

**A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE BHUTIA SOCIETY
AND
POSITION OF BHUTIA WOMEN IN SIKKIM**

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS)
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL
2006**



BY

SWATI SWAMI

**CENTRE FOR HIMALAYAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL
INDIA**

STOCK TAKING-2011

Ref.

301.412095497

S 971 S

196223

11 MAY 2007

CONTENTS**Page Nos. (i)**

List of Figures	..... i- vi
List of Tables	..... I -XVI
List of Plates	..... (I)

CHAPTERS**1. Chapter I**

1a. Introduction	..... 1
1b. Review of literature	..... 6
1c. Rationale of study	..... 20
1d. Objective	..... 21
1e. Social Structure	..... 22
1f. Methodology	..... 26
1f (i) Diagram illustrating research methodology	..... 27
1f (ii). Selection of informants	..... 29
1f (iii) Tools, technique and method of data collection	..... 29
1f (iv) Selection of study area	..... 30
1g. Data analysis	..... 32
1h Contribution of the study	..... 32
1i. Limitation of study	..... 32
References	..... 34

2. Chapter II	
2. Origin of Bhutias in Sikkim	
2a.(i) Sikkim as a Beyul	..... 47
2a (ii) Demojong	..... 50
2a (iii) Bhutias	..... 51
2a (iv) Origin and migration of Bhutias	..... 52
2a (v) Minyak	..... 54
2b Khye Bumsa and chief clans of Sikkim	..... 57
References	..... 63
3. Chapter III	
3. Bhutia women- A socio economic profile	..... 64
3a. Summary	..... 68
4. Chapter IV	
Family, Kinship and Marriage	
4a. Family:	..... 70
4a (i) Family and position of women	..... 73
4a (ii) Role of women in family	..... 74
4b. Kinship:	..... 79
4b (i) Bhutia kinship terms- An analysis	..... 80
4b (ii) Criteria of distinction	..... 85
4c. Marriage:	..... 87
4c (i) Sikkim Bhutia marriage customs and rites	..... 91
4c (ii) Right to ancestral property	..... 95

CONTENTS**Page Nos. (iii)**

4d. Case study	97
4e. Summary	100
4f. Articles used during wedding	101
References	105
5. Chapter V	
5. Women in work and decision making	109
5a. Decision making	113
5a (i) Economic decision making authority	114
5a (ii) Children related decision making	115
5a (iii) Mobility	115
5a (iv) Freedom from threat	115
5a (v) Access to financial resources	115
5a (vi) Control of ownership over material possession	116
5b. Case study	119
5c. Summary	123
References	125
6. Chapter VI	
6. Political participation of Bhutia women	128
6a. Electoral participation:	133
6a (i) Age and electoral participation	133
6a (ii) Marital status and electoral participation	134
6a (iii) Occupation and electoral participation	134
6a (iv) Education and electoral participation	135
6b. Political awareness	136
6b (i) Marital status and political awareness	136
6b (ii) Occupation and political awareness	137
6b (iii) Education and political awareness	137

CONTENTS*Page Nos.(iv)*

6c. Attitude towards women's participation	.....	137
6c (i) Age and attitude towards women's participation	.....	139
6c (ii) Occupation and attitude towards women's participation	.....	140
6c (iii) Education and attitude towards women's participation	.....	140
6d. Case study	.....	140
6e. Summary	.....	142
References	.....	143
7. Chapter VII		
7. Bhutia women in realm of Buddhism	.....	146
7a. Spread of Buddhism in Bhot	.....	146
7b. Rituals	.....	150
7b (i) Birth	.....	150
7b (ii) Marriage	.....	151
7b (iii) Ritual associated with the construction of house	.....	151
7b (iv) Ritual performed while joining monastery	.....	151
7b (v) Ritual performed during illness and death	.....	152
7c Buddhist festivals of Sikkim	.....	152
7c (i) Losar	.....	152
7c (ii) Saga Dawa	.....	152
7c (iii) Drukpa Tsheshi	.....	153
7c (iv) Guru Rimpoche's Trungkar Tshechu	.....	153
7c (v) Panglhapsol	.....	153
7c (vi) Lhabab Duechen	.....	154
7c (vii) Kagyed dance	.....	154
7c (viii) Lossong	.....	154
7c (ix) Nyenpa Guzom	.....	154

CONTENTS**Page Nos. (v)**

7d. Religious position of women:	.....	155
7d (i) Pre Buddhist position of women	.....	156
7d (ii) Position of women at the time of Buddha	.....	157
7d (iii) The order of Bhikkhunis	.....	159
7d (iv) Taktse Ani Tshamkhang	.....	161
7e. Bhutia women in Buddhism	.....	164
7f. Case study	.....	167
7g. Summary	.....	168
References	.....	170
8. Concluding observation	.....	172
Bibliography	.....	175
Appendix		
Household slip		
Individual slip		

Fig.1 Agewise distribution of Bhutia women in the study sample according to marital status in all the four district of Sikkim in 2004 - 2005.	.....	i
Fig. 2 (a) Educational of Bhutia women- Agewise distribution North District.	.....	ii
Fig. 2 (b) Educational of Bhutia women- Agewise distribution East District.	.....	ii
Fig. 2 (c) Educational of Bhutia women- Agewise distribution.South District.	.....	iii
Fig. 2 (d) Educational of Bhutia women- Agewise distribution West District..	.....	iii
Fig. 3 Level of education among the respondents in the four districts in the study sample.	.....	iv
Fig.4 (a) Distribution of Bhutia women by occupation.	.....	v
Fig.4 (b) Total monthly income of the respondents (in all the four district).	.....	v
Fig.5 Physical mobility of Bhutia women (Average of Four districts of Sikkim in 2004 - 2005).	.....	vi
Fig. 6. Response to the victimization of Bhutia women by men and their family.	.....	vi

Table: 1 Facilities in the household (in percentage).	..... I
Table: 2a (i) Structure of families in the study sample.	..... II
Table: 2a (ii) Ideal number of children and actual number of children in the family.	..... II
Table: 2a (iii) Method of family planning known to the female respondents.	..... III
Table: 2a (iv) Decision taken by Bhutia women for the use of method of family planning.	..... III
Table: 2a (v) Reasons for practicing family planning.	..... IV
Table: 2b (i) Preference for marriage practice.	..... IV
Table: 2b (ii) Acceptance of intercommunity marriage.	..... V
Table: 2b (iii) Women's consent in the selection of the spouse.	..... V
Table: 3a (i) Employment opportunities.	..... VI
Table: 3a (ii) Nature of work participation.	..... VI
Table: 3a (iii) Average hours of work in the household.	..... VII
Table: 3a (iv) Average number of hours spent on work other than household.	.....VII
Table: 3a (v) Men's attitude towards women's work.	..... VIII
Table: 3a (vi) Women's attitude towards Women's work outside home.	..... VIII
Table: 3b (ii) Bhutia women in decision making (access to economic assets)	..... IX

Table: 3b (ii) Bhutia women's locational awareness and status of mobility.	..... IX
Table: 3b (iii) Response of Bhutia women to freedom from threat.	..... X
Table: 3b (iv) Role of Bhutia women in decision making (financial matters).	..... X
Table: 3b (v) Role of Bhutia women in decision making regarding children.	..... XI
Table: 4a (i) Age and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XII
Table: 4a (ii) Marital status and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XII
Table: 4a (iii) Occupation and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XIII
Table: 4a (iv) Education and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XIII
Table: 4b (i) Marital status and political Awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XIV
Table: 4b (ii) Occupation and political Awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XIV

List of Tables***Page Nos. (ix)***

Table: 4b (iii) Education and political Awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XV
Table: 4c (i) Age and Attitude towards women's participation in politics in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XV
Table: 4c (ii) Occupation and Attitude towards women's participation in politics in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XVI
Table: 4c (iii) Education and Attitude towards women's participation in politics in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004 – 2005.	..... XVI

LIST OF PLATES

Plate: 1A Map of India showing the state of Sikkim (Not to scale)

Plate: 1B Map of Sikkim showing the four Districts (Not to scale)

Plate: 1C Map of Sikkim showing the study area (Not to scale)

Plate: 2 A An old traditional Bhutia house.

Plate: 2 B A modern Bhutia house retaining some of its old tradition features.

Plate: 3 A A Bhutia Bride and Bridegroom.

Plate: 3 B Gifts brought by the grooms family for the Nyen or wedding.

Plate: 3 C and 3 D The thorn hurdles created for the grooms party by the girls side as they approach the house.

Plate: 3 E The wooden horse or (Samaing Tapu) a symbol used for ragging the middle men.

Plate: 3 F The Khal-len or the oath ceremony performed by village priest.

Plate: 3 G The Thab-ra believed to be a spiritual boundary.

Plate: 3 H Chabzang, a pot placed for prosperity.

Plate: 3 I Due-tse Yarche arrangement.

Plate: 3 J The Tashi Tarma.

Plate: 3 K and 3 L The Khau and Khachang.

Acknowledgments

I convey my deepest sense of gratitude and sincere indebtedness to my supervisor Dr. Maitreyee Choudhury Reader, Centre for Himalayan studies, University of North Bengal for her sustained interest, constant encouragement and learned guidance during the course of this investigation and in preparation of this thesis. And most importantly, she had allowed me to be 'myself' during my research. My deepest sense of gratitude to all the faculty members, Centre for Himalayan studies for the support and encouragement.

I gratefully acknowledge the most valuable help, co-operation most graciously extended to me by Dr. Noor Mohamud, Professor, and Mohamud Shafiq, Lecturer, Department of Social Welfare, Aligarh Muslim University in connection with this study.

I owe my gratitude to Mr. Tashi Densapa, Director, Institute of Tibetology Sikkim for allowing me to use the library for references. My special thanks to Dr. Anna Balıkcı, Reseach coordinator, Institute of Tibetology Sikkim, for invaluable counseling and motivating me in my field work and also allowing me to use some of the photographs from her private collections. Thanks are also due to Tenzing Samphel (General Librarian), and Lama Tsultsem Gyatso (Cataloger), Institute of Tibetology Sikkim for translating and searching Tibetan reference material and helping me in carrying out the present work.

I express my heart-felt thanks to Mr. Sonam Gyatso Bhutia, Senior Gendrung, Ecclesiastical Department for help and suggestions.

The present work would have been incomplete without the help of Mr. Yapchung Kazi, Ex- employee, All India Radio, Sikkim and Mr. Kunzung Sherab, Ex- Secretary, Government of Sikkim during writing clans and kinship terminology. I take the privilege of thanking Dr. Nittie Srivastava for ungrudging help rendered whenever needed.

Thanks are extended to Mr. Rajiv Suri for printing wonderful photographs for my thesis. I am also privileged by spontaneous encouragement from my colleagues Sanjib Mondal, Indrani Sharma, Sonam Topgay, Rinzing Choden and Tshwang Doma, lecturers Sikkim. Law College.

Thanks are due to especially Mr. Bhaichung Bhutia, Pema Lepcha, Gyatso Lepcha for their great help during survey work/fields visits and Neelam Thapa for helping me in typing my thesis. I would like to convey my sincere thanks to my parents and my mother-in-law for their blessings and support. I would like to specially thank my husband Mr. Akshay Sachdeva, I.P.S, without whose support, encouragement and co-operation this work would have not been completed and who wanted this thesis more than me. Last but not the least my loving daughter Ragini Sachdeva for being an angel and cooperating during all these years of my research work.

Date: 17.5.2006

*Swati Swami
(Swati Swami)*

Chapter I

1(a) Introduction:

It cannot be denied that women who compose almost half of the total population, still remain the most neglected lot. Women constitute the only 'group' which is treated unequally as a whole, in spite of their comprising the largest group in the world. As one views the achievements of the Indian women, we see that it is fixed to liberation of women, empowerment of women and gender equality. The subject of women's studies is gaining grounds in recent years, the main objective of which is to create consciousness about the role of women in society (Bagchi, 1995). Generation of serious research materials on women's studies as a discipline is still in its infancy. However, this does not mean that serious thinking regarding women's problems did not exist in the earlier centuries or till recent times (Bagchi, 1995).

There is a commonplace observation that mainstream social and political thought has commonly accepted and confirmed women's subordinate position in social and political life. This view is legitimized by describing them as the "weaker sex". However, with more and more women joining various occupations, this view is changing. The whole pattern of male-female roles is undergoing a considerable change. The change in social conditions and pattern of living has been responsible for women going out for jobs and this is responsible for the shift towards their 'outdoor-ness'.

According to another view point, women did enjoy certain privileges and were dominant at some stage of evolution of society as seen in matriarchal society of Khasis in Meghalaya. But women's position has never been consistent, in some societies they occupied a high social position and in other societies at the same time they had a low social position.

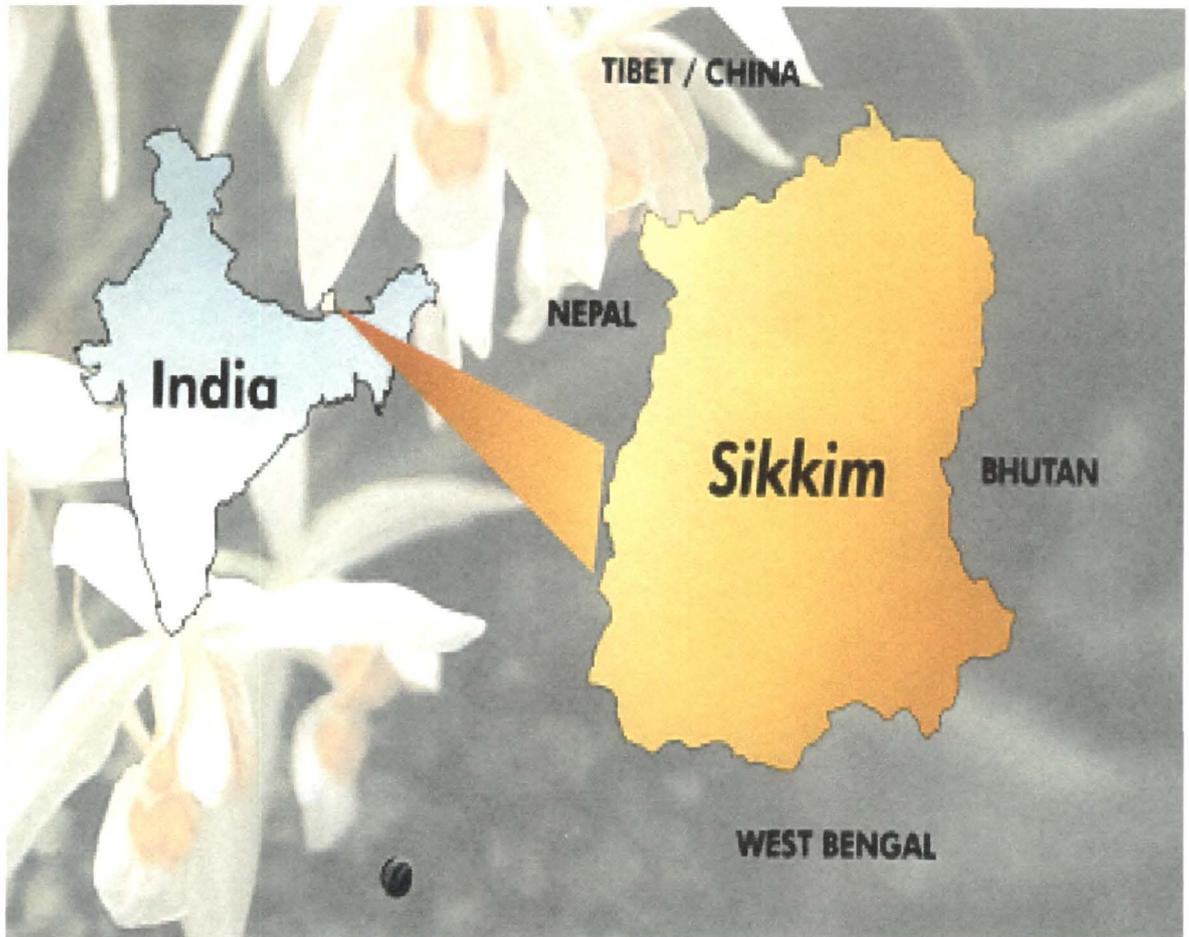


Plate 1 (A): Map of India showing the state of Sikkim (Not to scale)

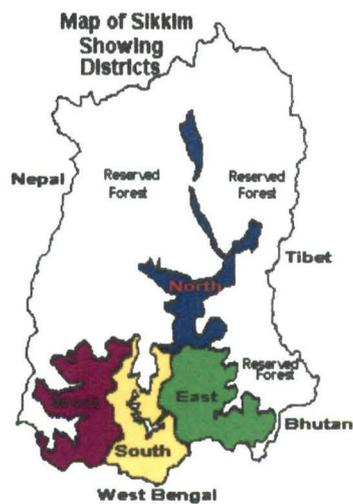


Plate 1 (B): Map of Sikkim showing the four Districts (Not to scale)
(source: NIC Gangtok, Sikkim)

The position of women in society can be explained by taking into consideration various socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions. According to Marx (1963), the position of women will vary from society to society and time to time according to prevailing economic and political relationship. Marx places women in mode of production of society and interprets them as forming a class which is subordinate to and oppressed by the superior class formed only by men under certain historical circumstances. Possibility of women's exploitation historically, can be explained by the argument that nations and women are not spared in their unguarded hours, particularly when a more adventurous warrior is around (Marx, 1963). While developing a view on women's position, Engels (1948) argues that property management, patriarchal system and the government are all related. According to Engels, the capitalist production process is responsible for the subordinate position of women. Engels rationale is that, human societies in all times were dependent equally on men and women in manners of production and procreation. However, it is difficult to say whether prior to capitalist production, men and women occupied equal position.

According to anthropological point of view, the subordinate position of women is due to the process of social evolution. As society came into existence, interaction started taking place between groups, and because of interaction a material exchange of goods became possible. In this process, the women, for the material exchange value attached to them, acted as a source of facilitation of social interaction between groups (Strauss, 1953). Niranjna (2000) mentioned, "This material exchange takes place not merely in terms of women as a human body meant for sexual pleasure and carrying on the reproductive activities. Rather it acts as a medium of cultural patterns and practices, ancestral rights and social structural aspects of different groups between whom the

exchange takes place". Hence, women were compared to physical objects which further undermined their position.

Some aspects of culture and social structure of society also help to determine the image of women. Nature endows human beings with an unalterable biological makeup by classifying them into male and female. However, the definition of femininity and masculinity is bestowed upon humans by culture and society. In some cultures femininity is associated with a number of socio-economic, political roles, while in some other cultures femininity is almost entirely associated with functions of a domestic nature. There are perceived differences between men and women based on the kinds of relationship possible, the degree of female sexual purity and norms regarding the division of labour. The role of women is multidimensional involving spiritual, sexual, intellectual and managerial aspects but still a lot of emphasis is placed on female sexual virtue, as in most societies the sexual conduct of a women reflects on the honour of the entire social conduct. Therefore, it is not really possible to have a true community of interest which transcends sexual considerations.

Many cultures perceive women as basically emotional and thus inferior to men. The inability of women to cope with decision making has been used as a justification for paternalism and for the treatment of women as minors throughout their lives. It is assumed that women's intellectual aptitude is inferior to men, so they are suitable for only stereotyped jobs. Another dimension of cultural, which gives women a subordinate position in society, is power. Power, in all societies has been regarded as a male prerogative. Irrespective of other elements in their role definition, women have been socialized to consider themselves unsuitable for leadership or have been taught that it is not feminine to desire power (Rathschild, 1974).

Religion is the source of many laws and customs in society and because of its association with rituals it marks important occasions in the life of the individual. The spiritual image of the women has many components. In religious systems with a tradition of world denial and preoccupation with salvation, such as pre- Islam Buddhism and Hinduism of Bangladesh, the Buddhism of Japan, and the Medieval Christianity of Poland and France the spiritual worth of women depended on their faculty for achieving personal redemption (Giele and Smock, 1977). In India, from the point of view of religion the husband is equated to God, and as a result women here are further subdued. Some cultures emphasize the difference between male and female without placing sexes in hierarchical order, others clearly mark male superiority and male inferiority and the third view male and female as relatively equal. In hierarchical relationships, women were given a domestic role and were under the supervision of men. The modified hierarchical system of relationship is flexible and there is smaller degree of sexual segregation (Giele and Smock, 1977). However, relative equality remains a theoretical possibility.

It is important to discuss some major structural variables that influence the position of women in the society. Some of these variables are the effectiveness of the family as an institution and the manner in which female and male roles relate to each other, the access of girls to education on equal terms, the type of economic system and the nature of the economic opportunities it offers to women.

The family because of its centrality in social organization influences women's position. A woman always subordinates her needs to the interests of the family because she is an integral part of family system and this limits her ability to act independently. However, equal educational opportunities when given to women can have both macroscopic and microscopic implications, because it transforms the attitude of women,

by endowing them with greater skills and resources. The greater the personal resource a woman brings into a marital relationship in the form of her education, employment experience and a range of social contacts – the closer her resource base approximates to that of her husband – the greater is the chance that she will be able to influence family decision making (Rodman, 1972).

Women empowerment depends on economic participation, which depends on their ability to accept the employment with their domestic responsibilities. Because of which, on one hand women from upper class backgrounds have more protection and prestige, whereas families of humbler origin cannot afford the luxury of excluding women from the labour force.

The foregoing discussion points to the fact that there are cultural, social and economical constraints of the society on the life of women.

It is very difficult to place the concept of women's studies as an independent discipline because women's role is now no longer confined to home caring and rearing children but they are now a part of a broad spectrum. Much of the studies so far have been conducted on middle class and urban women, leaving out the rural and tribal counterparts. Anthropologists have long been interested in the study of women in tribal society. However, the tribal communities have remained outside the purview of social demographers and not enough work has been done. The research work available is mostly on family, marriage among tribal, tribal customs, movements or tribal administration. Singh (1988) has concluded that there is "need for generating studies which can fill the information gap about variation that exists and about role and status of tribal women from one region to another and from one community to another". There is no published work

known about the status of Bhutia women and therefore there is a need to explore their social structure which may bring out the position of women in Bhutia society.

Sikkim, situated in the Eastern Himalayas represents a meeting ground of several cultures manifest in the distinctive lifestyle of its several tribal communities. According to the 2001 census Sikkim has a population of 540,493. Ethnically, the state comprises of three groups mainly, the Bhutias, the Lepcha and the Nepalese. The women of Sikkim are unique in many ways. "Like everything else in Sikkim they also truly manifest the influence of the siylvan serenity of the august hills of the Himalayas and the deep pervasive influence of the quintessence of Buddhism. These influences have made their lives free from many discriminatory inequalities from which the women suffer elsewhere" (Bhattachrya, 1994).

1b. Review of literature

Studies on women's behavior started in 1960's with the advent of feminism in the U.S.A with the presumption that there prevails a gender bias in society and women's position is not what it should be. Publication like, 'The Subjection of Women' by John Stuart Mill (1912) and 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and State' by Engels (1948) are the first serious discussion on women related issues. In India, we started using the term more frequently after 1975, which was declared as the International Women's Year. In the 20th century a comprehensive literature has been published which identified the grievances and problem areas of the women. Studies relating to the role, socio-economic status and political status have been conducted both at micro and macro level and in this perspective some of the literature are reviewed.

Chitins (1975) stresses on redefining women's role in the family and society.

Promotion of equality between men and women not only comes from economic and

political participation but by redefinition of sex roles. Women's position can not be stereotyped into a rearing and caring role only. Chitins, mentions that the one way of enhancing the contribution of women towards economic development of the country is by improving in the quality of their output

Kaur (1983) critically analyzes the different aspects of the socio- economic realities of the society and the changing value orientation of the educated middle class Hindu women towards marriage, employment and religion. Sharma (1984) feels that the changing socio – economic status of the women requires a structural and attitudinal transformation in the society. He feels that there is a need for interlinking the strategies made by the government and the society so that it becomes possible to deal with various social and economic inequalities.

Dhruvarajan (1989) and Chaudhary (1991) have studied the changing aspect of women's position in the society with two different aspects. Dhruvarajan (1989) tries to examine the reason why in a Hindu society, a women is not accorded equal status to that of a man although female Gods are worshipped along with the male Gods. But, women still are humiliated and subordinated. Chaudhary (1991) discusses how higher education is able to bring about some changes in traditional social values, which are attached with the Institution of marriage, family and decision making process.

Assessment of women's position and role cannot be done outside the social structure. Therefore, social structure along with its cultural norms and values is an important area of study among researches and these affect the women in different ways. Studies by Desai (1957) and Bakshi (1964) are conducted on these parameters.

A number of studies have been conducted on the problems faced by women. These problems are linked with marriage and its related issues like custom of dowry,

bride wealth, procedure of acquiring mate and remarriage etc. Studies by Srinivas (1842), Baig (1958) and Kapadia (1958), broadly examine the position of women in joint family, marriage and customs.

Studies by Majumdar (1978), Acharya and Bennett (1982), Bhardan (1983) and Kaur (1986), highlight the economic worth of women's work. There have been a number of studies undertaken regarding the attitude towards work of working women. Various aspects such as profession, employment, participation in economic development by women and the impact of these factors on women status in Indian Society after independence are well documented by Sengupta (1960), Kalarani (1976). According to Sengupta (1960), the raise in the economic status of Indian middle class women is characteristic of India as a free nation. Kalarani (1976) tries to find out the reasons and issues of role conflict and also tries to bring about reconciliation. On the basis of her studies, she also tries to see whether the role conflict is related to income or occupational level and observes that almost 88percent of working wives adhere to the view that their marital life has not affected their work.

Works on income security of women with regard to equal status in society have been done by Sharrif (1990), Ahuja (1991) and Banerjee (1991). Ahuja (1991) points out that woman are at a disadvantage as compared to the men because they are paid less and enjoy lesser autonomy even though they work for longer or equal hours. Sharrif's (1990) work focusses on women entrepreneurs and the usefulness of the Government policies and the services available to them. He states that there is a need to ensure for women a fair share in matters of employment and opportunity and also bring about an increased participation of women in the work force. Banerjee's (1991) work which deals with the economic status of contemporary women, focuses on the factors

affecting employment of women in the industry. According to her study, a small number of jobs become highly capital intensive due to new technologies while a large number of them become mechanical and repetitive.

Earlier, Lenoard (1979) while looking into the current research on women in India felt that there was a gap which needed filling. She has stated that most of the work today pertains to women of the upper classes leaving the others out. Kumari (1992) talks about the present global situation where there is a growing awareness to bring about gender equality and equal opportunities should be provided in sharing of resources. She concludes by saying that women issues need to be given importance not just by policy makers but also by women themselves. Singh (1975) has attempted a comprehensive and critical view of methodological problems inherent in women studies and mentioned three kinds of categories (i) treating women as an isolated category (ii) attitude studies (iii) survey research. Sharma and Majumdar (1979) also talk about the changes in perception and in academic research regarding women's contribution to society and their need in relation to modernization, development and social change. Regarding the theoretical concept for understanding of women's situation, they talk about three areas that determine the status of women as perceived by women themselves and by others i.e. family links, sex roles, values and socialization process and women's perception of oppression and the need for the change.

'Women in Indian Society' by Ghadially (1988), is a collection of twenty-one research articles that examine and challenge the role of women in society. These articles are related to women's subordinate position according to traditional and mythical order and how this subordination leads to the violence against women. Singh (2000) has worked on changing pattern of women's status since independence and how

a women's status is affected by numerable factors such as class, caste, religion, family and education. He also analyses the role of various social organization and their efforts to create a favourable environment for women. Upreti (2000) highlights the struggle of Indian women for gender justice. According to her, status of women in society not only denotes her position with respect to others in terms of right and obligation but also in terms of gender justice. Indian women cannot be treated as a homogenous category and are divided on the basis of urban, rural, background, region, caste and class. The educated urban women are more conscious but the illiterate rural women are less conscious of their rights. In a recent work, Sharma (2001) highlights the various parameters that help in the emancipation of women and give her autonomy. According to him, 'Empowerment', is the way by which there will be redistribution of powers and therefore a change in the nature and direction of systemic forces which marginalize women. Women's empowerment is based on the premise that it is an enabling condition for reproductive rights and hence controls the population.

Various studies have been conducted which deal with the political status and position of the women.

Kirkpatrick (1974) has made a valuable contribution by studying the political role of women in American state legislative. She has chosen to examine women and their relationship to power. She has described the political role of women and the four factors which limit the participation of women in politics. These are psychological, cultural and role constraints combined with male conspiracy. Pomper (1975) draws a contemporary portrait of American women's changing political participation. He states that with education becoming widespread, there is likelihood of more women representatives in politics.

Lipset (1959) points out that in America women vote less than men because they are preoccupied with the traditional idea that women's place is at home. This traditionalism and conservative outlook of women has confined them to the domestic sphere. These pressures prevent the voting turn out of women. There are some studies which deal with the reasons for the poor participation of women in the legislative bodies and elections. According to Lee (1976), the lack of female participation in politics is due to three factors, these are sex discrimination, societal perception that certain things are not proper for women to do and the presence of children at home . Khan (1991) points out that due to social factors and burden of work, women seldom think about participating in politics. The socialization process and social traditions engulfed with various taboos keep women confined to the domestic sphere. In a male dominated society where the personality of the women is controlled, regulated and maintained by the male members, the attitude of the men is very important. Rajlakshmi (1985) has sought to examine the reasons why women are still under represented in legislature bodies despite their formal equality with men. In another study, Vallance (1979) in her book, 'Women in the House' in which the study has been conducted on the women members of European parliament tries to explain the reasons behind poor participation of women in politics. She has also worked on physiological, sociological and domestic problems for poor participation in National politics. However, no single reason points towards their little representation. Kaur (1983) opines that the women are passing through a transitional stage which is not wholly in accordance with traditional values. Due to higher education, self-awareness and national consciousness women are aspiring for equal status with that of men. As a result participation of women in politics can be seen in parliament, state legislative assemblies and in decision

making bodies. There is thus a positive change in the outlook of women. Sethi (1988), Shahida (1977) have studied the participation of women in the representative bodies of the country. Saxena (2000) in 'Women and Politics' talks about women's struggle for political power, which is one of the important gestures, how she can achieve a rightful place.

The books, 'Politics of Women's Liberation' by Freeman (1975), 'The Feminist Movement' by Carden (1974) and 'Women Power and Policy' by Parth (1982) all deal with the development of women's political movement and its relationship in establishment of public policy. These authors feel that there is a need to delineate strategies, social action politics to eradicate sexism from politics. Newland (1975) in an informative study shows that although all the countries in the world grant women the right to participate in political activities and also exercise their franchise, yet their political rights are hampered by inadequate education and absence of communication channels. This results in poor representation of women in politics. Chafe (1972) finds that discrimination is rooted in the society. The sexual division of labour has restricted women's movement to the domestic sphere and only when there will be a structural change in the traditional views of male and female roles will there be a symmetry in political status of men and women.

The changing role of women in Social, Political and Economic life have been dealt with by Joyce and Palley (1982) in their book 'Women and Public Policy', by Newland (1978) in 'The Sisterhood of Man' and by Rothman's (1978) in 'Women's Proper Place'.

Women played an active role in socio – economic emancipation and participated in national politics even though the ideology prevailing those days was very conservative.

Some studies which focussed on the role of the women in the struggle against oppressed masses have been made by Gupta (1977) and Sen (1985). Gupta (1977) analyzes the part played by women in the Tebhaga Movement and explored the factors which determined the role of women in the society. Sen (1985) too throws light on the growth of women's movement in Bengal and the problems faced by the women in male dominated society. He also highlights the role played by women in the agrarian and labour movement of Bengal. Number of studies such as Kaur (1946), Bagal (1953), Chattopadhyoy (1958), Agnew (1979), Sengupta (1976) discuss the part played by women in freedom struggle. They state that the ideology prevailing at that time was very conservative, despite the fact that women played a courageous role by participating even in extremist politics as well as non violent movement led by Gandhi on Civil Disobedience Movement. Devi (1986), Ghosh (1991) Gupta (1977) have made a valuable contribution to understand nature the of women's movement and also explored the factors which determine the status of women in society.

Apart from these studies, there are some articles which dealt with the socio-political position of women. Articles like 'Changing the role of women', by Pollock (1972) describes that there should be more humane means of classifying human beings rather than sex. In another article 'What does equality between the sexes imply', Linner (1972) argues that because of modern technological era women roles are also changing. Mezey (1978) in her article, 'Does sex make a difference'? pointes out that woman need a societal change before they can be treated equally. It is presumed that because women have different assets and liabilities; their behaviour is different from men. Men feel that the problems women face as office holders stem from the emotional weakness and inadequacies of women and sex does make a difference in politics.

Academic interest in women's issues is a very recent development in India. In the post independence period research and studies on women were mainly on women's role in the family, kinship and other institution. Realizing the importance of study of women in India, Government of India conducted a study on the status of women. The main purpose of this study was to analyze the impact of constitutional, legal administrative provision on the status of women. The report entitled 'Toward equality' (1974), recommended remedial measures for the proper role of women in nation building process. The book, 'The symbols of power' edited by Vina Mazumdar also deals with the political status of women in the three states of India i.e. Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal. Pandey (1990) has conducted a survey on the women in the city of Jaipur and made observations on the changing role of women in political participation. Mazumdar in her article 'Reservation for women', supports thirty percent reservation for women in self-governing institutes. Ghosh (2000) opines that political participation of women and their attitude towards politics can be understood only by a comparative analysis made with men.

Dealing with the voting behaviour of women Goel (1974) finds that women are less likely to take interest in politics, discuss politics or attend public meeting. Their voting percentage is also lower than that of men. Only a few educated women feel confident about making policy decisions rest do not even try. Kingston and Finkel (1987) state that married and single persons consistently differ in their political interest. The married are relatively more conservative on a number of issues. However, they have higher turn out rates than singles, but the latter are more inclined to political participation beyond the act of voting. Campbell *et al.* (1967) point out that married women vote more often than single women and frequently in consonance with their husbands. Feltner

and Goldie (1964) are also of the view that a woman who often votes in agreement with her husband shows a low level of political involvement.

As for literature on Sikkim, most of the work on its society and physical features are in the form of Government reports or travelogues written by British officials. H.H Risley edited the first and only Gazetteer of Sikkim that gives detailed historical, geographical, botanical and zoological accounts of Sikkim (1894).

John Claude White (1909), the first British political officer to be posted in Sikkim has given an account of the origin of its people in his book 'Sikkim and Bhutan: Twenty-one years on North- East Frontier 1887-1908'. The History of Sikkim written by the Miwang Chogyal of Sikkim, Sir Thutob Namgyal and Gyalmo (queen) of Sikkim, Yeshey Dolma (1908) offers a fascinating account of the origin of Sikkim and of the Namgyal dynasty that ruled over Sikkim between 1641-1975. However, the account is till 1908, i.e, the year this text was compiled. It also gives interesting accounts regarding various important places including the setting up of various monasteries in Sikkim .It offers valuable insight into the history of various communities of Sikkim, and also gives the pedigree of leading families of Sikkim. It is perhaps the only authentic indigenous work on Sikkim, with its sources including the holy Buddhist (Pechaas) scriptures of Sikkim. 'Excerpts from History of Sikkim' by Joseph F.Rock (1953) has also published excerpts from the main body of the book, 'The History of Sikkim'. He also gives an ethnographic profile of the Bhutias, Lepchas. Limbus and Mangars. C.De Beauvoir Stocks (1925) has written a book 'The Folklore and Religious Belief of the people of Sikkim' it is an anthropological study which deals with religious rites and customs of the inhabitants of Sikkim. 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,' by Dalton (1872) deals with the ethnology of different types of tribes of Bengal. For the purpose of this study, he has divided the tribes

according to their geographical positioning. While describing the tribes occupying the Northern barrier of Assam, on crossing the border of Bhutan he came across the Bhutias, the Lepchas, the Limbus and the Kirants. He touches upon their history, physical traits, religion and marriage customs. 'Reflection on Tibetan Culture', Essays in memory of Turrell.V.Wylie contains an essay upon the traditional political institutions in Sikkim under the Namgyal Dynasty and the changes that took place in Sikkim because of contact with neighbouring states of Tibet, British India and Nepal. In fact he makes a historical perspective of modern Sikkim. Many anthropologists and ethnographers from the west have studied various ethnic groups of Sikkim. Morris (1939) and Gorer (1984) visited the Dzongu of North Sikkim to study Lepchas. Morris's book, 'Living with Lepchas: A Book about Sikkim Himalayas' covers the origin of Lepchas, Lamaism, religious customs and dwellings etc. and is documented with photographs and bibliography. Gorer's 'Himalayan Village'- An account of Lepchas of Sikkim describes the Lepcha society, as it existed in Lingthem. Bose (1966) of the Anthropological Survey of India has written exclusively about the Bhutias of North Sikkim. He describes their agricultural practices and the changes in their economy as a result of Chinese occupation of Tibet. In 'Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon', Nakane (1966) studies the Bhutia and Lepcha society and interrelationship with Nepali. The study reveals how the Nepali community penetrated into the Bhutia and Lepcha communities. Rahul (1973) studies the frontier countries of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, and the role Bon, Buddhist and Hindu religion played on these settlements. 'The Sikkim Saga' by Das (1983) deals with the period of unrest in Sikkim from 1973 to 1975 until its merger with India. It also highlights the role of women taking examples of Indira Gandhi, Hope Cook and Elisa Maria. Bhasin (1989) has a micro-approach to study the Dzongu reserve inhabited by Lepcha and Lachen/

Lachung valley inhabited by Bhutias. Her study focuses on the interplay between ecology and socio-cultural environment. Kotturan (1983) in his book 'The Himalayan Gateway' has depicted Sikkim's history, culture and its nature. He has also collected 'The Folk tales of Sikkim' in (1989) which are tales of mythological nature, some of which have moral teachings and some are humorous. How Buddhism which was the religion professed by Bhutias changed when it came in contact with alien communities and religion has been described by Awasty (1978) in her book, 'Between Sikkim and Bhutan'.

