

Chapter: II

FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

In previous chapter, I discussed concept and theory of tribe. In this chapter I am eager to deliberate upon framework of study taking background of study, problematique of study, research question, objective, hypothesis, universe o study, sample and method of data collection into focus of study. Review of literature on tribal study in India and elsewhere is also analysed in this chapter.

Origin and Background of Study

My upbringing and socialisation started with Thadou of Manipur since I am born and brought up in the community. My childhood and neighbourhood activity and associated behaviour often baffle vis-à-vis pressed me to know more about myself: identity and other tribal brethren- in and around my house and village life. My continuous listening of tribal songs and acquaintance to oral story concerning origin, migration and life generated enough interest in me to study about my community Thadou in Manipur. From my childhood up till now I am often told about enormous but very unusual happening like migration, settlement and struggle for survival of the tribe in isolated forest and hill of Manipur. Survival of the community with minimum identity was not only difficult earlier now also in every moment Thadou finds difficult to depend upon nature and forest, because continuous exploitation and domination of mainstream put all of them in bay and far away from basic amenity of healthcare, economic pursuit and unhindered life. State and its governing machineries completely bracketed or avoided them with social malaise and therefore Thadou including any small and marginal community study becomes essential.

My primary and regular socialisation within the community and peer group also helps me to get accustomed with socio-cultural life of the community in the region. In course of my continuous life-carrier interaction, I came across problems of Thadou in Manipur in general and problems of Thadou of my locality in particular. During my further academic life, I get opportunity to imagine the community from sociological point of view and hence I felt the necessity of making social construction of Thadou in Manipur.

Problematique of Study

Tribal study in India or study relating to multi-dimensionality of tribe started late British period. British administrator cum anthropologist, during initial period, developed interest in macro issue of tribe. Conceptual, empirical and ethnography of tribes were prioritised by them for study. Concept, method and approach coined as well as developed by such scholars and anthropologists are primarily followed by scholars in India. In due course scholars from America, Africa and European societies also influenced or motivated Indian scholars. However, till early 1970, Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's approach influenced Indian scholars on tribal studies.

From 1970, tribal study in India witnessed ideological and socio-political upsurge. Comparative study on tribe-caste interaction, habitation, ecological setting and other aspects are done. Method and theory of tribal study, established so far, often get reviewed and re-assessed. Indeed tribal study does not remain confine within domain of social anthropologist and sociologist rather scholars from other disciplines also study tribes. Isolationist approach of Verrier Elwin, assimilationist approach of G.S.

Ghurye and Intergrationist approach of Jawaharlal Nehru however seriously reviewed and question in present-contemporary period at large.

Contemporary Indian scholars not only critically review and reconstruct earlier concept, method and approach of tribal study but also search for new dimension of study at national and regional context. Owing to such mega exercise of search Indian tribes become object of study of J.H. Hutton, Haimendorf, V. Elwin, A.R. Desai, M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube, D.N. Majumdar, F.G. Bailey, W.H.R. Rivers, Mckim Marriott, David Hardiman, L.P. Vidyarthi, Andre Beteille and Virginius Xaxa to name a few. Contemporary scholars also critically evaluate constitutional safeguard for tribes in India. Policy and programme initiated by central and state government to uplift condition of tribes in different region are also evaluated by contemporary scholars.

Scope and Significance of Study

Study of small or endangered community becomes highly crucial even one does claim she or he as a post-modernist or extra-globalised. Community study becomes imperative because de-territorialised globalisation failed to uphold and ensure equal opportunity, peace and happiness for all. Such process of high transition and turbulence rather bemoaned many small and marginal communities like Thadou at large. Thadou is a sub-group of Kuki tribe in Manipur state. They migrated and settled down in Manipur long ago. Despite their early settlement, they could not overcome poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment. Economic condition they live in, socio-cultural value and institution they cherish and kind of relationship they maintain with mainstream and adjacent area need understanding in present-contemporary

society. Besides, their economy and socio-cultural milieu impoverishment how their environment, habitation and other allied local-regional life and institutions influence them are also subject of concern and needs scrutiny. In view of above the research question is to **study Thadou in holistic perspective.**

Objectives of Study

1. To study historical background of Thadou of Manipur
2. To study economy of Thadou of Manipur
3. To examine education profile of Thadou of Manipur
4. To make an in-depth enquiry into socio- cultural milieu of Thadou of Manipur

Hypothesis of Study

The study is exploratory in nature and hence no hypothesis is formulated and proposed here.

Universe of Study

Thadou living area in Senapati district of Manipur constitutes universe of the study. Each Thadou household likewise constitutes unit of study. The universe is specifically selected owing to a large concentration of Thadou tribe in the locality consisting of hill and plain. Senapati district is situated in northern part of Manipur. The district is bound by east and west by Ukhrul district and by Tamenglong district of Manipur respectively. The district is also located on north and south by Phek district of Nagaland and Imphal East and Imphal West district of Manipur. Earlier the district

was known as Manipur north district which came into existence with effect from 14th November 1969 with its headquarter at Karong but on 13th December 1976, the district headquarter was shifted from Karong to Senapati and the district came to be known as Senapati district. As per 2001 census total population of Senapati district is 1, 56,513. Around 80% of land is covered by forest and rest 20% is arable land. Major ethnic groups of the district are Mao, Moran, Thangal, Zemai, Roungei, Meetei, Kuki, Poumai, Liangmei, Nepalese, Vaiphei etc. Senapati district possesses six sub-divisions viz., Mao Maram, Paomata, Purul, Sadar Hills West, Sadar Hills East and Saitu Gamphazol sub-division. The district has four development blocks viz., Tadubi, Paomata, Saikul and Kangpokpi development blocks and two district councils namely, Manipur north autonomous district council and Sadar-hills autonomous district council.

Population of Manipur according to 2001 census is 2,166,788. Out of this 7, 41,141 are scheduled tribes (ST), which constitute 34.2% of total population of state. The state has registered 17.2% decadal growth of its scheduled tribes population in 1991-2001. Total of twenty nine (29) notified scheduled tribes are in the state. Out of the total scheduled tribes in Manipur, Thadou is the largest with 1.8 lakh population representing 24.6% of state scheduled tribe population, followed by Tangkhul (19.7%), Kabui (11.1%), Paite (6.6%), Hmar (5.8%), Kacha Naga (5.7) and Vaiphei (5.2%). Among other major tribes, Maring, Anal, Zou, AnuMizo (Lushai) tribes, Kom, and Simte have percentage between 3.1 and 1.5. Rest STs are comparatively small in number having less than 10,000 populations each.

