an important political and ecological region in the country. Lying between 22--29.5 degrees North latitude and 88--97.5 degrees East longitude, and spanning an area of 2,55,083 square kilometres, the region is known for its rich biological and cultural diversity. Also known as the "land of the seven sisters", a metaphor for its seven states---Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura---it houses over a hundred tribal communities characterised by diverse linguistic, religious and eco-political backgrounds. Many of these tribes have migrated into their present abode from China and South-East Asia, which accounts for their close cultural similarities with the peoples across the international border. Though, the early history of the region is shrouded in ambiguity, its strategic location at the confluence of South, South-East and East Asia made North-East India made it a centre of active population movement and an important pathway of communication between the peoples of the mega region.

The extension of colonial rule significantly altered the political geography of the region. While the British annexation brought the region within the economic and political framework of colonialism, it also sealed its people within rigid territorial boundaries hitherto unknown in their history. Besides, with the introduction of the colonial policy of

exclusion and partial exclusion and inner-line regulation, substantial parts of the region which traditionally served as nature's 'bridge' between the populations of the mega region were rendered out of bounds for the outside population (cf. Roy-Burman, 1998). The partition of the country in 1947, following India's independence, intensified the isolation of the region. The creation of East Pakistan (present-day Bangladesh) not only disrupted the road and river communications that connected its population with commercial centres in undivided Bengal and beyond, but also left the North-East hemmed in by a long chain of international border. Today, its only link with the Indian mainland is a slender 22 kilometer (roughly less than one percent of its total boundary) corridor through North Bengal.

This geo-historical specificity lent a distinctive quality to the North-Eastern region. Even after fifty years of democratic rule and its integration to India's federal polity, North-East India retains a remarkably strong regional identity. It would, however, be wrong to assume that North-East India is a homogenous entity characterised by common social or political factors. While there are many common elements that the indigenous populations share with each other, the present picture of the North-East is one of sharp contrasts and contradictions. Apart from their linguistic, religious and ethnic variations, the different communities experienced different degrees of assimilation and isolation in relation to the general population. For instance, while the Assamese of the Brahmaputra valley and the Meitei of Manipur have undergone a high degree of Hinduisation and Brahmanisation, the Khasi, Garo, Mizo and Naga people have largely adopted Christianity, albeit without fundamentally disrupting their indigenous structures and traditions. The expansion of the Mughal conquest in Bengal and subsequent migration of the population has also resulted in a sizeable concentration of the Muslim population in the Brahmaputra, Barak and Imphal valleys.

Besides, Arunachal Pradesh's proximity to Tibet has exposed some of the frontier tribes to Buddhist influence.

The North-Eastern region is also famed for being one of the last bastions of matriliney—a system of kinship organisation that bestows descent rights on the mother. The state of Meghalaya, in particular, enjoys the unique distinction of being the only state in the country where its dominant population—the Khasi, Jaintia and Garos—(numbering a little less than 80 percent of the state population) subscribe to the matrilineal system. A number of tribes in Assam, such as the Rabha, Mishing, Dimasa, Tiwa and Koch, also practised the matrilineal system, though Hinduisation and hegemony of the Assamese have infused strong patrilineal orientations among them that has made these societies today closer to the patrilineal than the matrilineal structure.

What is distinctive about the matrilineal system is the strong association with gender equality in the minds of many. While empirical evidence belies this fact¹ it has generated disquiet in some section of men who see the system as unfavourable to the male. This perception has resulted in a major debate on the position of men in the matrilineal system and its relevance to the present-day society. An interesting feature of this process, which will be the focus of Chapter 8 (in this book), is the sharp polarisation of views between two camps—the pro-reforms anti-matriliny lobby and the pro-matrilineal system traditionalists. What is also significant about this debate is the way in which matriliney not only became the flogging horse on which issues that centred round female sexuality and the woman's social and political rights are thrashed out, but also the role of the state in precipitating the conflict.

This socio-cultural diversity, added to the civilisational mix illustrated above, further contributes to the heterogeneity and complexity of the North-Eastern region, and orients the different ethnic groups differently to the larger society and the Indian nation-state.

In more recent times another dimension has been added to deepen the complexion of the North-East. The decimation of Pakistan, and the transformation of its eastern wing (East Pakistan) into Bangladesh, have given way to one of the largest inflows of political refugees from that country into the region. This has not only drastically changed the demographic structure of the state of Assam but also contributed to the emergence of one of the most protracted 'anti-foreigners'-cum-political movements that has kept the state and its tribal neighbours (Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya) in perpetual instability.

In physiographical terms also North-East India lacks uniformity. Situated at an altitude ranging from the sea level to 8,500 metres, the region is interspersed with undulating hills, valleys and plateaus. Broadly, the region can be classified into four divisions---the mountain range of Arunachal Pradesh in the north, the Patkai range in the east, the Shillong plateau in the south with its extension into Mikir hills, and the rich fertile plains of the Brahmaputra, Barak and Imphal river systems. The climate varies from sub-tropical in the lower reaches to sub-temperate condition in the hills (Ramakrishnan, 1992: 5). The distribution of rainfall ranges from 178 to 305 centimetre in Assam to an average of 1,270 centimetre per annum in the Khasi hills in Meghalaya, with Cherrapunjee holding the world record for receiving the heaviest rainfall in a year. Though, of late, intense deforestation in and around Cherrapunjee has altered the climatic condition in the area, shifting the world record for heaviest rainfall now to neighbouring Mawsynram.