Anthropologists have been interested in the study of women in tribal society. There are a number of studies on tribal communities, but only a few focus on tribal women. Among these, 'women in tribal India' by Choudhary (1978) talks of different phases of womanhood. According to him, there are four phases of womanhood, namely girlhood, adulthood, widowhood and old age. According to him, there is no marked difference between a boy and a girl in tribal society; a woman has more freedom and is considered an economic asset but there are certain areas in which she is not accorded high position. While studying the status of women among Tribes, Sen (1978) concludes that status of women is different in different tribes. The difference is seen in pattern of descent, inheritance, level of education, marriage and divorce. Gupta (1978), while analysing the status of 'Tribal women in Northeast India' concludes that because women are involved in economic activities, they do not suffer from inequalities and are free from street vigilance of male folks. A high social status of women has been reported by Haimendarf (1988), Hunter (1973) and Firth (1964) among Tharus of U.P., Nagas and Garos of the North East. Rivers (1973), Dalton (1872) and Grigaon (1938) have reported low status of women among Todas, Kherias and Mariya Gonds with References to certain taboos



during certain period or ceremonies. Some of the scholars are of the opinion that the primitive people give high status to women. Lowie (1921) has pointed out that position of tribal women was different in theory and practice. In tribal societies theoretical or legal status may not be found to be translated as social behaviour (Majumdar and Madan, 1955). Majumdar (1973) has reported a higher status of tribal women on some indicators while lower on others, while Shashi (1978) has concluded that the status of tribal women varies from tribes to tribes. Acharya and Bennett (1982) have studied various demographic, economic, socio-cultural and situational variables which affect women's status in society. They state that women who participate in market and subsistence economy have a stronger say in decision-making. They also state that age is positively related to women's work burden, therefore economic work participation of women decreases with increase in age. The freedom to select life partner also gives women greater autonomy affecting their work participation and greater input in decision making.

The status of tribal women is better than that of the Indian women in general. The tribal women in general and in comparison with higher caste women enjoy more freedom (Hutton, 1921; Majumdar, 1973; Hunter, 1973; Sarana, 1986; Singh, Vyas and Mann, 1988). Chauhan (1990) has made a comparative analysis of various indicators such as political, economic and religious among the different tribes of India. He states that the status of tribal women has gone from bad to worse as a result of social change which has affected the structure of tribal society.

Basu *et al.*, (1993) and Vidhyarthi, (1983) have studied the level of literacy among the tribals and found that it varies from one tribe to the other. Kashatriya (1992) has found that cultural norms regarding marriage, age at marriage, all determine to tribal women's place in family, her access to medical care, education, nutrition and other health

resources. Niranjana (2000) has studied the status of women belonging to Kinnaura, a scheduled tribe of Himachal Pradesh. She has made an attempt to analyse the social and cultural values affecting the status of women and its influence on the reproductive behaviour.

Dhamala, (1985) while analyzing the socio-economic role of women in Sikkim has found that the authority, socio-cultural autonomy varies from community to community. In an article, 'The Bhutia –Lepcha women of Sikkim: Tradition and Response to change' Bhattacharya (1994) has focused on family system, health care system, educational and professional facilities provided to Bhutia Lepcha women and their response to these facilities. In another article ' Status of Bhutia Women of Darjeeling Himalayas' Sekh Rahim Mondal (1998\1999) has focused on the social status and the role of Bhutia women from a multi dimensional axis. He states that there is a need for formulation of a realistic program so as to meet the real need of Bhutia women so that their ascribed status can be an achieved one.

Different religions have accorded women a separate position and place. There is some literature available, which focuses on position of women in Buddhism. Horner (1975) in the book 'Women under Primitive Buddhism', and Paul (1975) in 'Women in Buddhism' have studied the place of women in Buddhism. Kumar and Singh (1997) after studying 'Buddha's Approach towards Women Status' have conclude that Buddhism is a liberal religion alike the orthodox Hindu religion. Swarna (1988) in her lecture delivered at Mid Lands, Buddhist society U.K has described the Pre-Buddhist position of women, the order of Bhikkhunis and the role of women in early Buddhism.

From the review of the above literature it is seen that the work on Bhutia women of Sikkim is very inadequate. Work has been done on women, some also on tribal women

but a void is seen concerning Bhutias in general and Bhutia women in particular, and hence a deeper research is much needed.

1c. Rationale of Study:

The focus of the current study is to investigate the social structure and position of Bhutia women in the Bhutia society. There is a dearth of studies which brings out the position of tribal women in the social structure of the tribal society. The drawback is particularly glaring in the context of the Bhutia tribal women in the state of Sikkim. From the literature reviewed, it was found that although quite a number of studies have been conducted on the economic participation of middle class and urban women in particular, about their position in work structure, participation and its effect on their decision making status, yet there is hardly any work done on their tribal counterparts. There is a need to analyse the social structure of Bhutia society and study the position of Bhutia women in the society of Sikkim. Whether a Bhutia woman has accessibility to material and social resources within family and society is to be identified. Similarly her position regarding inheritance of property, decision making and her place in the realm of religious practices and rituals are to be studied. Therefore, the aim of the study is to highlight the social status and true position of Bhutia women. Once these parameters are identified, it will help to identify a Bhutia woman's position in society.

The above rationale resulted in investigation of the areas where a paucity of adequate information exists. Specific research queries which necessitated the need for conducting the present research are:

1. What is the nature of social structure of Bhutia society in Sikkim?
2. What are the changes that have taken place in the social structure because of modernization?

3. What is the position of Bhutia women in terms of education, income, occupation, access to health facilities, etc?
4. Whether Bhutia women enjoy autonomy in making decision with regard to her own life, particularly in selection of mate, solemnization of their marriage and bearing of Children?
5. Does a Bhutia women have access to family property and resources?
6. What is the position of Bhutia women in the realm of Buddhism as a religion and in religious rituals?
7. Whether Bhutia women enjoy autonomy in work participation and decision making processes?

1d.Objectives:

To study the above-mentioned questions, the objectives of the present work were framed as follows:

1. To study the socio economic profile of the Bhutia women to analyse her position in society.
2. To study education level of the Bhutia women.
3. To study some of the important social institutions of Bhutia society like family, marriage and kinship and to examine the position of women in these institutions.
4. To study the barriers faced by Bhutia women in accessing legal entitlements like inheritance of property and divorce etc.
5. To study how much access a Bhutia woman has in controlling the material and social resources within the family and also in society.
6. To study participation of Bhutia women in decision making processes.

7. To study the political participation of Bhutia women in relation to her political interest and political awareness.
8. To study position of Bhutia women in religious rites and rituals and also find religion biased social norms.

Social research is the systematic observation of social life for the purpose of finding and understanding pattern amongst what is observed (Babbie, 1992). Every sociological research problem has two aspects namely, conceptual and procedural. The conceptual aspect of research problem deals with defining of key concept used in the study and their operationlisation in the field setting (Sharma, 1997). In other words, this implies making clear the conceptual connotations of the concepts used in the empirical settings (Niranjana, 2000).

The procedural aspects refer to the techniques, tools used for the collection and analysis of data. Since this study makes use of the concept of social structure, there is need to define the social structure.

1e. Social Structure -A Theoretical Perspective:

Since the focus of the study is on social structure, it is necessary to examine this term in sociological and anthropological literature. Briefly defined, social structure is the web of interacting social forces from which have arisen the various models of observing and thinking (Mannheim, 1940). According to Mannheim, structure is the most comprehensive feature of reality. Every phenomenon should be understood in terms of the structure of the whole, a component part does not have structure. Structure does not consist of a network of static relationship it is dynamic and consists of the configuration of antagonistic forces. Although a configuration of antagonistic forces, structure involves not a blind dynamism but goal directedness.

Social Structure refers to the institutions of the society and the way these institutions are arranged. According to Ginsberg (1947), “the study of social structure is concerned with the principal forms of social organization, i.e. types of groups, associations and institutions and the complex of these which constitute societies. A full account of social structure would involve a review of the whole field of comparative institution”. By social structure, Nadel (1965) means the arrangement of parts into some total entity or whole and by whole he meant, the society and its subdivision. According to Brown (1952) “the components of the social structure are human beings, the structure itself is an arrangement of persons in relationship, institutionally defined and regulated”. The Social structure is therefore constituted by social relationships, which are regulated and controlled by social norms, rules and patterns.

The concepts of social structure can also be referred to as an arrangement of activities among individuals. Therefore, it can be said that in dealing with the structure of a community one simultaneously deals with the system of social position. According to Brown (1952), the study of social structure means the study of certain number of individual human beings in a certain natural environment. We can observe the acts of behaviour of these individuals including their acts of speech and the natural product of past actions.

Pritchard (1991) uses the term social structure for the inter-relation of groups, excluding interpersonal relation. In other words social structure would refer to social groups such as nations, tribes and clans, who retain their identity as an individual group irrespective of the changes taking place in membership.

Eggan (1950) considers the components or units of social structure in the inter-personal relations, which become part of the social structure in the form of status and

position enjoyed by individuals. According to Fortes (1949), social structure also contains parts and relations of diverse nature and variability and pertains to social events and organization as their variable aspects. Therefore, inter-personal relations are elements of social structure.

Leach (1953), defined social structure as a network of social relations in which are involved the members of a community at a particular time. However, Strauss (1953) does not agree that social structure can be used to describe the ensemble of social relations in a society. According to Brown (1952), social structure includes all person to person social relations. He gives the example of an Australian tribe whose social structure is based upon a network of person to person relations, which is established on the basis of genealogical connections. Brown includes in social structure the differentiation of individuals and of classes by their social role. The differential social position of men and women, of Chiefs and commoners, of employers and employees are just as much determinants of social relations. There are however, other Anthropologists, who argue that social structure is comprised of relations among major groups of society i.e. such groups as clans, compound families etc. According to Firth (1961), the concept of social structure is an analytical tool designed to serve us in understanding how men behave in their social life, i.e. those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behaviour of members of the society. Thus, social structure may include basic relationships arising from a class system based on relation with the soil.

The social structure should also examine how the basic forms of social relations are capable of variation. It is necessary to study social adaptation as well as social continuity, because for the analysis of the structural aspects, it is necessary to analyse the organizational aspect also (Firth, 1961).

According to Brown (1952), social structure includes two divisions social morphology and social psychology. In social morphology, we study the network of relations connecting the inhabitants with themselves and with the people of their religion. For this purpose we take a locality of a suitable size and study the structural system as it appears in that locality. Closely connected with this conception of social structure is the conception of “social personality” as the position occupied by a human being in a social structure and the complex which is formed by all his social relations with others.

Social life constantly renews the social structure. People to people relation and group to group relation continuously witness change and this is an important aspect of social structure. Changes in the social structure occur due to various factors such as birth, immigration, marriage, death, divorce etc. Thus, while social structure undergoes continuous change, the general social structural form remains relatively constant over a longer period of time. However, the structural form may also experience changes caused due to various reasons, for example when tribals and non tribals come into contact.

Social relations can also be studied with References to the reciprocal behaviour of the persons involved. Social structure can therefore be described with References to those patterns which are prescribed and controlled by customs and traditions e.g. the rules of etiquette, morals and law that form a part of society. Interest and values also constitute another aspect of the social structure, as they are also one of the determinants of social relation. It can therefore be said that “the social institutions in the sense of standardized modes of behaviour constitute the machinery by which a social structure, a network of social relations maintain its existence and its continuity” (Brown, 1952). A social relation does not result from similarity of interests, it is dependent upon mutual interest of persons. Therefore, it rests upon one or more common interests or a combination of both.

When two people have a common interest in an object, that object gets a social value e.g. if all members of society have an interest in observance of laws, then laws have a social value.

Firth (1961) distinguishes four constituents that are essential to social existence. These are social alignment, social control, social media and social standards. Firth, defines social alignment as the method of grouping and grading of people for effectively carrying out various kinds of activities for common existence. It includes groups based on sex, age, kinship and association. Firth, also talks about social control which refers to the system of beliefs and procedures which guide and control the lives and activities of people in a community e.g. rules of etiquette, law, morality, ritual, technical knowledge, magical and religious behaviour of people. Firth refers to social media as another constituent of social life. This means both material goods as well as language, which serve as a means of communication, thereby providing the material basis for activity. By social standard, Firth means the preference quality assigned to an object in virtue of a relationship between means and ends, in a social action. Value involves grading on a preference scale, which is applicable in regards to the following major types of quality – technological, economic, moral, ritual, aesthetic and associational.

Finally, social structure defines the very nature of a society. Structural studies are of special and basic interests since most of the complexities of societies can only be understood on their basic structural terms.

1f. Methodology:

To study the procedural aspects a research design is necessary. Research design refers to the planning of scientific inquiry. In other words, it is a strategy to find or explore a phenomenon. However, due to scarce and unrepresentative work on Bhutias it became

somewhat difficult to develop and finalize the research design to streamline the present work. Since the present study as the title suggests, primarily concerns with the social structure and position of women it is imperative to follow both exploratory and descriptive research design with an analytical base. An exploratory research design is followed when the phenomenon under investigation has not been researched earlier. It is exploratory in the sense that unexplored areas have been put to scrutiny to develop a comprehensive profile of Bhutias and overcome problems of unrepresentative data on the subject. This is therefore quite appropriate to follow an exploratory design in this research. Along with exploration, it is important to describe the researched and observed patterns. At this point it is also worthwhile mentioning that since there have been studies on position and status of women in general in areas other than Sikkim, instead of having some tentative hypothesis, certain research questions are framed on the basis of secondary sources.

The cumbersome task of developing the profile of a community is incomplete without the clear understanding of the community. In order to understand and analyze the elements of social life of a tribal community (in this case Bhutias), an intensive study or more precisely an intensive field study is required.

1f (i) .DIAGRAM

ILLUSTRATING RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

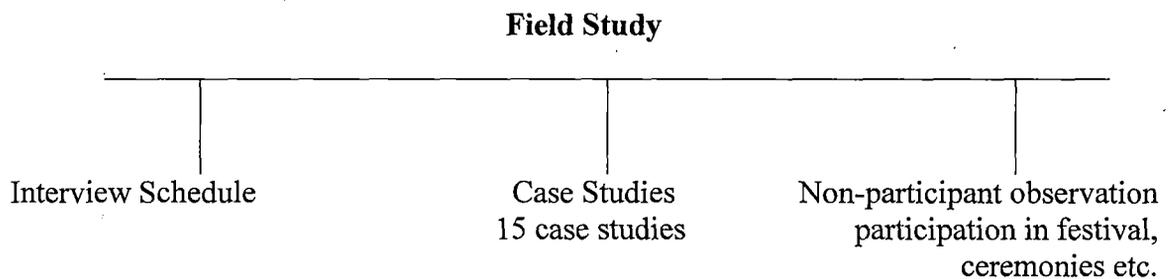
Research Design: Exploratory cum Descriptive

Universe: Bhutias in Ralong and Barfung Lingtem (South Sikkim) Navey, Tathangchen Upper and Lower (East Sikkim), Tingchim (North Sikkim), Sindrang, Singyang, Gyalshing (West Sikkim).

Sample: 200 respondents/families

Data Collection: I- Review of secondary material in the form of books, journals, monographs etc.

II- Field study



First Stage:

- Preparation of tentative interview schedule (TIS-I)
- Administering TIS-I on ten families.
- Analysis of TIS-I

Second stage:

- Developing tentative interview schedule II (TIS-II)
- Administering TIS-II on 15 families.
- Analysis of TIS-II

Third stage:

- Standardization of TIS-II
- Finalization of schedule for the purpose of study i.e. Interview Schedule (IS)
- Administration of Interview Schedule on 150 families.
- Collection and interpretation of data.

1f (ii) Selection Of Informants

To obtain necessary and relevant information at field situation the informants were selected from the areas under study. In the selection of the informants, it was decided to depend on their sincerity and reliability of providing correct information. The informants were both male and female and were of two types, viz key informants and occasional helpers. The help of key informants was taken for furnishing most of the data on the basis of set of questions framed for this study. Occasional helpers were the senior males and females of the village.

1f (iii) Tools, Technique And Method Of Data Collection

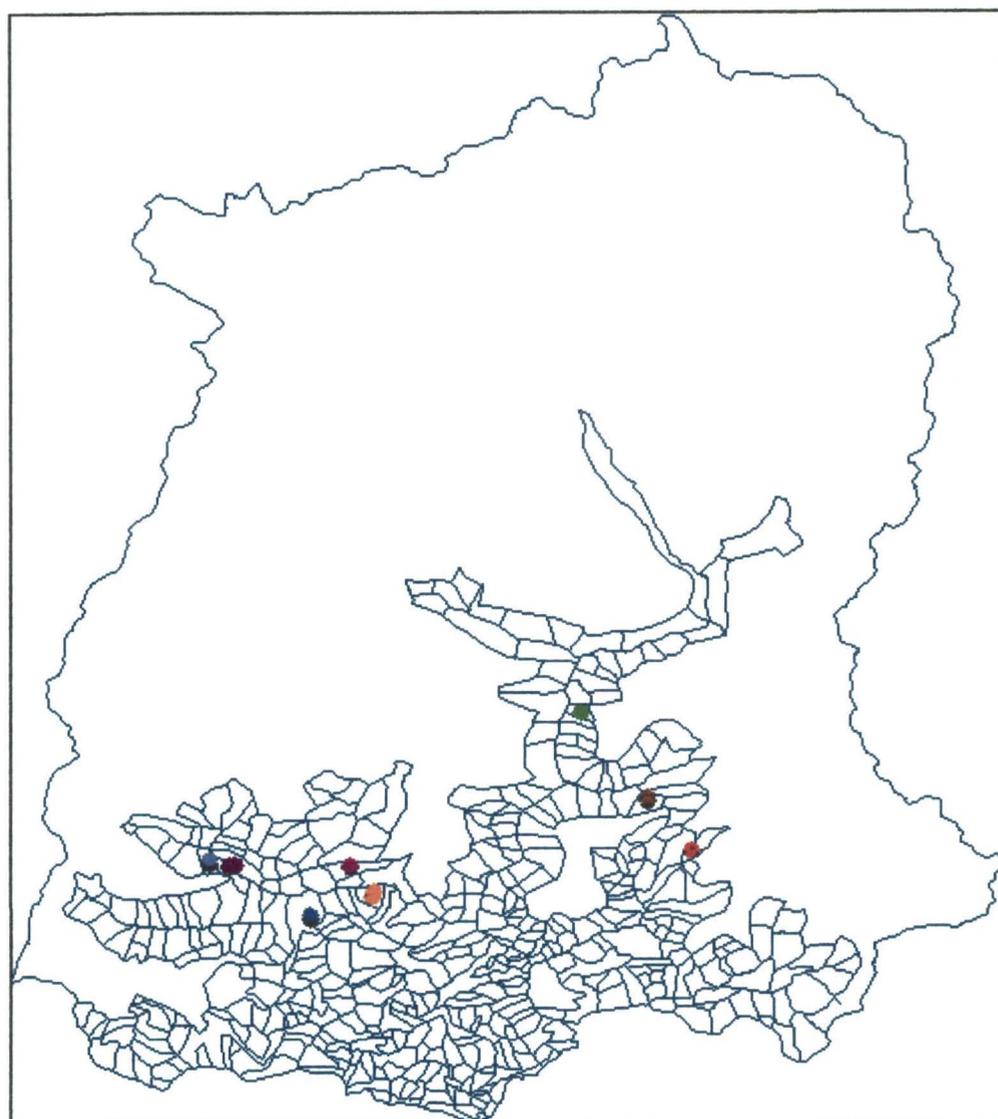
The data was collected through conventional anthropological tools and techniques viz census study, case study, group discussions and observation. To obtain preliminary and comprehensive data an interview schedule was prepared. The interview was conducted with the senior women as well as other women in the household. A sample of 200 families was randomly selected from the field areas by administering a structured interview schedule. The interview schedule for the purpose of study and drawing of inference was pilot tested. The structured interview was developed in three stages. In the first stage, on the basis of literature and casual exposure to the field, a tentative interview schedule was prepared. This interview schedule was quite open ended in nature and was administered on 10 Bhutia households. In the second stage, the data thus collected was analyzed to identify the gaps and finer facts were incorporated in the schedule. Accordingly, a more tentative structured interview schedule was developed for pilot study. A total of 15 households apart from those selected in the first stage but falling in the field area were taken to test the effectiveness of the interview schedule. In the third stage on the basis of the experience while administering the tentative interview schedule,

the tool was standardized and finalized for purpose of data collection. At this stage, it is pertinent to mention that the sample of 200 selected families was exclusive of 25 families covered in the process of developing the interview schedule. The interview schedule consisted of status variables, which included age, education, occupation, income, living conditions, facilities and household assets. In order to examine the life chances accessible to the study, questioning pertaining to certain infrastructure facilities such as health, education, transport etc were also included. The main part of the interview schedule included questions on physical mobility, freedom in mobility, decision making process in family, marriage and child bearing practices. Questions were also asked pertaining to socio-political and general awareness of the respondents. The field work was undertaken in two phases, first phase was from January 2004 to June 2004 and the second was undertaken from August 2004 to April 2005.

1f (iv) Selection Of The Study Area

The study was undertaken in all the four districts of Sikkim i.e. East, West, North and South. From each of the four districts, villages and areas with maximum Bhutia population were considered as ideal choice as they provided a somewhat homogeneous cultural setting. The level of development was also taken into consideration as it provided variation in the socio-economic status of women. A number of 50 samples (respondents) was taken randomly from the study area in each district.

From North district, (headquarters at Mangan) Tingchim was selected for the purpose of study. The study area spreads over 595.5 sq. hectares; besides this, its growing population has been experiencing social and economic development. Growth and development can be seen by the facilities and amenities in the area. These included a primary and middle school, a primary health centre, provision of safe drinking water etc.



INDEX

District	Field Area	Color
East	Navey	●
	Upper & Lower Thathangchen	●
North	Tingchim	●
South	Ralong	●
	Barfung	●
West	Gyalshing	●
	Sindrang	●
	Singyang	●

Plate 1 (C): Map of Sikkim showing the study area (Not to scale)
 (source: NIC Gangtok, Sikkim)

Post and telegraph facility is available at a distance of 5 km. The main and only transport facility is the road. The people depending upon their affordability use state transport buses and private taxis. There is a bus stop in the village and the village is approachable by a motorable road and the nearest town i.e. Mangan is located at a distance about 16 km from Tingchim. From the East district (headquarters at Gangtok and which also is the state capital) three areas were selected i.e. Navey, Uppper Tathangchen and Tathangchen. Both Upper Tathangchen and Tathangchen are very close to Gangtok i.e. 5 km away, however Navey is 21 km away from here. The purpose of this selection was to compare the changes as a result of modernization in the study area and also their impact on socio-economic development of women. Navey is spread over 425.3 sq. hectares. There are two primary schools and one middle school. There is no public health centre but the nearest hospital is available in Gangtok. There is provision of safe drinking water, and post and telegraph facilities are available within 5-10 km. Tathangchen is spread over an area of 191.03 sq. hectare. Because of its close proximity to Gangtok it has primary, middle and high school. It also has a college. Upper Tathangchen spreads over 38.67 sq. hectare and it is also enjoys all the amenities and facilities like Tanthangchen. From the South district (headquarters at Namchi), Barfung and Ralong were selected as the field. Ralong is spread over an area of 413.72 sq. hectares. There are three primary schools, medical facility is available about 10 km away at Barfung where there is a public health centre. There is provision of drinking water and a post office. Barfung occupies a total area of 404.9 sq. hectare. There are four primary schools and one middle school. There is drinking water facility, a public health centre and a post office. The nearest town for both Barfung and Ralong is Namchi which is about 40 km away.

From West district (headquarters at Gyalshing), Singyang and Sindrang were selected as study areas and some samples were also collected from Gyalshing. Singyang occupies an area of 231.6 sq. hectare and Sindrang has 229.17 sq. hectare respectively. Singyang has a public health centre but no educational institution and Sindrang has a primary school but no medical facility. Medical help is available at a distance of 5-10 km. There is no post and telegraph facility and the nearest post office is at Gyalshing. Although the approach road is not very good but movement is possible by bus and private taxis.

1g. Data Analysis:

A Likert-type scale was used for measuring the continuous variables and this divided the respondents in the relevant cases into categories marked high, medium and low on the basis of the score obtained by them. (Kothari, 2004)

1h. Contribution of the Study:

The major contribution of the study is to gain an insight of the social structure and the position of Bhutia women in Bhutia society of Sikkim. By this, planners, policy-makers, women activities, family resource management experts, extension workers and researchers can have ideas regarding the position of Bhutia women for further studies and application. These findings can help make corrective measures and higher academic institutions can utilize these findings when dealing with gender Issues/Women Development in Sikkim chapter.

1i. Limitation of Study:

The present investigation has limitation of research facilities which are faced by a single researcher. The hilly terrain, remoteness of regions and language acted as barriers, however meticulous care has been taken in selecting respondents and help of translators

was taken from the local community to minimize the errors so that all the objectives of study could be satisfactorily fulfilled.

References

- Acharya, M. and Bennett, L. (1982) "Women and the Subsistence Sector: Economic Participation and Household Decision Making in Nepal", *World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 526, Washington DC: World Bank.*
- Agnew, V. (1979) *Elite Women in Indian Politics*. Vikas, New Delhi.
- Ahamed, I. (1975) "Women in Politics" in *Indian Women* (ed.) Devaki Jain Publication Division, Govt. of India
- Ahuja, K. (1991) *Women and Economic Activities in Women's Quest for Equality*, ed. by. Anita, RIPA, Jaipur.
- Altekar, A.S. (1962) *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal, Delhi.
- Awasty, I. (1978) *Between Sikkim and Bhutan, The Lepchas and Bhutias of Pedong*. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.
- Babbie, E. (1992) *The Practice of Social Research*, Belmont, California: Wadsworths Publishing Company, California.
- Bagal, J.C. (1953) " Women in Indian Freedom Movement," *Modern Review*, Vol. 93 and 94, June /July
- Bagchi, J. (1995) *Indian Women: Myth and Reality*. Sangam Books, India Ltd, Hyderabad.
- Baig, T.A. (1958) "The Family and The Home.", In T.A. Baig, (ed.) *Women in India*, Publication Division, Delhi.
- Bakshi, B.A. (1964) "Changing Role and Status of Women", *Social Welfare* Vol 2, April
- Banerjee, N. (1991) "Indian Women in a Changing Industrial Scenario", *Social Change*, Vol. 21 No. 1, New Delhi.

- Bardhan, K. (1983) "Women's Work, Welfare and Status", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XX, Nos. 5, P 2261 – 2269.
- Bareh, H.M. (2001) *Encyclopedia of Northeast India: Volume VII*, Sikkim, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.
- Basu, S.K. and Jindal, A. (1990) "Genetic and Socio-Cultural Determinants of Tribal Health: A Primitive Kuttiya Kondhs Tribal Group of Phulbani district, Orissa", *ICMR Final Report*, NIHFWS.
- Bhasin, V. (1989) *Ecology, Culture and Change, Tribal of Sikkim, Himalayas*. Tribal Studies of Indian Series, T-133, Inter India Publication. New Delhi
- Bhattacharya, A. (1994) "The Bhutia-Lepcha Women in Sikkim: Tradition and Reponse to Change". In Lama, M.P. (ed.), *Sikkim - Society, Polity, Economy, Environment*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Bose, S. (1966) "Bhots of North Sikkim": *Man in India*, Vol. 46, No. 2, P 164-171.
- Brown, A.R. (1941) "The Study of Kinship System", *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 71
- Brown, A.R. (1952) *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. Oxford University Press
- Campbell, A. (1840) "Note on Lepchas of Sikkim, with a Vocabulary of their Language", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IX, Part I.
- Campbell, A. Converses, P.F. Miller, W.F. and Stokes, D.F. (1967) *The American Votes*. John Wiley and Sons, New York, P.259-61
- Caplan, P. (1985) *Class and Gender in India Women and their Organizations in South Indian City*. Tavistock Publications, London.

- Carden, L.M. (1974) *The Feminist Movement*, Russell Sage, Ellen Bone, New York.
- Chafe, W. H. (1972) *The American Women: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles*, Oxford University Press. New York.
- Chattopadhyoy, K.(1979) *The Struggle for Freedom*, In Baig, T.A (ed.), Publication Division, Government of India, Delhi
- Chaudhury, P. (1991) *Changing Values Among Women*, Amar Prakashan, XX. Delhi.
- Chauhan, A. (1990) *Tribal Women and Social Change in India*. A.C. Brothers, Etawah.
- Chitnis, S. (1975) "International Women's Year, Its Significance for Women in India", In A. De'Souza, (ed.) *Women in Contemporary India*. Manohar. Delhi.
- Choudhary, N.C. (1978) "Women Hood in Tribal India", *Tribal women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society. Calcutta.
- Dalton, E.T. (1872) *Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal*. Calcutta.
- Das, B. S. (1983) *The Sikkim Saga*. Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Desai, N. (1957) *Women in Modern India*, Vera Publishing House, Bombay.
- Desai, N. and Patel, V. (1975-85) *Indian Women: Change and Challenges in the International Decade*. Bombay.
- Devi, A. (1986) "Women's Participation in Politics in Orissa", *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Feb
- Devi, S.V. (1988) "Role of Women Economic Development", 70th Annual Conference Volume, Part 1. Indian Economic Association. Jaipur.

- Dhamala, R. (1995/96) "Women Participation in Socio Economic and Political Process of Sikkim", *Himalayan Miscellany*, Vol. 9/10, March 28th –34.
- Dhruvarajan, V. (1989) *Hindu Women and the Power of Ideology*, Vistaar. New Delhi.
- Eggan (1950) *Social Organization of The Western Pueblos*
- Engel, F. (1948) *The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State*. Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- Engel, S. (1972) "Women and Politics in West Germany" in Bhasin Kamla (ed.)*The Position of Women in India* , Proceedings of a Seminar held in Srinagar, September, P.120.
- Epstein, L. and Sherburne, F.R. (1927\1984) "Reflection on Tibetan Culture", Essays in Memoary of Turrell V. Wylie. *Studies in Asian Thought and Religion*. Vol.12.The Edwin Mellen Press. Lewiston\ Queenston\Lampeter
- Feltner, P. and Goldie, L. (1974) "Impact of Socialization and Personality on the Female Voter: Speculations Tested with 1964, Presidential Data", *The Western Political Quarterly*, vol. XXVII, No.4, P. 684.
- Firth, R. (1946) *Human Type*, London : Nelson.
- Foning, A.R. (1987) *Lepchas: My Vanishing Tribe*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Fortes (1949) "Time and Social Structure". In *Social Structure*. Studies Presented to A.R. Radcliffe Brown
- Foster (1949) *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*.
- Freeman, J. (1975) *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, David Maikey, New York, Moren Lockwood Carden's The Feminist Movement.

- Gelf, J. and Palley, M.L (1982). *Women and Public Policy*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey
- Ghadially, R. (1988) *Women in Indian Society*, Saya, Delhi.
- Ghosh, C. (1991) *Women's Movement Politics in Bengal*. Chatterjee Publisher, Calcutta
- Ghosh, J. (2000) *Political Participation Women in West Bengal, A Case Study*. Progressive Publishers 37A , College Street, Calcutta 73
- Giele J.Z. and Smock, A.C. (1977) *Comparative Perspective on Women*. John Wiley and Sons, New York
- Ginsberg, M. (1947) *The Ideas of Progress: A Revaluation*. Boston Beacon Press.
- Ginsberg, M. (1958) "Social Change", *British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. IX, , pp.205-229.
- Goel, M.L. (1974) *Political Participation in a Developing Nation*. Asian Publishing House, New Delhi
- Gorer, G. (1984) *The Lepchas of Sikkim*, Reprint Culture Publishing House, Delhi.
- Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, "Towards Equality", (1974) Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, New Delhi.
- Grigson, W.V. (1938) *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, Oxford University Press.
- Gupta, A. (1977) "Mobilizing Women for Change". *Social Scientist*, Vol. 6, No.82 Aug.
- Gupta, B. K. D. (1978) "Tribal Women in North East India", in *Tribal women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society. Calcutta.

- Haimendorf, Von Furer- C (1988) *Tribes of India – The Struggle for Survival*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- Hooker, J.D. (1855) “Note of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and the Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains”, *Himalayan Journals*, A New Edition, Carefully Revised and Condensed London, 2 Vol 5.
- Horner, I.B. (1978) *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, Motilal Banarasi Dass, Delhi.
- Hunter, W.W. (1973) *Orissa*, London, Smith Elder.
- Hutton, J.H. (1921) *The Sema Naga*. London, Macmillan.
- Jain, D. (1975) *Indian Women*. Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi
- Kalarani (1976) *Role Conflict in Working Women*. Chetana, Publication, Delhi.
- Kapadia, K.M. (1958) *Marriage and Family in India*. Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- Kaur, G. (1986) “A Study of Task Distribution in Rural Households of Ludhiana” District *Master’s Thesis*. Ludhiana: PAU, India
- Kaur, I. (1983) *Status of Hindu Women in India*, Allahbad Chug Publication
- Kaur, M. (1985) *Women in India’s Freedom Struggle*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi
- Kaur, R. A. (1946) *Challenge to Women*, New literature, Allahabad
- Khan, T.S. (1991) “Sorry, It’s a Stag – Party”. *The Times of India*. 19th May.
- Kingston, P. W. and Finkel, S.E. (1987) “Is there a Marriage Gap in Politics?” *Journal of Marriages Family*. Vol. 49, Feb, P.58.

- Kirkpatrick, J.J. (1974) *Political Women*, Basic Books, New York
- Kothari, C. R.(2004) *Research Methodology, Method and Techniques* .New Age International Publishers, New Delhi.
- Kotturan, G. (1989) *Folk Tales of Sikkim*. Sterling publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Kotturn, G. (1983) *The Himalayan Gateway, History and Culture of Sikkim*. Sterling Publishers Pvt.Ltd
- Kshatriya, G. (1992) “Health as Parameter for Women’s Development National Workshop on Education and Women’s Development”. National Institution of Education Planning and Administration, New Delhi
- Kumar, A. and Singh, N. (1997) “Buddhas’ Approach Towards Women Status”. *Bulletin of Tibetology.No 1.P 15-26*
- Kumari, R. (1992) *Brides are not for Burning: Dowry Victims In India*, Radiant. New Delhi.
- Lee, M.M. (1976) “Why Few Women Hold Public Office: Democracy and Sexual Roles”. *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 91. No. P 297 – 314.
- Leonard, K. (1979) *Women in India: Some Recent Perspectives*, Pacific Affairs, 52,1.
- Lipset, M.S. (1959) *Political Man* Bombay: VFS Pvt. Ltd., An Adapted Version.
- Lowie, R.H. (1921) *Primitive Society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London
- Lowie, R.H. (1950) *Social Organization*. Routledge and Kegan. Paul .London
- Majumdar, D. N. and Madan, T.N. (1955). *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

- Majumdar, V. (1978). "Towards Equality: The Status of Women in India". In U. Phadnis, and Malini, (eds.) *Women of the world – Illusion and Reality*. Delhi Vikas Publishing House Pvt, Ltd.
- Majumdar, V. (1989) "Reservation for Women". *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. 24, No.50, Dec.16
- Mann, K. (1988) *Tribal Women in a Changing Society*, Mittal Publication, Delhi.
- Mannheim, K. (1940) *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*. Studies in Modern Social Structure. New York, Harcourt.
- Marx, K. (1963) "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts". In T.B Bottomore (ed.) *Marx: Early writings*, Harmondsworth Penguin.
- Mazumdar, V. (1979) *Symbols of Power*. Allied New Delhi.
- Mezey, G .S. (1987) "Does Sex Make a Difference? A Case Study of Women in Politics". *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol.49, P.5
- Mies, M. (1980) *Indian Women and Patriarchy*, Concept Publishing Company.
- Mill, J.S. (1980) "The Subjection of Women", (edited) by S. Manfield, Arlington Heights IIIA .H.M. Publishing Corporation P1-28
- Mondal, R. S. (1998\1999) "Status of Bhutia Women of Darjeeling Himalayas: A Profile", *Himalayan Miscellany*, Center for Himalayan Studies. Volume 12 and 13.
- Morris, J. (1939) *Living with Lepchas: A Book About Sikkim Himalayas*, Hainemann, London
- Nadel, S.F. (1965) *The Theory of Social Structure*. Cohen and West Ltd. London.
- Nakane, C. (1958) "A Study of Plural Societies in Sikkim (Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepali)", *Minzokuga ku-Kenkyu. The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, XXII P15-64

- Nakane, C. (1966) "A Plural Society in Sikkim". In C. Von Furer – Haimendorf (ed), *Caste and Kin in India, Nepal and Ceylon*. Asian Publishing House, Bombay.
- Namgyal, T. and Yeshay, D. (1908) *History of Sikkim*, Compiled by Their Highnesses Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal and Rani Yeshay Dolma, Translated by Lama Dawa Kazi Dausandup.
- Newland, K. (1975) "Women in Politics. A Global Review", *World Watch* Paper 3 December
- Newland, K.(1978) *The Sisterhood of Man*. W.W.Norton NewYork
- Niranjana (2000) *Status of Women and Family Welfare*. Kanishka Publishing Distributors.
- Panday, S. (1990) *Women in Politics*. Rawat Publications, Jaipur
- Parth, E. (1982) *Women, Power and Policy*. Pergamon Press, New York
- Paul, D. Y. (1979) *Women in Buddhism*, Foreword By I.B. Horner Caliofornia, P.IX.
- Pomper, M.G. (1975) *Voter's Choice*. Light and Life Publication, New Delhi.
- Prasad, R.R. (1989) *Bhutia Tribals Of India. Dynamics of Economic Transformation*. Gian Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Pritchard, E.E.E. (1991) *Social Anthropology*, Universal Book Stall, New Delhi.
- Raha, M.K. (1987) *The Himalayan Heritage*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Rajlakshmi, V (1985) *The Political Behavior of Women in Tamil Nadu*. Inter India Publication, New Delhi
- Ram, R. (1978) *The Himalayan Border Land*. Vivek publications, New Delhi.
- Rani, J. (1990) "Development Paradigm in Economic", *Women's Perspective*. July 28, Vol. XXVII, No. 40.

