

CHAPTER IX SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the preceeding chapters we have analysed the process of change in different social and cultural institutions of Barman society. In this chapter, an attempt is made to summarize the major findings of the present study and their bearings on the different concepts of social change used by sociologists and anthropologists for the study of tribal society in India.

MAJOR FINDINGS

In all the study villages most of the families have medium size families. It was found highest in Kumacherra with 64.86 percent followed by Nikama with 63.79 percent. In case of Dormikhal, the percentage of medium size family is 59.68 percent. As far as large size family is concerned, in all the three study villages almost similar patterns found and variation is within the range of 13.79 percent and 16.22 percent in Nikama and Kumacherra respectively. As far as the case of small size family is concerned, it was found highest in Dormikhal with 25.81 percent and lowest in Kumacherra with 18.92 per cent. It suggests that most of the Barman have medium size family. The large family pattern is observed in few cases only.

In case of the type of family among the Barman it is observed that most of the families follow nuclear pattern because of their peculiar rule of residence that restricts the living of women of two different matriclans under the same roof. Due to this belief, after the marriage, a son is supposed to construct his own house (Danda 1978). But after adoption to Hinduism this tribal rule of residence has also gone under transformation and highly Hinduised Barman families do not follow this rule in a strict manner. As a result the pattern of joint family has also emerged among the Barman but under the influence of modern forces the joint family system has not gained so much importance among the Barman and still most of the Barman families have nuclear family pattern. Thus, it can be said that nuclear family pattern is still a dominant pattern among the Barman of Barak Valley.

The Barman of Barak valley belong to a society, which has double descent. In India, double descent is found only among the *Toda* of Nilgiri Hills and Dimasas of North East India. As stated earlier that Barman is a tribe segregated from wider Dimasa-Kachari society during the early part of the 19th century. Therefore, there are a number of similarities in their family and kinship system. Like Dimasas, the Barman also have both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. The descent of a man is primarily ascertained from his grandfather and concurrently from his maternal grandmother. A woman, however, reckons her descent from her maternal grand mother and secondarily from her paternal grandfather. Thus, the Barman has a system of double descent i.e. patrilineal and matrilineal forms of descent simultaneously. Among the Barman there is a restriction on making marriage relationship between three clans, namely, father's clan, mother's clan and father's mother's clan of the boy and girl. Thus, marriage cannot take place in the matri- and patriclans up to third order in case of both the boy and the girl.

The semphong (patriclan) and julu/jaddi (matriclan) are important units of the social structure of the Barman society. The semphongs are not formed at one point

of time but added at defferent point of time. At Dimapur they had only 17 semphongs and 7 julus. Later on, the other semphongs were added and the number increased up to 42 but as a result of segregation in Dimasa-Kachari society two separate tribes namely Dimasa and Barman came into existence in the early part of the 19th century. At present, there is some variation in number of clans found between the Dimasa and the Barman tribe. Although each tribe has 42 semphongs but only 34 semphongs are commonly found among them. Among the Barman, 6 specific semphongs have been identified which are not found among the Dimasa. These are Akher,Baindo,Dhirua, Girisa, Johrasa and Rajiyung.

Similarly, there are 42 Julus among the Barman. But there are only 10 Julus or Jaddis, which are commonly found between Dimasa and Barman these, are Bairengcha, Banglaima, Mairangma, Mairongma daoga, Meeyungma, Meeyungma daoga, Pachaindi, Saidima, Saidima daoga and Saikudi. Although Danda (1978) mentioned that there are 42 matriclans among the Dimasa but she presented in her list only 34 julus. Out of these 34 julus, 24 julus are Dimasa specific i.e. found only among the Dimasa. According to Barman (1978) there are 34 Julus which are specifically found among the Barman of Barak valley.