Total Scheduled Tribe population of Senapati district according to 2011 census is 9, 02,740. Out of this, 7, 91,126 live in rural area and 1, 11,614 live in urban area. In terms of proportion, Scheduled Tribe population constitutes 35.1 % of total

population. Proportion during the last census was 34.2%, but an increase of 0.9 % during the last decade. The highest proportion of Scheduled tribes is found in Tamenglong district (95.7%) and the lowest in Thoubal district (0.4 %). Scheduled Tribes population in absolute number has increased by 1, 61,599, thus decadal growth of 21.8%.

Table 2.1
Religion profile in Senapati district, Manipur, 2001

Religion	Population	Percentage
Hindu	30411	19.45
Muslim	637	0.41
Christian	1,22,724	78.41
Buddhist	1,280	0.81
Sikh	154	0.09
Other	1276	0.83
Total	1,56,513	100

The table exemplifies total population of Senapati district as per 2001 census report is 1, 56,513. Hindu constitutes 19.45% of total population of the district followed by Muslim 0.41%, Christian 78.41%, Buddhist 0.81%, Sikh 0.09% and others only 0.83% of total population. Majority of people in the district follows Christianity and Hindus are second largest religious group in the district too.

Thadou mainly lives in three sub-divisions, Kangpokpi-Sadar Hills West, Saitu-Gamphazol and Saikul-Sadar Hills East sub-divisions. Thadou inhabited sub-divisions of Senapati district are known as Sadar-Hills sub-division. Distribution of Thadou population in Sadar-Hills sub-division is shown in the following table.

Table 2.2
Thadou population in Sadar-Hills sub-division, 2011

Name of Sub-division	Number of Village	Population
Kangpokpi-Sadar Hills West	150	60945
Saitu-Gamphazol	295	44130
Saikul-Sadar Hills East	178	51438
Total	623	1,56,513

Thadou inhabits in total 623 villages in Sadar hill sub-division with a population of 1,56,513 as per 2011 census. Most of its inhabited villages are located in remotest corner of Senapati district in Manipur. However, a significant number of Thadou inhabited villages are found adjacent to urban areas of Sadar Hill sub-division also.

Sample

For intensive study six Thadou inhabited village viz. Motbung, T.Moulbung, Chalva, Govajang, Saikul and Bolkot have been randomly selected. The study villages are located in Sadar-Hills sub- division of Senapati district. Selection of sample villages is made in order to represent Thadou-Kuki living in hill areas as well as sub-urban areas. In Sadar Hill sub-division there are three development blocks. From each development block two Thadou inhabited villages are randomly selected for study. Following table shows selection of sample from Thadou inhabited villages of Senapati district.

Table 2.3
Sample size

Name of Village	Number of Household	Total village Population	Number of Respondent		
			Male	Female	Total
Motbung	345	2454	25	25	50
T. Moulbung	92	624	25	25	50
Chalva	182	1098	25	25	50
Govajang	81	427	25	25	50
Saikul	218	1227	25	25	50
Bolkot	106	628	25	25	50
Total	1024	6458	150	150	300

From each selected Thadou inhabited village 50 respondents- 25 male and 25 female - are randomly selected for the study.

Motbung village under Saitu Gamphazol located in National Highway 2 lies at a distance of 26 km to north of Imphal, capital of Manipur. Along this highway many other Thadou-Kuki villages lie side by side but these villages are not densely populated. Entire village is divided into ten small localities (*veng*). Second village is T. Moulbung which is situated on the same sub-division on a hill-top near the National Highway 49. The village lies at a distance of 25 km to west of Imphal. The village is divided into two different localities. Third, village Chalva represents one of the most prosperous villages among Thadous in hilly areas with well-connected district road popularly known as IT road. The village is located at least 20 km away to west of Kangpokpi town which in turn is 55 km to north of Imphal. The village is under the jurisdiction of Kangpokpi-Sadar Hills West. Village Govajang on the other hand is located to the west of Chalva village. The village lies at a distance of about 5 km. from Chalva village with district road connection. The village falls under jurisdiction of Kangpokpi-Sadar Hills West. Fifth village Saikul is sub-divisional headquarters of Sadar Hills East (Saikul Block). The village is connected with district road and lies at a distance of 34 km to north- east of Imphal. At present the village is

divided into seven administrative units and has a bazaar board consisting of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, assistant secretary and seven members for better administration of village. Sixth village, Bolkot on other hand is a small village located at about 17 Km to the west of Saikul village. The village falls under jurisdiction of Sadar Hills East (Saikul- Sadar Hills East). Among Thadou-Kuki villages in Sadar Hill sub-division of Senapati district, Saikul and Motbung beside Kangpokpi represent one among the most prosperous villages with better communication, administration, transport, marketing, academic field, and government department and private institution.

Table 2.4
Population distribution of respondent households

Name of village	No. of Household	No. of Population
Motbung	50	319
T. Moulbung	50	325
Chalva	50	354
Govajang	50	317
Saikul	50	331
Bolkot	50	301
Total	300	1947

Table highlights the population of the respondent households which accounts to more than 300 members from each village with a total of 1947 population.

Table 2.5
Economic profile

Range of Income Per Month	No. of Respondent Household	Percentage
Less than 3000	124	41.33
3000-6000	66	22.1
6000-9000	29	9.66
9000-12000	10	3.33
12000 or more	71	23.66
Total	300	100

Above table shows monthly income of respondents. It is observed from table that monthly income of 41.33 % of respondents is less than Rs. 3000 and monthly income of 22.1 % of respondents ranges from Rs. 3000 to 6000. Monthly income ranges from

Rs. 6000 to 9000 for 9.66 % of respondents followed by Rs. 9000 to 12000 for 3.33 % of respondents. Total 23.66 % of respondents have income above Rs. 12000 per month.

Table 2.6
Education profile

Educational Attainment	No. of respondent	Percentage
Illiterates	35	11.66
Primary	31	10.33
Junior High School	29	9.66
High School	74	24.66
Higher Secondary	61	20.33
Graduate	67	22.33
Post Graduate	3	1.1
Total	300	100

Table highlights education profile. Out of 300 respondents 35 respondents (11.66 %) are illiterate, 31(10.33%) are having educational qualification up to primary school, 29 respondents (9.66%) have educational qualification up to middle school and 74 respondents (24.66%) have educational qualification up to high school. There are total 67 respondents (22.3%) who are graduates and only 3 Respondents (1.1%) who have educational qualification above graduation.