- Risley, H.H. (1894) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*: Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta.
- Rivers, H.H. (1973) *The Todas*. Macmillan, London.
- Rock, J.F. (1953) "Excerpts from a History of Sikkim". *Anthropos* 48, P 925-948
- Rodman, H. (1972) "Marital Power and the Theory of Resources in Cultural Context". *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 3 Spring :50-69
- Rothman, S. (1978) *Women's Proper Place*, Basic Books, New York,
- Rothschild, S.C. (1970) "A Cross-Cultural Examination of Women's Marital Educational and Occupational Options". *Acta Sociologica* 14: 95 – 113.
- Roy, M .K. (1960) "Androgyne: An Alternative to Gender Polarity?" *Economic and political weekly* XXXI
- Saksena, K. (2000) *Women and Politics*. Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Saran, G. (1988) "Status of Women in Perspective". In J.P Singh, N.N Vyas. and R.S. Mann (eds.), *Tribal Women and Development*. Rawat Publication , Jaipur.
- Schappert, G.L (1968) *Sikkim 1800-1968, An Annotated Bibliography*. East West Center Library. East West Center.
- Sen, J. (1978) "Status of Women among Tribe", *Tribal women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta.
- Sen, S. (1985) *The Working people and Popular Movement in Bengal*. K.P. Bagchi Calcutta.
- Sengupta, A. (1960) "Indian Women: Her Position and Problems in Modern Times". *Journals of Family Welfare*, Vol. 10, No. 4, June P. 51-90.
- SenGupta, S. (1976) *A Study of Women of Bengal*. India Publication Monograph series No 12, Calcutta

- Sethi, R. (1988) “Determinants of Women’s Active Political Participation”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.49, No.4, Oct.-Dec
- Shahida, L. (1977) “Whither the Indian Women’s Movement”. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XXI, No. 47, Nov.19
- Sharma, K. (1984) *Women in Focus: A Community in Search of Equal Role*, Delhi,
- Sharma, K. and Mazumdar, V. (1979) “Women’s Studies: New Perception and the Challenges”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XIV, No.3, January 20.
- Sharma, S.K. (1997) *Population, Urbanization and Environment: A Report Submitted to State Council of Science Technology and Environment, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh*. Shimla Unpublished.
- Sharma, U. (2001) *Women’s Emancipation Rights vs. Population Control*, Tarun Offset, Delhi
- Sharrif, A. (1990) “Women Workers: Gender Equality and Female Autonomy”. *Social Change*, Vol. 20, No. 1, New Delhi
- Sherring, C. A. (1906) *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*. Edward Arnold. London.
- Sikkim: Human Development Report (2001). Govt. of Sikkim: Social Science Press; Delhi.
- Siltanen, J. and Stanworth, M. (1984) *Women and the Public Sphere. A Critique of Sociology and Politics*, Hutchinson
- Singh, A. M. (1975) “The Study of Women in India: Some Problems in Methodology in Women in Contemporary India”. In Alfred De’Souza (ed.) *Women in Contemporary India*. Manohar. Delhi.

- Singh, K. A. (2000) *Empowering of Women in India*, Manak Publication Pvt. Ltd.
- Singh, K.S. (1988) "Tribal women: Anthropological Perceptive". In (eds.) J.P. Singh, N.N. Vyas and R.S. Mann. *Tribal Women and Development*, Udaipur: MLV Tribal Research and Training Institute, Tribal Area Development, Rajasthan.
- Singh, K.S. (1993) *People of India: Sikkim*, Volume XXXIX Anthropological Survey of India. Seagull books, Calcutta.
- Sinha, A.C. (1972) *Elites of Sikkim: A Study in Political Development*, PhD. Thesis.
- Srinivas, M.N. (1964) "Social Structure". *Sociological Bulletin* Vol. XIII, March, No.
- Stastical profile of Schedule Tribe: Social Welfare Department, Govt. Of Sikkim. (2001).
- Stocks, C. De.B. (1975) *Sikkim: Customs and Folklore*, Cosmos publication.
- Strauss, L. (1953) *Social Structure in Anthropology Today*, (ed.) By A.L.Kroeber.
- Upreti, H.C. and Upreti, N. (2000) *Women and Problem of Gender Discrimination*, Pointer Publishers, Jaipur
- Vallance, E. (1979) *Women in the House-A Study of Women Member of Parliament*. The Anthlone Press, London
- Vidyarthi, L.P. (1983) "Tribes of India". In *Peoples of India: Some Genetical Aspects*. XV International Congress of Genetics, Dec 12 –21, ICMR, New Delhi
- White, J.C. (1909) *Sikkim and Bhutan: 21 years on North East Frontier*, 1887-1908.

- Worties, H. and Rabinowitz, K. (1972) (eds) *The Women's Movements- Social and Psychological Perspective*, A Halsted Press Book

Chapter II

2. Origin of Bhutia in Sikkim:

2a (i) Sikkim is a Beyul (*sBas-yul*)

Sikkim is still regarded as sacred land or Beyul by its Buddhist inhabitants *Denjong Nye-Yig* [Source: The Pilgrims Guide to the Hidden Land of Sikkim by Lhatsun Jigmed Pawo revealed by Terton Sangay Lingpa (1340 – 1396)].

“The auspicious Hidden Land of Sikkim, having a square topographical appearance is situated in South-West of Samye monastery, Lhasa Tibet and is close to the S-W face of the Mt. *Kyin-thing*. Its Eastern border touches Mt. Sidhi of India, the Western border touches the mountain of Zar district of U – Tsang, Tibet and the Northern border touches Lake *Tsomo Dri – Chu*” (Acharya and Acharya, 1998)

The upper range of the country, the northeastern side, reaches up to Kangchendzonga [Gangchen Zod-nga] and the lower southwesterly range touches Banga (India). It is a fertile land, which grows a large variety of fruit, crops, and medicinal herbs etc. and its valleys are quite spacious. Hence, it is called *Demo-shong* (the original name of Sikkim i.e. Hidden Land).

The “History of Sikkim” (1908) tells us that this land was initially blessed by chenre-zig (Avalokiteswara) and Indra, followed by Guru Rimpoche in eighth century who exorcised the land from all evil spirits, and rid it of all obstacles that would tend to obstruct or disturb the course of devotional practices. Guru Rimpoche compiled books and treasures, which were hidden in one hundred and eight secret mines, so that they would render this land productive, healthy and harmonious and later their discovery would facilitate spread of Dharma. The following words of Terton Ratna Lingpa [*ster-sTonRatna-Lingpa*, (1403 – 1478)] quoted from “History of Sikkim” also describes

Sikkim as “the best of all the sacred places of pilgrimage as it will become to be resorted to in the end of the evil times everyone assembled to bless this sacred land that they look possession of it, blessed it and sowed all kinds of seed in it. Then they hid treasures, appointed keepers and uttered hundred prayers. Every cliff, peak, cave and hilltop has been consecrated for devotional purposes”.

Guru Rimpoche identified six countries and five valleys as Sacred Hidden lands of Buddhism and the “History of Sikkim” adds that of all beyul, Sikkim is most sacred and sanctified. Sikkim is described as a land of medicinal plants, golden trough where anything one sows grows. One who visits Sikkim will not suffer from incurable diseases and will not feel hungry as there are 105 different kinds of fruits and 360 types of edible plants.

Given below is the translation of another description found in Chogyal Trisong Deutsan’s Secret Hidden Prophecy (7th century).

“At the time where there is no peace in Tibet or it is facing a tense situation, all those Dharma practitioners can flee and take refuge in the Hidden Land, the glorious Hidden land of Sikkim, which is a blissful Heaven” (Acharya and Acharya, 1998).

Given all these Referencess, Sikkim’s special status as invaluable and sacrosanct Buddhist zone cannot be overemphasized. Further, the term “Hidden Land” is interpreted in the following way by various religious texts. Externally, Hidden land means, the land so encircled or locked by mountain chains and cliffs that keep the malevolent elements away. Internally, a Hidden Land signifies the people born on its soil who possess the virtue of kindness, are God fearing and generally refrain from indulging in negative activities which displeases the guardian deities of the land. (Acharya and Acharya, 1998).

The secret meaning of “Hidden land” is that Sikkim is accorded a place and importance similar to the heavenly abode of Guru Rimpoche’s Zandok Palri. The people of this land are treated as *Pawos* and *Pamos* meaning highly enlightened and pure being.

Nakane (1966) has pointed out that according to Nyingma tradition, beyul has been “set aside by Guru Rimpoche as a refuge to be discovered at an appropriate time in a rather similar way to the discovery of the *terma* texts some of these beyul are quiet refuges set a side for meditation but others like Sikkim and Pemakod were places where people could settle to escape political turmoil. “People migrated to Sikkim to escape political turmoil” (Nakane, 1966). Indeed many Tibetans are thought to have taken refuge and migrated to Sikkim as a result of Tibet’s 17th century religious war.

During his 8th century visit to Sikkim Guru Rimpoche is said to have tamed all his supernatural beings including the mountain God and bound them¹ in an oath, that they would be protectors of the faith. By this act of hiding the spiritual treasurer Guru Rimpoche¹ brought Buddhism and a civilized way of life.

Although converted to Buddhism by Guru Rimpoche in the 8th century, it is only from 14th century that Kangchendzonga’s identity as a defender of the faith and keeper of treasurer was established and promoted by Tertön Rigzin Godem [*g Ter-sTonRig-dzin r God- Kyi Idem-phru-can* (1337 – 1407)].

Rigzin Godem is thought to have been the first Tibetan high lama to visit Sikkim, where he discovered powerful sacred sites. He built Sikkim’s first known 14th century monastery at Pawo Humri, a hilltop between Yuksum and Silnon in West Sikkim, however his visit did not result in establishing a political setup. It is however, Lhatsun

¹Guru Rimpoche established Buddhism in 7th century in Tibet but Lamaism became a vested interest, disrupting religious life and Tantric form of Buddhism came in, which propagated such activities such as no celibacy etc. As a result to save religious life the Gelugpa sect arose in 15th century founded by Tsonkapa, they differentiated themselves from members of older sect by wearing yellow hats (earlier sect wore red). In the 17th century, Gelugpa became very prominent in religious and political sphere because Mongols had become followers of Grand lama of Gelugpa sect and recognized him as 5th Dalailama. As a result there was large scale persecution of Lamas belonging to red hat sect, thus they moved to take refuge in Sikkim and Bhutan.

Namka Jigme [*Lha-bTsun Nam-Khah hJig-smed* (1597 – 1650)] referred to as Lhatsun Chenpo who is regarded as propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim. He opened the Hidden Land, created a sacred environment accordingly to Buddhist ideals of the universe, partly by redefining Lepcha sacred sites as Buddhist (History of Sikkim, 1908). Guru Rimpoche made Kanchengdzonga a Buddhist mountain God in 8th century, which was also revealed by Rinzin Godem in the 14th century. It was only in the 17th century after consecration of the first Chogyal it became a pilgrimage for the Buddhists of Sikkim².

2a (ii) Demojong (*'bras mo ljongs*, the country of different fruits and seeds)

An important text known as hidden land of rice guide book to sacred places [*sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs kyi gnas yig*]³ a more recent compilation based on some three earlier texts prepared by Jigme Pawo, the third incarnation of Lhatsun Chenpo and a contemporary lama of Chagdor Namgyal (1686 – 1717), the third Chogyal of Sikkim. Demojong describes it as a paradise on earth with an abundance of fruit, vegetables and self growing crops and clues are given in the text as to how to reach Beyul Demoshong [*sbas yul 'bras mo gshongs*]⁴

It is said that in the upper part of Demojong lives the mountain God Kangchendzonga who like a king sitting on a throne, is the owner and protector of the land, its people, its powerful sacred and spiritual treasures. Kangchendzonga's *Gangs-*

2. When Kangchendzonga was subdued by Guru Padmasambhava and appointed keeper of the land and its treasurers, Lhatsun Chenpo arrived from Tibet, It is said that the Kangchendzonga first tested him before appearing to him in the form of white goose and giving him permission to open gate of Beyul. In his welcoming discourse, the mountain God, usually simply referred to as Dzonga, revealed the various places of sacred nature and old people believe this to have been where the nasal ritual was composed ("History of Sikkim" Pg. 21).

3. According to Khempo Lha Tshering, the *sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs kyi gnas yig'* has been compiled from following main sources. 1) Terton Rigzin Godem's 14th century prophetic text (*bras ljongs lung bstan gsal baimelong*), 2) a text discovered by Terton Sangay Lingpo in the 14th century (*blama dgongs 'Dus lung bstan bkai brgya ma'* and 3) a later guide book discovered by a lama who never came to Sikkim by the name of Terton Dorje Dechen Lingpa of Doma Gon (*mdo mang dgon*) monastery in Kham who has been the first incarnation of present Yangthang Rimpoche of West Sikkim.

4. *Gshongs* as in Demoshong means valley of rolling hills, while '*ljongs*' as a Demojong means land or country. While Demojong is the heart of historical Sikkim, located around and below Mount Kangchendzonga, Demoshong remains a true hidden land. Some people are said to have caught glimpses of it through an opening in the rock.

can mdzod-linga, five peaks are the repositories of five treasures. The first common salt, the second gold and turquoise, the third Dharma scriptures and other precious objects capable of increasing one's wealth, the fourth arms and fifth medicine and different types of seeds. The spiritual centre of Demojong in Drakar Tashiding (*brag dkar bTahis lding*) where Guru Rimpoche is said to have given many teachings.

2a (iii) Bhutias

The derivation of Bhutia is from Bhote or Bhot that is itself derived from Bod or Tibet. In a Sanskrit manuscript of 7th century, Tibet is called Bhote. People of Tibetan stock who migrated to the southern face of the Himalayas are known as Bhot or simply Bhutia. Communities of such people are found in a number of areas from as far west as Uttar Pradesh to Sikkim, even though their ethnic origin may differ (Lall, 1981).

The name of the Tibet is of Tatar origin. In the records of the Tarter Liaos in the 11th century the name is written *T'u-pote's* in which the latter syllable represents Bod'. The word Tibet is a European corruption of (Sherring, 1906).

The word first occurs about 950 AD in the works of an Arab writer "Istakhari" who calls the country "TOBBAT" which is Arabic rendering of the word "THO-BHYODH". The name suggests that BHOTIA called the great plateau with its plains bordering the frontiers of China, Mongolia and Kashmir as *THO-BHYODH* got its name Tibet in European accent.

The term Bhutia is itself confusing because it is used for an ethnic group of Sikkim and Darjeeling, as well as for the inhabitants of Bhutan. But the Bhutias of the UP hills have absolutely no connection with the communities in the Western Himalayas. They form an integrated part of local Hindu culture with a possible admixture of the Tibetan ethnic and culture elements due to long contact with them (Lall, 1981).

2a (iv) Origin and Migration of Bhutias

The name Bhutia, sometimes spelt and pronounced as Bhotia is an exclusive ethnic community different from both Hindu and Tibetans. It is a generic term used to designate several socially unrelated group of Indo-Tibetan borderland. However diverse they may be, they profess Buddhism in one form or another and speak a Language broadly intelligible to each other.

It has evidently been accepted that people from “*Kham*” province of eastern Tibet first started to come down and settle in Sikkim from about 10-11 centuries, due to various socio-political, economic and religious reasons (Bhattacharya, 1994). Shortly, Sikkim became the colony of the Tibetan Settlers. By the middle of the 17th century, three venerable Lamas of Tibet came to Sikkim and established the Namgyal Dynasty in 1642 just as the prototype of the Lamaist Tibet.

The Bhutias of Sikkim, as history says are of Tibetan origin, having same cultural pattern, language and scripts as the Tibetans. In Tibetan dialect, Tibet is called Bod which means land of snow and the people are called *Bod-pa*.

The ethnic origin of Sikkim Bhutias is very complex and includes Drukpas, people from Drukyul/Bhutan (Thunder, Dragon).The Chumbipas, people from Chumbi Valley (Southern Tibet) the Dhophthapas, inhabitants of Dhoptha, a place in South Tibet, the Tromopas or *Do-mu-pas*, inhabitants of *Du-mu*, the Lachenpas, the people of Lachen Valley in Sikkim, and the Lachungpas, the people of the Lachung Valley in North Sikkim (Singh, 1993).

The Tibetan who came down to Sikkim from upper region of Tibet were devout Buddhists and brought with them Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism, known as ‘Vajrayana’. The result is that the Bhutias who came to Sikkim from Tibet developed a social and

cultural pattern different from Tibetans, so that they are classified as Sikkimese Bhutia. The Sikkimese Bhutia is one of the many tribes belonging to the corpus Bhotia. Who call themselves as Sikkimese or Denzongpa and speak Sikkimese, which is a dialect of Tibetan.

Tibetan settlers came to Sikkim from neighboring valleys of Chumbi and Ha, and regions even beyond this from the 13th century. Their descendants call themselves Lhopo (*lho pa*, people of Denjong or Demojong (*'bras mo ljongs*, the country of rice). It has been argued that, since the term Bhutia can be used for any person of Tibetan origin and because they are present in a minority in Sikkim, therefore the term 'Sikkimese' cannot be used for them. Hence, they are called Lhopo (Balicki 2002). However in the present work the word 'Bhutia' has been used to refer the community under study.

The "History of Sikkim" (1908) and other surviving documents have not been able to give exact date about time and migration of Sikkimese Bhutia. The oral history presented in "History of Sikkim" (1908) and later published by Rock (1953) relate the possible antecedents of Namgyal Dynasty and related clans but mention little about common Lhopo.

Two descent group of twelve clans, the *tong du ru zi* [*stong 'du rus bzhi*] or the four clans of thousand each (History of Sikkim, 1908) and a slightly inferior group of eight clans referred to as *beb tsen gyed* [*'bebs mtshan brgyad*] or the eight tribes (names) of Settlers (History of Sikkim, 1908) are considered to descend from first Tibetan families to have migrated from Kham Minyak. The ancestors of these twelve clans descending from Khye Bumsa and his followers first settled in Chumbi and eventually in the Central Valley of Sikkim before the founding of the Kingdom in 1642. The twelve clans and their sub-clans are strictly exogamous but still form a preferential endogamous

unit as a group, with the four superior *tong du ru zi* [*sTong du rus bzhi*] forming a preferential subgroup within the twelve. Those who arrived later at Chumbi, Ha and Paro and settled in Sikkim are considered inferior. Lhopo who do not belong to twelve families believe all Lhopos as equal, with the exception of the Namgyal and Kajis. According to Risley (1894) Guru Tashi the Minyak prince was from the principality of Kham Minyak Adong, on the eastern border of Tibet which is situated on the west of Ta-Tsien – Loo, between Litang and Dirge.

2a (v) Minyak

It has come to refer to a number of different areas and tribes of eastern and north-eastern Tibet. Although Guru Tashi came from Kham Minyaks but there are indications that his ancestors may have come from an area known as Tibetan Minyak or Si-Hai. These different Minyaks are discussed by Stein in his article *Mi-Nag and Si-Hai* (1951). The ancient Si-Hai Kingdom (1032-1226) was a Tangut state located to the north east of Lake Kokonor in what later became the Tibetan province of Amdo.

According to Stein (1951 – 225), the throne of China was lost to the profit of Minyak after the Five Dynasties (10th century) but the kingdom was eventually destroyed by Genghis Khan where he died in 1227. The kingdom was populated by a number of Tibeto-Burman, Turco-Mongol and even Indo-European tribes. Quoting other authors, Stein mentions that the existence of Minyak (Si-Hai) in the north and many others farther South in Kham is probably due to population movement and migration following the destruction of Si-Hai in 1227 (BaliKci, 2002). Stein has indeed demonstrated that the genealogies given in a Tibetan text under the name of Mi-Nag corresponds to the Si-Hai Kings (1951-236) and that these genealogies not only pre-date the Si-Hai Kingdom, they also continue after its destruction for an additional eight generation. These descendants

of Se Hu, the first Si-Hai king, are said to have migrated to Tsang in Central Tibet and to have settled in place called Namring where they became the nobles Byan (North). Interestingly, as Stein points out, Namring is not far from Sikkim where the Kings also claim descent from Minyak King (Balicki, 2002). We have to rely upon the Sakya history to trace the origin of Chogyals of Sikkim. Genghis Khan during his reign needed a spiritual Guru so he sent his followers to Tibet. They came back with a report that there was a competent Lama by the name of Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen or Sakya Pandit. Sakya Panchen, when he went to Mongol he took his nephew, Drongon Choegyial Phagpa with him. Sakya Panchen travelled to northeastern Tibet to meet Godem the grand son of Genghis Khan at Kokonor. The Sakya Panchen gave Godem religious initiation and Godem conferred on him the relationship of Tibetan provinces of U and Tsang.

It is mentioned in the book "History of Sikkim" that the last King of Kham Minyak's three sons left the Kingdom on a pilgrimage in search of the hidden land of Demojong at around the same time.

After Godem, Kublai Khan became patron of the Sakyapas and gave donation to Phagpa of the thirteen myriarchies of western and central Tibet. When Kublia Khan became emperor he sent Phagpa back to central Tibet to recognize the administration. It is mentioned by Rislely (1894) that when Phagpa journeyed back to central Tibet through Kham, he might have encouraged Guru Tashi the Minyak Prince to follow him.

When Guru Tashi, the middle of the three brothers with his five sons arrived in Sakya, the monastery was being built. Guru Tashi's eldest son helped in its construction and erected the four central columns. This must have been the Lhakhang Chenmo monastery. The eldest son for having erected the pillars was given the name Khye Bumsa (*Gyad's bum gsags*), or equalling 1,000,000 men. He married a lady of the Sakya

Hierarchs and after that left in direction of Sikkim. On the way, they built a monastery for hundred monks at Phari, north of Khampojong, and left one of the brothers in charge. Once in Phari, they built the Samdub Lhakang monastery where their father Guru Tashi died. Khye Bumsa eventually settled lower down in Chumbi and his three remaining brothers went towards the valley of Ha and Paro in present day Bhutan (History of Sikkim, 1908). Khye Bumsa gained authority in the Chumbi Valley, which eventually came to include Sikkim where one of his descendants Phuntsog Namgyal became Sikkim's first Chogyal in 1642.

Some Bhutias who did not belong to twelve clans, in order to assert their Sikkimese status, reject the migrant status imposed by twelve families and suggested that they might have already settled in the southern valleys before the arrival of Khye Bumsa from Kham Minyak in 13th century.

This argument however reverses the situation by transforming the twelve clans into the foreigners from Kham Minyak of the Southern Valley. Considering the cultural affinities between these three valleys and that of Ha and Chumbi that appeared to have been populated by people of Tibetan origin long before Sikkim, this claim may not be baseless (Balicki, 2002).

Whether the twelve families or later migrants from Ha or Chumbi came from Kham Minyak or they were already settled before cannot be answered because of absence of historical records.

2b. Khye bumsa and chief clans of Sikkim:

Khye Bumsa first came with his wife to Sikkim in search of the Lepcha patriarch⁵ Thekong Tek. The couple was childless and came for the blessings of a Lepcha patriarch. A lot of rituals were performed so that the couple may be blessed with a male descendant. After their return to Chumbi the couple had three sons. When these boys were growing up, Khye Bumsa asked them that what they wished to be. The eldest replied he would like to trade with his fellowmen, the third said that he should be content to get his living from the fruit of the soil, while second said nothing less than the leadership of his men could satisfy his ambition (Gazetteer 1908-9). According to their answers Khye Bumsa called the first one Khabo-Rab (Kya-bo-rabs) or the swindler, the third son Lang-morab (Glang –mo-rabs) or the ploughman, the second Mipo Rab (Mipon-rabs) or the leader of men. Khye Bumsa remained and died at Chumbi; however the three sons crossed the mountains and settled at Libing, Gangtok and Phodong.

The descendants of Khye Bumsa's first son kept changing their residence and kept moving eastward and were named Ethenpa (Yul-thon-pa). The descendants of Langmorab are known as Linzerpa (gLing-zer-pa). Mipon Rab had four sons, the first was called Shandarpa (Zhang –dar –pa) as he was born in maternal uncle house, the second Tshechu darpa (Tshes-bcu dar-pa), because he was born on 10th day of lunar calendar, the third Nyima Gyalpo (NyiMa-rgyal-po) from astrological point of view a

⁵ An external friendship was made between Gyad- Bumsgags and The-Kong-Tek. They agreed by this that all the males should be considered to be related to the sons and all the females to the daughter. The friendship was cemented by a ceremony at which several animals, both domestic and wild, were sacrificed and all the local deities invoked to bear witness to this solemn contract of friendship, binding the Lepchas and Bhotes in an inseparable bond. They sat together on the raw hides of the animals, entwined the entrails around their persons, and put their feet together in a vessel filled with blood, thus swearing the blood oath to each other. The-Kong involving all the Sikkim local spirits asked them to stand witness to this solemn contract, invoking blessings on those who observed these faithfully, and curses on those who broke this eternal hereditary and national contract between the two races. Therefore, the Lepchas gradually came under the influence of the strangers (History of Sikkim, 1908).

The 13th century ritual of blood brotherhood performed between Lhopas and the Lepcha is considered to have been the first Pang Lhabsol, Lamas, who dislike animal sacrifice, usually prefer mentioning that the first Pang Lhabsol had been performed as thanks giving ritual for his safe journey across the Himalayas as related by Nebesky – Wojkowitz (1993).

child born on Sunday will become the king and the fourth Guru Tashi (Gu-ru-bkra-shis) which means saintly one because he was born on the day parents were worshipping Guru Padmadsambhava. These four grand sons of Khye Bumsa are the apical ancestors of the chief clans of Sikkim who together from a superior descent groups are referred to as the tong du ruzi (sTrong du- rus -bzhi) or the four clans of thousand each (History of Sikkim Pg. 19).

The Chogyals of Sikkim are descendants of the fourth son and belong to Guru Tashi's descent group. Khye Bumsa had four younger brothers, when the family moved north-west to a place called Pa-shi and constructed a monastery there, one of the brothers stayed there to become a monk. The other three Se-Shing (gSer-shing), Tsendong (Tsanldong) and Kar tshogs (sKar-tshogs), migrated towards Ha present day Bhutan. From these three are the descendants of bebsen gyad (Bebs mTshan- brGyad) or eight tribes of all the clans. The origin and the apical ancestors of the group of eight are least clear. The eight families of bebsengyed (Beb mtshan – brgyad) are as follows 1. Bonpu (Bonpo) 2. Gensarpa (dGon-gsar-pa) 3. Namtsan gkerp (Nam-gtsang skor-pa) 4. Tag chug darpa (sTag-cung dar-pa) 5. Kar tsho kpa pa (dKar-tshogs-pas) 6. Gyang todpa (Gyong – stod-pa) 7. Tsungyepa (bTsun-rgyas-pa) 8. Dokangbo (rDo-khang-po). Thus, there are technically fourteen clans if we include the Ethenpa and Lingzerpa but this group of original clans are usually referred to as the twelve clans. The Bon pa are again divided into five sub-classes i) Bonpo Nadig (Bon-po nag-sdig) ii) Bonpo Lhasung (Bon-po lhasrung) iii) Woecha Bonpa (Yos-bcag bon-po) iv) No bon Bonpo (Na-'bod bon-po) v) Bonchungpa (Bon-chung/Phan-chung Pa). These fourteen families have the right to be admitted to Pemayangste monastery on payment of entrance fees.

Besides the above, there are other families of Tibetan origin called Ru-Chung (minor clans) or little families; their descent may be traceable to maternal side of Khye Bumsa 1. Bhu-tshopa (Bu-tsho-bo). 2. Landingpa (Lag-idings -pa). 3. Gyoe rongpa (rGod-rong-pa). 4. Ghyengpo (Gengs-po). 5. Toepo (sTod-po); 6. Shahipo (Shar-po). 7. Bar fung pa ('Bar-phung-pa). 8. Aden Phutso (A-Idan phu-tsho). The above families are admitted to Pemayangste monastery after payment of heavy entrance fees. The Toepo are again sub-divided into i) Toelhagyopa (sTod lha rgod-pa) ii) Toe jamytenpo (sTod 'jam-dbyangs-pa) iii) Toe chukhaba (sTod chu-kha-ba).

There are other clans which include the direct descendants of high incarnate lamas or celebrated saints. These clans identify themselves by the title of their ancestors they are Dorjilingpa⁶ (rDo- rje-gling po) (2), Hozerlingpa ('od-zer-gling po), Chagthagpa (lCags-thag-pa), Serdubpa (gSer-sgrub-pa), Tsenkarpa (Tsen-khar-po) .

Apart from the compilation made by H.H. Risley in 1800 century there are numerous other clans under Bhutia category which have not been recorded till date. They are I) Musepa which has sub clans like Yangtop, Phung, Phensa, II) Phoe Gyarakpa, Phoe Nyen neypa, Phoe Lharipa, III) Phalong Tharpa.

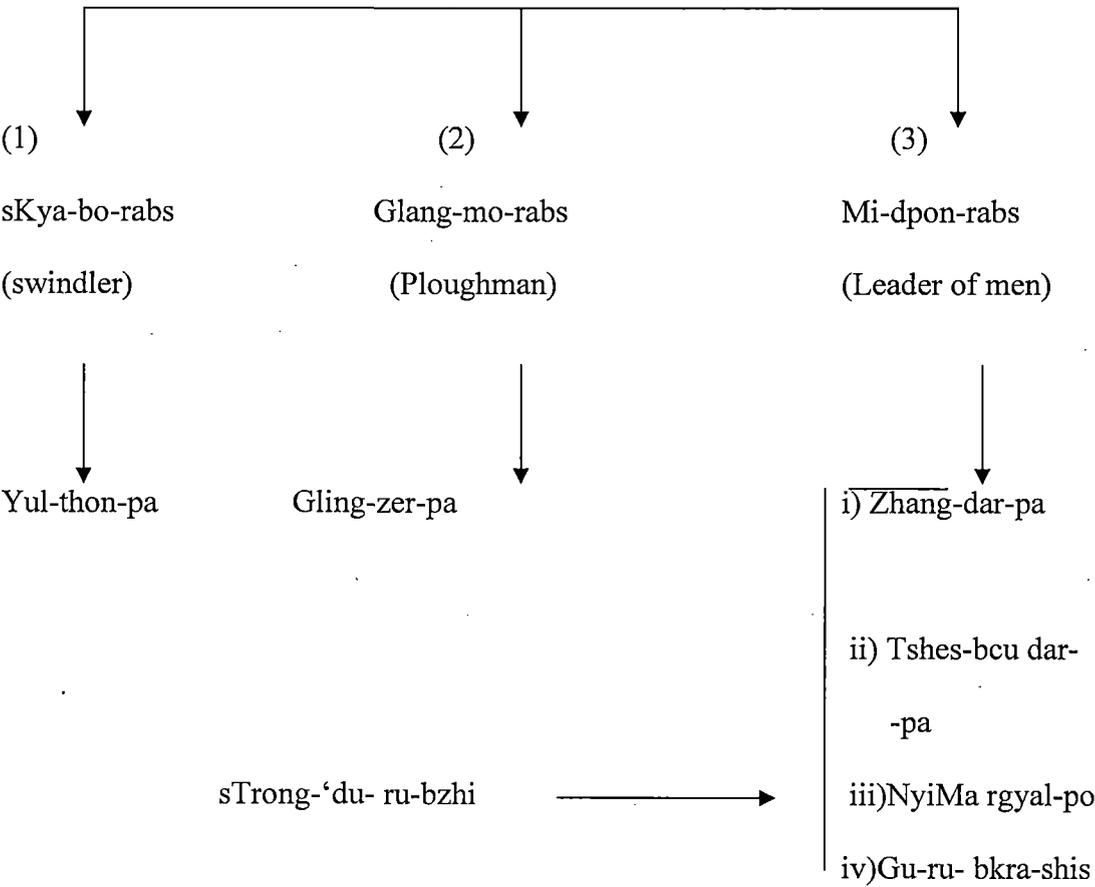
SHA-RU

Bhutia people believe that the person inherits his bones from his patri-lineage and his flesh from his matri-lineage. People of same patri-lineage sharing the same bone can never intermarry as result patri-lineage is exogamous while it is possible to marry

⁶ Dorjilingpa – the descendants of Terton Dorjilingpa or present lama families of Dorjing monastery (South Sikkim).
 Hozerlingpa- the descendants of Terton Hozerlingpa or present living Yarpo families of Gangtok.
 Ghangthagpa – the descendants of saint Changthang Rinpoche or present lama family of Silnon monastery (West Sikkim)
 Serdubpa – The descendants of Serdub lineage or lama family of Tsenkar Gumpa (West Sikkim)
 Tsenkarpa – The descendants of lama Tsenkar lineage or present lama families of Lingdok, East Sikkim

someone with whom they share certain level of flesh. Which means marriage within the mothers lineage is permitted under certain conditions. A man may only marry his parallel cousin on his mother's side on the condition that a gap of at least three generation should exist. The actual rule is seven generations, but these days a three generation gap is tolerated which means a closet possible relation would be if a couple's great grand mothers were sister.

Gyad-‘Bum-bSags



'Bebs mTshan -brGyad (Tribes of 8 respectable names)

1. Bon-po
2. dGon-gsar-pa
3. Nam-gtsang- skor-pa —————> (a) Nam-dkar (b) Nam-nag
4. sTag-cung dar-pa
5. dKar-tshogs-pa
6. Gyong-stod-pa
7. bTsun-rgyas-pa
8. rDo-khang-po

SUBDIVISION OF BON-PO CLANS

1. Bon-po nag-sdig
2. Bon-po lha srung
3. Yos-bcag bon-po
4. Bon-chung/Phan-Chung Pa
5. Na- 'bod bon-po

Rus-Chung (Minor Clans)

1. Bu-tsho-bo
2. Lag-ldings-pa
3. rGod-rong-pa
4. 'Gengs-po
5. sTod-po
6. Shar-po
7. 'Bar-pung-pa
8. A-ldan phu-tsho

Subdivisions of sTod-Po Clans.

1. sTod lha rgod pa
2. sTod 'Jam-dbyangs-pa
3. sTod chu-kha-ba
4. **SUB CLANS OF CHUM-BI-PA**
1. Lham-dar-pa
2. dGye-bsnyen bu-tsho
3. A-mgon phu-tsho
4. A-thub phu-tsho/A-thub-pa
5. rDo-bzo-pa
6. Khyim – 'bar-pa

Other clans

1. A-som-pa
2. Mang-'bad-pa
3. Na-mang-pa
4. bShags-tshang-pa
5. rDo-hrob-pa
6. sGang-rgyab-pa
7. La-'og-pa
8. Ma-tshang-pa
9. dPa'-thing-pa
10. Phe-ri-pa
11. bKe'-gye-pa
12. rDo-brag-pa

References

- Acharya, C. and Acharya, S.G.D. (1998) "Sikkim: The Hidden Land and Its Sacred Lakes", In *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology. Media Trans Himalayan Publication. Gangtok
- Balikci, A. (2002) "Buddhism and Shamanism in Village Sikkim", London School Of Oriental and African Studies. Social Anthrpology *Unpublished Ph.DThesis*
- Lall, J.S. (1981) *The Himalaya: Aspects of Change*. India International Center. Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Nakane, C.(1958) "A Study of Plural Societies in Sikkim (Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepali)", *Minzokuga ku-Kenkyu. The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, XXII P15-64
- Nakane, C. (1966) "A Plural Society in Sikkim". In C. Von Furer – Haimendorf (ed), *Caste and Kin in India, Nepal and Ceylon*. Asian Publishing House, Bombay.
- Namgyal, T. and Yeshay, D. (1908) *History of Sikkim*, Compiled by Their Highnesses Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal and Rani Yeshay Dolma, Translated by Lama Dawa Kazi Dausandup.
- Nebesky, W. R (1993) *Worship of Dharampalas. Oracles and Demons of Tibet the Cult of Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deties*. Book Faith India.
- Risley, H.H. (1894) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*: Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta.
- Sherring, C. A. (1906) *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*. London Edward Arnold.
- Stein, A.A. (1951) "Mi-nag and Si-Hia: géographie historique et legends ancestrales". *Bulletin d e l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme- orient*, Liv, 79-P106-1959.

Chapter III

3. Bhutia Women: A Socio-Economic Profile:

This chapter aims at eliciting social, economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents in the study sample. An analysis of the socio-economic characteristics throws light on the present social position of the Bhutia Women. The variables included for the understanding of socio-economic characteristics of the respondents include age, education, occupation, living conditions and family assets. These variables are of significant importance in present research.

The age wise distribution of the respondents (Fig.1) as per selection criteria ranges from 20 years to 80 years. The reason for this is that the behaviour of an individual changes from generation after generation, even though the socio-cultural and economic attributes may be the same. Knowledge and attitude of an individual grow with every successive generation and in modern times, its diffusion is faster due to well-developed means of communication and network. In the elder age groups people are relatively less influenced by the changes in the society, because their value orientations are different and they are rigid in accepting changes because of their relatively low level of education and exposure. The younger age groups on the other hand are more susceptible to change and in accepting it because of their increase in level of education and diffusion is faster due to well-developed means of communication network.