The name of the ancestors of most of the oldest julus seems to be tribal in appearance. Some of them are commonly found among the Barman and the Dimasa, while a number of julus such as *Khumbasi* (Origanated from Kanchani a Koch princes married to King Laxmichandra-1778-1780 A.D.), were originated from Koch princess married into royal family, Thus, extension of marriage ties beyond the boundary of the tribe has been a source of change in the structure of matriclan. It suggests that structurally, Dimasa-Kachari society was not static but was dynamic

in nature. Thus, it can be said that the structure of patriclan is relatively stable among the Barman but structurally, matriclans are dynamic. Recently, two new matriclans have been introduced among the Barman, which reflects the capacity of adaptation in social structure of the Barman. In the sense, that in recent past there have been some marriages by the Barman boys and girls outside the tribe. It has posed a problem before them. The major problem was that when a non-Barman girl married to a Barman boy she does not have any matriclan, therefore, there is a need to create a new matriclan for the offspring of such a couple. Instead of giving separate matriclan for each such woman, recently, Barman Samaj, decided to allocate a new metrical namely *phaijindirao* in all such cases. Another problem that has been faced by the Barman society is that a number of Barman girls have got married to non-Barman boys. As per rule of Barman society such women have been excommunicated form the Barman society but if the number of such instances increase it may pose a problem for the society as a whole, therefore, above mentioned committee decided that the male offspring of such couples will bear the clan of their respective father which will be naturally non-Barman and they will be remain part of non-Barman society but female offspring of such women may inherit a matriclan as per Barman customary law and may remain the part of Barman society and marriage can take place with these girls as in the normal course of Barman society. Therefore, in all such cases they have innovated a new matriclan, namely, phaifindirao. This concrete evidence of inclusion of two new matriclans in Barman society is sufficient to infer that social structure of the Barman society has not been static but passed through a gradual process of social change since the time of Dimasa- Kachari dynasty. It also shatter the impression that the social structure

amongst the Dimasa and the Barman is identical as both of them have a similar origin. In fact, both the tribes have significant differences in their social structure, despite of a number of similarities in their patriclan and matriclan structure.

After the adoption of Hinduism, an attempt was made, during the period of Raja Kirthichandra (1780-1813 A.D.), to correlate the Dimasa semphongs to Hindu genetic root. The Brahmins tried to relate the *semphong* with Hindu *rishis* from whom the genetic root (gotra) started. Those Brahmins who were called by Raja from Banaras introduced this idea of genetic root system and then Barmans adopted some elements of Hindu social structure such as allocation of occupation to some of the semfongs and genetic root of different semfongs in Hindu mythology. The above-mentioned Brahmins were called Baroghoria and they enjoyed the highest status amongst the priests of Barman society, because they rendered their services to the king and other royal families. As a result, the traditional priests lost their importance in royal court but continued to render their services to common people. But it was observed during the fieldwork that most of the Barman respondents in the field were unaware about their genetic root.

One of the important characteristics of the Barman is patrilineal descent system, which restricts them to marry within their patriclan. Therefore, a Barman is expected to marry outside his or her patriclan. Therefore, respondent's semfong is analyzed in relation to wife's father's semfong. As per rule of marriage among the Barman, both the husband and wife must belong to separate patriclan.

In all the three study villages the patriclan and matriclan exogamy is strictly maintained. In addition to patriclan exogamy and matriclan exogamy the village exogamy is also maintained in Kumacherra village but in case of other two villages in three cases the violation of village exogamy is found.

9. The education during the Kachari rule was elitist in nature and initiated the process of stratification among the Barman, in the sense, that it created two starta, one of those who belonged to royal families and clans and attained certain level of education particularly in Sanskrit and Bengali literature. Another stratum was formed by the illiterate tribal masses that were not encouraged at all to get education by the ruling class. During this period the traditional dialect of the Barman, namely, Dimasa developed as a written language having Bangla script. It was the result of growing contact with the people of undivided Bengal particularly natives of sylhet area. During the British rule, a number of educational institutions were established in Cachar district but the spread of secular education was however, confined to urban areas. In post- independence period, the spread of secular education took place more rapidly as a number of educational institutions were established both in rural and urban areas in order to accelerate the process of modernization in Indian society, which provided an opportunity to the members of the Barman society to enhance their educational status.

Among the three study villages literacy rate is lowest in Kumacherra (58.22 percent). Dormikhal has relatively better position with 65.20 per cent while Nikama village has highest literacy rate (66.99 per cent). The female literacy rate is relatively low in comparison to their male counterparts in all the three study villages. Although in Kumacherra and Dormikhal village, but the difference between the male and female literacy is almost similar (4.04 percent and 4.89 percent respectively), however, in case of Nikama, it is relatively high (12.3 per cent) which indicates that sex discrimination increased in Nikama village as a result of changes in tribal ethos and

adoption of Hindu ethos in their social life.