Table 2.7
Occupation profile

Occupation		Number of Household	Percentage
Principal	Subsidiary		
Day Labourer	Nil	31	10.33
Agriculture	Day Labourer	19	6.33
Agriculture	Nil	76	25.33
Business	Agriculture	39	13.1
Agriculture	Business	25	8.33
Service	Nil	58	19.33
Others	Nil	52	17.33
Total		300	100

Above table shows occupational profile. It is observed that 31 respondent (10.33%) out of three hundred respondent belong to occupational category of day labourer. But

there are 19 respondent (6.33%) which are having mixed occupation of agriculture and day labourer. It is observed that number of respondent solely live on agriculture is 76 (25.33 %). There are 39 respondent (13.1 %) whose principal occupation is business and agriculture as subsidiary occupation. Only 25 respondents (8.33 %) have agriculture as principal occupation and business as subsidiary occupation. There are 58 respondents (19.33 %) who live on service and 52 respondents (17.33 %) live on other occupation.

Method of Data Collection

The study is descriptive and qualitative in nature. Both primary and secondary data are used for the study. Primary data are collected from field by using interview guide, interview schedule, participant observation and case study method. Since study is qualitative in nature hence all the above mentioned tools are used for data collection. Looking into the nature of study, personal quality, educational qualification and economic activity of the respondents, interview guide and interview schedule are selected as appropriate tools for data collection. Data pertaining to festivals, music, dance, arts and other cultural traits of Thadou is collected through participant observation method. Technical devices like digital camera, mobile set, tape recorder etc. are also used to keep record of event, I observed during field work. Oral history of Thadou regarding their traditional social structure and cultural practice is collected from aged people of the community during fieldwork. Personal interview of village authority, Pastor and Deacon of concerned Churches and teachers of schools is taken to collect their opinion regarding socio-cultural life of Thadou living in selected villages under study.

Secondary data are collected from newspaper, magazine, journal, book, booklet, record and local writer's account. Records maintained by chiefs of concerned villages, priests of Churches and headmasters of schools are also collected. Secondary study materials on population of Thadou in Senapati district of Manipur are collected from census reports of government of India for 2001 and 2011.

Table 2.8
Fieldwork chart

Name of Village	Period of Fieldwork	Number of Day
Motbung	July-August 2012	52
T.M oulbung	Sept-October 2012	48
Chalva	Nov-December 2012	50
Govajang	Jan-March 2013	56
Saikul	March-April 2013	47
Bolkot	May-June 2013	42
Total	12 Month	295 Day

I first started fieldwork on 5th July 2012. Keeping focus of my study in six Thadou inhabited village of Senapati district viz., Motbung, T.Moulbung, Chalva, Govajang, Saikul and Bolkot, I accordingly planned to put equal and adequate attention to each of these six villages. I initiated fieldwork in Motbung and finished the same by 30th August 2012. In second village T. Moutbung, I began fieldwork on 3rd of September 2012, finished by 15th of October 2012. Fieldwork in Chalva village was conducted on 8th November of 2012 and done by 30th of December 2012. For fourth village Govajang, I commenced work on 7th January 2013 and finished by 15th of March 2013. I undertook fieldwork in Saikul village on 16th March 2013 and finished by 25th April 2013. Next village Bolkot, I started on 2nd May 2013 and completed by 28th June 2013. In addition to collection of data from 300 respondent households of selected village within such period i.e. from July 2012 to June 2013, I also visited village council office; Church, settlement office of Senapati district, office of development blocks of Senapati district and office of district council to collect both

written and unwritten data. In course of my intensive fieldwork I too visited senior citizen and learned person of these villages as well as other adjacent villages to interact with them as well as collect data on social history of the community.

Fieldwork Experience

Since the study concerns my own tribe, I did not face much difficulty during fieldwork. I visited all villages under study and had discussion with concerned chiefs and village authority. I explained my purpose of visiting their village and looked for their help. They listened with keen interest while I narrated aims and objectives of my study. Village chiefs also helped me to select some resource persons to reach to the respondents of the villages. The resource persons were co-operative and encouraged me to conduct my study smoothly. I also took the contact number of all the concerned village chiefs, school headmasters, church leaders and some renowned persons of all the selected villages. I also sought records maintained by village authority, churches and schools/colleges of the villages regarding Thadou people of their locality.

Though Motbung village is the biggest in size, I do not come across with much problem in course of collection of data, since I belong to the same village. But I faced problem in visiting the other villages due to their location in long distant places. I reached two other villages easily because of having well-constructed road and frequent movement of vehicle. Road condition of other three villages is worst and vehicles are not frequently available to reach these villages. I had to change several vehicles and I also walked long distances on foot to reach these villages. I suffered a lot to collect data of the respondents who are residing at top of hills.

Though I belong to Thadou community, I was not initially accepted by all respondents and people. They asked me several questions regarding my identity and purpose of visiting their village. But due to intervention of their village chief, school teachers and other senior people of their locality my respondents gradually started to believe me. At last I got all support and help from my respondents.

Review of Literature

Tribes in India have been studied by different scholars around world and it is the concern of this section to review some important studies. I try to review previous monographs on tribes in India and Northeast along with available work of Thadou.

J.H. Hutton (1931) study of several tribes and caste in India including tribes of Northeast is exemplary as he considered modern Hinduism as an Amalgam between pre-Aryan Indian religion and religion of Rig-Veda. Tribal religion to him represents as it was surplus material not yet built in to temple Hinduism. He admitted that it is difficult to draw line between Hinduism and tribal religion. Inclusion of tribe within Hindu fold is easy and hill or forest tribes are always in contact with Hindu. Tribal religion rapidly assimilates with religion of their Hindu neighbours. Despite of assimilation tribes always try to retain their traditional religion.¹

Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf (1938) conducted study about tribes in different parts of India including tribes of Northeast India. He study of Konda Reddis of Godavari valley, Chenchu of Andhra Pradesh, Kolam, Naikpod tribes of South India highlight enough about tribe in general. In Madhya Pradesh he studies Gond, Saora and many other tribes in central and eastern India also. Haimendorf observes tribes in

¹ S.K. Tiwari. 2007. 'Tribals Roots of Hinduism'. New Delhi: Mittal Publications, pp. 6.