In the study sample, respondents in various age categories according to the marital status were randomly taken. and the the result showed that respondents that were from married category were in the age group of 21-30 followed by age group 31-40 (Fig 1). The maximum number of unmarried was in the 21-30 category. Most of the women in the

Fig. 1 Agewise distribution of Bhutia women in the study sample according to marital status in all the four district of Sikkim in 2004-2005

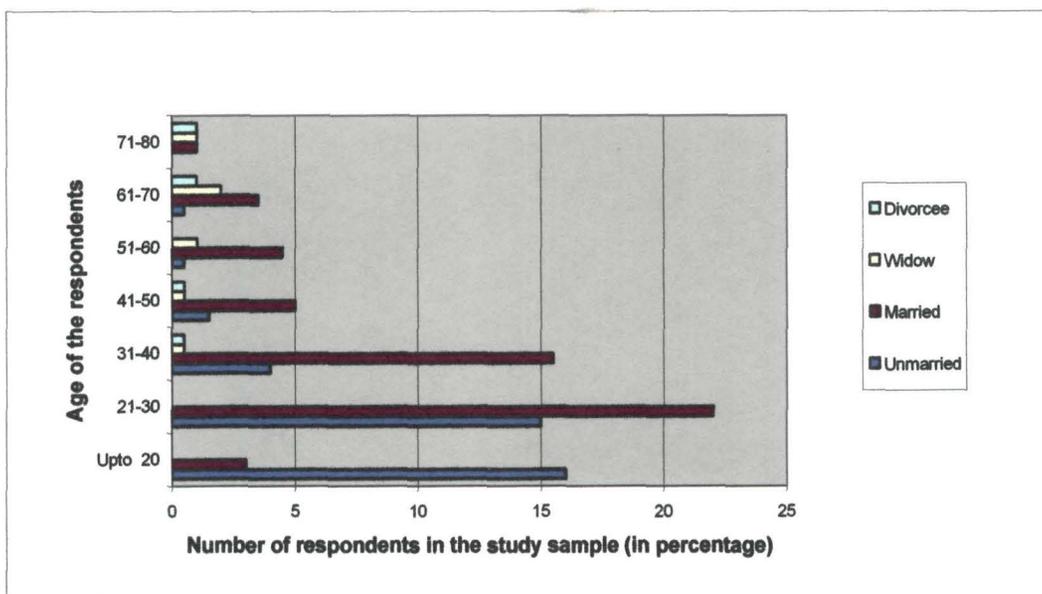


Fig. 2 (a) Education of Bhutia Women- Agewise distribution North District

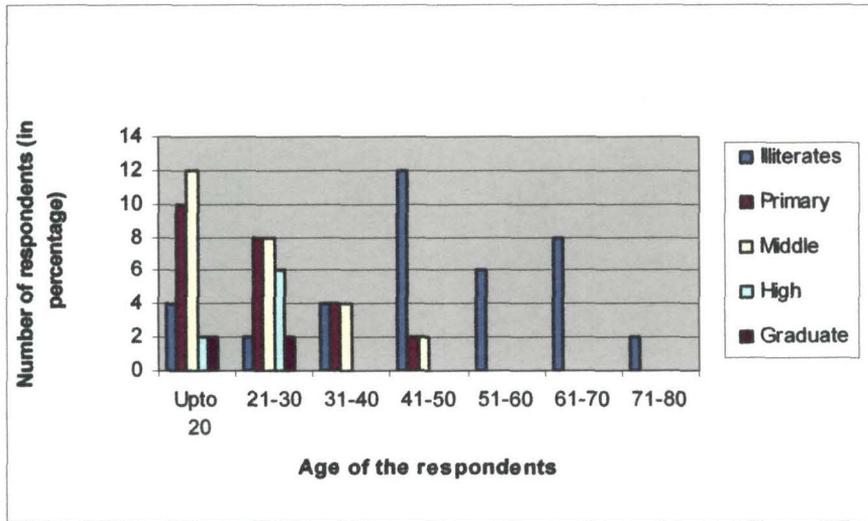
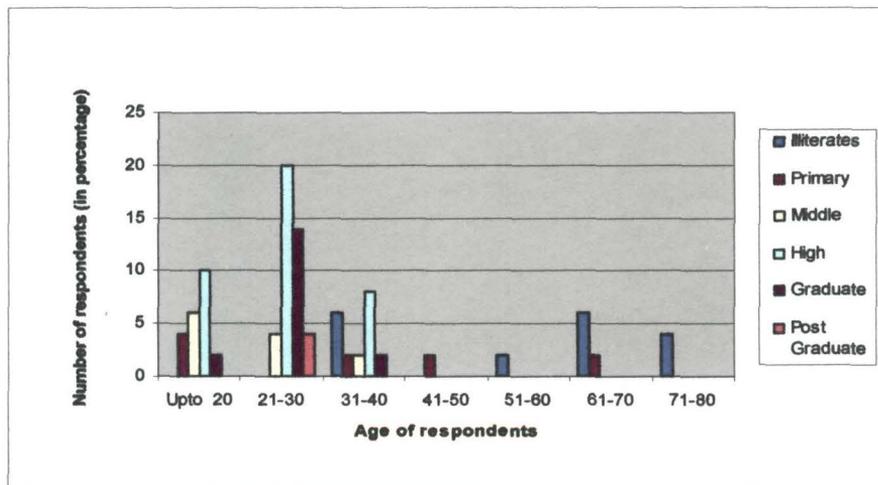
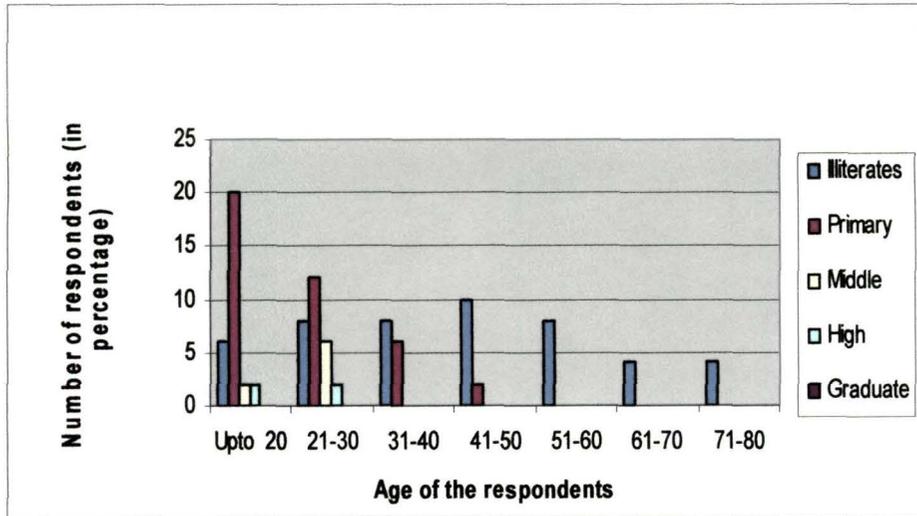


Fig. 2 (b) Education of Bhutia Women- Agewise distribution East District



**Fig.2 (c) Education of Bhutia Women- Agewise distribution
South District**



**Fig. 2 (d) Education of Bhutia Women- Agewise distribution
West District**

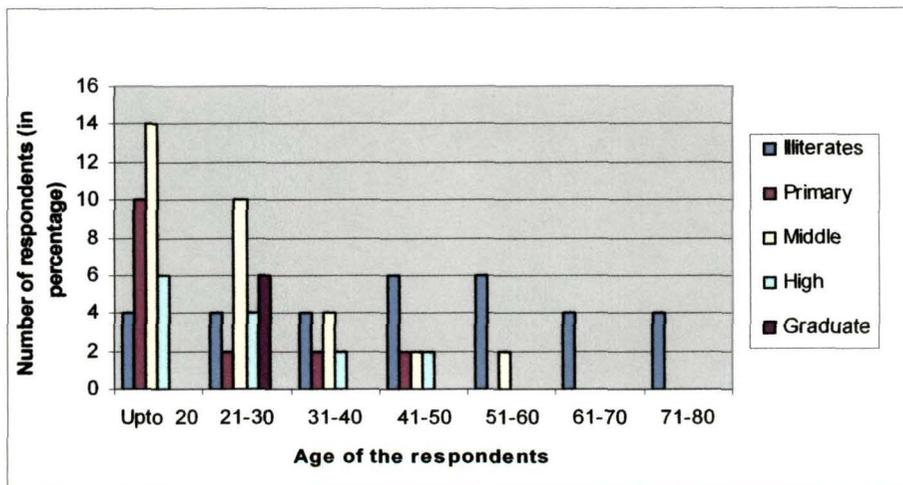
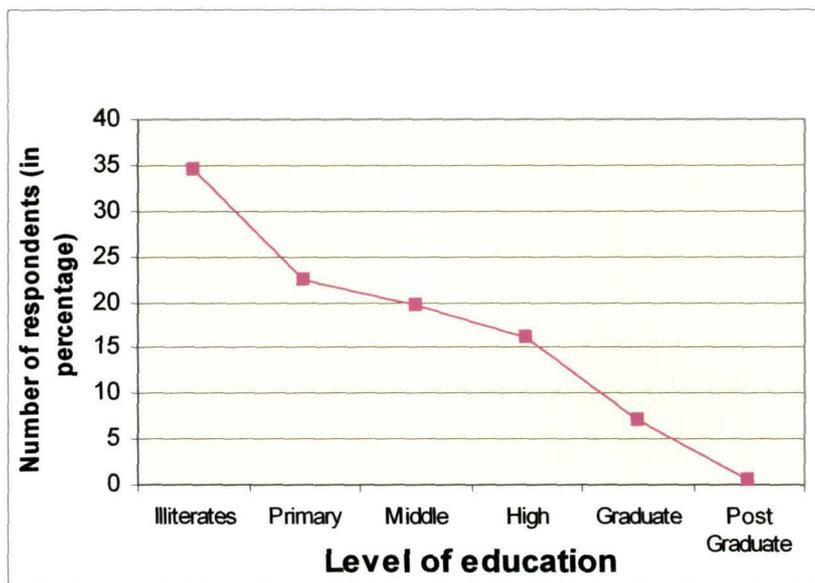


Fig. 3 Level of education among the respondents in the four districts in the study sample



higher age category were married, but one thing which was observed was that Bhutia women married late.

The educational development in Sikkim has received priority in recent years. Among all the four districts of Sikkim, East has the highest number of graduates i.e 13percent (Fig. 2b) while West district has 10percent graduates (Fig. 2d). However, North district (Fig. 2a) has only 2percent of graduates. Reason to this type of difference may be attributed to the fact that the Bhutia families in East and West district are more affluent and are able to send their children outside for further studies. South district (Fig. 2c) has the lowest level of education this may be probably due to the fact that the parents themselves are not educated and somehow preferred the children to join the family occupation (i.e agriculture). In the study sample, the post graduates are only found in the East district. According to the data (presented in form of Fig. 3) in the present study, 34.5percent percent of women interviewed are illiterate, whereas 65.45percent are literate with varying levels of formal education. Among the educated 22.5percent have primary school education, 19.5percent have middle school education, and 16percent have only passed high school. The graduates are 7percent and only .5percent are postgraduates that too are only confined to Gangtok.

It can be therefore inferred from the data, that women mostly go up to primary and middle school with greater incidence of drop out at higher level of education.

The level of education is also indicative of the kind of occupation the respondents have in the sample of the study. Sikkim is an agricultural society but there is a significant shift towards other occupations as well. Women who are relatively less educated are confined to household chores and also empirically found to be engaged in agriculture (Fig. 4a). The women engaged in government jobs are 15percent. The lesser

Fig. 4 (a) Distribution of Bhutia women by occupation

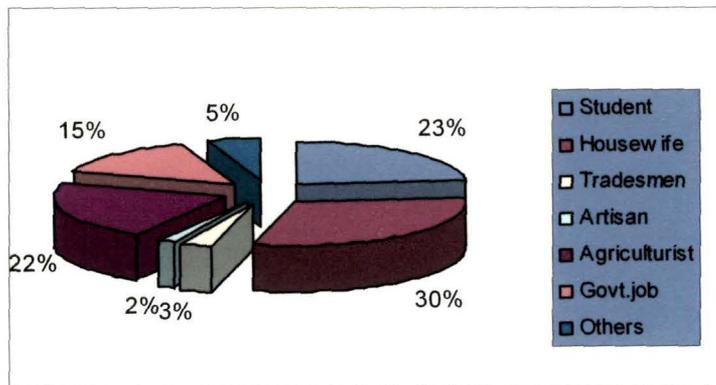
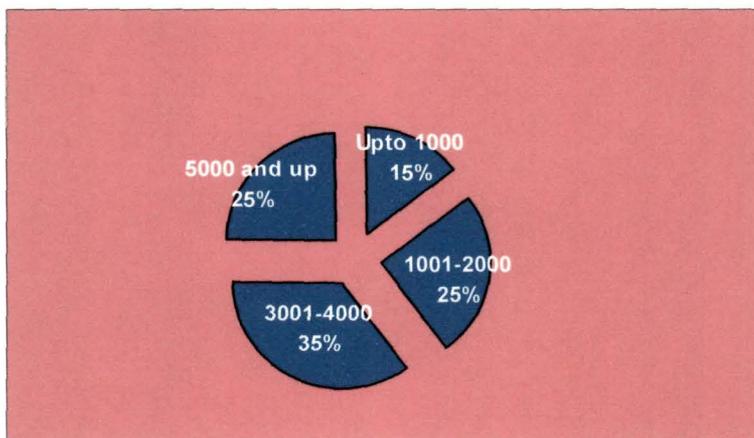


Fig 4(b) Total monthly income of the respondents (in all the four district) in the year 2004-2005



representation of women in occupation outside home and their maximum concentration in agriculture is conditioned by their low level of education. Women who hold graduation degree or above are generally employed. It is observed that in Gangtok Bhutia women are employed in various fields due to various occupations, which are available to them.

The respondents were generally self- employed. Women in the self-employed sector are those who worked in their own agricultural field and carried out their household chores. The remaining are employed in public sector or state government organization.

It is a common observation that when questioned about their income the respondents are not comfortable in disclosing it. The income that is stated is accepted at its face value and recorded. The family income-wise classification of the respondents reveals that 15percent of the families have an income of Rs1000/month. 25percent have upto Rs. 3000, 35percent of them have upto Rs. 4000 and 25percent have above Rs. 5000 (Fig. 4b). A comparison of their living conditions with their income during the field visit reveals that they hadve not quoted the exact figure.

Besides the analysis of social and economic attributes, an analysis of the living conditions of the respondents is also taken into account and an attempt is made on this basis to describe the general standard of living of the respondents.

Most of the Bhutia houses are two storey rectangular structures. The ground floor is partially enclosed and serves as an enclosure for animals. The houses are made of bamboo splits plastered with mud. The roof is thatched with reed, straw and bamboo. Most of the houses have two, to three rooms. However, there is a separate room for the altar in every traditional house. However these days it is a common sight to see R.C.C. buildings especially in and around Gangtok. The traditional houses have also undergone

Plate: 2 A An old traditional Bhutia house.

Plate: 2 B A modern Bhutia house retaining some of its old tradition features.



Plate 2A



Plate 2B

considerable changes regarding building material. However, the basic framework of the house remained the same (Plate 2A and 2B).

An Attempt is also made to have an idea of the amenities available to them within the house. These include water supply, electricity etc. Amenities refer to the basic facilities, which are available to the people in the house itself or at their doorsteps. Analysis of these conditions also helps to verify how far the state machinery has been effective in providing these to the people.

Questions were asked in context of water connection inside the house. Most of the respondents except those residing in Gangtok did not have a proper water connection inside the house. There was a tap outside, which was shared by two or more households. Some houses had their personal taps but water supply was not continuous. They also depended upon natural springs (*jhoras*) for water. The data with regard to electricity also reveals that they have power supply in their houses. Besides the electricity supply, it was further explored whether the respondents had flush system in the toilet or not. In this context, in East 80percent of them revealed that they had this facility built up with septic tanks among which most of them are from Gangtok. The overall description of facilities within the houses reveal that the area in the study sample of East district is relatively developed. In other districts, the toilets are constructed in a corner outside the house. Those houses having a flush system are only 50 percent in West, 20 percent in South and 20percent in North.

The household assets, which are available to people and in particular to the women are also indicative of the level of development. The first query was about the availability of cooking gas in each family. In this context, 100percent of the respondents revealed that they had this facility. In Sikkim, this facility is provided to the villagers by

Table: 1

Facilities in the household (in percentage)

Type of facilities	East	West	North	South
Tap water	100	100	100	100
Pressure cooker	100	75	100	75
kerosene stove	100	100	100	100
TV/Radio	100	85	95	85
Telephone	95	90	90	75
Scooter/cycle/Motor	65	45	50	35
Car	75	45	50	25

Source: Field survey

the government free of cost. Therefore, all of them are having LPG gas connection. Although it was also noticed that many of them were saving on the refilling of the gas and used an alternate source as well. Alternate form of energy source like wood, coal and Kerosene were used because they were available at cheaper prices to them. The houses which had cooking gas also preferred the use of wood and coal in the winter season as it served the purpose of heating. However, this practice is not followed in Gangtok. Here sophisticated heaters are used. Although the kitchens do not have any modern, cooking appliances but a pressure cooker was found in almost all the houses (Table 1).

The source of entertainment and information used by women include radios/tape recorders and TV sets. In East 100percent and in North 95 percent of them have radio/tape recorders (Table1). A few houses even have compact disc players. This indicates that although the respondents reside in remote areas yet they have access to various entertainments.

Sikkim, because of its hilly terrain makes transportation difficult. Transportation is by public buses or taxis. Very few people own cars although some houses did boast of a motorcycle. Those people who own cars use them as private taxies. The percent of respondent's \ households having scooters in East district is 65 percent followed by 50 percent in North, 45 percent in West and 35 in South. In East district 75 percent of the respondents have cars (Table1).

3a. Summary:

To sum up the foregoing descriptive analysis and discussion of the social and economic profile it can be stated that majority of women are Buddhists by faith, although some conversions to Christianity is also noticed. Bhutia because of their tribal social structure do not have any caste categorization, although clan exogamy is followed.

The education profile of the respondents reveal that very few women possess graduation and post graduation degrees. The number of illiterates is relatively in the higher age group. The parents did send their children to school, but they leave school due to several reasons other than economic reasons. With whatever level of education they have they try to take up a job in whatever field it is available. However, the higher positions in the government organizations are only available to the well qualified women. Most of other uneducated women are engaged in household chores and agricultural activities or self employment. Most of the women who are earning have the right to even spend it. However, most of them do not give a clear picture of their income in the interview during the field enquiries.

The general standard of living of the respondents is of the middle class level. Although some of the respondents are of the lower class level. The area of the houses is not very large but it is in accordance with the size of the family. Respondents have resorted to certain modern facilities like cooking gas but the use of traditional energy source is still seen. The overall observations of the study area based on field visits and data indicate that change is taking place in the social setup and women are responding to this change.

Chapter IV

4. Family, Kinship and Marriage:

4a. Family:

Family is the standard social unit and is found in one form or another in all societies and at all times. According to Lowie (1950), the family may be considered as an association that corresponds to the institution of marriage. Brown (1941) includes in the family husband and wife and their child or children. The family will not only include the husband and wife and their minor children but also parents, in-laws, sons and their wives and daughters with their husbands. A wide range of approaches and frames of Reference (theories) are used in the study of family structure. These are structural-functional, social conflict, symbolic interaction, social exchange and developmental frames of Reference.

The social structure of a family refers to the arrangements of social units into an organization that helps to establish the interrelationship between the parts. Nuclear, polyandry, patriarchy, avunculocal, bilineal, primogeniture, exogamy, arranged marriage and consanguine are words that define the structural arrangements of various family systems. The structural-functional frame of Reference provides a framework for dealing with relationships within the family, as well as external influences on the family from other systems (Parson, 1951). Each component of society must be seen in relationship to the whole, since each component acts on and reacts with other components. Parson and Bales (1955) have suggested two basic functions to the family one, primary socialization of children so that they can truly become members of the society into which they have been born and two, the stabilization of the adult personalities of the society. However, according to social conflict frame of Reference conflict is natural and inevitable in all

human interaction. At micro level conflict may be between husband and wife, a son-in-law or two sisters or brothers. Therefore, the approaches of both the functionalist and conflict theorists are different. For the functionalist family is the primary agency of socialization. However, according to the conflict theorists (Eshleman, 1997) it promotes a false consciousness by making the individuals accept inequalities as natural. Functionalists believe that isolated nuclear family is tranquil, passive and in a state of equilibrium with other units of society but conflict theorist feel that conflict is inevitable and it will lead to change.

Symbolic interaction frame of References addresses the issues of socialization and social interaction, which are both of central concern to the family. Socialization is the process of moulding the personality of an individual. It internalizes the behaviour pattern and ways of feeling and thinking of society. Social interaction focuses on self in relation to others. The interactionist's approach to marriage and families is studied at their own levels i.e. the level of humans, human interaction and social system and also in context with the social setting in which each exists, for instance, the language spoken, the definition given to situations, and the appropriateness of a given activity only makes sense within a specific social context (Eshleman, 1997). Social exchange or social choice theory rests on the belief that human beings make choices, which they expect would maximize their rewards and minimize their costs. Social exchange theory also explains why certain behavioural outcome like marriage and sex and some structural conditions like age, race and class occur (Homans, 1961). In arranged marriages, gifts, labour or bride price is often exchanged for right to marry. Throughout the family literature, an exchange process is observed in mate selection, kin relationships, husband/wife interaction, sexual patterns and the like. Developmental frame of References joins

together certain sections of the previous theories into one compatible unified theme (White,1991)This approach accounts for changes in the family system and also in pattern of interaction over time and this time analysis has been termed family life cycle. However, these are not the only frames of References in family sociology. Alternative to mainstream approach is feminist frame of References, which aims at recognizing the absence of women in the history of social and political thought. It challenges patriarchal notions about the family, such as whether it is natural or biological, or it is monolithic i.e having a single structure (Eshleman, 1997). Feminist perspective asserts that gender is the basis of all social structures and organization. The impetus for contemporary feminist theory is a simple question and what about women? The answer to this question is that the experiences of women are different from men because women are unequal and oppressed (Lengermann and Brantley 1988). The basic assumptions of feminist thought are related to the following ideas given by Walker *et al.* (1988).

1. Women – or any group that is defined based on age, class, race, ethnicity, disability or sexual preference -are oppressed.
2. The personal is political. Nothing is exclusive to women’s personal lives, everything has social ramification. The social system imposes a reality on everyday life and is not separate from it. Social structure has to be taken into account.

However, Feminist theorists do not blame all inequalities on economic system, as argued by Marxian theorists. Male dominance is beyond economic and class lines, it implies female oppression and sexism. Every woman, whether employed or unemployed faces this oppression at home. Family will only be an egalitarian institution if women gain independence over resources like power, money, education etc. In light of the above theories an attempt is made to examine the position of Bhutia women in their family.

4a (i) Family and Position of women:

Family occupies an important position in the social structure. It comprises a residential unit where adults and children live under one roof, a place for the confluence of reproductive and productive relations, a site where domestic activity and functions are performed and also a place where gender roles and relations are defined and sexual division of labour takes place.

The Bhutias follow the patriarchal family system i.e. the father is the head of the family. He is the decision maker and his words are final regarding family matters. There were a few examples which led to the misconception that earlier among the Bhutias of Sikkim there existed a matriarchal family system. One of which is an assumption by Edgar (1874) who during his travels in Sikkim found a herd of three hundred cattle belonging to an old women, her children and grand children and concluded that the Bhutia had matriarchal society. But later it is authenticated by different researchers (Bhattacharya, 1994; Kotturn, 1988; Gorer, 1984 and Risley, 1894) that Bhutias are a patriarchal society but the mother also occupies a respectable position in the family and enjoys a great deal of freedom.

Traditionally, the Bhutias do not keep a family or clan name and no family surname is used. This is because there are no localized clans or lineages, rather there is a tendency towards geographical mobility and hence there is no sense of a genealogical ideology involved (Nakane, 1966). They use the first name only which is selected by the lama. A women also does not use the surname of her father in her maidenhood or the surname of her husband after marriage. She is identified by her own names, which is given by the lama (Bhattacharya, 1994). A nuclear family is the main type of family that

Table: 2a (i)

Structure of families in the study area

Family	East	North	West	South
Nuclear	18.50%	18.50%	18.50%	14%
Extended	7.50%	7.50%	7.50%	8%

Source: Field survey

Table: 2a (ii)

Ideal number of children and actual number of children in the family

Actual number of children				
Ideal number	East	South	West	North
1	2%	0%	0%	0%
2	16%	12%	8%	4%
3	4%	4%	4%	4%
4	0%	5%	6%	2%

Source: Field survey

prevails among the Bhutias. However, other types of families which show characteristics of joint and extended are also present.

After an analysis of 200 respondents from the four districts, two main type of family structure emerged, viz. nuclear and extended.

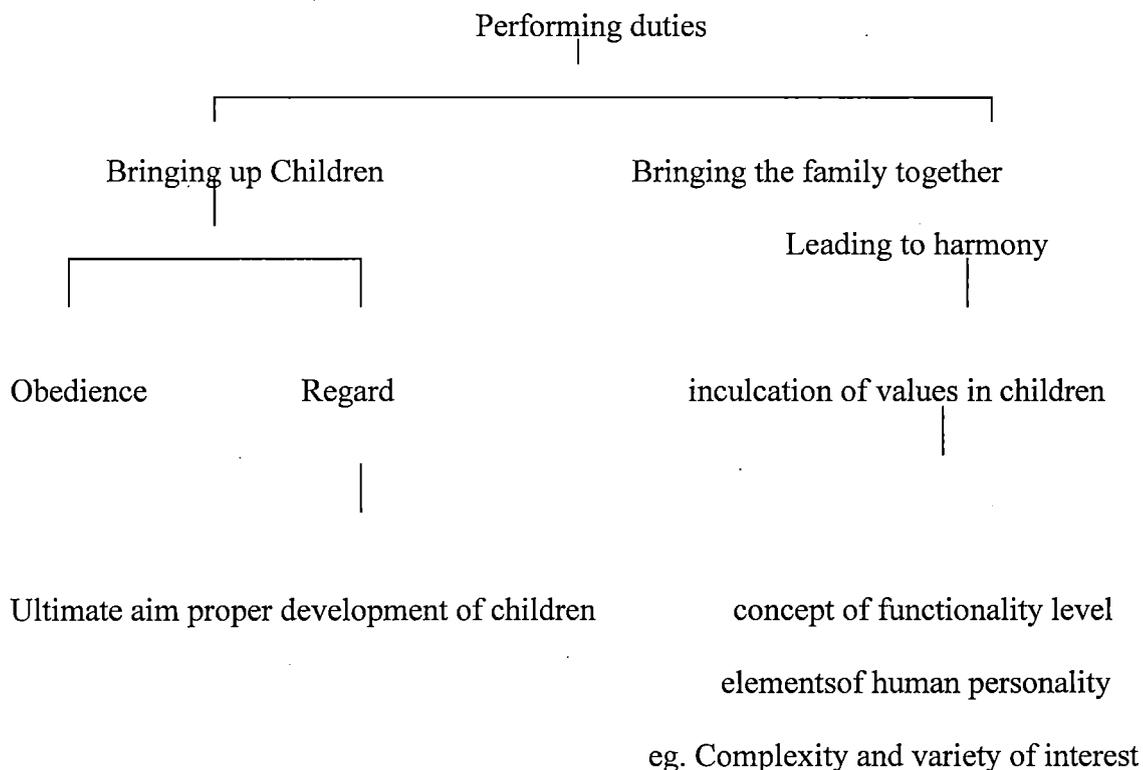
The result [Table: 2a (i)] shows that in all the four district (East, West, North, South) there is a dominance of elementary nuclear family. Nakane (1966) in Sikkim also reports similar result. He states that there is rarely any household, which includes two married couples, of either parent-children or sibling categories. When one old parent dies one of the sons or sometimes daughters take care of the widowed parents. There are a few examples of an extended family that live as nuclear family near each other. The nuclear family also includes families that have mother living alone with her children or a widow or divorcee living with her children. The widowed parents are observed to change their residence among the households of their sons or daughters.

4a (ii) Role of women in family:

The women in Bhutia family play a pivotal role in socialization of child and running of domestic affairs. Sen (1978) found that traditionally the Bhutia (Bhotiya) economy is substantially supported by their trade with Tibet. Because of trading all males, have to be away and as a result, in absence of male folk from the village, the interest of the trade demands the Bhutia (Bhotiya) women to handle matters of agriculture, which provides them, undisputed authority in family affairs. As a wife her relationship and obligation with her husband and with other members of the family are in tune with the traditional structure and setup. As a mother, also the Bhutia woman is closely involved in child rearing and in the development of the basic personality of the child.

Woman's role both as a wife and as mother can be depicted as follows:

Woman's role as wife and mother



[As obtained from Social Welfare, Vol.48 Saxena, 2001)]

A Bhutia woman commands a good position both as a wife and as a mother. She brings up her children and properly grooms her children by inculcating in them proper family values. In other words, she is the commander of the home domain. However, in context of production and consumption matters, men are the decision makers and women are kept out of it. The position of women can also be judged in the family in the light of two questions. First, does she have the right to achieve the desired family size? Does she have autonomy in making a decision with regard to bearing of children and practicing of

Table: 2a (iii)

Method of family planning known to the female respondents

Methods	East	North	West	South
Pills	85%	75%	75%	75%
Condoms	90%	65%	65%	60%
Copper-T	90%	85%	88%	80%
Sterilization	30%	9%	10%	20%

Source: Field survey

Table: 2a (iv)

Decision taken by Bhutia women for the use of method of family planning

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	0	90	10
North	58	40	2
West	16	60	24
South	70	30	0

Source: Field survey

family planning methods? These questions have been explored in the field setting and have been presented here with the empirical data.

The result [Table: 2a (ii)] shows that most of the families cannot stick to their desired number of children they actually want to have. However, in East district the results indicate that 16percent of people who want to have two children are able to maintain their desired number. This may be due to the urban exposure they have in the East district and they feel that having less number of children reduces the economic burden on the family. Most of the respondents in the East district are aware of the family planning practices, one of the reasons that helps them is to maintain their 'desired ideal number' of children. In rest of the districts the reasons why the desired number of children did not match the actual number were many. Most important of which was that the women generally though aware of the methods of family planning, followed them only after the family size had already increased. In a few cases the women quoted the ideal number of children as the actual number of children they had. In very rare cases in South and West districts the family size increased because the family wanted to have a son and due to this they continued to have children one after the other. However, in Bhutia society there is no discrimination between a girl child and a boy child and not even one case of female infanticide was reported. The sex of the child did not contribute to the increase in the family size. It was also noticed that the Bhutia women were not ignorant about the family planning methods which were apparent from the results in the table [Table2a (iii)]. The result shows that family planning practices are known to the women.

An analysis of family planning practices also gives an idea of the socio-cultural position of women in society. With a few exceptions, the result above shows that in

general the Bhutia women are aware of all the family planning methods. One of the most commonly known methods is the use of pills and the condoms with 90percent in East, followed by North, West with almost same result in South with 75percent. In Sikkim, the public health department and other agencies have been very active in bringing out awareness in women. Besides this these methods are also known to them through media, friends and husbands. Even in villages, these agencies carry out their jobs with great efficiency. Whether this knowledge is actually put to practice is another question asked to the respondents. This is done in order to prove whether they also hadve the knowledge about using the various family planning devices available to them. In general it was observed that the respondents are not using just one method. The maximum number of respondents in all the four districts reveal that they have been consuming the pills because this method was easier to practice. However, in South district women sterilization operation is one of the common methods used. This indicated that the respondents are not only aware of the methods but also using them. However, there is little relationship between the knowledge of methods and the actual methods used.

The result about the knowledge of family planning methods and the desired number of children do not correspond to each other. There may be two reasons for this. Firstly, it can be assumed that this variation could be due to the initial inhibition the women had in revealing their knowledge of certain personal things and secondly hesitation in expressing the desire to decide on using these methods independently.

The decision making power of Bhutia women for the use of family planning method was studied thoroughly during field investigation. Following is the analyses of the study.If the decision of practicing family planning was taken by the respondents on her own it was rated as high and given a score of 3. If this decision was taken both by

Table: 2a(v)

Practice of family planning

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	4	60	36
North	6	64	30
West	8	76	20
South	4	30	4

Source: Field survey

Table: 2 b (i)

Preferred marriage practice

Districts	Traditionally practiced or arranged marriage (%)	Marriage by choice or love marriage(%)
East	36	64
North	66	34
West	60	40
South	68	32

Source: Field survey

husband and wife it was rated as medium and given a score of 2 and if the decision was solely taken by husband it was rated as low given a score of 1. For this a sample of 200 respondents were separately taken from the study area. The result [Table: 2a (iv)] reveal that in general, in East, North and West the result is medium. However, in South the result indicates women having a low voice in decision making with 70percent. This may only be due to low level of education in South district (refer to chapter 2, socio economic profile). Bhutia women are aware of the family planning methods and even want an ideal family size but they never come forward independently for choice of family planning methods. This may be due to the fact that Bhutia women are used to a patriarchal setup of the society in which they habitually accept the decision of their husbands. It is also observed that these women in due course of time probably have lost the initiative to take a firm decision and even think that it is not a great issue as to who should decide over the use of contraceptives.

Women were also questioned about the reasons why they felt that family planning should be practised. The result of this would reflect her position in the family.

They are put on high position and given a score of 3, when it is practised for spacing between two children, medium and given a score of 2, when it is practised after completion of the family and low position is given with a score of 1 when it is not practiced at all or only when asked by the husband. The result [Table 2a (v)] shows that in East, North and West the position of women is medium with 60percent, 64percent and 76percent respectively. This shows that most of the families opt for planning only after the completion of the family. However, East and North with 36percent and 30percent respectively show a high position. This may be because the number of educated and working Bhutia women and the impact of urbanization in East is very high. The sample

area in North (Tingchim) because of its proximity to Gangtok (Capital of Sikkim) also shows similar results.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the position of Bhutia women, when it come to planning family appears medium.

4b. Kinship:

The kinship system is built up from a unit of structure called the family. The existence of the elementary family creates three special kinds of social relationship, which is between parent and child, between children of the same parents (siblings), and between husband and wife as parents of the same child or children (Brown, 1952). The kinship system as defined by Brown (1952) is “a system of relation between person and person in a community” that means a ‘network of social relation’: ‘kinship system constitute one of the universal of human culture’ Murdock (1965). Therefore, kinship system is a network of social relation that constitutes the total social structure; however the term kinship and descent are not identical and are not always distinguished. According to Rivers (1924), kinship is the social recognition of biological ties. All the people who are related by blood in anyway to an individual are his cognates. Those who are related by marriage are his affine. Therefore, Murdock (1963) states that a rule of descent affiliates an individual at birth with a particular group of relatives with whom he is especially intimate and from whom he can expect certain kinds of services which he cannot demand from any other kinsmen. The terminological aspect of kinship system is important because kinship terms form a genealogically predicted field and is internally structured in such a way that certain members are primary and focal while others are secondary. Brown (1952) also felt the importance of the terminological aspect of Kinship. He states that in the actual study of kinship system the nomenclature is of

utmost importance and it affords the best possible approach to the investigation and analysis of the kinship system as a whole.

4b (i) The Bhutia kinship terms: An Analysis:

1. Relation through father :-

- a) Grand Father – *Ajo*
- b) Grand Mother – *Anyo*
- c) Mother - *Am*
- d) Father – *Abha or Yapo*
- e) Father's elder brother – *Abha – Bonpo*
- f) Father's elder brother's wife – *Abha-Bonpa Amchung*
- g) Father's younger brother – *Aku*
- h) Father's sister – *Ani*
- i) Father's sister's husband- *Ani-cho*
- j) Father's sister's son – *Agya*
- k) Father's sister's daughter – *Aila*

2. Relation through mother:-

- a) Grand father – *Ajo*
- b) Grand mother – *Anyo*
- c) Mother's brother – *Azhang*
- d) Mother's brother's wife – *Azhang Ani*
- e) Mother's elder sister – *Am bompo*
- f) Mother's younger sister – *Amchung*
- g) Mother's younger sister's husband – *Amchung Aku*
- h) Mother's elder sister's husband – *Am bompo Aku*

3. Relation through wife :-

- a) Wife – *Mobi*
- b) Wife's father (FIL) – *gyap*
- c) Wife's mother (MIL) – *gyum*
- d) Wife's brother (elder) – *Acho gyap*
- e) Wife's brother (younger) – *Kepo*
- f) Wife's younger sister – *Nhim*.

4. Relation through Husband:-

- a) Husband – *Phogya*
- b) Husband's father – *Gyap*
- c) Husband's mother – *Gyum*
- d) Husband's brother – *Acho gyap*
- e) Husband's brother's wife – *Nam*
- f) Husband's sister's husband – *Mako*
- g) Husband's younger sister – *Nhim*

Among the Bhutias of Sikkim both denotative and classificatory terms are found to be prevalent in the kinship terminology. However, the classificatory terms superseded the denotative terms. The denotative terms are generally absent in the second, third and above ascending generation and also in second and below descending generation. The denotative terms are found in the ego's generation, ego's first ascending and ego's first descending generation. But classificatory terms are prevalent in all generations. In the first ascending generation some denotative terms are Ani- Gyambo (FaelSi) *Ane- r Gan-bo*, Ani phusim (Fayosi) *Ane- bu- srim*, Cho (Faelsihu) Phusim Mako (Fayosihu) *Bu-srim- rmag- Ko*, Pinlo Chumbo (FayoBr) *sPun-lo chung-bo*, Pinlo Num (FayoBrWi)

sPun-lo Num, Azhang (MoBr) *A- zhang*, Ani (MoBrWi) *Ane*, Ama bompo (Moelsi) *Ama-sBom-po*, Amchung (Moyosi) *Am-chung*, Amchung Aku (MoyosiHu) *Am-chung A-ku*, etc. In the ego's generation Phogya (Hu) *Pho-r Gya*, Mobi (Wi) *Mo-bud*, Kepo (HuyoBr), Achu gyap (HueiBr) *chu-rGyap*, Aigume (HuelSi) *Ayi-gyum*, Aicho (HusiHu) *Ae-cho*, Phusim Mako(Huyo Si Hu) *Bu-srim-rMag-Ko*, Achugyap (WiBr) *Achu-rGyap*, Kepu (Wiyobr), WielSi (Aigyum) *Ayi-cho*, Num (Wiyosi) *Nh-um* are all denotative terms. The first descending generation also provides some terms such as *Phu* (so) *Bu*, Phum (du) *Bum*, Phu Nam (sowi) *Bu-gNam*, Phum mako (DaHu) *Bum-rMag- Ko* etc. Otherwise the Bhutia Kinship system is impregnated with a large number of classificatory terms which are distributed in almost all generations. In the third ascending generation FaFaFa and his siblings, FaFaFaelSiHu and FaFaFaYoSiHu bear a common term *Jozu*. Similarly FaFaMo and her sibling, FaMoMo and her siblings, FaFaFaelBrWi, FaFaFaYoBrWi, FaFaelSi and FaFaFaYoSi have a common term *NuNu*. In the second ascending generation the term *Ajo* covers FaFa and his siblings FaFaelSiHu, FaFaYoSiHu, FaMoelBr, FaMoYoBr, FaMoelSiHu and FaMoYoSiHu. Similarly the term *Anyo* includes FaMo and her siblings, FaFaelBrWi, FaFaYoBrWi.

In the first ascending generation the kinship terms are mostly denotative. Some terms like *Gyap* includes father of both husband and wife, and similarly *Gyum* covers mother of both husband and wife.