This eco-physical diversity positively serves to endow the North-East with an abundance of natural resources. The region abounds in gas, oil, minerals and water energy. Its biological kingdom boasts of a wide variety of floral and faunal life, many of which are endangered species, earning it the reputation as one of the hot spots of bio-diversity in the world. The

vegetation varies from rich evergreen forests in the lower reaches to alpine and sub-alpine forests in the higher altitudes, with mixed forests and grasslands in the middle zones. Though centuries of human settlement and shifting agriculture have left their impact on the eco-system, the high land-man ratio and poor means of communication have helped to conserve its natural heritage. According to Toky and Ramakrishnan (1982:422) approximately 50 percent of its flora and 65 percent of India's forest cover are in the North-East. However, increasing population pressure and hectic engagement in extractive process of development, particularly by the state in the last two decades, has begun to exact a heavy toll on the environment.

The cultural and eco-physical diversity of the region is matched by the variety in the administrative arrangements made for it by the Indian Constitution. The system of administration in the North-Eastern region differs in important ways from that which prevails in the rest of the country. Whereas the states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura and the tribal areas of Assam are placed under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, Nagaland is governed by Article 371A. The latter provides that, "[N]otwithstanding anything in this Constitution---no Act of Parliament in respect of (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga customary law procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice, and (iv) ownership of land and its resources shall apply to the state of Nagaland". Article 371G provides similar safeguards for Mizoram. Interestingly, though Mizoram comes under the Sixth Schedule, additional safeguards on the pattern of Nagaland have been provided for the state. This Article (371G) was incorporated into the Constitution in 1986 when Mizoram was elevated from a union territory into a full-fledge state. Similarly, to protect the interests of the tribal population of Manipur, Article 371C provides for the constitution of Sixth Schedule-type councils in the hill areas of the state. On the

other hand, though Arunachal Pradesh continues to enjoy the safeguards extended to a Sixth Schedule state, it has opted to retain the panchayati raj institutions established in 1969 instead of adopting the District Council system. Table 1 summarises the special administrative arrangement for the North-Eastern region.

Table 1
Administrative Structure of North-East India

<i>State</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Km. & No. of Districts</i>	<i>Special Constitutional Provision</i>	<i>Autonomous Council/Units</i>
Arunachal Pradesh	83743/13	Art. 371H	No Autonomous Councils but the state has elective village councils (panchayats)
Assam	78438/23	Sixth Schedule Read with Art. 371B (for Schd. Areas only)	Karbi-Anglong, N. Cachar Hills Bodoland, Rabha-Hasong, Tiwa, Mishing
Manipur	22327/08	Art. 371C	Ukhrul, Tamenglong-Senapati, Sadar Hills, Chandel and Churachandpur
Meghalaya	22429/07	Sixth Schedule	Khasi Hills, Jaintia Hills Garo Hills
Mizoram	21081/04	Sixth Schedule Read with Art. 371G	Pawi, Lakher, Chakma
Nagaland	16579/07	Art. 371A	No Autonomous Councils but there are Village Councils in each major village
Tripura	10486/05	Sixth Schedule	Tripura Tribal Area Autonomous District Council, Khumulwang

The different administrative arrangements highlighted above offer different degrees of autonomy and self-management to the indigenous communities in their respective states. Designed to strike a balance between the tribe's quest for autonomy and the controlling power of the state, the arrangement has important implications for the people's participation in the system of governance and the management of their social and natural resources. In states governed by the

Sixth Schedule these local administrative units have been given special legislative powers over forests.

This wide diversity poses a strong challenge to the characterisation of the region. Indeed, some scholars have strongly contested the definition of India's North-East as a region. Sajal Nag, for instance, opines that it is merely a historical accident that such a vast and vivid diversity is pieced together. Pointing to the acculturation process and Indo-Aryan influence in the valleys, he observes: "The North-East is thus as Indian, if not more, as the rest of India by the yardstick of both diversity and pluralism of Indian civilisation as well as on the communalist parameters of the Hinduist ideologues." Nag believes that the image of North-East India as a region has been "based on certain presumptions derived largely from the impression people developed from the Bhils, the Santhals, the Gonds and other such plains tribal folks living in the rest of India" (1995: 4-5).

To be sure, there can be different views on what constitutes a region, just as there can be multiple images of it. But what the author omits to do is to look at the problem in a holistic and integrative manner. By focusing on the cultural aspect alone, he ignores the politico-historical factors that shape the composite identity of the region. To quote Professor B.K. Roy-Burman: "Predominant attributes of the landscape and interrelationship among these differentiated attributes, political economy, social linkages over a length of time and culture history as in the cognitive realm of the power elite of the population, are also inputs that go into the definition of a region" (1998: 1). According to Roy-Burman, a region is not a static but dynamic entity whose contour and content goes on changing. To buttress this viewpoint, it is important to note that what else contributes to the distinctiveness of the North-East is its overwhelmingly tribal population. Notwithstanding the active Indo-Aryan influence, this could not alter the Indo-Mongolian and multi-ethnic character of the region.