India are leading simple life in forest and hill. They mainly live on hunting, fishing and food gathering. They produce food grain and rear animal exclusively for their own consumption. They are habituated in shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation is called *padu* cultivation in South India, *bewar* in Madhya Pradesh and *jhum* in Northeast. Haimendorf finds problem of land occupied by tribes of different parts of India. In almost all tribal regions land of tribes is captured by non-tribal population. Forest policy of government is also not in favour of tribes living in forest and hill. Tribes solely rely on forest for many of their needs but commercial use of forest due to industrialisation and urbanisation of non-tribal areas creating serious problem for their survival. Tribes are not only getting exploited by government policy but they are also made alienated by non-tribal immigrants who are economically and politically powerful than tribes. Some tribes like Konda Reddis, Raj Gonds and others are trying to adapt themselves in changing situation.²

F.G. Bailey (1961) study focuses upon tribe and caste in Odisha. He is of the view that tribal society is not hierarchically arranged like caste society. Rather tribal society is segmentary and egalitarian in nature. But due to continuous interaction of tribes with caste society, they are not able to maintain their traditional social organisation. Tribes in India are continuously getting influenced by community around them. In the process of interaction with non-tribes they are not losing their traditional custom, belief, language, religion, food and dress habit but also losing their original identity.³

Amir Hasan (1979) touches upon pattern and cause of socio-economic disintegration of Buxas of Uttar Pradesh, whom he describes as a quiet, meek and law abiding

² Christoph Von Furer Haimendorf. 1982. 'Tribes of India: The Struggle for Survival'. Bakerly: University of California Press, pp. 1-327.

³ F.G. Bailey.1961. 'Tribe and Caste in India', Contribution to Indian Sociology, Volume 5, pp. 7-19.

people. He noted that economic condition of the Buxas after independence have off course improved but after independence came development and colonisation, soon followed by an influx of outsider- refugee, adventurer, fortune seeker and unabashed land grabber, who literally, came, saw and conquered Tarai. He claims that in spite of various measures taken up for their educational and economic development, they are however harassed and harmed in all possible way and deprived of their land. He went on to suggest that those involved in welfare programmed of the Buxas should possess correct attitude towards tribal people and have genuine sympathy and understanding for their way of life.⁴

Stephen Fuchs (1988) offers a comprehensive and exhaustive description of the Korkus of Vindhya hills. He provides a holistic view of Korkus way of life without merely focusing on one or two aspects singled out of a chosen culture. His monograph provides a deep insight and an interesting account of salient features of life and culture of tribe covering description of material culture of Korkus (possession, dress and ornament, food and meal, agriculture, crops, husbandry and other occupation), their social life (family and kinship, village community, tribal organisation), life history (birth and childhood, marriage, death and funeral), and religion belief and practice. He notes that Korkus are the most westernmost Munda tribe who still speak a Munda language and who recently abandoned their traditional shifting cultivation and adopted plough cultivation as a sign of change. They also celebrated a rather remarkable funeral feast quite unique and different from that of other Munda tribes.

⁴ Amir Hasan. 1979. 'The Buxas of Tarai: A study of their Socio- Economic Disintegration'. Delhi: B.R Publishing Corporation.

He concludes that Koku society and culture is no longer sound and healthy and that somewhat obscure change occurred in their traditional lifestyle.⁵

Manish Kumar Raha (1989) discusses on changing Rabha matrilineal society of West Bengal when they come in constant contact with different patrilineal society, particularly the Rajbansis. He brings to light influx of refugee, modern education, modern communication and market and cash economy. He however claims that a section of these people who lived in reserved forest has still retained their traditional matrilineality to a great extent. He highlights some change in structure and function of Rabha society and also reveals relationship of Rabhas with people and things around them, inter-ethnic linkage they have with their environment and interaction they have with ecological situation they are in.⁶

Nihar Ranjan Patnaik (1992) presents an elaborate study of geography and topography of history and culture of Khond tribes. He discussed their probability of origin, mode and suppression of two horrid practices namely human sacrifice and infanticide. He also narrates causes and nature of the Khond resistance against British rule, progress and consequences of those uprising and also encompasses cultural aspects such as art, artifacts, language, dance, sport, music, shifting settlement and migration, nomadic system of cultivation, economic exploitation, extreme poverty, customary lethargy and traditional reliance on primitive social rule, intervention in their socio-religious belief, apathy and indifference to education and unsuitability of the British law and regulation. Besides he also mentioned process of their social

⁵ Stephen Fuchs. 1988. 'The Korkus of the Vindya Hills'. New Delhi: Inter India Publications.

⁶ Manish Kumar Raha. 1989. 'Matrilineality to Patrilineality: A Study of the Rabha Society'. New Delhi: Gain Publishing House.

change and their adoption of Hindu custom and major problem and geographical hazard which have made them conservative and backward.⁷

Swaran Singh (1994) provides a comprehensive account of the Bathudi and Sounti tribes of Mayurbhanj District of Odisha. He noted that both these tribes have different titles but showed close affinities with each other. Though there are variations among them for different attributes, both these populations have much in common in respect of their marriage pattern, ecology, demographic aspects, and anthropometric character. He has thrown light on the possible mechanism of fission and fusion as well as the nature of migration that together have developed the contemporary population composition of the region inhabited by the Bathudi and Sountis.⁸

P.K. Bhowmick (1994) gives some insight into the Lodhas of West Bengal. He provided intrinsic glimpse of Lodhas in regard to their economy, social organisation, life cycle, village organisation, secular and religious, magic co- religious beliefs and practices, festival cycle, recreational life, crime and criminal etc. Finally he observed that the government of India after attainment of Independence has now rehabilitated these people and in many areas they are responding splendidly to this programmed of rehabilitation.⁹

P.C. Jain (1995) in his 'Christianity, Ideology and Social Change among Tribals' highlight the role of religious ideology in bringing social change among tribes. He finds the Bhills of south Rajasthan were animist before adoption of Christianity, had faith on supernatural power, evil spirit and magical practices. Their social structure

⁷ Nihar Ranjan Patnaik. 1992. 'History and Culture of Khond Tribes'. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.