The ego's generation includes a good number of relationship terms which are classificatory in nature. For eg. the term *Agya* is used for elBr, FaelBrSo, FaelSiSo, the term *Ai* includes elSi, and daughters of FaBr, FaSi and MoSi. The father of both SoWi and DaHu is *Nen-den* and mother of both SoWi and DaHu is *Gume*.

First Ascending Generation

The first ascending generation is characterized by both denotative and classificatory terms. Fa and FaelBr both have one single term *Abha*. But the only difference is that one term *gyampo* is prefixed after the term *Abha* meaning elder. In the case of Mo and MoelSi one single term *Am* is used and one term *Gyampo* is prefixed after *Am* which means elder. Father of both husband and wife have one term *Gyap* and mother of both husband and wife have one term *Gyum*. However, fathers younger brother is called *Aku* and MayoBr is called *A-zhnag*. However MoyoSiHu will be called *Am-chung A-ku* and MoelSiHu will again to called *Abha-rGan-bo*.

Second And Third Ascending Generation

In the second ascending generation FaFa and his siblings have been equated by a common term with some relatives of this generation such as FaFaelSiHu, FaFaYoSiHu, FaMoelSiHu, FaMoYoSiHu, FaMoelBr FaMoYoBr and so on. They are referred by a common term *Ajo*. Similar, is the case with the term *Anyo* which includes FaMo and her siblings, FaFaelBrWi, FaFaYoBrWi and other relatives of this generation.

In the third ascending generation, identical situation prevails and members of different descent groups have a common term FaFaFa and his siblings, FaMoFa and his siblings, FaFaFaelSiHu, FaFaFaYoSiHu, FaFaMoelSiHu, FaFaMoYoSiHu, FaMoMoelSiHu, FaMoMoYoSiHu, FaMoFaelSiHu and FaMoFaYoSiHu all of them refer to a common term *Jo-zu*. FaFaMo and her siblings, FaMoMo and her siblings, FaFaFaelBrWi, FaFaFaYoBrWi, FaFaFaelSi, FaFaFaYoSi, FaMoFaelBrWi, FaMoFaYoBrWi, FaMoMoMoelBrWi, FaMoMoYoBrWi have a common term *Nu-Nu*.

Ego's Generation

Most of the terms of ego's generation are classificatory in nature. In this generation the term *Agya* refers to not only one's own brother, but also includes son of ego's FaelBr, FaelSi. The term *Pinlo sPun-lo* is used for one's own YoBr and FaYoBrSo, FaYoSiSo and MoYoBrSo are referred to as *Ch-ung*. Besides, some other classificatory terms are found to exist in this generation ; such as father of both Sowi and Dahu are called *Gume*, HuelSi and WielSi are both called *Ai-gyum* ,HuYoSi and WiYoSi are referred to as *Num*, HuSiHu and WiSiHu are both termed as *Aicho*. Some denotative terms are also seen in this generation. These terms are elBrWi (*Machi*), Hu (*Phogya*) Pho- rGya, HuelBr (*Achu gambo*) Achu-rGyap, HuYoBr (*Kepu*) Wife (*Mobi*) *Mo-gud*.

First Descending Generation

The unique feature of the first descending generation is that most of the kinship terms are classificatory in character although a few denotative terms are found to exist. The term *Agya* is used for a large number of relatives such as HuelBrSo, HuelSiSo, WielBrSo, WielSiSo, elBrSo (MS and WS), elSiSo (MS and WS). In the same way, the term *Ai* is used for daughter of HuelBr, HuelSi and some denotative terms like *Phu* (Son) *Bu. Dhum* (Da) *Bum*, (SoWi) *Bu-gNam*, (DaHu) *Bum-rMag-Koare* also used.

Second And Third Descending Generation

One of the uniqueness of Bhutia Kinship terms is that among these people relatives of the second and third descending generation have one common term and undoubtedly classificatory in nature. For example, the term *Anyo Chapu* is used for (SoSo), (DaSo), (SoDo).

4b (ii) Criteria Of Distinction:

Sex

The Bhutia Kinship terms obey positively the criterion of sex distinction. All the terms are uni-sex terms, no single term refers to members of two different sexes. They are identified by different terms. For example while FaFaFa is *Jozu*, and his wife i.e. FaFaMo is *NuNu*, FaFaFaYoBr is also *Jozu* but his wife is *NuNu*, MoFaFa and MoMoFa are *Jozu* and their respective wives e.i. MoFaMo and MoMoMo are *NuNu*. In the same way FaFa, FaFaBr and FaFaSiHu is *Ajo*. FaMo, FaFaBrWi and FaFaSi is *Anyo*. This criterion also holds good for other ascending and all descending generations and also ego's generation. For example, in the first ascending generation father is *Abha*, Mother is *Am*. MoBr is *A-zhang*, MoBrWi is *Ani*, and FaYoBr is *A-ku*. In ego's generation too, while elBr is *Agya*, his wife is *Machi*, SoWiFa and DaHuFa are both *Nen-den* but SoWiMo and DaHuMo are *gume*, HuelBr is *Achu-r Gyap*. In the first and second descending generation also this norm is seen, while So is *Bu*, Da is *Bum* but SoWi is *Bu-gNam* and DaHu is *Bum-rMag-Ko*.

Generation

The analysis of Bhutia Kinship terms reveals that generation has a distinct role to play. Members of a particular generation have a particular term. Usually members of no two generations are referred to by the same term. We see that the terms *Jozu* and *NuNu* cover members of only one generation. Similarly, the term *Ajo* and *Anyo* are used for members of second ascending generations. But it deviates in case of terms used for second and third descending generation. Here the terms *Anyo Chapu* and *Anyo Cham* are used for grandson and granddaughter in second ascending generation and in the third generation SoSoSo, SoDaSo, DaDaSo, DaSoSo are referred to as *Yang Phum*.

Relative Age

The criterion of relative age differentiation in various kinship terms is found to be prominent. They suffix the term *gyampo* to denote certain senior relatives eg. Fa is *Abha* and FaelBr is *Abha-rGan-bo* and they suffix the term *Chung* to denote juniors, example *Ai -Chung* is younger sister.

Collaterality

The criterion of collaterality in Bhutia Kinship is not distinct. Though Fa and FaYoBr do have distinct terms (*Abha* and *Aku* respectively) Fa and FaelBr have same term *Abha*, only they use a suffix *Gan-bo*. Similarly though they make distinction between Mo and MoYoSi terminologically by using *Am* and *Am-chung* respectively, they make no distinction between Mo and Mo elSi by using the same term *Am*, only they suffix *Bom-po* or *gyam-po* after the term *Am*.

The criterion of collaterality on the other hand fails to show off in case of both second and third ascending generation. Same term is used for FaFaFa and his siblings, and FaMoFa and his siblings and same term *Jo-zu* is used for MoMoFa and his sibling and MoFaFa and his siblings also. Similarly in the cases of FaFaM, FaMoMo and their sibling a common term *Nu-Nu* is used. So it is seen that above criterion has failed in case of certain terms but is applicable in certain cases.

There are a certain joking relations and relationship of avoidance in the Bhutia Kinship system. Aman may have a joking relation with his wife's unmarried younger sister whom he refers to as *ngimu (snyingmu)*. A man has avoidance relation with his mother-in-law and a woman has relation of avoidance with her father in law. Thus we see that in Bhutia kinship system women are also referred with respect as their male counterparts. Kroeber (1932) writes that it is accepted among primitive people that

society is structured primarily on the basis of kins and in more civilized nations it is largely in terms of economic and political factors. In Sikkim too, the kinship ties help people to lay claim to land for cultivation, for mutual assistance in the pursuit of common interest and for cooperation.

4c. Marriage:

Marriage has been regarded as one of the oldest and the most basic institution for organization and functioning of social life. Marriage is a socially recognized union between a man and women that accords legitimate birth status right to their children (Curdy, 1975). Westermarck (1921) defines marriage “as a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born to it”. He claims that marriage is an economic institution and not only a means to regulate sexual behaviour. The institution of marriage establishes the family as -the smallest social unit of the society. However, most functions of marriage and family are interlinked. Majumdar and Madan (1970) stated that “marriage and family being two aspects of the same social reality, viz the bio-psychical-cum-social drives (needs) of a man, are coeval with each other and with culture, because without the family, there could be no preservation of the species and culture, and without marriage there could be no family”.

According to the indological perspective, the union between a man and women is not just for sexual gratification but it is a sacred affair. Although marriage is a universal institution but the manner and its mode of solemnization vary from society to society. However, the institution of marriage has essentially existed in four forms, namely monogamy, polygamy, polyandry and group marriage. Goode (1963) with References to

different societies argues that monogamy as a form of marriage emerged because of industrialization and urbanization which resulted in freedom, liberty and modernization. The transformation of family from polygamy to nuclear is the result of social evolution of society.

Among the Bhutias of Sikkim polyandrous, polygamous and monogamous forms of marriage were prevalent. Earlier Bhutias with more sons and limited resources went in for fraternal polyandry. Though fraternal polyandry functioned to conserve land and labour in the family yet it managed to produce a pool of unmarried females (Bhasin, 1989). In every society there are certain rituals and customs which are associated with marriage. There are some values attached with these rituals and customs which regulate the society.

The form of marriage which is practised among the Bhutias of Sikkim, is the Bride-price form of marriage, in which the parents or guardians of the bride receive as a compensation amount of money from the parents or guardians of the groom, for the transfer of the labour and services of the bride from the parent's household to her in-law's household. Brown (1952) has pointed out three important aspects of the payment of bride price in the tribal societies. They are (a) A compensation paid to the bride's kin group, for the breach caused in its solidarity as a consequence of marriage (b) A transaction to formalize the contractual aspect of marriage to impose some bondage (c) An expression of solidarity through a series of wealth exchange between the two kin groups brought together into affined bond. Some ethnographers (Tambiah, 1973; Schlegel and Eloul, 1988) used the term 'bride wealth' for bride price. However for Schlegel and Eloul's (1988) bride wealth carries the same meaning as given for bride price marriage. Payments are linked with a number of issues: most importantly, status

and the economic contribution of the bride's to the groom's family (Lindenbaum, 1981); nature of residence and the inheritance system (Spiro, 1975; Yalman, 1967); shortages of potential brides and bride grooms (Caldwell et al, 1983); and tendencies towards egalitarianism or stratification in a given society (Goody, 1973). In Sikkim, the bride price is given to value the girl and is linked with the status and economic position of the groom's family and not paying a price for the bride is a *Rin- Mey-Bhumo -khyiley Tsog'* – (a bride without any price is treated worse than a dog). The girl selected for marriage should have a good character, should respect the elders, should be gentle, be polite, faithful, honest, sincere, compassionate, good natured. A woman with good character emanates a quasi- religious aura, since through her virtuous behaviour, she emulates that of a celestial female being called *Khandro*, a term also applied to the consort of a *Rimpoche*. Being compared to a *Khandro* is the greatest compliment for a girl (Balicki, 2002).

There is a wide variation in these rituals in terms of culture, linguistic group and communities. A number of studies conducted on India's tribal marriage practices suggest different forms of procuring a bride. Among the *Bhutias* of Sikkim the way of procuring a bride is through the payment of bride price. Marriage in the *Bhutias* is not regarded as a sacrament and is something of a social contract with the right to divorce. A man can take a second wife if his first wife is barren or he is a widower. However, monogamy form of marriage is prevalent at present. Marriage cannot take place among the relatives. Proper verification of clan and background is important before finalization of matrimonial alliance. However, marriage is allowed after fifth generation from paternal side and third generation from maternal side (Draft Report, 2002). As per custom, marriage between persons belonging to different communities and particularly when they profess different

faiths or religion is not valid. However, for a boy if he marries a girl other than his community or religion it will not affect dissolution of marriage, because a girl's religion or faith does not affect the boy's religion or faith. The girl however has to accept the boy's faith (Draft Report, 2002).

Traditionally polyandrous form of marriage was expected and in case of the death of her husband, a women could marry her brother-in law and regard him as her husband. During field visits, five such cases came into light and in all these cases the women were older than their husbands. They had children from their earlier marriage and even bore children from their second husband also. The Bhutias specially known as Lachungpas and Lachinpas of North Sikkim were polyandrous and some even practise it now. Various methods have been used in Tibet to keep the household undivided among which fraternal polyandry helps in maintaining its unity by keeping the land undivided among brothers from one generation to the next (Goldstein 1871, Levine 1988). Fraternal polyandry was common practice in Sikkim until it was abolished by Crown Prince Sidkeong Tulku in 1912 because he wanted to raise the population of the Bhutias and the Lepchas who had started diminishing due to Nepalese immigration.

Nakane's data collected in 1955 suggests that marriage between Bhutias and Lepchas at village level was rare while intermarriage at aristocracy were also taking place. Marriage with a Sherpa or other Buddhist highlander of Nepalese origin however was accepted for one common cause of having Buddhist background but a Bhutia mother would never want her daughter to marry a non Bhuddist Nepalese because of the fear that then her siblings would lose chances of a good marriage within Bhutia community. Mixed Nepalese – Lhopo children usually become servants in Lhopo households and thus have little chance of marriage with pure Lhopo-families (Balikci, 2002).

4c (i) Sikkimese Bhutia marriage custom and rites:

Bhutia or Denzongpa community of Sikkim has its unique custom of marriage which differs from the other Bhutias of the Himalayas. There are five basic stages necessary for marriage.

A) *Thi-Chang* :- (*Thi*, *Chang* millet beer)

When the parents of a boy decide to get their son married, they look for a girl whom they wish to bring as their daughter in law. Once such a girl is spotted, they arrange to send the boy's maternal uncle with a bottle of wine and khada to inquire if the maternal uncle of the girl is willing to have his niece married. If the family of the girl comes to an understanding to have their girl married, the horoscope (*Chi*) of the girl is given to the maternal uncle of the boy, who then visits the Astrologer. If the horoscope does not match and the results are harmful then the proposal is dropped.

B) *Kha-Chang* (*Kha* mouth, *Chang* millet beer) or the final proposal. If the horoscope has been found favourable, the *Aku pami* (*aku* the boy's paternal uncle, *barmi* middleman or representative) visit the parents of the girl to seek their consent for their daughter's hand, with a gift of *chang*. The girl's parents accept the gifts and give their approval.

C) *Nang Chang thung she* (gnang to ask, *thung shed* will drink)

In this ceremony, all the relatives gather at the girl's house to celebrate the occasion. After having offered away the gifts to the parents and main relatives the couple are asked to sit side by side and a village priest performs *Khelen* (oath rites), in which he seeks blessings from girl's ancestral deities called *Pholha – Molha* and local deities and declares engagement of the couple. At this event the parents and relatives duly finalize *Rinzo* or bride price. *Rinzo* (bride price) preferably gold/cash announced must be noted by the Boy's party.

Plate: 3 A A Bhutia Bride and Bridegroom.

Plate: 3 B Gifts brought by the grooms family for the Nyen or wedding.

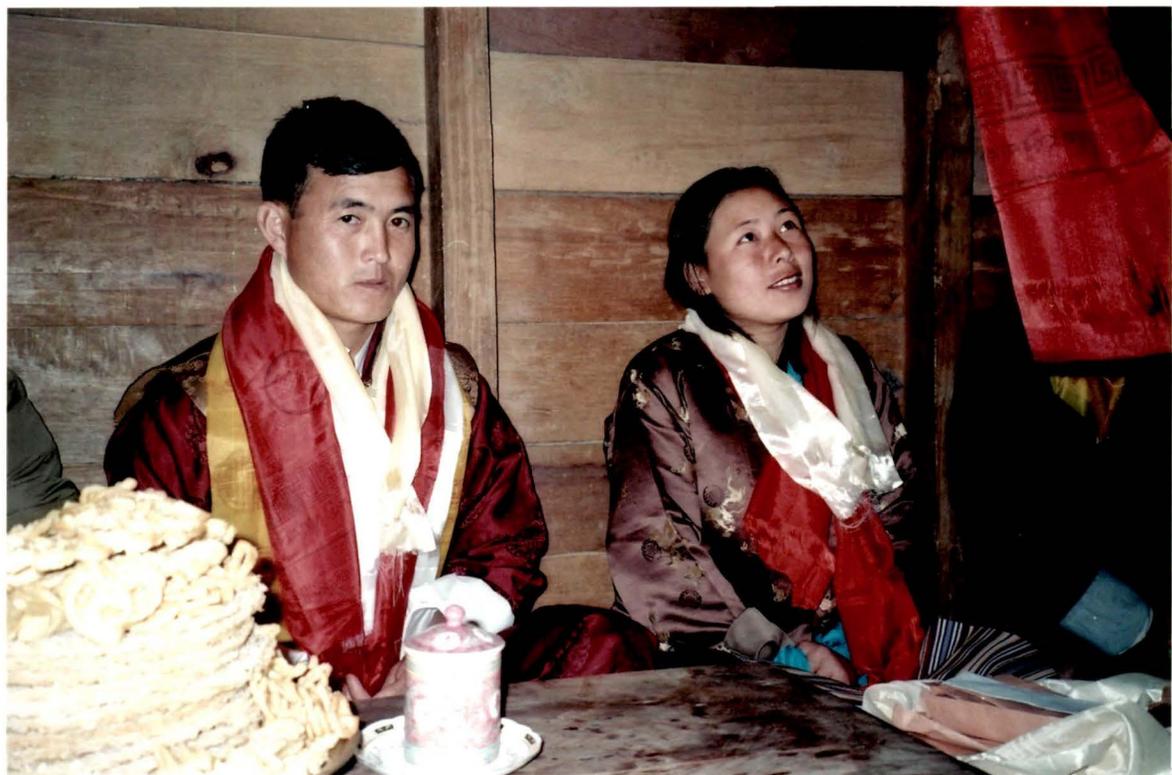


Plate 3A



Plate 3B

D) *Nyen sha sa she* (*gnyen* wedding, *sha* meant, *za shed* will eat):- (Refer to Plate 3A and 3B) After a lapse of one year or two of *Nang-Chang*, the first part of the marriage is conducted at Girl's place which is the actual marriage. It is customary to bear the marriage expenses by the groom's family. During this event a team of seven persons chiefly led by maternal uncle and *bhami* go to the girl's house with bride price and other gifts in kind and cash to attend the marriage ceremony. A cup of *chang* is taken out from the ceremonial jar and given to the couple to drink thrice. This signifies that the couple is formally blessed by the Deities Buddhist lamas are engaged to perform *Yang-ki* rites to retain the fortune of the house, as it is believed that the fortune of the house follows the departure of the girl. Upon completion of the ceremony, the girl ceases to belong to her natural family and becomes member of the boy's family.

E) *Tashi – Changthung / Tong len kiap she* (*gtong* to send, *len* to receive, *skyab shed* will do) (Second part of the Marriage)

The ceremony conducted at the bridegroom's house is called '*changthung*'. Celebrations are arranged to rejoice the arrival of the girl/bride. A Buddhist Lama is engaged to perform a *Tashi* ceremony to bless the couple's entrance in the house bringing in prosperity. A Shaman priest officiates the *Khelen rites*, in which he invokes all the ancestral deities called *Pho-lha*, *Mo-lha* and *Yu-lha* (regional deities) to witness and to shower the blessings to the couple. At the same time girl's guardian deities are also invoked to induct in *Mo-lha* classes of deities. The Lama places a *Tashi Torma* on the heads of couple and smear some butter on the foreheads of both the couple and declares them husband and wife and the bride bears the '*Pangden*' (a striped apron) as a symbol of having entered into wedlock. It signifies the infallibility and indestructibility of the bond of marriage and is not even removed after the husband is dead.

An exploration into types of marriages prevalent in the study area are also described in some literature on Sikkim by Risley (1894). Here, people largely observe traditional marriage practices. The respondents reveal that traditional marriages are still followed but clan exogamy occurs. However, due to various social-cultural changes which are taking place, there is a changing preference for non- traditional or popularly called love marriages. However, these days even where traditional weddings are taking place, the boy quietly sends a message to the girl through his friend to know her opinion. (Balicki, 2002) These days even love marriages are arranged into traditional marriages. In light of the foregoing discussion of the marriage practices followed in Sikkim and a brief discussion of marriage rituals, two questions were explored in the field setting and presented here through empirical data. Firstly, what type of marriage is prevailing in the contemporary Bhutia society of Sikkim and secondly, how does it affect the position of women in Bhutia society.

As is apparent from the above data [Table: 2 b (i)], a mixed trend appeared. In East district more Bhutia women (64percent) are opting for love marriages now. This may be due to constant exposure of boys and girls in the school, college and at work places. However, in North district as apparent in the present study, traditional marriages (66percent) are still preferred.

Further elaboration of whether love marriages were acceptable amongst the Bhutias was taken up with the respondents. When questioned whether inter-community marriages were acceptable in the Bhutia society, the respondents said that after resistance from some quarters inter community marriage is finally accepted. This view of the respondents is in consonance with the result obtained in the present study. In three districts the respondents said that were free to marry outside their community. However in

Table: 2 b (ii)

Acceptance of intercommunity marriage

Response	Can marry outside community (%)	Cannot marry outside community (%)
East	90	10
North	92	8
West	60	40
South	40	60

Source: Field survey

Table: 2 b (iii)

Women's consent in the selection of the spouse

District	Low(%)	Medium(%)	High(%)
East	0	20	80
North	4	32	64
West	16	40	44
South	4	36	50

Source: Field survey

South, this result was opposite [Table: 2 b (ii)], where, 60percent of the respondents said that they were not allowed to marry outside their community and even if they got married they were not accepted by the family. If a Bhutia girl gets married to a boy of a different community, the boy has to pay fine to the family of the girl for the formal acceptance of their marriage.

While marriage with Bhutias remains desirable, alliances with Tibetans and especially Buddhist Lepchas have now become totally acceptable in Sikkim. Many Kaji families are descendents of such families, while the Namgyal family had imported brides from Tibetan aristocracy.

Irrespective of preference of the type of marriage the women had, they were questioned whether they had any choice or consent in the selection of the spouse.

It is discernible from the data [Table: 2 b (iii)].

The position was rated high and given a score of 3, when the respondent has the freedom to select her partners, medium and given a score of 2 when it was jointly selected by the parents and the girl and low with a score of 1 when she was forced to marry a person of her parents choice. The result [Table: 2 b (iii)], showed that when it came to marriage the Bhutia women hold a high position in the society. The freedom to select life partner, as has been stated by Acharya and Bennett (1982) gives women greater autonomy affecting their work participation and greater input in decision-making. Several anthropological case studies have reported that in tribal community women have more freedom to choose their life partner (Mann, 1987; Jogdand, 1995).

It will be interesting to know that Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 has been extended to Sikkim with effect from 1 May 1989. However, this law is not applicable to the Bhutia-Lepcha community as they have been declared as scheduled tribes. So the

marriage and divorce of the Bhutia-Lepcha people of Sikkim are still regulated by pure customary laws. Truly speaking, there is no difference between divorce and desertion and when the couple does not pull on well, they can be separated easily by mutual consent. Bhutia-Lepcha people, even from elite families, hardly go to court for either legal separation or divorce.

There is therefore, no hard and fast rule regarding the custody of the children when the marriage is broken. The elders of the family or of the society settle the issues relating to the custody of the children as to whom the children should go. If there is more than one child then both father and mother may take one or two children with them as per the direction of the elders. The question of maintenance of the children is also decided by the elders. The children may stay with their grand-parents, if they so desire. The divorced wife is also free to get married again with whom she likes. She can take the children of her first marriage along with her to her second husband's house (Bhattacharya, 1994). Therefore it can be summarized that unlike the other women in rest of the country, Bhutia woman holds a good position in making decisions about her marriage.

4c (ii) Right To Ancestral Property:

As the Bhutia-Lepcha people follow the patriarchal family system, all the property either movable or immovable, belongs to the father or head of the family. After the death of the father, the eldest son becomes the head of the family as well as care-taker of the property. As far as the property matters are concerned, the women, except for their movable personal belongings, ornaments and utensils etc., do not have any legal right in the family property.

Though the Bhutia women have no legal right in the property, usually, the daughters, sisters, aunts and near cousins are given gifts in the form of livestock,

domestic animals, utensils, ornaments etc. Affluent people sometimes give a piece of cultivated land or a house to the daughter or sister. This is generally given on compassionate grounds. During the field observations, one or two such cases were found where Bhutia a girl had married a Nepali boy with low economic status. Looking at their condition, the girl's parents gave her some land and a house on her name. In another case a widow was handed over the property of her parents for good bringing up her children.

Indian Hindu laws of succession, inheritance and marriage are not applicable to the Bhutia people in Sikkim. The Bhutia people in Sikkim are still governed and guided by their customary laws in respect of marriage, inheritance and also of succession.

The Bhutia daughters in Sikkim have no right to inherit the properties of their fathers, even when there are no sons in the family. When a Bhutia man dies leaving behind him his widow and daughter only and no sons, the widow shall inherit the property only for her life and on her death, the property shall go back to male kins of her late husband, but not to the daughter. She is not entitled to sell, transfer or mortgage that property of her late husband. If she remarries she holds no right to the property of her late husband.

The Bhutia women may, however, acquire property by way of gift or under a will from her father or other relations. However, under the "Married Women" Property Regulation Act, 1962, if a Bhutia woman marries a non-Bhutia person, she will have to dispense her rights to properties.

According to this Regulation:

1. "A Sikkimese woman who holds immovable property in Sikkim at the time of her marriage shall continue to hold such property notwithstanding her marriage with a person who is not Sikkim subject and shall have the power to

dispose of such property either by sale, mortgage or otherwise to a Sikkim subject during her life time.”

2. “A Sikkimese women married to a person who is not a Sikkim subject shall have no right to acquire any immovable property or any interest in such property in the territory of Sikkim subsequent to her marriage.”
3. “If a Sikkimese women marries a person who is not a Sikkim subject the husband and any offspring born of that marriage shall acquire no interest in any immovable property which she may hold in Sikkim by virtue of section 4 of this Regulation.”

This regulation has not yet been repealed by the Legislature and continues to be in force. Under the Government Proclamation of 1968, a Sikkimese woman was to lose her Sikkim subjectship if she married a non-Sikkimese.

Therefore, the position of Bhutia woman in the society in terms of property rights is not very high. In spite of this, Bhutia women in Sikkim still enjoy more freedom economically and socially as compared to the women in other parts of India.

4d. CASE STUDY:

1. Thamu Bhutia is a resident of North Sikkim and is 60 years old. She did not have any formal education and was married at the age of 24. Her husband was a farmer by occupation and when he expired, Thamu was only 35 years old and had three children. She was married to her husband’s younger brother who was a peon in the Agriculture Department. She had another son from her second husband but he also expired after four years of his marriage. It was after this that hell broke on her. She was badly treated by her in-laws and even referred to as a ‘witch’. She felt that she could support her family with the little pension she was getting,

though it was not enough. Seeing her deplorable condition her parents gave her a small cardamom field. Since immovable property is not given to the girls, she also had to face a lot of hostility from her brothers, but Thamu fought all these hardships. Her children have now grown and she is able to give them good education. Her eldest son is a teacher in the primary school of Tingchim, one is a lama and other a constable in Sikkim Armed Police. Her youngest son works in the cardamom field and she still accompanies him to work. She feels this field is the last memory of her parents and she should give her labour till the last.

2. Lizhum Bhutia is 28 years old, unmarried and a resident of Tingchim. She has had education till class 10 but could not complete it. She wanted to start again but because of paucity of money, she could not continue her studies. She took up a job in SITCO watch factory, Gangtok, and worked for eight months. She had to leave her job due to defective eyesight. She returned home and joined a tailoring course in Mangan. After she completed her course she returned and started to work on her small agricultural plot. She was not even given a certificate and her remunerations were not paid which made her very despondent.

Lizhum lost her father when she was a child and saw her mother struggle. She does not want to get married because she has seen how badly husbands treated their wives. She will only marry after she sees the boy and spends some time with him. Another reason why she has chosen to remain unmarried is because her brothers are not yet married and her mother will be left alone. However, she feels now the economic position of the family has improved and they can even afford to keep a groom at home, she admits with a smile. She intends to get married after her brothers are married and wants to marry in her own community. She feels

inter-community marriage requires a lot of adjustment and generally one's emotions and sentiments are hurt. For her, marriage is a commitment and she will prefer if the person she marries does not consume alcohol because alcoholism results in breaking homes.

3.Cheney Doma Bhutia is 30 years old and is a resident of Ralong (South Sikkim). She got married when she was 28 years old and has received no formal education. She met her husband at Singtam Bazar, he belongs to the Tamang Community. Since he was a driver by profession, he slowly started coming to Ralong to meet her. She saw him for five years before she finally got married. Her parents were against the marriage because the boy was already married and not from the same community and if she married him it would also jeopardize chances of her young sisters marriage. However, since she was already four months pregnant they had to give their consent. The boy's economic position was much lower than hers so she had to live in very poor conditions. She had liked the boy because he loved her a lot and used to take her for long drives. Now, her husband spends most of the time with his first wife. He was not even with her the day her child was born. The child was born at home with the help of an auxiliary nurse. She regrets not having any education and even marrying a man from other community. She now lives with her parents and works on the agricultural land they have. She rises at 6.00 in the morning, does all the domestic chores and then goes to the field with her child and returns at 4.00 p.m. when inquired what she would call her child, she said, he is a Bhutia and will remain a Bhutia. She has got herself operated and does not want any more children or even wants to marry. Her husband visits her once in a while but she says her love for him has died. Although 30 she looks

much older. This reflects the hardships of her life. She does not believe in getting dressed well and has no dreams for herself but has many dreams for her only child.

* Names of the respondents have been changed

4e. Summary:

Bhutia woman in the family occupies a pivotal position and performs her duties well, both as a mother and a wife. However, she is not able to exercise her choice fully when it comes about planning the family size and practising family planning methods. The result of the actual number of children and ideal number of children is quoted as same. Although women are aware of family planning devices, in most of the cases methods are adopted after completion of family and on the advice of their husbands.

On the marriage front, women in majority of the cases have a choice in selection of the spouses. A noticeable change is seen in the attitude of the society towards inter community marriages, a shift was also seen from traditional form of marriage to love marriages. However, traditional form of marriage still remains the first choice. Therefore, Bhutia women command a high position in the institution of marriage and her position is also accentuated by the fact that bride price form of marriage is practised. In Sikkim the bride price is given to honour the girl. But when it comes to dissolution of marriage they are governed by pure customary laws, there is no difference between dissolution of marriage or dissolution. There is no system of exchange of any documents and divorce is generally decided in the presence of relatives or village elders. The society is in favour of widow remarriage but no ceremony is performed. If a widow remarries,

Plate: 3 C and 3 D The thorn hurdles created for the grooms party by the girls side as they approach the house.



Plate 3C



Plate 3D

her right to claim property from her former husband ceases .The son succeeds the property of the father. The woman does not inherit property in her father's house or her husband's home. The daughters do not have a share in the family property, but may get a share as per the wishes of her father. The "Married Women Property Regulation Act", 1962 further imposes restriction on Bhutia women thus curtailing freedom in marriage and ownership of property .Despite all theseBhutia women do command a medium position in society in her family, kinship and marriage system.

4f. Articles used during wedding:

PLATE 3C and 3D:- As per Sikkimese tradition, grooms party have to cross through three thorn hurdles on the way, when they approach the girl's house. Each hurdle is kept on the way one after another at a distance of 21 yards and guarded by two women, each carrying a stinging nettle to give a symbolic checking to the groom's party.

- a) First hurdle : is made to check and ask them whether the bride price and other relevant articles as per the demand made in the earlier ceremonies have been brought or not.
- b) Second hurdle: is made to check and ensure that all the items presented to the relatives of the bride are complete in all respects.
- c) Third hurdle: is made to ask whether they have brought manglok or fee to village women folk which is usually called 'etmo-mang-po'. Mock beating of the middle man is also displayed by the women guarding the last hurdle.

Plate: 3 E The wooden horse or (Samaing Tapu) a symbol used for ragging the middle man.

Plate: 3 F The Khal-len or the oath ceremony performed by village priest.

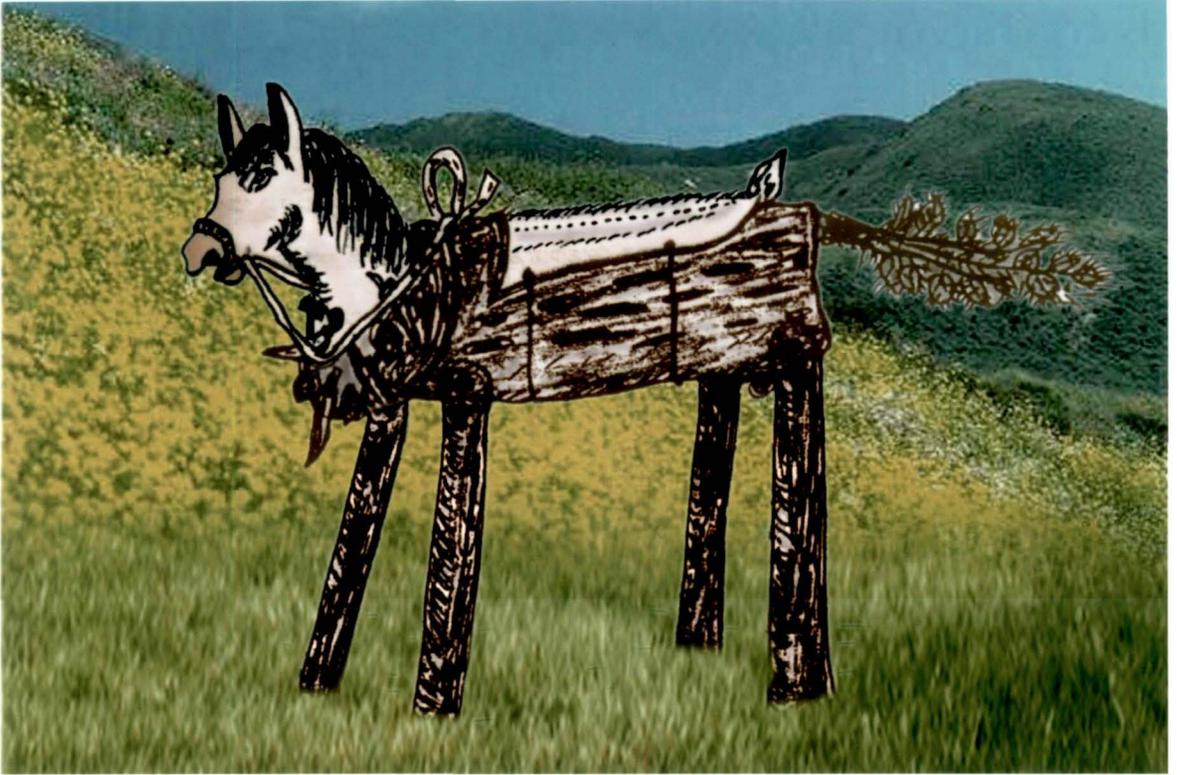


Plate 3E

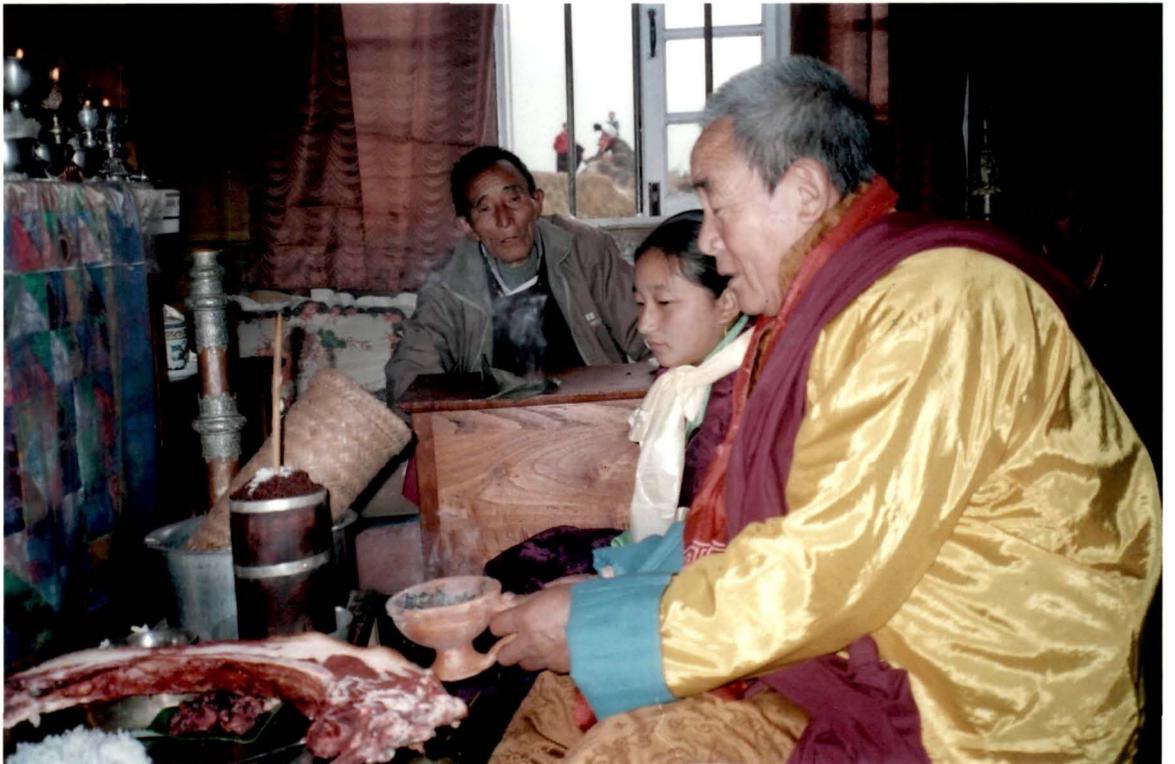


Plate 3F

PLATE 3E :

Samsing Tapu (Wooden horse)

After this, the middle man is given some symbolic ragging by asking him to ride on the wooden horse.

Description of the wooden horse:-

- a) Body is made of chilawne log.
- b) Saddle is made with bamboo barks, which causes itching to the skins
- c) Horsetail is made up of red chilly and charcoal. This is to drive away the negative effects.

The middleman is exempted only if he pays some cash as an exemption fee to the women.

PLATE 3F:

Khal-len/Shal- len (Honourific word)

This is an oath ceremony performed by village priest to make bride and bride groom as husband and wife under the observation of local guardian deities and one's ancestral deities and also seek blessings from them before they become a married couple.