This, however, is not to say that the people of the North-East were social and cultural isolates. Indeed, as pointed at the outset, the people of the region served as vital links between the population of the Indian sub-continent and those of South and South-East Asia since pre-historic times. But, realistically speaking, it is important to recognise that the North-East never constituted a part of the Hindu or Mughal imperial complex. Till the British came on the scene, the different ethnic groups in the region existed in comparative autonomy and independence, had their own system of administration and practised their own customs and traditions. Even the Brahmaputra valley stood at the periphery of the Indian economy and polity till it was colonised by the British in 1826, after the Ahom kingdom was overrun by the Burmese. Doubtless, inroads of Hinduism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did leave its impact on some segments of the population. But this was confined mainly to the Brahmaputra, and later to the Imphal valley, and did not alter the basic structure of the society in the region as a whole. The vast majority of the communities continued to be governed by their indigenous customs and practices. Even in cultural terms, most of the ethnic groups in the region exhibit more common elements with the indigenous people of Tibet, Yunnan Province of China, Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, Myanmar and Chittagong tracts of Bangladesh than with the dominant population of the Indian mainland. Though national and international boundaries have ruthlessly torn the ethnic population from their cognates on both sides of the political divide, symbolic unity with the past could not be decimated and continues to reflect in the life modes and ethos of the indigenous/tribal population.

Both in popular and official imagery the dominant image of North-East India is of a region constituted predominantly of tribal societies, each with their own particular ethno-history and institutions. Although in absolute terms, only about 12

percent of India's tribal population is located in the North-East, taken individually, it has the highest concentration of tribes in a specific geographical location. The distribution of the tribal population, in relation to the total population of the state, ranges from 12.82 percent in Assam to 94.75 percent in Mizoram. Table 2 gives the state-wise distribution of tribes in the seven North-Eastern states as per the 1991 census.

Table 2
Distribution of Scheduled Tribe Population

State	Total Population	% of Tribal Population
Arunachal Pradesh	8,64,558	63.66
Assam	224,14,322	12.82
Manipur	18,37,149	34.47
Meghalaya	17,74,778	85.53
Mizoram	5,89,756	94.75
Nagaland	12,09,546	87.07
Tripura	27,57,205	30.94

An understanding of the demographic features of the region is important, as there is a close affinity between the tribal population and the natural environment, which finds lucid expression in the abundance of natural resources in tribal/indigenous areas in many parts of the world. In the North-East this is reflected in the close correspondence between the concentration of the tribal population and extent of forest cover in the various states. It has been found that Mizoram, which has the largest percentage of tribal population in the state, also has the largest forest cover (89.06%) in comparison to its total geographical area. This is followed by Nagaland which stands second both in terms of tribal concentration and forest cover (85.77%). Assam, on the other hand, occupies the lowest position both in respects of forest cover (30.40%)² and percentage of tribal population (though in absolute terms it has the largest tribal population—2,24,14,322 persons).

This suggests that the rich biological diversity in North-East India cannot be ascribed solely to its physical ecology. While its soft mountain slopes, rain-fed plateaus and riverine valleys provide hospitable conditions for a variety of animal and plant species to flourish, this is buttressed by a cultural code that accords respect to nature. Salient to this is the system of belief that characterises the tribal societies in the region, which recognises the unity of the cosmos and the interdependence of all species and organisms on the planet earth; interdependence both on each other as well as on the physical environment. In the tribal conception, man is not only dependent upon nature for his physiological but also psychological and spiritual well-being. Nature in turn needs to be respected as it is not just a thing lying 'out there' but a manifestation of the power of the creator and the abode of spirits and deities and other biotic beings. The tribe's respect for nature is clearly reflected in their attitude to land. Among many tribes land is not a commodity but a gift of nature. Hence, it could not be bought and sold or owned like a thing by an individual. As a gift of nature land belongs to the collectivity. That is why proprietorial right over land and forest is a concept traditionally alien to many tribes.

This ecological base of the North-Eastern society is, however, now under severe threat. The advent of colonialism with its new modes of administration and production relations not only drastically interfered with the traditional institutions but also weaned tribes away from their ecologically sound practices and life ways. Colonialism also brought with it Christianity and education, which sowed the seeds of modernisation and westernisation among tribes and triggered the process of polarisation and economic differentiation in the once egalitarian society. These processes played a major role not only in shaping the political processes in the region but also the course of its economic development.

Notes

1. While women in matrilineal societies are relatively better off than their counterparts in patrilineal descent groups, they lack the freedom and political advantage matrilineal men enjoy.
2. The figures on forest are based on the *Forest Survey of India Report*, 1997.

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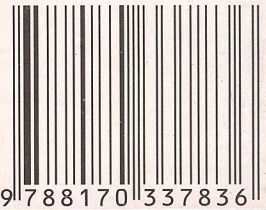
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