⁸ Swaran Singh. 1994. 'Bathudi and Sounti Tribe: A Bio- Anthropological Profile'. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

⁹ P.K. Bhowmick. 1994. 'The Lodhas of West Bengal: A Sociological Studies'. West Bengal: Rarh Sanskrit Sangrahalaya Bidisa.

was highly influenced by traditional belief, values and practices. They were impoverished, illiterate and subjugated by dominant people of mainstream society. But a significant portion of Bhils adopted Christianity in 20th century and started rebellion against upper caste Hindu landlords. Christian Bhils of western Rajasthan became aware of their condition and started to spread Christianity in entire region. That was a religious movement which helped them to overcome their poverty, illiteracy and backwardness.¹⁰

Samar Kumar Biswas and **Somenath Bhattacharjee** (2008) attempt to brief transitional process of Toto tribe of West Bengal. They commence with a brief historical background of Toto, area and people, physical feature, clan distribution, birth, marriage, death, food and drink, economy and occupation, material culture, political organisation and religion. They also discuss about structural change among Toto in respect to change in their environment and its effect on economy, influx of non-Toto and interaction with other world, influence of modern education, influence of modern occupational pursuits which consequently lead to change in family, form of marriage, kinship, clan, religious festivals and traditional political organisation.¹¹

Samira Dasgupta (2008) emphasises on Birjias supernatural belief of a primitive tribal group of Jharkhand who lives in hill and forest environment, full with uncertainty and insecurity, and who in order to get protection takes help of certain belief and practice in term of their appeasement of various spirit present in their immediate natural environment. He notes that Birjia believes in supernatural power of two types- benevolent and malevolent which have deep influence in their daily life-

¹⁰ P.C. Jain. 1995. 'Christianity, Ideology and Social Change among Tribals'. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, pp. 30-177.

¹¹ Samar Kumar Biswas and Somnath Bhattacharjee. 2008. 'Totos in Transition', in M. Sarkar (ed.): 'Primitive Tribal Group: Tradition, Development and Transformation'. New Delhi: Serial Publication.

social, economic and religious. He further claims that Birjia attributes any type of sickness to be cause of some evil spirits and they usually tried to appease evil spirit with help of a Manti (a magician/sorcerer cum medicine man) who occupied an important position in social structure.¹²

Study on Tribe of Northeast India

J.H. Hutton (1921) in his work 'The Angami Naga' highlights domestic and social structure of Angami Naga of Northeast India. Social relation of Angami is very difficult to understand. The rules of inheritance show complex social relation of Angamis. According to him, there exists duality of social structure. Some elements of their traditional social structure are getting changed due to infiltration culture from multiple sources. Hutton finds development of terraced field, sometimes scarped out, and sometimes built up, in combination with systematic irrigation which forms so interesting a feature of Naga economic life. Hutton also find difficulty to understand religious life of Angamis. They seemed to be a totemic group who follows different rites and rituals. Hutton finds three types of prohibition in religious life of Angamis. *Kenna* is simply prohibition laid on a unit of community. *Penna* is prohibition laid on whole community. He also highlights social significance of religious rites or *gennas* of Angamis. Some *gennas* are practised by married couples for betterment of marital life. Some *gennas* are practised by married but childless couples to get child. Some

¹² Samira Dasgupta. 2008. 'Birjas in the Midst of Nature and Spirit', in R.M. Sarkar (ed.): 'Primitive Tribal Group: Tradition, Development and Transformation'. New Delhi: Serial Publication.

gennas are practised for crop purposes, averting hail and avoiding unusual or untoward occurrences.¹³

J.P. Mills (1926) in his monograph 'The Ao Nagas' makes comprehensive account of ecology, economy, kinship organisation, politics and religion of tribes of Northeast India in general and of Nagas in particular. He also highlights cultural life of tribes including their dress, ornament and appearance, their village, agricultural practice, technique of production, custom and ceremony. While observing Nagas of northeast India, he finds real socio-political unit of tribe is their village. In village every man takes burden of his responsibility and service to make their village highly organised social unit. For *Ao Naga* too, village is the most important aspect of life. Village or place of birth gives them their identity and their position in society. An Ao gets his identity and sense of belongingness in his own village and hence an Ao does not want to leave his village permanently.¹⁴

Looking about the process of change, **Jitin Mipun (1993)** examine the process and impact of Hinduism among the Mishings of Assam by taking into consideration the various aspects such as religious practices and social institution. He empirically investigates the influence of regional Assamese culture on their housing pattern, food habits, dress, and language and in tools and implements. He elaborates in brief the interrelationship between three variables- acculturation, communication and development due to which some of the traditional practices and institution of the Mishings are abandoned. However, he notes in spite of the many changes a group of educated Mishings are showing concern for the growth of their dialect, preservation of their music, songs and dance and the distinct identity and a section of them have

¹³ www.jstor.org/stable/25209856 accessed on 16/09/2014

¹⁴ J.P. Mills. 1926. 'The Wild Tribes of Naga Hills', The Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 22(5), pp. 235-318.

demand the use of Roman script for their dialect. In spite of their conversion to Hinduism, they have not totally abandoned their tribal customs, practices, and institutions and are still practicing their tribal rituals along with Hinduism.¹⁵

Panger Imchen (1993) presents a comprehensive study of Ao Naga religion and culture in general and the trend of social transformation in particular of the Ao Naga society in recent years. He attempts to analyse the past, present and future of the Ao Naga and gives a clear projection of their traditional socio-cultural beliefs and practices and their reflection and change in contemporary Naga society. He argues that the Church play significant role towards bringing about a better change creating stronger foundation. By identifying a number of emerging socio-cultural problems he attempts to provide alternative suggestion.¹⁶

M.C. Thomas (1995) in 'Religious Beliefs and Customs Among the Garos' study the custom, manners and religious practices and beliefs of the Garos and the progressive changes in their religious customs and beliefs effected by an encounter with people of creed, caste and culture, different from their own. He asserts that the enthusiasm and zeal for the Garo religion is fast disappearing even among the most conservative of the Garos due to modern day trend and progress in education, medicine, economy and above all, the process of Christianisation of the Garos.¹⁷

Kagen Mongro (1999) presents an exhaustive analysis of the material cultural aspect of the Nagas associated with festival, ceremony, headhunting practice, song and dances. He presents systematically the ornamental items, the war dresses and apparels

¹⁵ Jitin Mipun. 1993. 'The Missings (Mirers) of Assam: Development of a New Lifestyle'. New Delhi: Gain Publishing House.

¹⁶ Panger Imchan. 1993. 'Ancient Ao Naga Religion and Culture'. New Delhi: Har Anand Publications.