The clan-wise analysis of male and female literacy rate in the study villages indicates that rate of literacy among different semfongs varies marginally in case of both male and female population.

The level of education also varies in the study villages. The percentage of non-school going is highest (32.01 per cent) in Kumacherra and lowest (26.35 per cent) in Nikama. Among those who have completed their education, the percentage of primary educated is highest (17.83 per cent) in Nikama and lowest (14.10 per cent) in Kumacherra. In case of those educated up to middle level, the number is highest (25.49 per cent) in Kumacherra and lowest (15.89 per cent) in Nikama. However, the percentage of those who educated up to high school level, Dormikhal village has lowest position (11.59 per cent) and Nikama has highest (15.11 per cent) position. Among those who have completed twelve years of schooling Kumacherra has lowest (18.63 percent) position, while Nikama has highest position (29.83 percent). As far as higher education is concerned, in Kumacherra village, not a single person has attained graduate or post-graduate degree. But in Dormikhal and Nikama villages some of the members of both the sexes have attained higher education and technical education.

It can be said that in all the study villages significant amount of educational mobility has taken place both at the primary and secondary levels but in case of Kumacherra village it could not go up beyond the higher secondary level. However in case of other two villages, namely Nikama and Dormikhal, both the male and the female could reach to the level of higher education. Thus, amount and range of educational mobility is relatively high in Nikama and Dormikhal in comparison to Kumacherra, which is located in a remote part of Cachar district. It suggests that the pace of modernization, as reflected in terms of educational attainments of the villagers is faster in Dormikhal and Nikama village while, Kumacherra is lagging behind in this respect due to its location disadvantage.

In the field of communication some traditional form of communication such as market, *Than* of *Sibrai*, *Khunangs* residence are still important institutions of interpersonal communication. But recently some new groups and institutions of interpersonal communication have emerged among the Barman. The youth club, Mahila-samiti and specialized opinion leaders have emerged on the village scenario in post independence period. As far as exposure to media of mass communication such as Newspaper, Radio and Television is concerned, the degree of mass media exposure is relatively low in Kumacherra village but high in other two villages.

The economic structure of the Barman is analyzed in terms of the patterns of cultivation land ownership, land use pattern, sources of irrigation, use of seeds and fertilizers, consumption pattern and occupation in all the three study villages.

Though Jhum cultivation is one of the important features of Dimasa-Kachari society the Barman of the study villages not practice the technique only five families of Kumacherra engaged in the pursuit of Jhum cultivation. There are two pattern of cultivation among the Barman of Barak valley-shifting cultivation and settled cultivation. Two different varieties of paddy – Ahu and Sali are cultivated in the study villages. The entire villager cultivates Sali while few families cultivate Ahu as it requires purpose facilities of irrigation. Usually ploughing is done by cattle but some times power tillers are also used. In Kumacherra power tiller are provided under I.T.D.P. while in Dormikhal and Nikama power tillers are either hired on rental basis form private owners or form Agriculture Department through Gaon Panchayat. In addition they also cultivate different varieties of cash crop such as banana, battle nut, arceanut etc. and different varieties of ravi crops.

Most of the villagers of the three study villages belong to the category of marginal farmers accept one or two households in each villages. The remaining households belong to the categories of small farmers. Thus, there is a similarity in the pattern of land ownership in all the three study villages.

In Kumacherra village most of the families (95.49 percent) still have agriculture as their main occupation, while only one (0.90 percent) has adopted business as its main occupation. Some of the families (3.60 percent) have adopted service as their main occupation. Along with these a little more than one-fourth (27.93 percent) families have subsidiary occupation. Only four households have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation and service as subsidiary occupation in case of only one (0.90 percent) family. However, business as a subsidiary activity attracted a little less than one fourth i.e. (23.42 percent) households in the village.