Procedure

The groom's party has to make a request with cash, wine and khada to the village priest to perform the Khal-Len rites.

He will be assisted by an unmarried woman to offer the wine and one male assistant to arrange the following ceremonial articles.

- a) A marwa filled wooden jar with net and serving spoon.
- b) A plate of cooked rice with a piece of boiled meat.

Plate: 3 G The Thab-ra believed to be a spiritual boundary.

Plate: 3 H Chabzang, a pot placed for prosperity.



Plate 3G

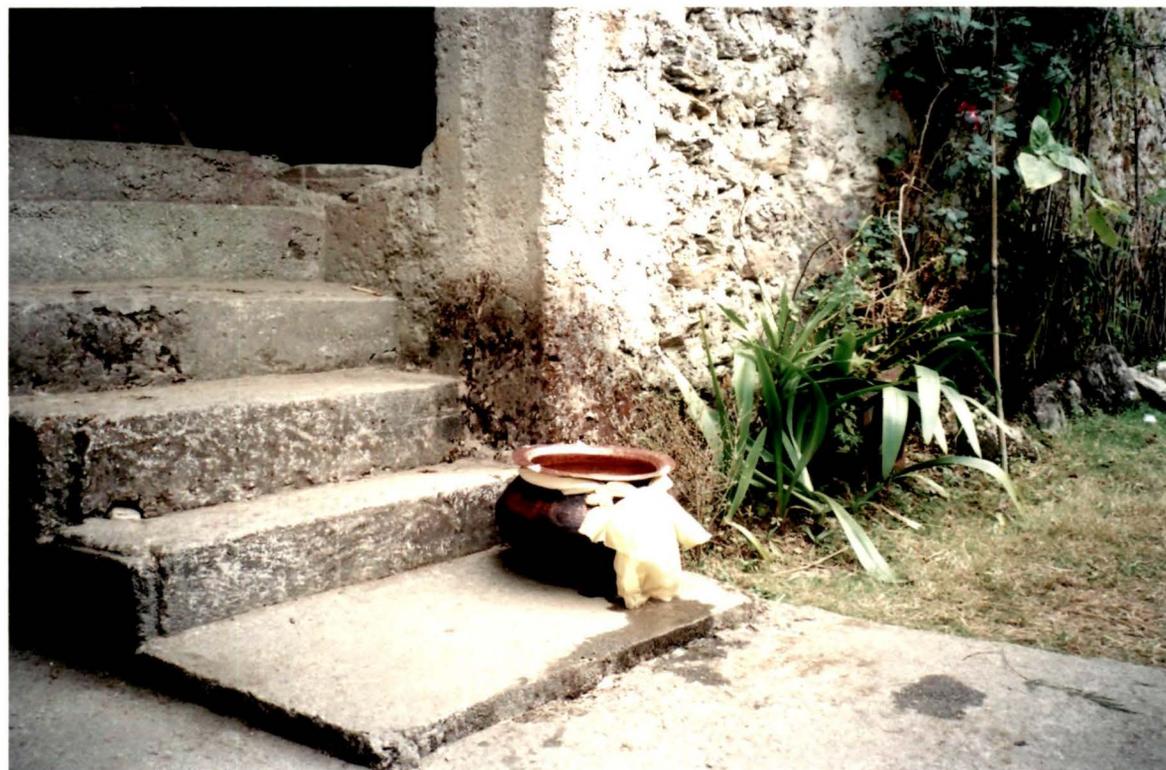


Plate 3H

- c) Some rice in saucer.
- d) A cup of plain water.
- e) Incense burnt in a pot.

PLATE 3G: Thab-ra

Thabra is often made near the gate of the courtyard of the bridegroom's house.

A bamboo fencing is made upon three shoots of plant and three bamboo cylinders filled with water are placed beside each shoot. Three fuel woodpiles are kept at the front of the fence.

This structure is believed to be a spiritual boundary between boy's ancestral deities and the girl's guardian deities. The head of the bridal party has to perform a short ritual there by offering water (in the cylinder) and appeal to the girl's guardians deities to return and seek a permission from the boy's ancestral deities to enter into the house with the bride. After this he ties a Khada to each shoot.

PLATE 3H: Chabzang/Temdey

At the entrance of the main door, a copper pot filled with water is installed as an auspicious sign at both the houses, as per Sikkimese tradition.

The pot is ornamented with butter paste and Khada.

Any party, who enters the house puts a coin to bring house prosperity to the home.

PLATE 3I:

Due -tse Yarche arrangement.

Due-tse yarche is a special wine prepared with extracted marwa or country liquor.

It is made tasty by adding sugar cube, honey and molasses.

Plate: 3 I Due-tse Yarche arrangement.

Plate: 3 J The Tashi Tarma.

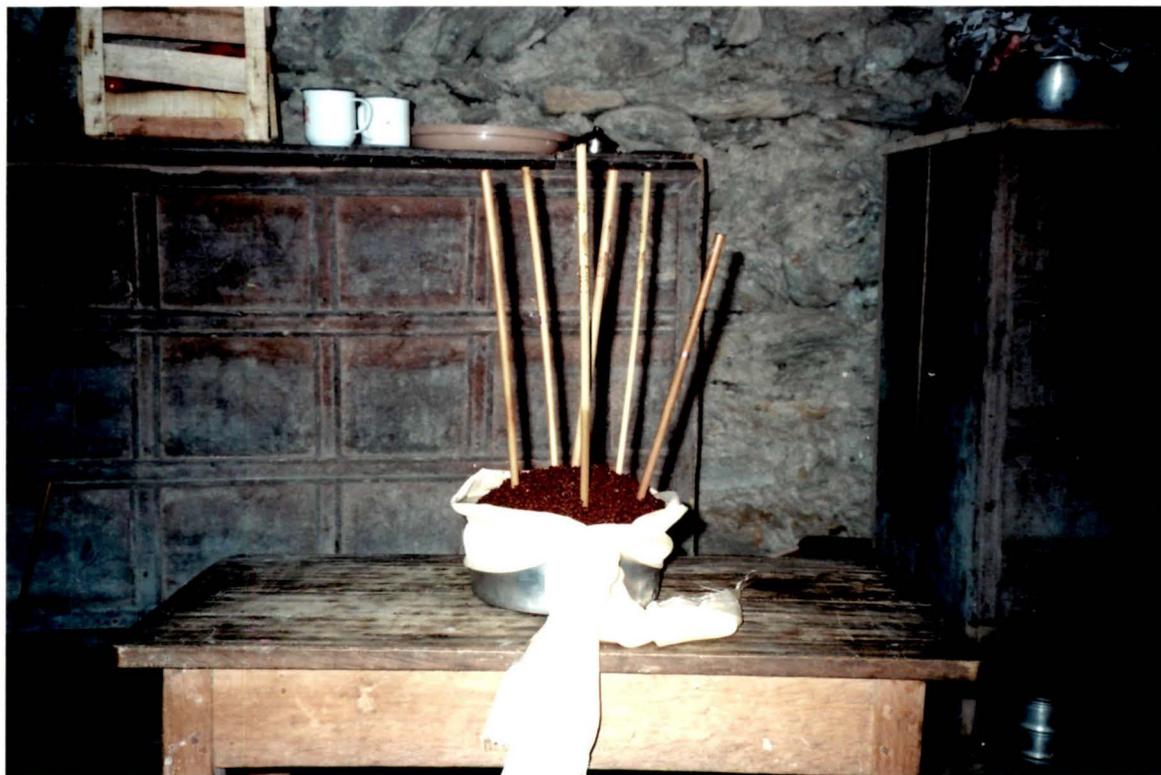


Plate 3I



Plate: 3 K and 3 L The Khau and Khachang.



Plate3K



This Duetse is served to following persons:-

1. Head Lama who officiates the marriage
2. Head of groom's party and bridal party.
3. Father of bride/bride groom.
4. Mother of bride/bride groom.
5. Bride groom
6. Bride.

PLATE 3J:

Tashi Torma: is actually preparation in groom's house. It is a symbol of clans to show how clans originated from Khye-Bumsa.

PLATE 3K and 3L: Khau:

Khaus are of two type , one is the religious khau and other is the traditional Khau which is used for marriage. The religious Khau is a big amulet (a thing worn to ward of evil) which is tied from around the left shoulder till the waist. In front of the Khau there is a glass window in which figures of deities are kept. It is hollow from inside in which holy charms provided by the lamas are kept. However, the modern Khaus are smaller and are called Khachang and are worn by the married women. Khaus are made of Yu (turquoise stone) and Phyr (red Tibetan coral) Khachangs are also made of silver so that they can be worn by every woman (Dokhangba , 2001).

References:

- Acharya, M. and Bennett, L. (1982) "Women and the Subsistence Sector: Economic Participation and Household Decision Making in Nepal". *World Bank Staff working Paper* No. 526. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Bhasin, V. (1989) *Ecology, Culture and Change: Tribals of Sikkim Himalayas*. Tribal Studies of India Series T 1333 Inter India Publication, New Delhi.
- Brown, A. R. (1941) "The Study of Kinship System". *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. No. 71.
- Brown, A.R. (1952) *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. The Free Press, Glencoe. Illinois.
- Bhattacharya, A. (1994) "The Bhutia-Lepcha Women in Sikkim: Tradition and Reponse to Change". In Lama, P.M (ed.), *Sikkim- Society, Polity, Economy, Environment*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi
- Caldwell, J.C. Reddy, P.H. and Caldwell, P. (1983) "The Cases of Marriage Change in South India." *Population Studies*, 37(3): P 343-361.
- Dokhangba, G.S. (2001) *Barfung Lingdam Dolue Sikkimese Marriage Customs and Rights*. Amit Offest Press,Siliguri
- Draft Report on Customary Laws and Usages of Bhutia Community of Sikkim No. 53, Dtd. 08.02. 2002 Government of Sikkim, Law Department, Gangtok.
- Edgar, J.W. (1874) *Sikkim and Tibetan Frontier*, Calcutta.
- Eshleman, R. J. (1997) *The Family-An Introduction*. Eight Edition Wayne State University. Allyn and Bacon.
- Goldstein, M.C (1971) "Stratification, Polyandry, and Family structure in Central Tibet". *South Western Journal Anthropology* 27, P 64-74.

- Goode, J.W. (1963) *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, The Free Press, New York.
- Goody, J. (1973) "Bride-Wealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia", in J.Goody and S.J.Tambiah, Eds. *Bride Wealth and Dowry*, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, P. 1-58.
- Homans, C.G. (1961) *Social Behaviour: Its Elementry Forms* .New York Harcourt, Brace and World
- Jogdand, P.G. (1995) *Dalit Women in India*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Kroeber, A.L. (1952) "The Societies of Primitive Man". In A.L.Kroeber edited. *The Nature of Culture*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Kotturan, G. (1989) *Folk Tales of Sikkim*. Sterling Publications Pvt. Ltd.
- Levine, N. (1982) "Belief and Exploration in Nyinba Womens Witch Craft". *Man* 17, P 259-274
- Lindenbaum, S. (1981) "Implication for Women of Changing Marriage Transactions in Bangladesh", *Studies in Family Planning*, 12(11): P 394-401.
- Lowie, R. H. (1950) *Social Organisation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Majumdar, D. N. and Madan, T. N. (1970) *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. Asia Publishing House, Bombay.
- Mann, K. (1987) *Tribal Women in a Changing Society*. Mittal Publication, Delhi.
- Murdock, G.P. (1965) *Social Structure*. The Macmillan Co. 9th ed, New York.
- Nakane, C. (1966) "A Plural Society in Sikkim". In C. Von Furer – Haimendorf (ed), *Caste and Kin in India, Nepal and Ceylon*. Asian Publishing House, .Bombay.

- Lengermann, P. M. and Brantley, J.N. (1988) "Contemporary Feminist Theory", in George Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York P282-325.
- Parson, T. (1951) *The Social System*. The Free Press
- Parson, T. and Bales, E. R. (1955) *Family Socialization and Interaction Process* New York .Free Press.
- Rivers, W.H.R. (1924) *Social Organization* New York. Risley,
- Risley, H.H. (1894) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*: Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta.
- Saxena, R.R. (2001). "Changing Roles of Indian Women in Society", Vol. :48 (5); Aug. *Social welfare*, P.27.
- Schlegel, A. and Eloul E. (1988) "Marriage Transactions: Labour, Property, Status". *American Anthropologist*, 90(2): P 291-309.
- Sen, J. (1978) "Status of Women among Tribe", *Tribal women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta.
- Spardley, J. P. and David Curdy, W.M.C. (1975) *Anthropology: Cultural Perspective*.
- Spiro, M.E. (1975) "Marriage Payments: A Paradigm for the Burmese Perspective". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 31(2): P 89-115.
- Tambiah, S.J. (1973) "Dowry and Bride-Wealth and the Property Rights of Women in South Asia", in J. Goody and S.J. Tambiah, eds. *Bride-Wealth and Dowry*, P. 59-169, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, L. (1993) "Conceptualizing Gender in Marriage. The Case of Marital Care", *Journal of Marriage and Family* 55 (August): P 557-569.

- Westermarck, E. (1921) *History of Human Marriages*. 3 Vols., 5th Ed., Macmillan, London.
- Walker, J.A. Martin.K.S. And Thompson, L. (1988) “Feminist Programs for Families”, *Family Relation* Jan P 17-22.
- White, J.M. (1991) *Dynamics of Family Development*, A Theoretical Prespective. The Guilford Press, New York.
- Yalman, N. (1967) *Under the Bo Tree*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chapter V

5. Women In Work And Decision-Making

In the chapter dealing with the socio-economic, conditions of Bhutia women in Sikkim, it is observed that majority of them also participated in various activities outside the house, like attending to farm labour, horticulture, post harvest operations and tending domestic animals besides their household chores. The work structure of women has a lot of effect on decision making (Lodha, 2000). Number of studies conducted in third world countries reveal significant variations about women's economic activities outside the home. With the exception of Malaysia, women in South – East Asia enjoy relative freedom to engage in and out of house economic activities. Kallgren, (1977) observes that in South Asia female non – familial activities are restricted by cultural constraints of female mobility and female seclusion. However, according to Durand (1975) Women's participation is greater in agriculture than in the non – agriculture sectors. A similar trend is also observed in Bhutia society of Sikkim in the present study. A study in Pakistan also indicates that approximately 73 percent of women belonging to agricultural household are in labour force. Among them 54 percent are engaged in agricultural work on their family farms (United Nations 1993). In another study, Boserup (1970) observes that the proportion of women as agricultural wage labourers are 44 percent in India, 40 percent in Sri Lanka, 39 percent in Malaysia and 35 percent in Thailand. Palileo (1995) observes that the proportion of female working population engaged in agricultural and related activities range from over 50 percent in Korea and Sri Lanka to 80 percent in India, Pakistan, Thailand, Malaysia and Nepal. Thus, the nature and magnitude varies from region to region and even within a region their participation changes according to social hierarchies, farming pattern, socio- economic status and even ecological zones

(Swaminthan, 1985). In the hill areas tribal women are much heavily burdened. Hutton (1922) describes how among the Lhota Nagas in Nagaland, women work side by side with men. However, among them in the field as well as at home work is divided between the sexes. Lama (1994) notes that among the Lepcha and Bhutia households, heavier works are often performed by men. Except ploughing women are actively involved in agriculture. Both men and women run small business and shops. Women also work as porters. Thus there is hardly any activity which women do not perform. However, there is a dearth of studies, which show the relationship between work structure of Bhutia tribal women and its impact on her position in her decision – making role especially in Sikkim.

This chapter tends to examine the availability of work opportunities for the Bhutia women in the study area, the nature of their work participation and it also deals with the direct indicators of autonomy and their impact in the decision making processes. The participation of women in work depends upon their education, socio – cultural values attached with their work and availability of work. In the traditional Bhutia society, women share agricultural work equally with men but development of new social conditions have changed their working conditions. An enquiry with regard to availability of work reveals that Bhutia women work in Government services, as Traders or in Handicrafts / Handloom sector. Most of these women mainly work in agriculture, yet jobs in Government services like teaching, nursing are also available to them. The educated Bhutia/ Lepcha is getting more and more interested in joining administrative services. Even the young Bhutia / Lepcha woman with peasant backgrounds is migrating to urban areas to seek white-collar jobs in government, semi- government and other offices (Bhattacharya, 1994). Bhutia women's participation outside their homes has

Table: 3a (i)**Employment opportunities**

Employment	Number	Percentage
No response	1	0.5
Agriculture	120	60
Trade	20	10
Government service	50	25
Handicraft/handlooms	3	1.5
Others	6	3

Source: Field survey

Table: 3a (ii)**Nature of work participation**

Nature of work	Number	Percentage
Govt. service and household	40	20
Household, agriculture, horticulture	60	34
Household, agriculture, Trader	68	30
Student and household	10	5
Household	22	11

Source: Field survey

Table: 3a (iii)

Average hours of work in the household

Hours of work	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	6	3
3	0	0
4	6	3
5	126	63
6	50	25
8	12	6

Source: Field survey

Table: 3a (iv)

Average number of hours spent on work other than household

Hours of work	Number	Percentage
Not applicable	6	3
3	3	1.5
4	5	2.5
5	100	50
6	76	38
8	10	5

Source: Field survey

increased due to increasing urbanization which is reflected from the opportunities which are available to them.

The field survey [Table: 3a (i)] reveals that in the North, South and West districts of Sikkim, agriculture is the main occupational opportunity available to the Bhutia women. This is mainly due to the fact that agriculture is widely practiced in these districts. In the East district women have some degree of occupational diversification, whereas in case of other districts opportunities remain limited. However, women's twin role of housekeeper and also a contributor to family income restricts their mobility in and around the village as they pursue these opportunities very close to their residential places. Along with the availability of employment opportunities, the analysis of nature of work participation of the respondents is also done. The data [Table: 3a (ii)] indicates that majority of the women are involved in the household, agricultural and horticultural activities. Women in the East district are involved either in household, government activities or even just household activities.

The question about the number of hours they spend on carrying out their household activities reveals that most of the women are hard working. The data [Table:3a(iii)] indicate that 63 percent women, on an average spend 5 hours in household and 25 percent women spend 6 hours in meeting their household needs. The number of women spending more than eight hours is only 6 percent. Bhutia women after spending time in the household activities, utilizes the remaining time for other income supplementing activities. In comparison to data in the above table the data in table [Table:3a(iv)] reveals that in addition to their household work 50 percent of the Bhutia women spend an average of 5 hours work in other than the household activities.

Table: 3a (v)

Men's attitude towards women's work

Attitude	Number	Percentage
No appreciation	33	20
Appreciation	74	34
Do not say anything	93	30

Source: Field survey

Table: 3a (vi)

Women's Attitude towards women's work Outside Home

Attitude	Number	Percentage
High	64	20
Medium	86	34
Low	50	30

Source: Field survey

About 38 percent women spend 6 hours in work other than household activities. The number of women spending 3 hours is only 1.5 percent, which means that Bhutia women in Sikkim are doubly burdened. Similar results are also reported by Rath et al. (1988) in a study of tribal women in Orissa where out of the total 16.50 working hours per day of women, 7.50 hours are allocated to field and forest related activities. Similar result is also reported for farmwomen of Sikkim by Lapche (1987). Women's work participation also depends on the attitudes which men have towards their participation because only when women have the consent from the males they can work without any pressures.

The table [Table: 3a (v)] discerns that 20percent men do not appreciate women working outside and 30percent generally do not have any problem with the women working. This indicates that generally Bhutia men in Sikkim appreciate women working outside. In a civic society, the progress of women in the society also depends upon the work being appreciated by women themselves because unless and until women perceive a high status for themselves they will not have it.

Women are given a high position and a score of 3, if they work for economic independence, a medium position and a score of 2 if they work for supporting their family and a low position and a score of 1 if they feel it is only a compulsion. The data in [Table: 3a (vi)] provides a clue that women's work outside home has a medium level of appreciation amongst the women themselves. A high level of appreciation is felt by 20 percent women who feel that working outside gives them economic independence and helps in their personal growth. 30 percent of women have a low level of appreciation. This is indicated by those women who feel that there is no alternative but it is an economic compulsion. Women however generally feel that their work should be

recognized and this recognition should be forthcoming from the members of their families.

The data with regard to women's occupation, their work participation and the attitude of men and women reveal that most of the women are found participating in work irrespective of the attitude of men. Bhutia men however, do not indicate a pessimistic attitude towards women's participation. Do women's work participation outside home and the contribution they make to the family income enables them to have a say in the decision making in the family? Economic freedom provides women self – assurance and self – confidence, resulting in changes in their attitudes, aspiration and effective participation in different walks of life. Therefore, the impact of her work participation should be felt in their field of decision making.

5a. Decision making:

Decision making involves allocation of resources and distribution of roles within family. In other words, the extent to which women have equal voice in matters affecting themselves and their families, their control over material and other resources, the authority to make decisions, and freedom from constraints on physical mobility. They are all included under decision making. These are also important indicators of autonomy. Autonomy has been defined as 'the degree of women's access to, and control over material resources (including food, income, land and other forms of wealth) and to social resources (including knowledge, power and prestige) within the family, in the community, and in the society at large' (Dixon, 1978). Decision making is one component that reflects women's position in different areas of household, managements, economic participation, access to resources (Upadhyaya, 1991).

These alternate dimensions of autonomy have rarely been measured empirically and what have been routinely used for analyses are education, marriage age, profits of economic activity etc. which are regarded as inadequate for measuring dimensions of female autonomy. According to Dalhstrom (1967) one of the most important objectives of the feminist movement is removal of various external barriers to ensure equal influence and participation in decision making by women with men in family as well as public life.

When a woman works she increases her ability to sanction or control; because of the financial contribution she makes to the family she wants to have a say in family affairs and wants herself to be involved in decision making regarding children's education, shopping, budgeting or financial matters.

In the course of interview with Bhutia women they were asked a battery of questions concerning their autonomy and decision making power within the household. The inclusion of these dimensions will allow a better understanding of the position in the various decision making processes. Four dimensions of autonomy are selected and indices for each were created. Economic decision making authority and child related decision making; mobility; freedom from threat from husband; access to economic resources and extent of ownership right over material possession are taken into consideration.

5a (i) Economic decision – making authority:

Economic decision – making authority is represented by information on the participation in three economic decisions: the purchase of food, major household goods and jewellery. When a woman has not been consulted or does not buy any asset she is given a score of 1 or low. If the woman has been consulted she is given a score of 2 or

medium and if a women has chosen these articles on her own she is given a score of 3 or high.

5a (ii) Children related decision:

Children related decision making authority is represented by information on whether the woman is the main decision maker on issues as what to do if a child falls ill, discipline, how far to educate children and what type of school should children attend. The women is given a score of 1 or low when she has no say at all, 2 or medium if she makes a decision on any two or three issues and she is given a score 3 or high if she is a major decision – makers in all four. A sample of 200 respondents was taken separately for this study.

5a (iii) Mobility:

The mobility sums five places – the health centre, the home of a relative or friend, the market, cinema and the neighboring village. She is given a score of 1 or low if she can go only if escorted, 2 or medium if she goes unescorted but needs permission for going to some of the places and if she can move about unescorted without permission to every place, she is given a score of 3 or high.

5a (iv) Freedom from threat:

The index of freedom from threat ranges from 1 to 3. 1 or low is assigned to women who fear their husbands and are beaten by them; 2 or medium if they fear and are not beaten; 3 or high if they neither fear nor suffer beating at the hands of their husbands.

5a (v) Access to financial resources:

Access to financial resources is summed up in four questions: (a) having a say in how household income is to be spent; (b) getting cash to spend; (c) operating bank accounts; (d) being free to purchase small gifts or items of jewellery. A woman is given a

Table: 3b (i)

Bhutia women in decision making (access to economic assets)

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	6	66	28
North	20	50	28
West	30	56	14
South	30	70	10

Source: Field survey

Table:3b (ii)

Role of Bhutia women locational awareness and status of mobility

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	0	0	100
North	0	4	96
West	4	4	92
South	4	4	92

Source: Field survey

score 1 or low if she has no control over any of the resources and everything is looked after by her husband, in-laws or parents, 2 or medium if she has access to some resources but jointly with husband, parents or in-laws and a score 3 or high if she has independent access.

5a (vi) Control of ownership over material possession:

This includes questions like (a) whether any of the family's valuable (land/jewellery) belongs to the women (b) whether she can support herself through her own savings. This is measured with the help of giving score 1 or low if others (husband/in-laws) have ownership rights; 2 or medium if it is jointly owned and 3 or high if wife / respondents have sole right.

All these indicators of autonomy were used to analyze Bhutia women's position in society.

Economic decision-making is an important indicator of women's decision-making power in terms of their position in the household. Women's participation in work outside the house is conditioned by various regional and cultural factors and in most cases it is the compulsion of economic pressures that women go out to work. This fact has been acknowledged in a number of studies conducted on women's participation in work force in the developing countries (Niranjna 2000). Bajwa (1983) pointed out that women's economic role affects their position in the family. It is apparent from the respondent's response that in all the four districts women have a medium level of control when it comes to decision making on their economic assets. It was noted during the interviews that although she had control over decision on day today cooking/ procuring items but when it came to buying expensive items she did not have much say. The data [Table: 3b (i)] show that the women hadve medium position in access to economic assets in Sikkim.

Fig: 5 Physical mobility of Bhutia Women (Average of Four districts of Sikkim in 2004-2005)

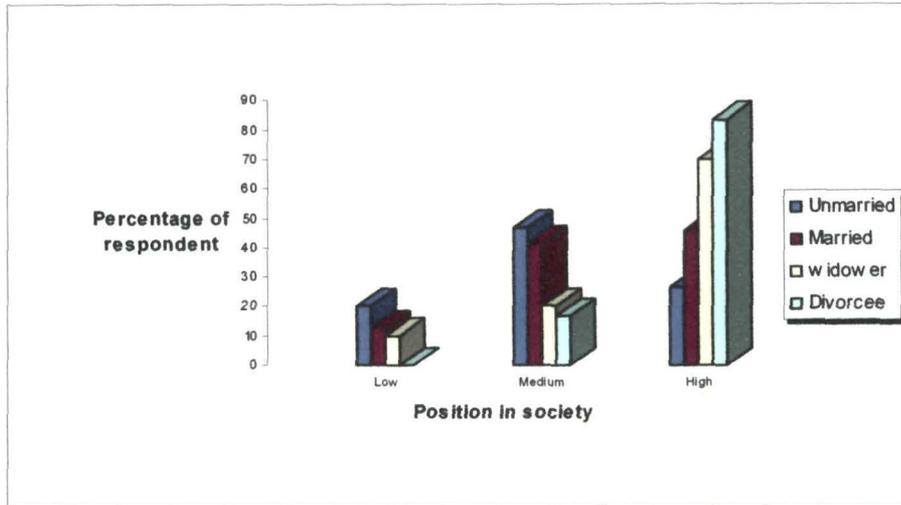
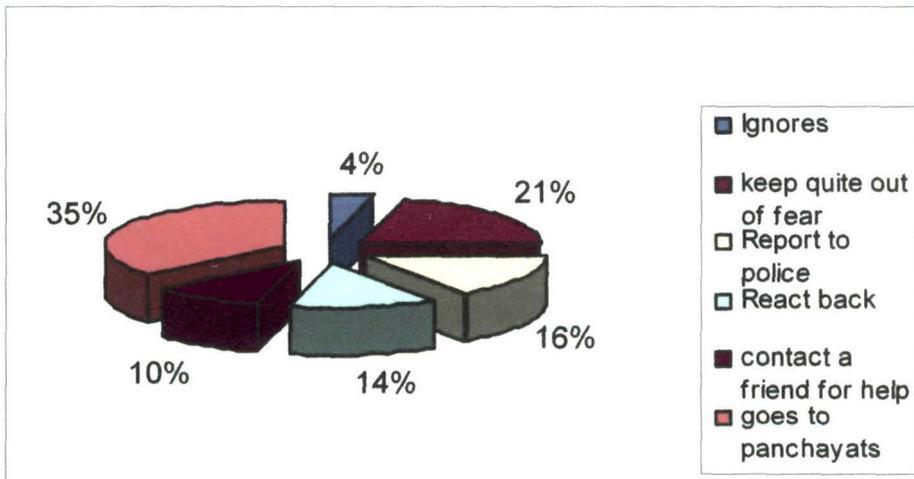


Fig: 6 Response to the victimization of Bhutia women by men and their family



Acharya and Bennett (1982); Badigar and Rao (1980); Parthasarthy (1988) have documented that women wage earners have better status within the household because their economic contribution to the family has greater visibility and their independent earning gives them a higher bargaining power enhancing their status in terms of decision making power. This may also be applicable to the Bhutia women of Sikkim. After the analysis of the economic contribution, information on their locational awareness and freedom of mobility is sought. The study (Fig.5) reveals that the unmarried and married women are allowed to move alone with prior permission either from parents/husband that means they have a medium degree of freedom when it comes to their freedom of mobility. However, the divorcees and the widows in the Bhutia society score a high degree of freedom as they did not seek permission from anybody in the family since they have no questioning authority in the family. There is not a single instance in the sample area where the Bhutia women are not allowed to move out at all.

Female mobility out of the household for economic reasons increases their awareness and knowledge about the outside world. Acharya and Bennett (1982) reports that higher female mobility is associated with greater input in market economy increasing power over resource allocation and thus enhancing her status. Mobility also makes a women watchful about the general information of the locality and locational awareness. Several questions on location of important places like post office, bank, police station, hospital, children's school and husband's working place are made and it was found that the level of locational awareness is high and this could be related some what to the mobility, because female mobility is relatively high [Table: 3b(ii)] in Sikkim. The position of women in a particular society is also dependent upon the treatment which is meted out to her by her men folk. Therefore, a study was conducted to find out the same.

Table:3b (iii)

Response of Bhutia women to freedom from threat

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	0	0	100
North	0	2	98
West	0	2	98
South	0	3	97

Source: Field survey

Table: 3b (iv)

Role of Bhutia women in decision making (financial matters)

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	30	46	24
North	22	58	20
West	30	50	20
South	28	52	20

Source: Field survey

It is evident from the data [Table: 3b(iii)] taken, regarding the position of Bhutia women on the matter of domestic violence that more or less the Bhutia women neither fear nor are subjected to any violence. In East, district 100percent women respondents are found free from domestic violence. Generally, Bhutia men treat their women with respect and did almost never indulge in physical abuse. When questioned what should be the response of the women to the seldom victimization by men and the family, the following result was obtained.

In general the result shows that in Bhutia society, the women believe in equality and that reflects in their day today living. They retaliate when victimized by their men and family and very seldom they keep quiet out of fear. In case of very bad situation only, they are found to be reporting to the Panchayats. In rest of the minor cases, they usually are able to solve the problem with dignity. When questioned about why women were oppressed? It is the general opinion that alcohol is the main cause and under its effect only men sometimes misbehaved with their wives. Another reason cited was suspicion about the character of the wife. Such situations generally resulted in unpleasantness (Fig.6).

Ghai (1981) reported that women's ownership over productive resources increases their decision making power. One who controls the family property occupies an important position in the power hierarchy. Power over money is an important factor in decision-making and control over finances reveals one's position within the household.

In Sikkim, in the Bhutia society it is generally observed [Table: 3b (iv)] that in the entire four districts the women have a medium degree of hold over the financial matter in the family. Majority of the women could not draw money without the consent

Table: 3b (v)

Role of Bhutia women in decision making regarding children

District	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
East	16	48	36
North	20	62	18
West	34	60	6
South	36	60	4

Source: Field survey

of their husbands which shows their lack of control in the family financial resources. Though, their self determined decision in operating bank account would have indicated greater degree of financial autonomy, it does not apply in many cases in Sikkim. Children- centered decision making is also an important indicator which affects women's position and autonomy in the family.

Among the Bhutias, because of the patriarchal of the society, women are free to take independent decision with some control over the decision-making about the education of children. Therefore, it can be summarized that she enjoys a medium position and generally takes decision with concurrence of her husband. The result [Table: 3b(v)] presented in all the tables confirms that Bhutia women have a medium level of decision making authority.

5b.CASE STUDY:

1.Tshering Wangchuk Bhutia a is 32 year old married woman and a resident of Tathangchen, Gangtok. Her husband works in one of the Government Offices in Gangtok. She is a housewife and spends her time looking after her children and her household. She freely moves to the market to purchase articles for the household and is well aware of all the important places in Gangtok like Post Office, Hospital, and Police Station etc. She goes to pick up her children from school and teaches them. She is a dropout after class twelve. She has no idea as to how her husband makes investments because she never operates the bank account but he does give her money to run the house. Her parents stay in West Sikkim so she goes once a year to visit them with her children. She has no desire to work because her husband earns very well. She is very repelled with

the idea how husbands beat up their wives. Her Nepali neighbour faces this problem but never asks anyone for help. She tries to help her out with the intervention of women commission but the torture continues for this woman. She feels women's position in society is very much dependent upon the attitude of her parents before marriage and her husband after marriage.

2. Karma Doma Bhutia is 25 years old and is a resident of Gyalshing (West Sikkim). She is unmarried and works as a teacher in primary school in Gyalshing. She did her graduation from Gangtok and after her mother expired she returned to be with her father. She has two elder brothers who are staying in Gangtok, both of them have married girls of their choice. Karma represents modern Bhutia women, who lives life on her terms and conditions. She wants to marry of her own choice and is also ready to marry a boy of another community but he will have to stay in her father's house because he does not want to leave her father who is a cancer patient. She is very sure about the number of children she wants to have and will opt for a permanent birth control method after she has had two children. She feels women are responsible for the bad treatment they are meted out, she had even filed a complain against a Nepali man who used to beat up his wife. She feels it is cowardice to bear and not revolt. She feels her education has done a lot of good to her and feels every woman should be educated.

3. Noki is 34 years old and has two children. She is a resident of Tingchim (North Sikkim) and is a teacher by profession. She was working even before marriage in Dzongu. She had a love marriage which was traditionally performed and she moved to Tingchim and started working here in the primary school. She gets up

at 6'0 clock in the morning and after completing her household chores leaves for her school at 8:30a.m. She stays in an extended family, so she also has to look after her in-laws. She is working not because she gets economic freedom but for passing her time because her husband remains out of station for several days, as he is a driver by profession. She feels that economic independence does not exempt any woman from household chores. She can spend her money according to her own choice and even operates the bank account because her husband and in-laws are not educated. However, in important family matters it is always her in-laws who take the decisions. Her husband does not say anything about her working outside. She moves outside the house but always needs permission from her in-laws. She however does not feel that economic freedom amounts to a high position in society.

4. Pema Lahmu is 28 years old, unmarried and a resident of Barfung (South Sikkim). She works in her small field where she grows vegetables to sell in Rabong Bazar. She has had education till class 5 and because she was not a bright student she had to drop out of school. She has two elder brothers who are married and stay in Gangtok with their families. She stays with her parents and her younger brother. She spends 5 hours doing the household chores and devotes on an averages 6 hours in her own agricultural field. Her parents are very appreciative of her hard work and want that she should marry someone from Barfung so that they do not lose her labour. She is able to move freely in nearby areas and sometimes she is accompanied by her father or brother but most of the time she travels alone. Since she stays with her parents, they look after most of her requirements. She can cook food of her choice and even

purchase articles for the household of her own but she can never buy valuables like jewellery. She has some money which she can spend on her own, but she never visits any bank or takes any interest in any of the financial matters. Her parents want to give her some share in family property because she is the one who is looking after them. She commands a good position in the family.

5. Choden Bhutia is a 68 years old widow and a resident of Singyang (West Sikkim). She has four children who are all married, but she lives with her eldest son who is a farmer in Singyung. She does not do any household chores because she is very old now and has also developed cataract in her eyes. Her daughter in-law treats her with respect and her son always gives her some money for her personal use. Earlier she was very fond of weaving carpets but now because of her eye problem she is not able to do so. Once in a while she goes and sits in the shop which is jointly run by her middle son and his wife. She has visited Gyalshing which is the nearest town but has no idea about any of the important places like Post Office, Public Health Centre etc. She moves freely without permission to her neighbour's place and also visits her sister who stays nearby. She has some traditional jewellery, which she wears for special occasions, she wants to keep it because she wants to give it to her daughter. The land has already been divided between her three sons when her husband was alive so she feels she should give something to her daughter. She regrets not having any formal education but otherwise she is happy with her position in the family.

6. Rinzing Lhamu Bhutia is 35 years old and a resident of West Sikkim. She was eighteen years old when she married a Nepali boy (Rai) from East Sikkim. Her marriage was an inter community marriage and her parents refused to accept

her. She moved to Gangtok with her husband who was a driver and her two children were born within a span of four years of her marriage. Her husband started inflicting abuses on her and started quarrelling with her over small matters and finally one day he left her and started living with another girl. Rinzing took up a job in SITCO Watch factory and started looking after her children. In her extra time she makes hand knitted pullovers on order. She spends 5 to 6 hrs on her household work and approximately 6 to 7 hrs in the factory. She freely moves about and is aware of all the important locations of the society. She never asks her parents for any help but feels that she should have got her husband punished. She freely spends money because she says she has earned it. She wants to give the best of education to her two children who are now studying in Standard III and IV respectively. She feels education is a must. Although she does not have any assets to boast about yet she is happy with her life. She has her friends circle and feels that at some point of her life her parents will forgive her because that is one thing that she really misses.

* Names of the respondents have been changed

5c.Summary:

There is a definite pattern to the kinds of decisions in which women participate and they are generally not threatening in patriarchal context. All the dimensions of autonomy appear closely related and none of them are weak or less consistent. Bhutia women in almost every index of autonomy decision-making authority, mobility, access to and control over resources experience freedom as such. A highly gender- stratified culture was not seen and relations were equal. However, in most of the cases women do not take

decisions independently but always do with their husband's or in-law's parent's consent. Despite women working in economically gainful activities, they enjoy a moderate status in the economic as well as social affairs of the family. Wherever women enjoy a higher position it was because of a level of education. Education level which is a cognitive component can affect qualitatively. The time spent on work structure also increases awareness regarding access to resources. Acharya and Bennett (1982); Agarwal (1986); Kaur, (1987); Oberoi and Sandhu (1991) have also reported that women's involvement in decision making is associated with her educational level. With education and employment, her role in total management becomes very significant and she does not suffer from onerous and equitable position. The data with regard to their participation in household, agriculture, horticulture work indicate that the life of Bhutia women is burdened with these works. These women work on an average for 6 hours a day and these works supplement their household income and earn them the recognition from their men and family. It is therefore obvious that women's work gives them good social standing and also the right in decision making process of the family and in turn adds to their empowerment.