¹⁷ Thomas, M.C. 1995. 'Religious Beliefs and Customs among the Garos', in M.S Sangma (ed.): 'Hill Societies'. New Delhi: Omsons Publications.

used by different Naga Hillman and also recorded their socio-cultural belief and practices. He describes the various traditional dresses and ornaments mainly worn during festivals and important occasion by men's and women's and stressed on the trends of changes taking place in contemporary Naga society and the essence of their culture. He further examines the technique and method of manufacturing various ornamental items, dresses and musical instruments and also about the various names of ornaments called by different tribes, their meanings, utility and their social function and give account of their musical instruments, the meaning of the sounds and their societal control measures through such traditional musical instrument.¹⁸

R.K. Ranjit Singh (2002) in his study 'The Social and Cultural Characteristics of the Koireng Tribes of Manipur' makes a holistic account of the Koireng tribe of Manipur. According to him, Koireng is one of the smallest scheduled tribes of Manipur. They are mainly concentrated in foot-hills bordering Imphal valley. Their language is almost similar to language spoken by Kukis of Manipur. Koireng village is a collection of few huts. Earlier every Koireng village was a self dependent social and economic unit. Nowadays, every village is a part of larger political, economic and social organisation. Koireng are patrilineal in descent and patrilocal in residence. They prefer cross-cousin marriage. Practice of primogeniture is prevailing among them for inheritance and succession of property. Koireng live on agriculture, animal rearing, forestry and horticulture. They used to practice shifting cultivation. But recently they start wet rice cultivation in plain areas. A bulk proportion of their population is engaged in agricultural activities. Koireng village council is the legal owner of village land. Village council is independent administrative unit which maintains law and order in village. Koireng are educationally backward. Recently few

¹⁸ Kagen Mongro. 1999. 'Naga Cultural Attires and Musical Instruments'. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.

educated elites have emerged among them for which they are now conscious about their ethnic identity.¹⁹

R.P. Athparia (2002) studies socio-cultural life Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh. According to him, Mishmis mainly live in Dibang valley of Arunachal Pradesh. They reside in long traditional house made of bamboo, wood and stone. They believe on number of spirits. There are mainly two kinds of spirit in their belief, one for happiness and prosperity and other for distress and misery. They believe on supernatural power and perform several rituals. They perform ritual during pregnancy, delivery of child, marriage and death. As a result of geographical and environmental changes socio-cultural life of Mishmi is slowly changing.²⁰

Lucy Vashum Zehol (2003) studies status of tribal women in northeast India. His study reveals that status of tribal women in Northeast India is not equal with men. Though it is perceived that tribal women are more free in their family and society but in reality ultimate authority within and outside family remains with males. Nature of his study reiterates that even in family affairs like marriage or girl's education, women are consulted but final decision lies with men. In families of Lotha and Sema Naga similar situation takes place for marriage and education of girls. In case of Zeliangrong Naga, a husband can divorce his wife if she cannot give birth of a male child. Girls are even deprived of ancestral property in most of tribal societies of northeast India. Even in Khasi-Jaintia society women are kept away from politics. The

¹⁹ R.K. Ranjit Singh.2002. 'The Social and Cultural Characteristics of the Koirang Tribe of Manipur', in Sarthak Sengupta (ed.): 'Tribal Studies in North-East India'. New Delhi: Mittal Publication, pp. 72-88

²⁰ R.P. Athparia, 'Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh: Some Aspects of their Socio-Cultural Life', in Sarthak Sengupta (ed.): 'Tribal Studies in North-East India'. New Delhi: Mittal Publication, pp. 91-107.

situation is little different where tribal women has equal access to modern education. Educated tribal women are at par with men in all respects.²¹

R.K. Kar (2003) elaborates study about social organisation of tribes in Northeast India. He highlights division and sub-division among different tribes in the region. According to him, tribes of Assam are, by and large, organised as tribe, sub-tribe, clan sub-clan, family and individuals. The Karbi tribe is divided into four section viz., Chingthong, Ronghang, Amri and Dumrali. Each of these sub-tribes is further divided into number of clans. There are five principal clans among Karbis viz., Ingty, Terang, Teron, Timung, and Inghi. These clans are again sub-divided into different groups or sub-clans. Similarly Rabha are divided into 34 clans. Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, and Nagaland have almost similar type of social organisation. Garo and Khasi of Meghalaya follow tribe-sub-tribe-clan-sub-clan-lineage structure of social organisation.²²

Tanmay Bhattacharjee (2006) presents an in-depth study of Karbis from sociological perspective and takes into purview their origin, growth, social and political system, economic and education, custom and traditions, beliefs and superstitions, legends and language. He brings to light how the Karbi traditional political system is coping with demand of modern political attitude which are presented by district council and its wide network of power and also about growth of political debate. He claims that their traditional religion prevents them from

²¹ Lucy Vashum Zehol. 2003. 'Status of Tribal Women in North-East India', in T.B. Subba and G. C. Ghosh (eds.): 'The Anthropology of North-East India'. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

²² R.K. Kar.2003. 'Social Organisation of Tribes in Northeast India', in T.B. Subbaand G. C. Ghosh (eds.): 'The Anthropology of Northeast India'. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

enjoying fruits of progress and emphasis is laid on the spread of education as essential ingredients and only barrier breaker of their social backwardness.²³

T.K. Oommen (2009) in his 'Culture Change in Northeast India' highlights traditional belief and cultural values of tribes in Northeast India and agents of their culture change. For him, there are three main agents of culture change in Northeast India. These are state, civil society of which church is major element and market forces. According to him, in Northeast India, three legal system like state legal system, religious legal system and folk legal system co-exists in different context and combination among tribes. As a result of adoption of Christianity by tribes traditional cultural value and practice are being replaced by new one. Traditional cultural value like tribal solidarity, belief on spirit, youth dormitory, traditional authority and communal ownership of land are gradually disappearing due to influence of Christianity. Moreover, culture change brought by market force is found in realm of consumption pattern of tribes in northeast India.²⁴

Sarit Kumar Choudhury (2009) studies Christianity and cultural change among the Wancho of Arunachal Pradesh. He observes that Christianity has brought on transition and change in the life of frontier tribes in general and of Wancho in particular. Christianity has brought changes in family, marriage, economy, politics and religious belief and practices of Wancho. Impact of Christianity is found in institution of dormitory. Moreover, Christianity has brought significant change in realm of

²³ Tammy Bhattacharjee.1986. 'Sociology of the Karbis'. Delhi: B.R Publishing Corporation.