It suggests that the occupational structure is changing at a slower rate in Kumacherra village. However, a significant amount of mobility can be observed in to business occupations. But mobility to service occupations is very limited in Kumacherra village. In Dormikhal village most of the families (87.10 percent) have agriculture as their main occupation. However few households (4.84 percent) have adopted business activities as their main occupation. A less than one-tenth (8.06 percent) of the households have entered into service occupations as main activity of their livelihood. Thus direction of occupational mobility is mainly towards business activities in Dormikhal village. In case of Nikama village although agriculture is still their main economic activity but a significant amount of mobility into business occupations can be observed in Nikama village with 3.45 percent. However occupational mobility into service occupation is very limited.

In Kumacherra village, which is located in a remote area and less developed village among all the three study villages the dependency on agriculture is very high (71.17 percent). The village Dormikhal, which is relatively more developed than Kumacherra and is located in the plains of Barak valley, the dependency on agriculture is reduced to a great extent (59.68 percent). While in case of Nikama village which is relatively more developed, the dependency on agriculture is further reduced as only about half of the villagers depends exclusively on agriculture. There is a gradual shift towards business and service sectors of economy in all the three villages. It suggests that as one moves form less developed village towards more developed village the degree of occupational diversification also increases. It can be noted here that, in all the three villages sector of business activity is more developed in comparison to service sector. The mobility to service occupations in all the three villages is limited

Thus it can be said that economy of the Barman villages under process of transformation but the pace of change in economic sphere is, however, slow. But direction of change in all the three study villages is almost similar.

That in Kumacherra village 21.62 percent farmers uses chemicals in their fields, while it is 45.16 percent in case of Dormikhal and 67. 24 percent in case of Nikama. It suggests that a clear difference among three villages in case of use of chemicals in the agricultural fields. In Kumacherra 6.31 percent use high yield variety seeds and it is 22.58 percent in case of Dormikhal and 27.58 percent in case of

Nikama village. So it indicates that in case of seed use they still practice traditional method and in all the three study villages the practice of more or less same trend is observed.

Thus, as far as the modernization of technology in the field of agriculture is concerned the sigficant differences between the three study villages are observed. It is lowest in Kumacherra and highest in Nikama village.

Among the Barman there are a number of rituals, which constitute the behavioral milieu of their relations life. They practice both Hindu as well as tribal rituals of life cycle. The main rituals in this connection are *Hegochujaba* (birth rite), *Nagaungainba* (intitiation), *Tukuba* (marriage) and *thiba* (Death). The traditional rituals of birth rite are in only few villagers practicing the rituals such as *Naisod-Naisodi puja*, *Sibrai puja*, *Kharoba*, *Gamadi puja*, *Nanadhihonba* and *Nanabechengjiriba* at the time of childbirth. In case of educated elite group those who have a regular interaction with the urban areas usually admit the pregnant lady in Primary Health center at the time of delivery Doctor is usually consulted for the health care of both mother and child. In these villages traditional rituals are performed usually after childbirth i.e. by performing only *Nanadhihonba*.

One of the notable features of Barman society is the acceptance of Hindu rites in their tribal ritual structure. The tendency of observance of initiation rite is a new element in their cultural system. It is an indicator of the high degree of their culture assimilation with Hindu society.

Marriage is one of the important rituals of life cycle. At the time of marriage Barmans of the study village performed a number of rituals namely Chandidang chengha, Lauthailangba, Lauthai langagini, Kalti, Mayofar gurba and *Phirathongba* along with Hindu Bengali rituals. But some variations were observed in the three study villages at the time of performance of marriage ceremony. Marriage rite is performed in a traditional way at all the study villages by practicing the above mentioned procedure but at the same time observance of Hindu Bengali rituals at same occasion varies in case of three study villages. In Dormikhal and Nikama village bride is dressed up in a Bengali style. At this occasion, she wears a *Banarasi sari* but in Kumacherra village bride still wears *Righu*, *Risa* and *Rajamphai*, the traditional dresses of the Barman. It suggests that there is a gradual change in the village Dormikhal and Nikama in performance of marriage ceremony.

In the rituals connected with *Thiba* (death), some variations are observed in all the three study villages. The villagers of Dormikhal do not perform *Jubaichkhaiba* ritual and Nikama but few families of Kumacherra village perform this ritual. Similarly *Maimutharba* is also not performed by the villagers of Nikama and Dormikhal, they perform *Horad*. It indicates that the process of acculturation is at different rate in different villages depending upon the degree of contact with Hindu Bengali community. It can be noted here that Nikama and Dormikhal village have more exposure to Bengali community in comparison to Kumacherra village.