References

- Acharya, M. and Benett, L. (1982) "Women and the Subsistence Sector Economic Participation and Household Decision making in Nepal." *World Bank Staff Working Paper* No. 526 Washington DC World Bank.
- Agarwal, B. (1986) "Women Poverty and Agriculture Growth in India". *Indian Journal of Peasant Studies*. 13(4), P.165-200.
- Badigar, C.L. and Roa, M.K.S. (1980) "Participation of Farm Women in Decision Making on Farm and Home Aspects". *World Agricultural Economic and Rural Sociology Abstracts* 23(9) 740.
- Bajwa, A. (1984) "Decision Making by Rural Women in Selected Household Activities". *Unpublished Master's thesis* Ludhiana .Punjab Agricultural University.
- Bhattacharya, A. (1994) "The Bhutia-Lepcha Women in Sikkim: Tradition and Response to Change". In Lama, P.M (eds.), *Sikkim- Society, Polity, Economy, Environment*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Boserup, E. (1970) *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York George Allen and Unwin.
- Dalhstrom, E. (1967) *Changing Roles of Men and Women*, Duckworth, London.
- Dixon, R. (1978) *Rural Women at Work Strategies for Development in South Asia*, Baltimore. John Hopkins University Press.

- Niranjna (2000) *Status of Women Family Welfare*. Kanishka Publishers Distributors .New Delhi.
- Oberoi, K. and Sandhu, M. (1991) “Status of Women in the Society in Present situation”, In Puni R.K. (ed.) 1991. *Women in Agriculture. Their Status and Role*, Vol.1, Northern Book Centre New Delhi.
- Palileo, G.J. (1995) “Rural Development and Women’s Economics Roles in Asia”. In: Das, M.S. and Gupta, V.K. (ed.) 1995. *Social Status of Women in Developing Countries*. Deep and Deep Publication. New Delhi.
- Parthasarthy, G. (1988) “Public Policy and Trends in Women in Development”. Paper Presented at Workshop on Women in Agriculture. Trivandrum Centre for Development Studies, Feb P. 15-17, Mimeo.
- Rath and Das (1988) *Rural Women at Work Baltimore*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Swaminathan, M.S. (1985) *Imparting a Rural Women User Perspective to Agricultural Research and Development*. Philippines: IRRF.
- United Nations (1993) *Women’s Education and Fertility Behaviour. Case Study of Rural Maharashtra India* New York Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis.
- Upadhayay, H.C. (1991) *Status of Women in India*. Vol. 1, Anmol Publication.New Delhi.

Chapter VI

6. Political Participation Of Bhutia Women:

Political participation is a criterion for political development. Active participation by citizens in political affairs is necessary in democracy because it is characterized by decentralization of power and authoritative decision making. Leighley (1991) is of the view that participation in national problem solving and campaign activities enhances political conceptualization (individual's information about politics) as individuals are exposed to the conflict of ideas, through participation they develop more understanding of the political system. Political participation thus fosters stability and re-enforcement of the legitimacy of the political authority and it is the most effective method of institutionalizing participation through representative government. This helps not only in controlling the system but also the individuals.

Nie and Verba (1975) argue that political participation gives some kind of mental satisfaction to the citizens – satisfaction with the Government and satisfaction with one's own role. McClosky (1968) also expresses the same view because according to him participation enables men by giving them a sense of their own responsibility and dignity, alerts both ruler and the ruled and broadens political development. Participation is of particular importance in societies where some groups are categorized as weak. This results in mobilization of power at all levels and helps to restore a democratic set up. Political Participation is thus, the hallmark of democracy. Almond and Verba (1965) state that "Democracy is characterized by the fact that power over significant authoritative decisions in a society is distributed among the population. The ordinary man is expected to take an active part in governmental affairs, to be aware of how decisions are made, and to make his views known". When an individual participates in political

affairs, he also casts his vote on the basis of rational judgment. Orum (1978) has sought to identify the channels through which the citizens attempt to influence the leaders as well as isolate those citizens who use these channels on a regular basis. According to Verba *et al.* (1971), participation is not a single undifferentiated entity. The modes of participation, which relates the citizens to the Government, differ significantly. Voting is accepted as the standard political act. However, other modes like campaign activity, co-operative activity and citizen initiated contacts are also mentioned. Milbrath (1965) adds protest and communication to these modes mentioned by Verba, bring these activities under three categories: 'Gladiatorial activities', 'Transitional activities' and Spectator activities'. Gladiatorial represents the small number of party workers whose association with political parties keeps them engaged in a series of direct party activities like holding party offices, fighting election as party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meetings, and joining the party campaigns. Transitional activities include attending party meetings as party supporters or party sympathizers or just neutral and making contribution to the party fund. Spectator activities, on the other hand, include voting, influencing others to vote in a particular way, making or joining a political discussion. However, it is observed that more people participate in political discussion than vote and many more vote rather than join parties or do campaigning.

Some empirical studies suggest that most of the people are not politically oriented. Some people who participate in political activity are in a minority. The study of Fakin's (1972) reveals that only ten percent in all democratic countries belong to a political class, which is a very small percentage and do not constitute a large majority of adults.

Political Participation is a complex phenomenon because it varies from country to country and from society to society. These variations are due to some determinants of

participation like education, access to information etc. Some situational factors in individual countries like history and tradition also influence political participation. Therefore, generalizations derived after research in Western countries may not be equally the same for India. Female citizens of whichever society or whatever educational background they may come from find it very difficult to exercise political influence because passivity is perceived as a norm for women.

Political Participation of women is considered as an indicator of a developed society but equal participation of women in political process is a recent development. Although women are directly related to various operations of society, yet they remain subject to inequality and oppression. Equality of men and women in matters of right has been established by constitution, laws and codes, but this does not give automatic rights to women. Chafe's (1972) study dealing with the social, economic and political role of women points out that discrimination is rooted in the fabric of society and sexual division of labour confines women to her domestic domain. Aristotle separates public sphere of activity from private sphere, he includes political institution, law and rational in public sphere and the household as private. Since man and women are characteristically different, hence man is confined to public sphere and women to private sphere. This state is treated as the highest order of social organization to which other orders are subordinated. Thus politics is regarded as a male domain and the subordinate position of a woman is not questioned. However, Mill (1980) questioned the unequal position and maintained that position of women is an unwarranted exception to principles of liberty, equal justice, equal opportunity; a world in which authority and privilege are linked to merit. Subjugation of women has led to under estimation of the significance of women and sexual division of labour has resulted in partial and one sided development of the

characters of man and women .Women have been forced to suffer repression in some direction like becoming more self sacrificing and this has resulted in the man becoming more aggressive. According to him, 'complete equality' between man and women in all legal, political and social spheres would create conditions favourable to democracy. Although constitution has given equal political status yet social and cultural conditions assign her a secondary position in society. Mill emphasized enfranchisement of women, reforms in marriage laws to strengthen the independent position of women; however, he was not able to raise the question that a man must accept the responsibility of the household and the children. According to Milbrath (1956) in almost all societies, politics is mainly a male prerogative and women should fall in line with them politically. The changes brought by modern industrial societies are bringing a change in the sex difference but impact of tradition is still visible. The prevailing patriarchal ideology, which promotes values of submission and sacrifice, undermines attempts made by women to assure themselves. Engel's (1977) work on women and politics observed that the "barriers between the two sexes will only be removed when in the field of politics women are regarded as citizens in the first place and only then as members of their sex".

Mass mobilization and participation of women in politics are identified as parameters of political consciousness. However, according to Lasing (1975) women are less interested politically and less politically informed since they are less politically efficacious and less likely to join politics. Men continue to believe that political activity is a masculine prerogative; women are granted the right to vote because the old theory of female incapacity has been replaced by a functional theory. In its modernized form, the functional theory recognizes the right of women to work outside the home and participate

in civic and political affairs, yet emphasizes that home caring and rearing is almost obligatory for all women in society.

Many interrelated factors that affect women's ability to participate are lack of experience in campaigning public debate, prevailing negative attitude towards women, lack of confidence and support for female candidate as politicians, difficulties in combining a political career with traditional women's role in family and society, economic dependency and insufficient education. According to the Marxists, the lower degree of participation in politics is due to the existing ideology which discourages women from participating in politics. Women have been taught from ages to subordinate themselves. The constitution gives right to the women but the traditional attitudes are incongruent with political socialization. As a result, women find it very difficult to adjust to the democratic political set up. According to Kirkpatrick (1974) "A woman entering politics risks the social and psychological penalties so frequently associated with non-conformity, disdain, internal conflicts, failures are widely believed to be her likely reward". Due to these social factors like curtailed socialization, male retaliation and pragmatic demand of family roles prevent women participation. In this chapter, an attempt is made to analyze the nature and extent of participation by Bhutia women in the political life of Sikkim. According to records of Sikkim Legislative Assembly from 1974 to 1999 there was no woman representative in the assembly. In Sikkim, a detailed study on political participation of women especially "Bhutia women" is lacking. This study will bring out her exact political position by studying her electoral participation, political awareness and attitude of women towards women participation.

Table: 4a (i)

Age and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005

Age	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Upto20	72.727	18.181	9.090	50	33.333	16.666	18.181	0	81.818	70	10	20
21-30	4.761	9.523	85.71	21.739	34.782	43.478	50	50	0	43.715	37.500	18.750
31-40	0	0	100	33.333	50	16.666	66.666	16.666	16.666	37.500	0	62.510
41-50	0	0	100	100	0	0	57.142	42.857	0	0	33.333	66.666
51-60	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	16.666	16.666	66.666
61-70	0	25	75	100	0	0	100	0	0	0	50	50
71-80	50	0	50	100	0	0	100	0	0	33.333	33.333	33.333

Table: 4a (ii)

Marital status and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005

Marital status	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Unmarried	33.333	33.333	33.333	30.434	4.347	65.217	31.250	62.510	6.250	53.333	13.333	33.333
Married	37.037	37.037	25.925	0	14.285	85.714	46.875	46.875	6.250	46.666	20	33.333
widower	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	100	0	33.333	33.333	33.333
Divorcee	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	100

Source: Field survey

6a. Electoral participation:

The degree of electoral participation was analyzed in terms of various socio-economic variables of the respondents. Most of the researchers examining participation have sought to relate the degree and the type of participation to socio-economic variables (Verba, and Nie, 1972).

6a (i) Age and electoral participation:

These variables suggest the type of socialization experience an individual has had and gives clues about the social definition of a person. An attempt is made to examine the association between socio-economic variables and voting turnout of the respondents in the study area. For measuring the degree of her electoral participation women have been classified into the categories high, medium and low. Women who participated in voting and campaigning activities and cast votes by their own choice have been put into high level of electoral participation and given a score 3. Those who just participated in voting and cast vote on advice of others were put into medium category of electoral participation and were given score 2, those who did not participate in voting either due to some reasons or non eligibility of voting right were put into low category of electoral participation and were given a score 1. Voting turnout is an important indicator of political participation of women in India. It is to be noted that it require very little effort and present cultural attitude is not that much negative towards participation of women in such simple citizen activities.

The data [Table: 4a(i)] presented here shows that out of 200 respondents only 9.09percent had a high degree of electoral participation in North, however in East and South and West districts 16.66 percent, 81.81 percent and 20 percent of respondents respectively had a high degree of electoral participation in the age group of 20. It was

Table: 4a (iii)**Occupation and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Occupation	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Student	33.333	22.222	44.444	50	21.428	28.571	71.428	28.571	0	20	50	30
Housewife	44.444	50	5.555	9.090	9.090	81.818	55.555	33.333	5.555	42.857	42.857	14.285
Trader	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0
Artisan	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
Agriculturist	42.857	28.571	28.571	0	0	0	69.230	23.076	7.692	0	0	0
Govt.job	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	100
Others	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table: 4a (iv)**Education and electoral participation of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Education	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Illiterate	100	0	0	20	0	80	65.217	26.086	8.695	54.545	9.090	36.363
Primary	90	0	0	0	33.333	66.666	81.250	18.750	0	0	0	0
Middle	23.076	76.923	0	55.555	0	44.444	66.666	33.333	0	60	20	20
High	9.090	31.818	59.090	17.857	10.714	71.428	0	0	0	25	25	50
Graduate	0	0	100	0	0	100	69.230	23.076	7.692	0	0	0
Post Graduate	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Field survey

noted that South district had the maximum electoral participation and this could be due to the reason that the ruling party of Sikkim has its hold in this district. However, no uniform pattern of relationship was noted between the age and the interest in politics, still in this study a sharp decline in electoral participation was noted from younger to older generations in all the four districts. The low degree of electoral participation noted in the women of older generation may be due to the fact that they are preoccupied with the household managements .In some cases it was also noted that they were also not conscious of the importance of their votes and found the voting procedure as such very irrelevant.

6a (ii) Marital status and electoral participation:

Another parameter that influences people's electoral participation is their marital status. However, while considering this parameter no correlation was found between the respondent's marital status and their electoral participation in all the four districts [Table: 4a(ii)] . This is contrary to the popular belief that the unmarried status of the people helps them in giving more time to politics than the others. This hypothesis may find some validity in rest of India, but in Sikkim, particularly in Bhutia society, the marital status of women appeared to have little impact on political participation, at least as far as the study area is concerned. It can be summarised that Bhutia women in Sikkim have a moderate electoral participation.

6a (iii) Occupation and electoral participation:

It is a general belief that occupation is one of the most important factors that influences people's electoral participation, especially in women. The occupation is more strongly related to the political interest of the female respondents because this provides the opportunities to the respondents to interact with others; to be involved with others and

this helps to build political orientation. Occupation of the women has a great influence on their overall personality and in turn motivates them in participating in the mainstream activities of the society and politics is one of them. Data [Table: 4a (iii)] presented here shows that the women who were in the government jobs had 100 percent electoral participation in all the four districts. A high electoral participation was also noted amongst the students and the housewives in East and North districts. However, in West and South districts the trend was towards the lower side. This may be due to the fact that the respondents in the East and North districts were closer to the capital (Gangtok) and were more exposed to the political accomplishments and therefore showed higher electoral participation.

6a (iv) Education and electoral participation:

Education provides much of the cognitive material on which our evaluative orientation towards the political role, the political system and the political institutions are based (Ghose, 2000). It is expected that education would have a positive impact on determining the electoral participation. Milbrath (1965) pointed out that an educated person is a different political actor than a person who has only a little education or not at all. Similarly, Almond and Verba (1965) felt that the educated classes are more likely to be aware of politics and consider themselves competent to influence the government and engage in political discussions. In Sikkim, the data [Table: 4a (iv)] taken to correlate the education and electoral participation also holds the above proposition. It was observed that in all the four districts the degree of electoral participation increased with the increase in the respondent's level of education. So the assumption that education plays an important role in electoral participation is found to be true in the case of Bhutia women of Sikkim also.

Table: 4b (i)**Marital status and political Awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Marital status	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Unmarried	14.285	61.904	23.809	4.347	26.086	69.565	43.750	56.250	0	20	60	20
Married	7.407	62.962	22.222	9.523	42.857	47.619	48.387	41.935	9.677	23.333	60	16.666
widower	100	100	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	33.333	66.666	0
Divorcee	100	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	0	100

Table: 4b (ii)**Occupation and political Awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Occupation	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Student	0	66.666	33.333	21.428	28.571	50	71.428	28.571	0	20	50	30
Housewife	5.555	94.444	5.555	9.090	63.636	27.272	55.555	33.333	5.555	42.857	42.857	14.285
Trader	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0
Artisan	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0
Agriculturist	14.285	64.285	21.428	0	0	0	69.230	23.076	7.692	0	0	0
Govt.job	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100	0	0	100
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Field survey

6b. Political Awareness:

Women have less knowledge about politics, not because of lack of intelligence but because they do not master the political world with the same eagerness as they approach other fields (Hona, 1981). Studies on political participation show that there is a gap in the level of political participation and information regarding various political issues, which implies that there is a little political awareness.

To test the political awareness of the respondents they were asked simple questions like names of the contesting candidates, the names of the M.L.As, their respective party affiliation and on the basis of these they were placed into trichotomized category. Political awareness was rated high and given a score of 3 when they had all the information, medium and given a score of 2, when they had heard just their names and were able to answer some of the questions, awareness was rated low and given a score 1 when they were not able to answer any of the questions.

6b (i) Marital status and political Awareness:

In trying to correlate [Table: 4b (i)] the marital status and political awareness, it was found that in East district the unmarried respondent had high (69.56percent) degree of political awareness. This may be due to the reason that generally the unmarried respondents were studying and that is why they were interacting more with outer world. Another reason to this may be the fact that unmarried respondents were comparatively freer and had more time to raise their political knowledge as also stated by Ghosh (2000). However, in North the result showed a different trend. In this district, the respondents showed medium degree of electoral participation irrespective of their marital status. Similar trend was also observed in West and South districts. All these three districts are geographically distant from the Capital of Sikkim. Therefore, the reason for such a

Table: 4b (iii)**Education and political awareness of Bhutia women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Education	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Illiterate	65.217	8.695	26.086	0	0	100	65.217	21.739	4.347	54.545	60	0
Primary	0	0	0	0	0	100	28.571	71.428	0	11.111	88.888	0
Middle	60	20	20	0	0	100	66.666	88.888	0	7.142	92.857	0
High	25	25	50	3.846	53.846	42.307	0	100	0	10	55	35
Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
Post Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table: 4c (i)**Age and Attitude towards women participation in politics of women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005**

Age	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Upto 20	33.333	66.666	0	45.454	9.090	45.454	81.818	18.181	9.090	50	30	10
21-30	21.739	65.217	13.043	4.7619	4.761	90.476	71.428	28.571	7.142	31.25	37.5	31.25
31-40	33.333	50	16.666	11.111	11.11	77.777	25	75	8.333	25	50	25
41-50	66.666	33.333	0	0	0	100	57.142	28.571	14.281	66.666	33.333	0
51-60	50	50	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	33.333	66.666	0
61-70	50	50	0	25	25	50	100	0	0	50	50	0
71-80	50	50	0	50	0	50	100	0	0	66.666	33.333	0

Source: Field survey

difference in the result can be attributed to the fact that the respondents in these parts would be having less exposure to the political activities as compared to the respondents in the East district which covers the Capital city Gangtok which is also a political hub.

6b (ii) Occupation and political Awareness:

In examining the relationship between the occupation and political awareness, no definite pattern between the occupation and its effect on political awareness was observed. However, in East district women in government jobs showed a high level of political awareness as is apparent in the table [4b (ii)].

6b (iii) Education and political awareness:

Most of the researchers believe that educated people were more aware of the performance of the government, paid more attention to politics, had more information about political process and manifested a higher degree of political competence. This is presumably the effect of both manifest transmissions of political knowledge and of the development of general awareness of one's social environment. However, the above statement does not hold too good for the results observed in present study. In Bhutia society, it was observed that even the illiterates showed their indulgence in politics especially in East district. Here, the respondents who were illiterate or had primary and middle school education showed a hundred percent awareness towards politics [Table: 4b (iii)].

6c. Attitude towards Women's participation:

Attitude pertains to an internal state, which affects an individual's choice of action towards some objectives, persons or events (Patrick, 1977). Attitude according to Allport (1985) is a mental and neutral state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects

and situations with which it is related (Allport,1985).Therefore, attitude affects the individual's acquisition of knowledge by influencing his selection of information (Conway,1985)

Equal participation of women in political process is a recent development and very recently some empirical studies have been conducted upon the political participation of women in India. One such investigative report was found in the article 'Women and Political participation' (Country paper, 1985). The case study sought to examine the level of representation in legislature and extent of participation of the level of ordinary citizens and voters and the extent and nature of their participation in polity.

Political socialization of men is a continuing process whilst most women, for a crucial period of their lives roughly between 18 and 35 years of age, operate in a more apolitical environment (Dowse and Hughes, 1971). Aristotle separated public sphere of activity from private sphere. The household is a private sphere and the political institution, the law and rational discussion on public affair is included under public affair. In this regard Sapiro (1983) also observes that the public and private spheres approach defines two end points of value continuum which shapes men's and women's relationship with politics. Therefore the separation of public and private institutions for women is very important for the understanding of her political behavior.

There is very scanty research work on the attitude towards participation of women in politics .A systematic study in this area started only in 1950s in the United States. It found there in the first nation wide opinion poll conducted in the 1930s, that the public attitude towards the participation of women in politics was decidedly negative. Subsequent polls conducted in the 1950s-1960s found only small changes in the overall picture of people's beliefs. Most people continued to agree that women could or should

take part in school affairs, but more than 40 percent of those interviewed in 1955, 1963 and 1969 said that they would not vote for a woman for Presidential Office (Country paper, 1985). But, due to current women's movement, a marked change has been noticed between 1972 and 1980. Despite the removal of legal barriers there still exists an inequality when it comes to political participation.

6c (i) Age and the attitude towards women's participation:

An attitudinal pattern of society towards women's participation in politics will help us to know her position in society. The respondents were asked whether they thought that women should participate in politics and likert scale was constructed with several parameters. Those who supported women's participation in full were given higher scores of 3, those partially favoured were given medium score of 2 and those who did not favour women's participation were given a low score of 1. It has been argued that women do not appreciate change anywhere because by nature they are conservative (Goode, 1963). The data present here is reflection of the above argument. A mixed result of the age and the attitude towards women was observed in all parts of the study area in Sikkim. Still, with the growing awareness and the exposure of the Bhutia Women to the modern world, in a few areas a high to medium degree attitude was noted. In East district [Table: 4c(i)] 90.47percent respondent in the age of 20-30 years had high degree of appreciation and in North the same age category 65.21percent respondent had medium degree of appreciation when it came to their participation in politics. In West, 37.5percent respondents in the same age group had high degree of appreciation while in South 71.42percent of respondents in the age of 21-30 had a low degree of appreciation towards women participation in politics. It is generally expected that the younger people would

Table: 4c (ii)

Occupation and Attitude towards women participation in politics of women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005

Occupation	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Student	22.222	66.666	11.111	14.285	28.571	57.142	75	12.5	0	60	30	10
Housewife	27.777	66.666	5.555	18.181	18.181	72.727	50	50	0	35.714	57.142	7.142
Trader	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0
Artisan	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	100
Agriculturist	50	35.714	14.285	0	0	0	61.538	38.461	0	62.5	31.25	6.25
Govt.job	0	0	100	0	9.090	90.909	0	0	0	25	25	75
Others	25	50	25	0	0	0	0	66.666	33.333	0	33.333	66.666

Table: 4c (iii)

Education and Attitude towards women participation in politics of women in the study sample (in all the four districts of Sikkim) in 2004-2005

Education	North			East			South			West		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
Illiterate	40	0	60	38.095	61.904	0	85	5	10	60	40	0
Primary	0	0	100	33.333	66.666	0	82.352	17.647	0	60	40	0
Middle	55.555	11.111	33.333	38.461	46.153	15.384	88.888	11.111	0	23.076	76.923	0
High	11.538	19.230	69.230	30	0	70	0	100	0	10	60	30
Graduate	0	0	0	0	33.333	66.666	0	0	0	0	0	100
Post Graduate			100									

Source: Field survey

have more positive attitude as far as participation of women's in politics is concerned (Ghosh 2000). The decreasing scores in the present data support the above hypothesis.

6c (ii) Occupation and Attitude towards women's participation in politics:

As discussed above, occupation plays a major role in defining a specific structure of the society. The political participation of the Bhutia women in the present study [Table:4c (ii)] highly appreciated by women working in the government sector with 90.90percent, 100 percent, 75percent and 100 percent in East, North, West and South districts respectively. It was seen that women were assertive on their views that there should be an increase in the number of women politicians and the latter should contribute in cleaning politics and promoting women's development.

6c (iii) Education and attitude towards women's participation in politics:

One of the most widely documented research findings in political science is that participation in political activities increases as the educational level of the respondents rises. However, this generalization about political participation is derived from researches conducted in other countries (Chaudhuri, 1995). In Bhutia society, the impact of education was not uniform among all participants. But it was noted that in the three districts i.e. East, West and North respondents generally appreciated women's participation in politics, although a very high level of appreciation [Table: 4c (iii)] was not recorded among any of the respondents irrespective of their level of education.

6d. Case Study:

1. Tshering Doma is a 28-year-old woman and is a resident of Thathangchen, Gangtok. She is a graduate and is having a government job. She is married and has one child. She is very happy with her economic independence and at some point of her life wants to enter politics because her father's side is politically inclined (her uncle is an

M.L.A.). She always casts her vote independently and keeps herself well informed about all the political developments and openly discusses it with her colleagues in the office. She feels the Bhutia community is not adequately represented in the assembly and women representation is very important. According to her, there is nothing wrong with women being a part of the political system but women have to be educated before they can plunge into such responsible activities. She participates in political rallies and openly works as a party member during election.

2.Tashi Lhamu is 45 years old and is a resident of West Sikkim. She is a panchayat member. She is a widow and became a member of the panchayat after her husband's death. She attends all the panchayat meetings and feels it is very important for women to be active politically and aware of her rights. She tries to listen to all the grievances of the women. When her husband died, she did not get anything from his property because she had no children. Her parents did help her economically but once they died she realized her brothers were not willing to support her. Since she was educationally not too qualified (could not clear her class seven), she did a nursing training and finally became a panchayat member (she said 'destiny' made her a panchayat member).

3.Yeshey Dolma is a 18 year old, unmarried, student of class ten and is a resident of Gyalshing. She spends very little time in doing household chores and attends her school regularly. This time she got a chance to cast her votes for the first time and she found the whole experience very fascinating. She however casted her vote on the advice of her parents as her parents told her that she was not politically aware of the candidates and the vote should be a family vote. She feels women should come forward in the political arena because only they can make a difference to the society.

* Names of the respondents have been changed

6e. Summary:

According to the findings regarding awareness, contesting elections, voting or deliberate abstention from voting and decision-making, Bhutia women's participation in politics has been quite impressive. Women generally participate in a large number in voting and even in political activities such as attendance at political rallies and membership of social and political organization. However, it was observed that the voting behaviour of Bhutia women was an extension of voting behaviour of the head of the family and they lacked independent decision making. This passive dependent orientation of women voters is a part of the social structure. Women who were politically active had either husbands or other relatives already in politics which provided them support. Education, occupation or marital status did not have much influence on her political participation. However, the women's attitudes towards women's participation was quite favourable. In Sikkim no stigma is attached to it and women were not discouraged because of domestic responsibilities, fear, shyness or even violence at polls. Men's attitude towards women's leadership is also favourable and therefore they are relatively free to participate in politics. However, it was noted that political behaviour of Bhutia women of Sikkim as voters was only an extension of the voting behaviour of the head of the family. Therefore, just the increasing participation of them as voter is not sufficient to achieve equal political status as that of men. Bhutia women still lack the essential level of political consciousness, which is essential for her participation in the political process as independent voters. Bhutia women are optimistic that if women could organize themselves into pressure groups and lobbies, they could extract promises from the government.

References

- Allport, G.W. (1985) "Attitudes" In Carl Murichson (ed.) *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Mass: Clerk University Press, Worchester P 798-844.
- Almond, G.A. and Verba, S. (1965) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in Five Nations*. Boston: Little Brown P 119.
- Chafe, W. H. (1972) *The American Women, Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles*, New York Oxford University Press, London.P 46-47.
- Chaudhuri, S.S. (1995) *Women and Politics: West Bengal, A Case Study*. Menerva Associates Publications Pvt. 1H. Calcutta, India. P 2-29.
- Christy, C.A. (1984) *Economic Development and Sex Differences in Political Participation*, Praeger.New York
- Campbell, A. Converse, Miller, P.H. W.E. and Strokes, D.F. (1964) *The American Voter*. New York: Willey P 256.
- Conway, M.M. (1985) *Political Participation in the United State*, A Division of Congressional Quarterly, Washington D.C. P 16-17.
- Dowse, R. and Hughes, J. (1971) "Girls, Boys and Politics", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.22, P 53-65.
- Engel, S.G (1972) "Women and Politics in West Germany" in Bhasin Kamla (ed.) *The Position of Women in India*, proceedings of a seminar held in Srinagar, September. P 120.
- Fakin, T.C. (1972) *Students and Politics: A Comparative Study*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, P 97.
- Goode, W.I. (1963) *World Revolution and Family Pattern*, The Free Press, New York, P369.

- Ghosh, J. (2000) *Political Participation Women in West Bengal, A Case Study*. Progressive Publishers 37A , College Street, Calcutta 73.
- Hona, P.L. (1981) “Political Socialization of College Girls in Poona”, *Unpublished Ph.D thesis*, University of Poona.P 102.
- Kirkpatrick, J.J. (1974) *Political Women* , New York, Basic Books P15.
- Lane, R.E. (1961) *Political Life*. Illinois: The Free Press. P 209.
- Lipset, S.M. (1960) *Political Man*, The Social Bases Of Politics. London, William Heinemann.
- Leighley, J. (1991) “Participation as a Stimulus of Political Conceptualization”. *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 53 No.1. P 20.
- McClosky, H. (1968) *Political Participation*. In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York Collier – Macmillan, Vol. 12, P 253.
- Milbrath, L. (1965) *Political Participation*, Chicago: Rand Mc Nally. P 32.
- Mill, J.S. (1980) *The Subjection of Women*, edited by S. Manfield, Arlington Heights IIIA.H.M. Publishing Corporation, P 1-28.
- Millbrath, W.L. and Goel, M.L. (1977) *Political Participation: How and Why do People get Involve In Politics?* Second edition Chicago: Rand Mc Nally Pub. Co., P 2.
- Nei, H.N. and Verba, S. (1975) “Political Participation”. In Fred I. Green Stein and Nelson W. Polsby (eds.). *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 4 Massachusetts: Addisson-Wesly Pub.Co. P 4.
- Orum, A. M.(1978) *Introduction to Political Sociology* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice P 281 – 282.

- Palmer, D.N. (1976) *Election and Political Development: The South Asian Experience*. New Delhi. Vikas Pub. House.P 50-57.
- Patrick, J. J. (1977) "Political Socialization and Political Education in School" In Stanley Allen Renshon (ed.), *Handbook of political socialization*, The Free Press, New York P 195.
- Sapiro, V. (1983) *The Political Integration of Women. Roles, Socialization and Politics*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana P 30-31.
- Sills, D. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* ,Vol. 12, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, New York P 252.
- Verba, S. and Nie, N. H. (1972) *Participation in America*. Harper and Row New York P 104-108.
- Verba, S. Ahmed, B. and Bhatt, A. (1971) *Caste, Race and Politics*, Beverly Hills Sage, P 29.
- Women and Political Participation in Women in India (1985), Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare. Country Paper. New Delhi.

Chapter VII

7. Bhutia Women In The Realm Of Buddhism:

Buddhism was founded in the 6th century B.C. in India by an Indian Prince called Siddhartha Gautam, who belonged to the Sakya royal family ruling at Kapilavastu situated on the foothills of Himalayas in Eastern India. It emerged as a reaction to Brahminism, which had over time degenerated due to the absorption of many meaningless and unnecessary rituals and practices. Infact a number of movements had started in India against this trend in this period besides Buddhism, such as the Nirgranthas (Jainism), the Agivaka Sect and so on. However out of all this it was only Buddhism, which managed to take firm roots not only in India but also abroad in other Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Tibet, Burma, China, Korea, Japan etc. This was primarily due to great missionary zeal of the Buddhist Sangha, which was supported by some of the greatest rulers of India who became great followers of Buddhism such as Mauryan Emperor Ashoka, the Kushana Emperor Kanishka, and the Pushyapati Emperor Harsha Vardhana etc. It was due to this great missionary zeal that Buddhism even after its eventual decline in India continued to take great strides abroad.

7a. Spread of Buddhism In Bhot:

The precise period of spread of Buddhism in Bhot is not known and recorded. A humanistic form of religion called “BHYON” was practised in Bhot and Buddhism was opposed to “Bhyonism”, which professed sorcery, black magic and witch craft. According to the tales and legends that are narrated, Buddhism was opposed by the people and lay dormant for several years. Buddhism would not have taken root in Bhot if it was not encouraged by King Srongchen Gyampo who ruled Bhot in the 7th century (627 – 650 A.D). Srongchen Gyampo was the first known Bhutia King who unified the

nomadic barbaric tribes into one nation and established a kingdom, the boundaries of which extended far and wide and was bigger than present day Tibet. During his reign, he deputed sixteen Tibetan men to India to learn Sanskrit language. Among them one named, Thon-mi-Sambhota mastered 108 languages of India. When he went back the King took him as his Guru. Thon-mi-Sambhota invented the Tibetan Script and the first Tibetan book Mani-Kabum (100000 precious instructions text) was written. In order to popularize Buddhism and make it acceptable to the people he incorporated Bhyonist practices into Buddhism and vice versa. He patronized the new religion and declared it a state religion. Buddhism provided cohesion and uniformity among the people by inculcating worship of a common God.

The process of incorporation of Bhyonism into Buddhism or the synthesis of two faiths as one, set out by King Srongchen Gyampo culminated with the arrival of Guru Padmasambhava during the reign of King Ralpachen (755-797 AD). Later King Trisong Deutsan who was a devout Buddhist started devoting his time in the preservation of Buddhism. To construct a monastery called "Samye" near Lhasa he invited a famous scholar from Nalanda University called Shanta Rakshita. Tibet at that time was filled with evil spirits and what ever was constructed during day time was destroyed at night by these evil spirits. Shanta Rakshita did not have the power of controlling these evil spirits but he said that there was a Tantric master called Padmasambhava in India who could control these evil spirits. King Trisong Deutsan immediately dispatched a delegation to invite the Guru. Guru Rimpoche came through Nepal and subjugated all evil spirits. Before taking the construction work of the first monastery in Tibet, Guru Rimpoche advised the king to be friends with the Serpentine King of Manasarovar Lake, which in

Tibet is called Tso-Mapham. The Serpentine King blessed the land of Tibet with abundant Gold.

After Trisong Deutsan, King Tri-Ralpachen took over the reigns. He was a military genius but also a devout Buddhist. He pursued the vigorous policy of imposing Buddhism but the people resented this. As a result he was assassinated by his own brother named Langdarma. King Langdarma was a puppet in the hands of the “Bhyonists” and he made an effort to reverse the whole process of change brought about by his predecessors. Buddhist monasteries along with Vinaya part of Buddhism were destroyed. Later King Langdarma was also assassinated by a Buddhist Monk. The assassination of King Langdarma marks a turning point in the history of Bhot. As a result, Tibet disintegrated into petty kingdoms and remained under anarchism till Sakyapas became the actual ruler of Tibet in 1252.

Legend says that Guru Rimpoche visited Sikkim in the 8th century. It is said that he mentions 24 “Hidden Lands” known as “Beyul”[*s Bas-yul*] for the benefit of the future generation of Sikkim and regarded Sikkim as the most important and holiest of them all. The name ‘Beyul Demajong’ *sbas yul 'bras mo gshongs* was given by him to this land and it is also said that he hid five hidden chambers of treasure under the snowy peaks of Mt. Khangchendzonga[*Gangs-can mdzod-Inga*] which is known as house of five treasures. However, the actual foundation of Buddhism in Sikkim was laid by the three great Nyingmpa Lamas Gyalwa Lhatsumchenpo, Kathod Ridzin Sangpo, and Ngadak Sempa Gheno who while entering through three different directions according to the prophecy in religious books consecrated the first king of Sikkim Chogyal Phuntsong Namgyal at Yuksum Norbugang in 1642. Since then Buddhism has flourished in the Land of Sikkim.

Buddhism developed into two schools, Hinayana and Mahayana indicating separate approaches to the questions of Nirvana or Salvation. The Hinayana school believes in the teachings of Buddha in its original and pure form and refused to make changes. The Mahayana school on the other hand believed in synthesis and adjustment and hence incorporated other beliefs. The form of Buddhism, which is practiced in Sikkim, is the Mahayana Buddhism, also called Vajrayana.

Religion is an almost universal and pervasive institution in human society. Every religion involves certain ideas or belief and certain observances, which may be positive or negative. According to Durkheim (1954), "A religion is a unified system of belief and practices relative to sacred things that is things set apart and forbidden." Durkheim explains religion in terms of its social functions, which according to him has five aspects: these are experiential, ritualistic, ideological, intellectual and finally consequential. Experiential aspect takes care of the emotional side, ritualistic aspect deals with the specific practices expected or followed, ideological aspect is actual belief held, intellectual aspect covers the knowledge of basic tenets of faith and finally consequential aspect deals with secular aspects of religious belief.

Festivals and rituals are also an important aspect of religion. A ritual (*shapten, zhabs-brtan*) may be defined as a prescribed way of performing religious acts that is of praying, singing, dancing, making sacrifices or preparing offerings. Festivals and rituals may be divided into the following categories. First the religious festivals and the ceremonies - rituals which are associated with them. Second, there are rituals and ceremonies, which centre about individual life that mark such occasions as birth, naming, puberty, marriage, illness and death. These are often called 'rites of passage'. Third, there are 'rites of intensification', that is, rituals and ceremonies that mark occasions or crises

in the life of the community, such as need for rain, defense against an epidemic or pestilence, preparation for planting, harvest, and the initiation of communal hunting or fishing activities (Beals and Hojjer, 1971).

In Sikkim, the ritualistic aspect of religion is meticulously followed. Rituals may concern the individual, the couple, the household members or the patrilineage. All the rituals are attended by atleast one member of the family and some amounts of money, chang (a drink made from millets) or rice are offered. The amount of money and the name of the donors are inscribed in separate registers. Every household maintains two registers, one for weddings and other for funerals. These registers are referred to and a higher donations are given on similar occasions to other families. However, community Buddhist rituals over the time have diminished but household rituals held for marriage or funerals are attended by everyone. Even those who do not have a friendly relationship in normal course also make the prescribed contribution on such occasions. It is worth mentioning that these rituals are expensive and many would not be able to hold them if these contributions are not made. Thus the Bhutias keep meeting at the weddings and funerals and make contributions as much as possible. Besides, this also generates a sense of solidarity and equality among Bhutias. However, these rituals have undergone changes over the years. Some of the important rituals are as follows:

7b. Rituals:

7b (i) Birth

One or two weeks after birth, the Piakay (Bar-chad) is held to welcome the child. No special rituals are involved at Piakay, sometimes a lama may be invited to recite a purification prayer. Piakay means to give chicken and generally, a chicken is brought along with clothes and money for the new born.