²⁴ T.K. Oommen. 2009. 'Culture Change in Northeast India', in T.B. Subba, Joseph Putenpurakal and Shaji Joseph Puykunnel (eds.): 'Christianity and Change in Northeast India'. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp. 3-14.

education, health and hygiene of Wanchos.²⁵

Komol Singha and **Saju Mathew** (2009) in their study 'Transition of Agriculture in The Hill Villages of Northeast India: A Micro Study' highlight agrarian system of villages of Northeast and problem faced by hill villagers for development of agriculture. The study finds that land ownership pattern as well as type of cultivable land in hill villages is not favourable for agricultural growth. Moreover, farmer in hill villages is not much aware about plan and policy initiated by government to help poor farmer since they usually follow traditional method of cultivation due to lack of modern technology and equipment for agricultural production. To eradicate poverty of tribal farmer in hill villages of northeast government should initiate formula and region-specific strategy for agricultural development of entire region.²⁶

From above review of literature, monograph on tribal studies sketch wide range of issues covering every aspect of their life and culture especially tribes in northeast India. As regard the Kuki-Chin groups, western writers and British anthropologists cum administrators, missionaries, military officers produced the earliest historical and anthropological work.

John Shakespear (1912) in his "The LushaiKuki Clans" provides valuable information of Thadou clan. He has brief out their fascinating custom, local laws, marriage laws, and religious traditions, ceremonies associated with marriage, death and folktales. According to him Thadou clan is divided into four main families named after their progenitors which are further divided into many eponymous branches. Each

²⁵ Sarit Kumar Choudhury. 2009. 'Christianity and Culture Change among the Wanchos of Arunachal Pradesh', in T.B. Subba, Joseph Putenpurakal and Shaji Joseph Puykunnel (eds.): 'Christianity and Change in North-East India'. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp. 245-254.

²⁶ Komol Singha and Saju Mathew. 2009. 'Transition of Agriculture in the Hill Villages of North-East India: A Micro Study', in Komol Singh (ed.): 'Village Development in North-East India'. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp. 310-324.

of these four clans has separate chief or Rajah who is sole and supreme authority and whose office is hereditary. All matter in village civil or criminal is settled by Rajah assisted by his minister who has privilege of being exempt from labour and taxation. About marriage he stated that strict rules existed prohibiting inter marriage of paternal cousin. Marriage is by purchase and that although a man has paid full price for his wife, yet he has, on her death and death of each of her sons, has to pay a further sum called 'longman' to her nearest male relative. They believe in one god called 'Pathen' and various evil spirits surrounding their life.²⁷

Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck (1932) study on 'The Chin Hills' includes brief history of Thadous besides other tribes. He reproduces McCulloch work 'An Account of valley of Manipore and of Hill Tribes' about origin of Kukis from bowels of earth and their separation into tribes with different languages. He relates that their king had three sons who soon broke into distinct tribe of which second is Thadou. Thadou paid much attention to their genealogy and profess to know name of their chief in succession from their leader out of bowel of earth up to present time. Their hereditary chief or Haosa have considerable degree of power and received revenue in kind and in service from their subjects. They elaborate Shakespear discussion on custom of death that 'bodies of a wealthy man or Rajas are dried over a slow fire until flesh get smoked and hardened to bone after which they are dress and laid out and keep in this way for a month or two before finally being deposited in earth.' In continuation with these they further notes that head of all animals and enemies slain by deceased are

²⁷ J. Shakespear. 1975/1912. 'The Lushai Kuki Clans'. Mizoram: Tribal Research Institute, pp. 187- 210.

placed under body before it is buried, in belief that in another world all these become properties of deceased.²⁸

First full length ethnographic monograph on Thadou-Kukis was by **William Shaw** (1929), which provides valuable information regarding traditional Thadou-Kuki history and culture. He begins with general description of different clans, history of origin from a cave and migration from South towards North and genealogies of different clan; historical tradition concerning various myths related to their beliefs; custom related to childbirth, death, marriage, divorce, law of inheritance, youth dormitory and method of trial by chief; economy based on jhum cultivation alongside with hunting and manufacturing and various ceremonies related to agricultural practices; village organisation; their religion concerning beliefs in various spirits and their interference in their daily activities; language and folktales, weapons, musical instruments of Thadou. Further, mentioned may be made here that Shaw includes some of senior sub-clans and tribes of Kukis under wings of Thadou²⁹ (name of ancestor) which in turn leads to large debate and disintegration within Thadou speaking group.

Focusing on authority structure of Thadou-Kuki tribal society, its various bases and types **Asok Kumar Ray** (1951) traces legitimacy and relevance of traditional chieftainship structure in democratic context and problem of legitimacy in three levels namely, in traditional, colonial and in post-colonial levels.³⁰ He focuses on changing form and function of chieftainship institution and investigates especially on degree of 'legitimacy' of chieftain's authority over time. He observed that chieftainship

²⁸ Bertram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck. 1976/1932. 'The Chin Hills'. Mizoram: TRI, pp. 135-140.

²⁹ William Shaw. 1929. 'Notes on the Thadou Kukis'. Government Press, p. 21.

³⁰ A.K. Ray. 1951. 'Authority and Legitimacy: A Study of the Thadou-Kukis in Manipur'. Delhi: Renaissance Publishing House, p. iv.

institution of Thadou-Kuki was one of the most stable yet adaptable institution of the Kukis in which authority structure remain intact under different circumstances even when it accommodated new force of change which came in form of colonialism and postcolonial democratic system. He concludes that various government policies in abolishing chieftainship rights exposed a fundamental dichotomy of traditional legitimacy and rational-legal legitimacy in present time.³¹

K.S. Singh (1994) in his 'People of India National Series Vol. 3' highlights social life of schedule tribes in India including tribes of northeast. He talks about Thadou of Manipur highlighting their origin, migration and socio-cultural background. According to him, Thadou of Manipur belong to Kuki tribe live in high hills. They speak in Tibeto-Burman language. Thadou have some hierarchically arranged exogamous clans based upon their economy and territory. These clans exercise control over land. They prefer to marry their maternal uncle's daughter. They use to acquire spouse by service, mutual consent, elopement, negotiation and courtship. Bride price in form of cash and kind is given in case of arranged marriage. Living in patriarchal residence after marriage is rule for the eldest son only. Male primogeniture is rule of inheritance. Thadou mainly live on agriculture. Their traditional mode of social control centers on chief and his councilor. Village council of Thadou plays important role in socio-economic life of people. Most Thadou embraced Christianity but still a significant portion of their population holds traditional belief and practice.³²

T.S. Gangte (2003) attempts to examine traditional Kuki social system basing on his extensive fieldwork of seven Thadou village of Manipur. He records details of various institutions functioning through *Tucha-Becha-Songgao* relationships which according

³¹ Ray. 'Authority and Legitimacy'.