All the Barman villages in Barak valley do not perform Gerba, the seasonal festival of the Barman society. Among the three study villages celebration of Gerba is only performed in Kumacherra village. It is observed that they discontinued Gerba for several years and it was replaced by *Kali puja* of Hindus. But for last fifteen years they have revived the tradition of performing the Gerba festival in order to maintain their tribal identity, but in a modified way. In Nikama it is observed that the two adjacent villages i.e. Nikama and Kangla village celebrate the Gerba on a same

date. By doing this they resolved the problem of restriction of entering of any outsiders in the village and adjust themselves with new situation. More over, they do not treat the people of other community in the village as outsiders.

It suggests that the Barman society is passing through a process of cultural change. The outside contacts and migration to other places are important factors, which induced cultural change among the Barmans.

Thus, the political system of the Barman society has passed through a process of evolution and transformation. In its initial stage it might have been a tribal polity in which the chieftain or Raja was selected on the basis of his ability to provide effective leadership to the tribe. Although, some elements of ascriptive elements of inheritance of the position were also present. But if the heir of king was not able to provide leadership or the king was child-less the assembly constituted by the representatives of semphongs had to select their chief. But gradually Dimasa-Kachari polity evolved into a monarchial kingship on the line of the Indian Political system of pre-colonial period, particularly after the shifting of capital from Dimapur to Maibong where the process of Hinduisation of royal family started. It is clear form the genealogy of kings that the power was mainly confined between three semphongs for a period of about 3 centuries. Although there were certain occasion where the king selected by assembly but generally the transfer of power was hereditary basis. The process was further strengthened when Dimasa-Kachari ruler shifted form Maibong to Khashpur and became the champion of new faith i.e. Hinduism. After the decline of Kachari rule in 1830 British took over the state and finally it was annexed to the British in 1832. The Dimasa-kachari polity developed into a hierarchical system of power and authority, which was abolished by the Britishers and a

new administrative setup was introduced in the region. However, the village level structure continued as they had a policy of non-interference in tribal affairs. They had lagitimise the authority of khunang at village level and allocated him the task of revenue collection form the villagers. Thus this system continued till the country got independence. In post independence era, with the introduction of Panchayati Raj, some of functions of Noblai were shifted to Gaon Panchayat and judicial and administrative power of Khunang reduced to a great extent but in community affairs he continued to be a prominent figure and traditional authority structure of the Barman society sustained with some modification. The institution of Nodrang also became defunct during the British rule and gradually disappeared. The functions of Nodrang were transferred to Noblai, which extended its membership to the village youth in the course of time. Another important change in the political structure and culture of the Noblai was in the form of democratization of this institution. It is clear from the field evidence that in Kumacherra village the Khunang still has a term of unlimited period on the traditional line but in other two villages namely, Nikama and Dormikhal the degree of democratization has increased to a great extent and then the term of the Khunang is fixed for a term of two years. Thus it can be said that the first under the influence of Hinduism the tribal polity moved towards traditionalism but after independence the forces of modernization not only paved their way into the village polity in the form of Gaon-Panchayat but also transformed the traditional authority structure of the village by introducing democratic values in its structure and function.

The above mentioned finding of the study throw some light on the process of social change among the Barman of Barak valley. In a nut shell it can be said that the

Barman tribe which was segregated from wider Dimasa-Kachari society in the early part of 19th century has evolved a distinct identity and differs structurally as well as culturally from the Dimasa tribe of N.C. Hills. In the present study, social change is conceptualized in terms of changes over a period of time in the institutional structure and cultural framework of the Barman society. Historically the structure of Barman society has a dynamism, which is reflected in the form of changes in its clan structure. A comparative analysis of Dimasa and Barman tribes reveals that although both the tribes have common structural element in terms of Semphong and Julu but after segregation significant elements in their structure of the particlan and matriclan are included which provided them two distinct identity. The present study also corrects the impression both in academic and non-academic fields that Barman is a part of Dimasa tribe. But there is sufficient historical and emphirical evidence to infer that structurally and culturally Dimasa and Barman are two separate tribes, although, there are some similarities in their structure and culture. The analysis of patterns of marriages in empirical situation indicate that the marriage relation of the Barman are confined to a great extent with in the Barak valley. Only recently some marriages have been taken place in N.C. Hills but in such cases also the marriage ties were confined only to those clans, which are commonly found among the Dimasa and the Barman. In no case marriage relationship was established with a Dimasa specific clan. Another important aspect of social change among the Barman is that the matriclan structure has more dynamicity in comparison to patriclan. The structure of Barman society was the capacity to absorb the change beyond its premises. In the sense that recently two - new marticlans have been introduced among the Barman in order to cope with changing patterns of marriage particularly

the marriage relations between the Barman and Bengali community. On the one hand, the initiative of the Barman elites to restore their ties with those clans of Dimasa society who were also found among the Barman.

In economic sphere most of the villagers of the study villages are in the category of marginal farmers but they are using advanced technique of cultivation to exploit the full potential of the fertile land of the region. Some significant amount of occupational diversification is observed in all the three study villages but the degree of occupational diversification varies with the level of development of the village. In the less developed village (Kumacherra) it was low but in the other two villages, namely Domikhal and Nikama the degree of occupational diversification increases with the level of development. Although there is a shift from agriculture activities to Business and service occupations, but at a slower rate.

In the post independence period the literacy rate among the Barman improved to a great extent both among the male and female population but some variation is observed in level of education of the villagers in the study villages. In Kumacherra due to its location disadvantage the level of education could not reach beyond the secondary level but in other two villages some of the villagers have attained graduate and post-graduate degrees and in case of Nikama one female has attained a bachelor degree in Medicines.

In the field of communication some traditional form of communication such as market, *Than* of *Sibrai*, *Khunangs* residence are still important institutions of interpersonal communication. But recently some new groups and institutions of interpersonal communication have emerged among the Barman. The youth club, Mahila-samiti and specialized opinion leaders have emerged on the village scenario in post independence period. As far as exposure to media of mass communication such as Newspaper, Radio and Television are concerned, the degree of mass media exposure is relatively low in Kumacherra village but high in other two villages.

There is sufficient evidence to infer that the Barman society is passing through the process of political modernization as the element of traditional authority structure have refined and modify its traditional value pattern i.e. from ascription to achievement (Parsons 1951). The mode of recruitment of these political positions is now done through a democratic process. It suggests that the Panchyati Raj institution has been successful in inculcating the democratic values at the grass root level and affected the structure and functioning of traditional institutions in Barman society. Another important change among the Barman has been disappearance of the institution of Nodrang (bachelor dormitory), which was defunct as a result of political stability and change in cultural ethos of the Barman society.

As far as the process of cultural change among the Barman is concerned, it has passed through a massive cultural change over a period of time. The process of cultural assimilation, which was started at Maibong long back, has finally segregated the Dimasa-Kachari society into two distinct tribal groups-Dimasa and Barman. The Barman who were loyal to the king concentrated in the plains of Cachar while those who were not in favour of massive Hinduisation of the tribe remained at N.C. Hills and continueed to call themselves Dimasa. Thus, Barman are culturally distinct from their Dimasa counterpart as they have adopted a number of the Hindu rituals in their social life and also adopted ethos of the Hindu society which resulted into the cultural transformation of their society. One of the important ritual of Hindu tradition adopted by them is the wearing of sacred thread after performing the ritual of Uphayan which is allowed only to twice-born castes of Hindu social structure. Although some element of their tribal culture continued in Barman society and they still retain these elements even today. Thus, one can see the presence of three types of elements in their cultural melieu (i) the elements of tribal culture; (ii) elements of traditional Hindu culture; and (iii) Growing value patterns of modern culture, inculcated among them through their exposure to modern education, modern media of mass communication and their experience to the modern political institutions such as Panchyati Raj in post-independence era. Thus, the Barman tribe first moved towards the traditional Hindu culture but this process was redirected towards the process of modernization of the tribe after independence.

One of the implication of the present study is that it has given rise to certain gaps for further research (i) There is a need to conduct a comparative research study of Dimasa and Barman villages (ii) An in-depth study of descent system of Dimasa and Barman tribe is also required as both of them have double descent system (iii) Role of Panchyati Raj in modernization of the political values and belief system of Barman in post- independence period.