³² K.S. Singh.1994. 'People of India National Series Volume III: The Scheduled Tribes'.Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 1128-1130.

to him are basis wherein Kuki life revolves.³³ Revolving around these institutions he presented his studies on every walks of life of Kuki society be it social, economic, political and religious. He further notes that in spite of change in their social life, some aspects of their social institution withstand onslaught of change, of course, not without conflict between tradition and modernity.

In course of his further study ‘Socio-Cultural Life of Kukis of Manipur: A Historical Analysis’ (2007) he puts more interest to highlight social history of Kukis, their traditional social structure and change in structure due to the influence of modern education. His study reveals that Kukis had been dominant tribes in Manipur since tenure of Maharajas of Manipur. Hill areas of Manipur are largely dominated by Kukis before British period. As a result of decentralisation of administration by British, Kuki chiefs became powerless and traditional system of village administration declined.³⁴

In present-contemporary period a number of books, booklets/brochures, magazines, journals, unpublished work/document, dissertation, articles, local writers ethnograph and monograph account etc. also exist with regard to the Kukis. Thadou belongs to one of the Kuki tribes of Manipur. Though history and social life of Thadou is portrayed by William Shaw (1929) almost a decade ago many spontaneous change in socio-economic, political, religious life of Thadou have taken place. A.K. Ray concentrated his studies on political life while T.S. Gangte focused on traditional social institution giving less importance to changing aspect. It is therefore important that we focus on radical change that are taking place today and make a comprehensive

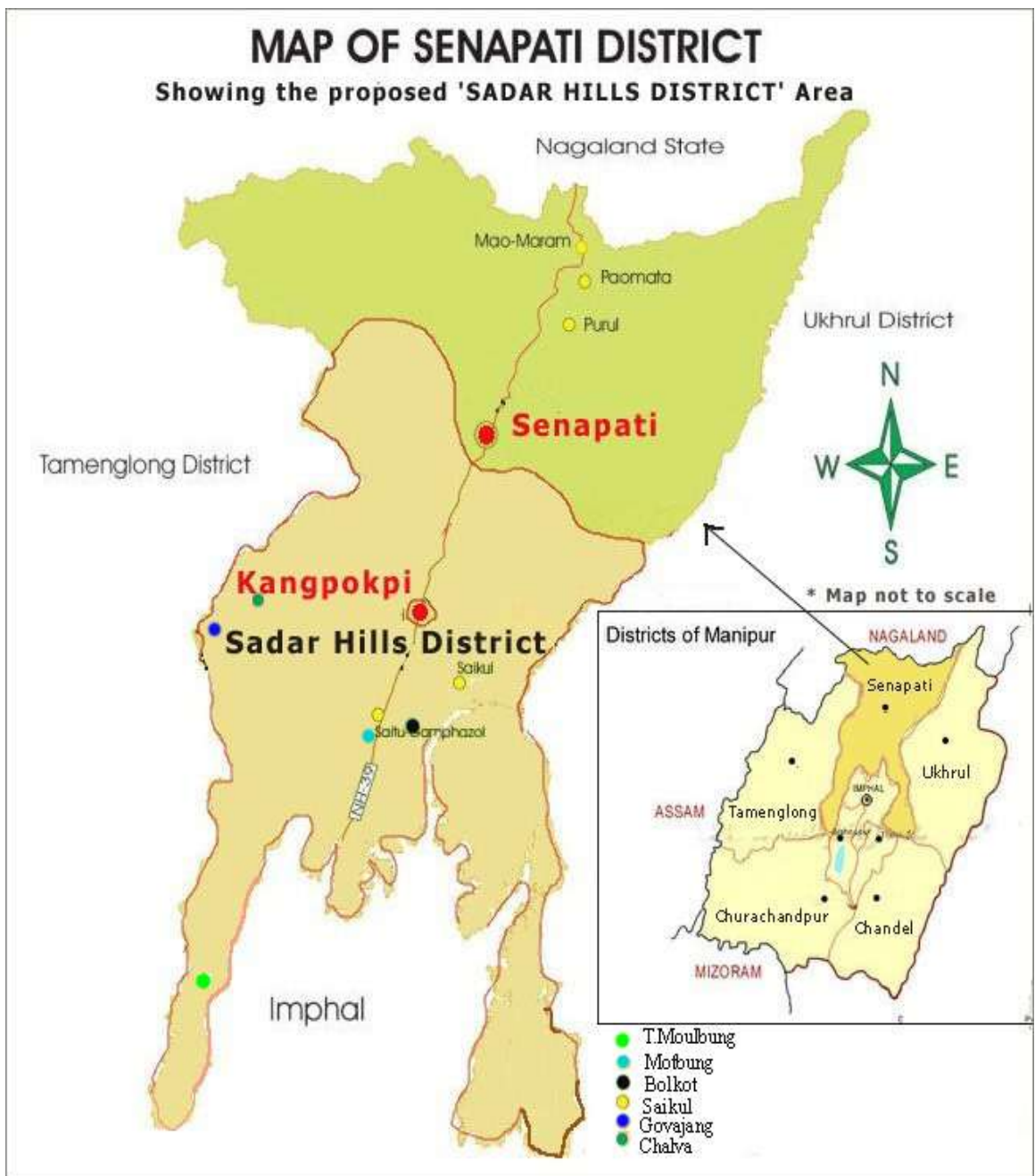
³³ T.S. Gangte. 2003. ‘The Kukis of Manipur: A Historical Analysis’. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, p. 223.

³⁴ T.S. Gangte. 2007. ‘Socio-Cultural Life of the Kukis of Manipur’, in Swapan Kumar Pramanik and Samita Manna (eds.): ‘Explorations in Anthropology’. New Delhi: Serials Publications, pp. 123- 128.

and comparative study of present Thadou. Present work is an attempt to study marginal community which comes under broad area of cultural study. The study concerns with social, cultural, economic and educational aspects of Thadou of Manipur which take into their present circumstances in light of change in time and space.

Conclusion

Present study is descriptive and qualitative and systematically designed to use scientific method in every step of study. Selection and collection of data are carefully undertaken to avoid personal and emotional attachment toward community during fieldwork. Literature related to study is properly reviewed to gather thorough knowledge on vicissitudes of fact-theoretical as well as empirical on tribal study. Literature reviews are done to find out theoretical, ideological and administrative lacunae and gap in tribal study in India in general and northeast India in particular. In fact a very few qualitative literature and empirical study on tribes of northeast India become impediment to carve out are available or develop an adequate framework of study relating to tribe. Hence in the coming chapter, I make an attempt to explore more about tribe study through profile of Thadou in Manipur state.



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