7b (ii) Marriage

Marriage consists of four steps: Khachang, Nangchang, Nyen and Tonglen (details given in chapter III). Bhutia's believe that a person inherits his bones from his paternal side and flesh from the maternal side and people sharing the same bones cannot marry while it is possible to marry someone with same flesh (sha-Bones, ru-flesh). A man can marry his parallel cousin on his mother's side by a gap of seven generations separating them. However, these days marriage within three generations is accepted. The traditional form of marriage requires the groom to work in the house of the father –in-law for two years until the marriage is finalized. These days, people follow simple steps in marriage. The 'bride price' or Rinzo (details in chapter III) again varied in parts of Sikkim depending upon the economic conditions of the family. The most common form of marriage followed these days is to combine the second and third step into a single step, which is held at the girl's place followed by the last stage when the girl is received in the groom's house.

7b (iii) Rituals associated with constructing a new house:

Rituals for constructing a house are held in three stages. The first two stages are meant to help the family financially and the third is held after the house is completed. The lama performs a purification ceremony after the house is constructed.

7b (iv) Rituals performed while joining the monastery:

In Sikkim, there is a tradition that one son is to a monastery to sent to be a lama for purely religious reasons. Earlier the brightest son was sent to the monastery but these days generally the weaker one is sent. The initiation (*sgrugs beug*) is ideally done between fifteen and twenty years of age, although it may be done anytime. Before initiation, the head is shaved and a patch of hair is left on the head. The shaving is mixed

with rice and offered at the altar, chanting that the lama (child) is now joining the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha. The lama student is referred to as *chopo*, or a man of Dharma.

7b (v) Ritual performed during illness and death:

A number of rituals or *shapten* are performed when a person falls ill until he recovers or till he dies. On these occasions, the other households make financial contributions. These contributions are inscribed in the family register so that it may be reciprocated later. Rituals associated with a person's death are also very elaborate, as the death of a person is the most important rites de passage.

7c. Buddhist Festivals Of Sikkim:

Festivals also constitute another important aspect of religion. Since the Bhutias are Buddhist by faith, they observe the following Buddhist festivals:

7c (i) Losar:

Losar is the Tibetan New Year. It is observed on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan calendar. This year it is the Dog year (2006). This is also celebrated by many other communities belonging to Himalayan Buddhism as well. On the 29th day of the last month of the passing year people drink a special gruel called "Guthuk" and throw out an effigy called "Gulued" to ward off the misfortunes of the past. At the end of the New Year celebration on 3rd or the 5th day, people worship the local deities by erecting prayer flags to enhance their good luck and fortune in the coming year. In Sikkim the royal family, number of aristocratic families and a few other families also observe Losar.

7c (ii) Saga Dawa:

It is known as known as the Triple blessed festival. Saga Dawa is observed on the full Moon day of the 4th month of lunar calendar. It was on this day three of the most

important events of Lord Buddha's life occurred. On the day of Saga Dawa Buddha took birth at Lumbini, attained Buddhahood at Bodhgaya and attained Mahaparinirvana at Kusinagara. In Sikkim, this festival is observed with great pomp and show. A grand procession is taken out in the market by various Buddhist organizations in which students carry the holy pustaks of '*Kagyur*' or the Teachings of the Buddha that are translated and preserved in the Tibetan language.

7c (iii) Drukpa Tsheshi:

Drukpa Tsheshi means the 4th day of the 6th month of Tibetan calendar. It was on this day that the Buddha gave his first teaching on the Four Noble truths to his first five disciples at the Deer Park near Sarnath in Uttar Pradesh. This is also known as the 'turning of the first wheel' of Dharma by Buddha. In Sikkim people go to the Buddhist monasteries to offer fruits and butter lamps to the God and pray.

7c (iv) Guru Rimpoche's Trungkar Tshechu:

This is the birth anniversary of Guru Padmasambhava, the great Indian Pandit who established Mahayana Buddhism in Tibet in the 8th century and blessed Sikkim. Guru Rimpoche is the patron saint of Sikkim. He named this holy land as the "Hidden Land of Beyul Demojong". This festival falls on the 10th day of the 6th month of the Tibetan calendar. On this day a procession is made from Deorali Chorten to the Palace Tsuklakhang (Places in Gangtok, Sikkim) in which a statue of Guru Rimpoche is carried.

7c (v) Pang Lhabsol:

It is celebrated on the 15th day of the 7th month of the Lunar Calendar to worship the Guardian deities of the land headed by Lord Khangchendzonga [*Gangs-can mdzod-Inga*]. It is observed as a festival of unity to commemorate the oath of blood brotherhood between Thekong Tek, the Lepcha Chief, and Khye Bumsa the Minyak prince at Kabi

Longtsok, North Sikkim, in which the Guardian deity of Khangchendzonga was invited as the witness. This festival is observed with grand festivity in front of the statues of unity at Gangtok by all communities.

7c (vi) Lhabab Duechen:

This festival is celebrated on the 22nd day of the 9th month of Lunar Calendar. It is believed that after giving sermon to his mother, the Buddha descended down to the earth on this day from the heaven of the thirty-three gods.

7c (vii) Kagyed Dance:

This is a form of Lama Dance that is performed on the eve of the Sikkimese New Year or Losoong to ward off the misfortunes of the passing year. Kagyed dance is performed by the Lamas in the monasteries.

7c (viii) Losoong:

Losoong is the Sikkimese New Year, which falls in the 1st week of the 11th Lunar month. Bhutias call it as Losoong while the Lepchas call it as Namsoong both of which means the observance of the New Year. It is celebrated with great festivity. Archery competitions and grand cultural shows are organized every year at Gangtok. Lepchas make their special merriment by gathering at Sanklang in North Sikkim.

7c (x) Nyenpa Guzom:

Nyenpa Guzom means the accumulation of 9 bad lucks. It lasts for 12 hours between the 6th and 7th day of the 11th month. It is believed that no auspicious works should be done during this period.

(Source: *Ecclesiastical department of Sikkim*)

7d. Religious position of Women:

Man is in constant search for the purpose and meaning of his life, and this search for personal immortality has made religion a paramount force in most societies. Religion is therefore an essential part of social machinery. Its social function as well as its contribution in the formation and maintenance of social order is of great importance.

Majority of the Bhutias of Sikkim are Buddhists by faith, and some have been converted to Christianity. Religion is a regulating force in Bhutia society with many rituals. They are of extreme importance in the life of an individual and they are significant determinant of a person's religious position in society.

Religion has questioned the spiritual purity of women and has discouraged them from pursuing a religious life. Even where women have been accepted in the religious order like Christianity and Buddhism, the highest truths are reserved for men (Giele and Smock, 1977). The major exception of defining women as spiritually equal to that of men comes in the pagan religions of prehistoric Japan, pharaonic Egypt and pre-colonial Ghana. These religious systems are life affirming rather than world denying and have accepted the importance of sexual relation. They have elements of fertility worship and do not distinguish between spiritual worth of men and women. Women are not excluded from communal worship and often hold significant religious offices (Giele and Smock, 1977).

Women's place within Buddhism has proven to be a fertile area of investigation and there is some literature that discusses the position of women in Buddhism but just analysis confined to the literary sphere does not give us the exact position of women. The role of women in Buddhism can be studied from a multi dimensional perspective. What position did women occupy in religious and secular life, before and after establishment of

Buddhism in Sikkim? Does Buddha's teaching give women a place lower than men? What were the events that resulted in the establishment of Bhikkhunis order? Did they enjoy any high position in the religious realm?

A retrospection of these questions will give us an insight into the religious position of Bhutia women in Sikkim.

7d (i) Pre-Buddhist position of women:

The pre-Buddhist position of women was very low. Generally, women were looked as being inferior to men. Their freedom was extremely limited and they had to be under the care of their parents before marriage and under their husbands after marriage. The son was considered the hope of the family and the daughter a trouble, because the males had to take the responsibility of looking after her. Some idea of their position can be got from the Manu-Smriti, popularly known as the "Laws of Manu"; this work describes the duties of women as follows:

By a girl, by a young women or even by an aged one, no work must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her son, women must never be independent (Laws of Manu, V, 147-8). The women were prevented from performing religious rites and the knowledge of Vedas was kept away from her. Altekar,(1987) mentions that, in early history man is seen excluding women from religious services almost every where because he regarded her as unclean, mainly on account of her periodical menstruation. The principle of the vedic-upanishadic philosophy was 'purusha' and this justified the exclusion of women from social and spiritual activity. Although there was an idealization of motherhood and domestic duties were given to her so that she

would be occupied (Altekar, 1987). This low position of women continued till Buddhism came to the society in the 5th Century B.C.

7d (ii) Position of women at the time of Buddha:

Buddha did not campaign for the liberation of Indian womanhood, but he stressed upon individual effort for it. Buddha was a great social reformer, a believer in the equality of all human beings, a democrat and his efforts for the emancipation of women and lower castes created a sort of social revolution in society (Nehru, 1960).

According to Buddha, woman is an indispensable component of the society; she plays a constructive role both as a mother and wife. He did not consider the birth of a daughter as a sign of misfortune. This is apparent from one of the incidents, when King Pasenadi of Kosala lamented on the birth of his daughter, Buddha pacified him by saying good daughters are as good as good sons. During the Buddhist epoch, women came to enjoy more equality and greater respect. According to Horner (1975), "under Buddhism, more than ever before, she was an individual in command of her own life until the dissolution of the body and less of a chattel, to be respected if she lived through and on a man". The old complete dependence, in which the wives were in control of the husbands were gradually vanishing. In patriarchal societies, the desire for a male offspring was very strong because only a son could carry out the funeral rites and his presence was required for the continuance of patrilineage. Earlier, in Hinduism, even the law allowed a sonless wife to be superseded by a second one. However, in Buddhist society, the funeral ceremony was very simple and could be performed by a widow or daughter and a son's presence was not compulsory. Any one present at the spot could perform those rituals. Therefore, the need of having a son for these purposes were not felt and the birth of a daughter was not a cause of grief. The egalitarian ideals of Buddhism were against the

universal ideology of masculine superiority (Nakai, 2003). The doctrines of Karma and Rebirth, one of the fundamental tenets of Buddhism, has been reinterpreted to prove the inherent superiority of the male. The Law of Karma supports the birth of a 'male' as one's good Karma and that of a 'female' as bad in previous birth. Thus, the subordination of women is given a religious sanction.

Buddha's injunctions about the marriage were bilateral. He believed that the marital relationship is about reciprocation to each other with similar rights and obligations. Therefore, ideally in Buddhism marriage is contract between equals. Even matters like divorce, inheritance of property were entirely regulated by social processes. In the Sigalovada Sutra which deals with domestic duties, Buddha did not lay code of domestic jurisprudence but emphasized the principle of reciprocity, just as wife has duties prescribed towards the husband so has the husband towards wife.

Buddha did not restrict educational opportunities of women. He gave Dharma to both men and women. In the beginning, Buddha was not in favour of admitting women as Nuns, not because he was against women, but he thought women while performing their household duties itself can attain salvation. Buddhist doctrine of rebirth asserts that gender can change over successive transmigrations. Thus in the samsaric sense there is no male or female, but only a single Karmic stream. He believed Salvation had nothing to do with gender, because Dharma is non-gendered, and sex did not make the path easy or difficult. Buddha used the generic term 'manussa' rather than 'purisha' because his spiritual message was a universal one.

7d (iii) The Order of Bhikkhunis:

The position of women in Buddhism is very ambiguous. Narasu (1948) mentions that, “man and women are placed by Buddha on the same footing of equality”. Buddha at first denied the entry of women into the Sangha, but this does not show his view against women. He believed that women have the same capacity of enlightenment as men and she can achieve salvation by performing her household duties. The order of Bhikkhunis is often regarded as a crucial parameter for the evaluation of the position of women in Buddhism. Every religion guards its innermost sanctum and the doors of this sanctum are barred to women. In Buddhism also the Sangha is considered as a core of the sanctum. Buddha established the order for Bhikkhus (monks) a few months after his enlightenment and the order for Bhikkhuni (nuns) was established only after five years. Buddha agreed to admit the nuns after repeated requests from his mother Mahaprayapali Gautami. Horner (1975) mentions that Gautam never said that women cannot attain Nirvana. He said, “And be it women, be it man for whom such chariot doth wait, by the same ear into Nirvan’s presence shall they come”.

The establishment of Bhikkhu order is considered as something revolutionary in religious history. It is the first time we see that a body of men coming under a strict discipline not discharging a priestly function, all earnestly engaged in seeking a way of release. The extension of the monastic principle to women was even more revolutionary. Involvement of women in the religious life has mostly been either non-existent or dubious. However, Buddhist order being a monastic order took an unfavourable attitude towards women. Buddha’s decision to sanction the establishment of an order for women was marred by special rules, which were imposed on the Bhikkhunis. These rules, which were later incorporated in the Bhikkhuni Vinaya, can be summarized as follows:-

1. Bhikkus are always to have precedence over Bhikkhunis in matters of salutation etc., irrespective of any other consideration.
2. Bhikkhunis could not observe the annual retreat in a district where there are no Bhikkhus.
3. Bhikkhus had to set the dates for Bhikkhunis uposatha ceremonies.
4. Confessing transgression by Bhikkhunis had to be done before assembly of both the Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis.
5. Certain judicial processes in the case of Bhikkhunis had to be undertaken by both the Sanghas.
6. Uposampada initiation of Bhikkhunis should be given by the Bhikkhu Sangha as well.
7. A Bhikkhuni should never abuse a Bhikkhus.
8. Bhikkhus can officially admonish but not vice-versa.

(Source, Silva de, 2003)

These rules were misinterpreted by various scholars. Some of these rules were framed from the point of view of the security of the nuns (eg. Rule No.-2). In the starting it appeared that Buddha made the nuns dependent on the monk. But it may be possible to rationalize why he did so, because Buddha had already delivered teachings to the monks, and in place of repeating it again, he preferred women to consult and get knowledge from monks. (eg. Rule 3 and 6). However Rules 7 and 8 cannot be justified on any ground and were very humiliating. The seniority in the Sangha is on the basis of number of years a person has spent there, but a Bhikkhuni had always to pay respect to any Bhikkhu who was junior to her. The Bhikkhuni could rank lower in formal position but she could be more spiritually advanced than the Bhikkhus (monk). Therefore, according to Falk (1984)

“At the root, the major problem of the women’s order probably rested in the Buddhist tradition’s inability to affirm completely the idea of women pursuing the renunciant’s role”. Since the order of Bhikkhuni is the factor which determines the religious position of women, it is also studied in context with the Bhutia women in Sikkim .For this the Taktse Ani Tshamkhang was studied.

7d (iv) Taktse Ani Tshamkhang:

Taktse ani tshamkhang and Ani Tshamkhang also known as Ugyen Choekhorling are one of the nunneries of Sikkim. In the present study, Taktse ani tshamkhang was selected to observe the position of Bikkhuni in the nunnery that may give a picture of religious position of Bhutia women.

It is said that on the ruins of a Tshamkhang belonging to a nun named Ani Bhumo there existed a six roomed Tshamkhang There came the present small Tshamkhang (according to a record dated 08.08.80). The same record says that once there existed a two-roomed Tshankhang belonging to a meditator named Rongnek Tshampa Chopel, which later on was taken care of by a nun named Ani Bhumo after his death. Then in 1959 (the Earth hog year), it was given to Ani Dhanchoe Dolma. Near this Tshamkhang, there once existed the ruin of a hermitage belonging to a meditator named Taktse Ajo.

According to another report submitted by Ani Dhamchoe Dolma to the Ecclesiastical Affairs Department on 16.01.80, her late Father named Shangda Palchen Rimpoche was born in Ladakh and went to Tibet in 1956. In 1957 he along with 10 nuns came to Sikkim and as per the wishes of the Queen mother of Sikkim they constructed a Tshamkhang nearby the Tshamkhang of Lingthok Ajo (a famous hermit of Sikkim). In 1966, they shifted from upper Taktse to lower Taktse. This Tshamkhang originally belonged to Rongnek Tshampa Chopel and later it was renovated by Ani Bhumo by

selling her own ornaments in which all the public of Rongnek rendered their assistance by transporting construction materials like timber. Ani Bhumo continuously meditated in the same Tshamkhang for 10 years. Before she shifted to Rongnek Nyamo Lhakhang she offered the Tshamkhang to Lingthok Ajo, with permission from Ani Bhumo Lingthok Ajo who donated the same to the present nunnery.

Routine:

There are 30 nuns in residence here, the majority being between 20 and 70 years of age and one under 12 years. They hail from different parts of Sikkim and some are from Bhutan. The task of administration is taken by the senior nuns and rest assumes responsibility turn wise for functioning of the nunnery. The day begins at 3 A.M. with prayers being offered to protective deity Tara. These prayers last till 6 A.M., after which there is break for one hour to eat something. From 8A.M. to 11.30 A.M. there is a time for meditation. After lunch there is again further recitation of Tara prayers till 4 P.M. 6P.M., to 7P.M. is again reserved for meditation. This is the routine of senior nuns. The other nuns rise at 4 A.M. and participate on a rotating schedule of kitchen and maintenance. Since there is no formal study programme, the senior nuns serve as teachers to younger ones and teachings are also received from visiting Lamas. Most of the studies revolve around the basic philosophical texts. Each nun takes a certain number of lines for memorization and recitation. Although the daily schedule is adhered to, there are occasions for prayers, rituals and recitation of texts. Some of the nuns here specialize in rituals to Tara and other dedicational deities. They are requested by the members of the community to perform these rites and donations are made for this. There are plans for enlarging the nunnery and long range goals include establishing a study programme

which would help to achieve a healthy balance of Buddhist studies and actual meditation experience.

In daily practice, the Anis concentrate on Dharma practice consisting of study, chanting and meditation. Emphasis is placed on the memorization of text, with little attention given to mastering the philosophical topics. As a result, very few Anis become qualified as instructors and are devoted to the meditation and liturgical practices. On this aspect of the nuns, Paul (1979) stated that “the nuns seem not to have been a significant part of the students body of the great Buddhist universities which were the central gem in the crown of the monk’s order, an order which was extensive, prosperous, and productive of extraordinary thought and art”.

With a few minor variations, the gazetteer of Sikkim (1894) recorded the same hierarchy of the nuns as that of the monks

<u>SL.NO.</u>	<u>RANK</u>
1.	Dorjee-Lopen
2.	Dor-chung (officiating head)
3.	Geydol (Chief Manager)
4.	Omze-Tipa (Manager)
5.	Chutempa (In charge of nuns)
6.	Ochumpa (officiating nun)
7.	Chenzipa (officiating nun)
8.	Nyepo
9.	Chinyel (Kitchen In charge)
10.	Kunyel (Lamp Caretaker)
11.	Tongpa (Conch Shell Blower)

The Taktse ani Tshamkhang does not have a Dorjee Lopen and the Omze-Tipa is the highest rank here. The rank of the Dorjee Lopen is reserved for a lama (monk). However, here there is an Ani -gyambo who teaches how to fast and the Karpochhagye which is the course of Mani Mantras invoking the deity chen-re-zig. The Taktse ani tshamkhang has also started with its meditational centre a year back and the Ani-gyambo is in retreat here.

7e. Bhutia Women and Buddhism:

Religion, even though an amorphous variable is an important source that shapes the position and status of women and gives them an identity in the society.

Religious life is open to Bhutia women but there is very little information about the circumstances under which they opt for monastic life. During the interview sessions, it was observed that most of the women, with a few exceptions who have become Bhikkhusni (Ani) were not driven by faith and religious aspirations as frequently cited, but they were often driven by personal tragedies, illness, loss of parents or even economic problems. However, after they joined the nunnery they followed Dharma. In theory, enlightenment is available to men and women without discrimination in the Buddhist text but there are Buddhist prayers, which give an impression that a male birth is preferable to that of a woman. The path of spiritual enlightenment in Buddhism is very arduous and lengthy and with limited disciplinary opportunities. Women's progress and efforts are truncated. The opportunities, meditational forms and institutional structures which are available to laymen and monks are however not available to the Anis. There is also unevenness in institutional governance and the disciplinary rules, which govern the monastic order treat nuns as second-class citizens (The eight special rules). When asked a

very senior Ani in the Taktse Monastery whether these rules could be changed or modified, she replied, “There is no way these rules can be changed”, She said, “we are women and we are subordinate to the monks, just saying OM MANE PADME HUN is enough for me”. It is accepted that the eight disciplinary rules which were laid down by Gautama Buddha at the time of admission of first group of women as nuns are still operating as a normative guide in the Buddhist world. The nuns have to pay homage to a monk, regardless of how senior or junior he is. They are instructed by a monk and they cannot reprimand a monk, but he always can.

Feminists have pointed out that in the biological difference of the women lies her spiritual potential. There is connectivity between women and nature because women’s cycle of menstruation, birth, menopause, and the cycle of life and death are related. Religion fulfills deep psychic needs and enables women to bear life’s sufferings and cope up with them. Therefore, at a personal level the spiritual phenomenon helps to create conditions for the religious phenomena at social level. Women like their male colleagues are capable of receiving titles and status, which signifies their spiritual enlightenment but these are often withheld for the women. During interviews, Anis at Taktse were asked that why are there no venerated nuns in Sikkim whereas in Tibetan Anis like the Abbottess of Sam-ding (bsam-ding) and Ani Lochen hold a good position equal to a venerated monk. They answered that women could never reach the level of a monk because of the menstrual cycle.

The biased attitude can also be observed in the case of donations that are made to the nunnery. There is a general feeling that merit accruing from a donation to the Sangha of a monk is more than that occurring from a donation to the Sangha of Anis. The female renunciants do not get material support the way the male renunciants receive.

Leslie (1983) gathered that women are not given more prestige and importance in religious roles because of the tension between asceticism and eroticism in religion. Asceticism is possible for men because they can give up the world after being involved in procreative purposes. A man can practise seminal retention while a woman cannot control her bodily secretion. Thus, men have greater spiritual religious potential.

Religious position of common Bhutia Women

In early times, women participated in religious rituals and rites as passive partners. Women tried to fill up the vacuum created by men by taking up rituals because men were withdrawing from ritual performance under the influence of modernization. Bhutia women believe in God as all powerful and divine, one who controls the destiny of man and they follow the traditional concept of religion like performance of rituals. This can be interpreted as a quest for equality by women in the religious sphere besides equality in other spheres. However, there is an element of tradition and modernity co-existing in Bhutia society of Sikkim. Even though majority of them believe in God, some of them question the traditional ideas, which are perpetuated by men and result in the subordination of women. For example, why is a nun inferior to a monk? Why is menstruation impure? However, these discussions just remained confined to the four walls of the house. For Bhutia women, aspects of religion like festivals are of significance because these bring a new element in their home and their main sphere of activity. Women seem to have more knowledge about the festivals than men because they are the tradition bearers of the family and society. Festivals are also an occasion for them to interact with other women and they use this opportunity for self-expression.

A common Bhutia woman is not aware of the religious disabilities faced by the Nuns (Anis). A modern Bhutia woman feels no grievance for being deprived of the right

to become a nun. Women feel that they have nothing to gain by becoming re-eligible to attain spiritual salvation. They feel that in modern day's education, acquisition of economic rights and independence are more important so they feel no initiation for the restoration of religious rights and privileges.

On the basis of the questions asked to find out the religious position of common Bhutia women it was observed that Bhutia women had a low religious position. Even during performance of the last rites, the funeral pyre of the women was eight layered as compared to the men that was seven-layered (Mondal, 1998\1999). The reason to this was they believe that women requires an extra step to reach heaven because they are considered impure. However, common Bhutia women as such did not seem to have any interest in knowing about these facts and did not consider themselves as inferior.

7f. Case Study:

1. Thubten Lhatso age 42 is from Tibet. She joined the Nunnery when she was 12 years old. Her parents were very poor so they left her at the nunnery. At that time she was not educated and did not even know the reason why her parents had left her here. Recounting her experience, what disturbed her the most was the day her head was shaved. She had her monastic education in the nunnery and the daily schedule. Was to be adhered to, punctuated by special teachings and other occasions including prayers, rituals and recitation of texts.

She feels the society does not give the Ani (Nun) the same respect they give to a monk. Her dharma is just for herself and she feels comfortable with it. She wants that Nunnery should develop into study centre, so that nuns can evolve a programme of their own which would be of their interest.

2. Pema Lhamu age 59 is from West Sikkim. She joined the Nunnery when she became a widow at 30. It was this personal tragedy which was responsible for leading her into the monastic order. In the Nunnery she found a home and a meaning for her life. She follows the schedule of the nunnery and also fasts. She however, never thinks about her religious position. She feels Dharma is an individual affair and everyone should find their own path of spiritualism. One thing which does affect her is that Anis (Nuns) are generally not called for performing any of the prayers by people and they always want a monk. She wants to become proficient in funeral rites because that will give her the ultimate renunciation.

* Names of the respondents have been changed

7g. Summary:

Religion continues to be understood in rather narrow terms related closely to the existence of a divine being. In conclusion, apart from spiritual attainments, the Sikkimese Buddhist Nunneries serve as a place where women practise religion. These Nunneries also fulfil several other important needs in the lives of these Sikkimese women who have become nuns. Hence the order of nuns (Ani's) is not particularly influential in Sikkimese society.

Traditions are passed on and they are concerned with the social and cultural milieu. Although Buddhism is a tolerant and non-gendered religion, yet the values of prevailing social patriarchal system works negatively against women. They have accepted their subordination not only with their heart, but also their mind. As long as they continue to pray for male rebirth and accept menstruation as unclean, these unfortunate social views will be a hindrance in the path of their religious growth. Bhutia women do not think

about reshaping the present form of religion but accept the way it is. They have done great service to religion by preserving the old religious tradition, moral flavour and spiritual vein and these constitute a priceless heritage and men should be grateful to them for it.

However, if religion is merely internalized and lived ritualistically it becomes oppressive whereas, if religion is experienced for developing consciousness and power of mind, it leads to liberation.

References

- Altekar, A.S. (1987) *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, Reprint 194-195.
- Beals, R .L. and Hojjer, H. (1971) *An Introduction to Anthropology*. The Macmillan Co New York.
- Durkheim, E. (1954) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Allen and Unwin London..
- Falk, N. (1974) *An Image of Women in Old Buddhist Literature: The Daughters of Mara*, In *Women and Religion*, Judith Plaskow and Joan Arnold, eds. Chico, CA: AAR/Scholars Press.
- Giele, Z.J. and Smock, C.A. (1977) *Comprative Prespective on Women*. Interscience Publication .John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Horner, I.B. (1975). *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, Motilal Banarsi, Delhi, Reprint, P 301 FF.
- Kathryn, A.T. (1981) “The Chinese Buddhist Monastic Order for Women: The First Two Centuries”, *Women in China*, (eds.) Richard W.Guisso and Stanley Johannesen Philo Press.
- Kaushik, V. and Sharma, R.B. (1996). “Encyclopedia of Human Rights and Women’s Development” Vol. 1. *India Women through Ages*, Sarup and Sons, New Delhi.
- Kumar,A. and Singh,N.(1997) “Buddhas’ Approach Towards Women Status”. *Bulletin of Tibetology*.No 1.P 15-26.

- Leslie, J. (1983) "Essence and Existence, Women and Religion in Ancient India" in *Women's Religious Experience* (ed) by Pat Kalden, Room Kelm – N.Y.
- Narasu, P.L. (1948) *The Essence of Buddhism*, Thacker and Co. (Ltd.), Bombay, P 122.
- Nehru, J.L. (1960) *Discovery of India*, London, P14.
- Nakai, P. (2003) "Women in Buddhism", Part 2: Negative Depiction and Positive Contributions of Women in Theravada Buddhism. <http://www.living.org/Living.Dharma.Articles/WomeniN Buddhism2.html> 16.
- Silva, de. S. (2003) "The Place of Women in Buddhism"-A talk given to the Midlands Buddhist Society (UK) on Sanghamitta Day. <http://WWW.enabling.org/ia/vipassana/Archive/D/Desi>.

Chapter VIII

8. Concluding Observations:

The position of a woman in a society cannot be determined without taking into consideration the social setting of the society because the social structure helps to shape the social and economic attributes of an individual. For studying the objectives of the present study, instead of formulation of hypotheses research questions were framed which became imperative from methodological point of view. These questions were related to the nature of social structure of the Bhutia Society in Sikkim and the position of Bhutia women in education, occupation and income, women's share in family property, women's autonomy in social, economic, decision making processes, the nature and type of marriage along with the nature of family planning practices, her level of political participation and finally her religious position. At the conclusion of the study an attempt is made to examine how far the research questions which were formulated have been validated.

The population of the state is not homogenous and in the absence of any empirical study on the Bhutia society the observations could not be made beyond a certain limit and could not be substantiated on the basis of census data. Sikkim has experienced a great deal of social and economic change which has affected the social structure and also the position of the women. The socio-economic profile reveals that the Bhutia women have experienced an educational and occupational change. Awareness is felt about the importance of education and its impact on the occupation that would follow, but a lacuna is felt. The presence of amenities in the study villages remained almost the same and most of respondents even have access to these. All the places in the study sample have a primary health centre, primary or middle school and all the places are linked with means

of transport and communication such as post office, motorable road and even telephone facilities. However the access to all these facilities depends upon the economic conditions in which these women and their households are placed.

The central position of the family in the life of the individual women and the society as a whole means that a change in women's position in a society cannot be accompanied without basic modifications in the character of a family. Bhutia women enjoy freedom and respect in the family. In the analysis of marriage and knowledge of family planning, it was found that in the contemporary times people, by and large, go for monogamous marriages. The marriage is solemnized as per the culture and tradition of Bhutia society. Bhutia women have consent in the selection of life partners and with the changing times, people also go in for love marriages or marriages by one's own choice. Marriage within the community still remains the first preference. However, inter community marriages are on the rise. The data about the ideal number of children and actual number of children do not match, but this is not due to social or cultural factors. No sex preference is seen and some even show desire for having daughters. This reflects the high social position of the girl child in society. With regard to the knowledge about methods of family planning, it was found that most of them had opted for one or the other method but it was generally not for spacing or planning an ideal family size but as per the decision of the husband, thus pointing towards the patriarchal nature of the Bhutia society.

Highly gender-stratified cultures have long been recognized to be characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, inheritance and succession practices which exclude women and hierarchical relations in which father or his relatives have authority over family members. In Sikkim, the Bhutia society also believes in male line of

succession and generally the girls are deprived from the property. Since, there are no such laws this norm cannot be defied although in modern times Bhutia families are also giving share to girls of the family.

Bhutia women in general have decision making authority. There is a definite pattern to the kinds of decisions in which they participate: they are involved in decisions that are not perceived as threatening to the family economy, that is, those relating to children and child care rather than those pertaining to major purchases. However, in almost every index of decision making like mobility, access to and control over resources, freedom from threat by husbands Bhutia women commanded a fairly good position in society. Patriarchy distinguishes authority at home and outside but the new economic roles assumed by Bhutia women has helped in transforming the intra-family distribution of role relationships thus emphasizing the multidimensional nature of her position in society.

The political position of women can be defined by the degree of equality and freedom enjoyed by women in the shaping or sharing of power. A good deal of social legislation and socio-economic policies have been sought to strengthen the position of women. Despite this, political participation of women is very meager and peripheral. Bhutia women are however, politically aware. Women respond positively on the value of voting as a right. From the data it is revealed that women believe in political participation but could not make it to main line politics. They however, do meet politicians and even ask for assistance. This shows their sense of confidence and duty towards their gender. Most of the women have a high positive attitude towards political participation of women, because they feel that participation plays a role in shaping civic orientation. Education and occupation have favourable effect on women's electoral participation but

women were influenced in casting their vote, which is confirmed by the women themselves. The political attitude of Bhutia women reveals that they are also in favour of campaigning activities because their involvement would help them get a better position in society. However, women still need to cross obstacles to achieve the highest level of decision making within formal and informal political bodies.

Religion is an important institution in the life of an individual because by its ethical mode it controls the framework of life. Bhutia women in general and the nuns (Anis or Bikkshunis) have been somewhat disadvantaged in their religious life. Being quite humble and self effacing by nature, nuns have remained quietly in the background. The order of nuns is not of particular influence in the Bhutia society but it is essential for the well being of some individual women. Bhutia women are very religious minded but in the ritual and ceremonial spheres men dominate and currently Bhutia women are deemed separate from a more egalitarian model and they need to shape the content of their spiritual quest in the contemporary setting.

In traditional Bhutia society women occupy an important position and have an important role to play. The concept of patriarch which prevails does not create a gender divide but gives respect to the women. However, Bhutia women occupy an anomalous position because they enjoy a traditional ascribed position and role but still have to achieve an important one. There is thus a need for formulation of schemes and programmes that would help to improve Bhutia women's position in society because any universal conclusion cannot be drawn from such a micro study. However, it may be hoped that this study will contribute to some extent in promoting the knowledge about the position of women in Bhutia society of Sikkim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

- Ahuja, K. (1991) *Women and Economic Activities in Women's Quest for Equality*, (ed.) by Anita; Jaipur, RIPA.
- Allport, G.W. (1985) "Attitude" in Carl Murichson (ed.) *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Mass. Clerk University Press. Worchester.
- Almond, G.A. and Verba, S. (1965) *The Civic Culture, Political Attitude and Democracy in Five Nations*. Boston, Little Brown.
- Altekar, A.S. (1962) *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization.*, Motilal Delhi.
- Awasty, I. (1978) *Between Sikkim and Bhutan. The Lepchas and Bhutias of Pedong*. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.
- Babbie, E. (1992) *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont,. Wadsworths Publishing Company, California.
- Bagachi, J. (1995) *Indian Women. Myth and Reality*. Sangam Books, Ltd, India Hyderabad.
- Baig, T.A. (1958) "The Family and The Home" In T.A. Baig (ed.) *Women in India*, Publication Division. Delhi.
- Bajwa, A. (1984) "Decision Making by Rural Women in Selected Household Activities". Unpublished Master's Thesis Ludhiana, Punjab Agricultural University.
- Balikci, A.(2002) "Buddhism anad Shamanism in Village Sikkim". London School Of Oriental Studies . Social Anthropology. *Unpublished Thesis*.

- Bareh, H.A. (1993) *Encyclopedia of NorthEast India*. Volume VII, Sikkim, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.
- Beals, R.L. and Hojjer, H. (1971) *An Introduction to Anthropology*. New York, The Macmillan Co.
- Bhasin, V. (1989) *Ecology, Culture and Change, Tribal of Sikkim*, Himalayas. Tribal Studies of Indian Series, T-133, Inter India Publication. New Delhi.
- Bhattacharya, A. (1994) "The Bhutia-Lepcha Women in Sikkim: Tradition and Response to Change". In Lama, P.M (ed.), *Sikkim- Society, Polity, Economy, Environment*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Boserup, E. (1970) *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York George Allen and Unwin.
- Boulding, E. (1972) "Women as Role Models in Industrializing Societies". Sussman, M. and Leiden, B.C. (ed.) *In Cross National Family Research*, Brill.
- Brown, A.R. (1922) *Andaman Islanders, A Social Study*, London.
- Campbell, A. Converses, P.F. Miller, W.F. and Slokes, D.F. (1964) *The American Voter*. John Wiley, New York.
- Chafe, W. H. (1972) *The American Women, Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles*, New York Oxford University Press, London.
- Chaudhuri, S. S. (1995) *Women and Politics, West Bengal. A Case Study* Menerva Associates Publications Pvt. 1H. Calcutta, India.
- Chaudhury, P. (1989) *Changing Values Among Women*, Amar Prakashan, XX Delhi.

- Chauhan, A. (1990) *Tribal Women and Social Change in India*. A.C. Brothers, Etawah.
- Chitnis, S. (1975) "International Women's Year, Its Significance for Women in India", In De'Souza, A. (ed.) *Women in Contemporary India*. Delhi, Manohar.
- Choudhary, N.C. (1978) "Women Hood in Tribal India", *Tribal Women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta.
- Christy, C.A. (1984) "Economic Development and Sex Differences in Political Participation," *Women and Politics .Prager*. New York.
- Conway, M.M. (1985) "Political Participation in the State" A Division of Congressional Quarterly, Washington D.C.
- Dalhstrom, E. (1967) *Changing Roles of Men and Women*, Duckworth, London.
- Dalton, E.T. (1872) *Descriptive Ethnography of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- Das, B. S. (1983) *The Sikkim Saga*. Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Desai, M. (1988) *Eco-System and Ethnic Constellation of Sikkim*. Best Book Publication Department. Calcutta
- Desai, N. (1957) *Women in Modern India*. Bombay, Vera Publishing House.
- Desai, N. and Patel, V. (1975-85) *Indian Women. Change and Challenges in the International Decade*, Bombay.
- Dhruvarajan, V. (1989) *Hindu Women and the Power of Ideology*, New Delhi, Vistaar.
- Diana, Y. P. (1979) *Women in Buddhism*, Foreword By I.B. Horner, California.
- Dixon, R. (1978) *Rural Women at Work Strategies for Development in South Asia*, Baltimore John Hopkins University Press.
- Edgar, J.W. (1874) *Sikkim and Tibetan Frontier*, Calcutta.

- Engel, S.G. (1972) "Women and Politics" In West Germany in Bhasin Kamla (ed.) *The Position of Women in India*, Proceedings of a Seminar held in Srinagar, September, P 120.
- Engels, F. (1948) *The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State*. Moscow, Progress Publishers.
- Eshleman, R. J. (1997) *The Family-An Introduction* Eight Edition Wayne State University, Allyn and Bacon.
- Fakin, T.C. (1972) *Students and Politics*. A Comparative Study, Bombay, Popular Prakashan.
- Firth, R. (1946) *Human Type*, London, Nelson.
- Foning, A.R. (1987) *Lepchas: My Vanishing Tribe*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
- Fortes. (1949) "Time and Social Structure". In *Social Structure* Studies Presented to A.R. Radcliffe Brown.
- Foster. (1949) *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*.
- Ghadially, R. (1988) *Women in Indian Society*. Saya Delhi.
- Ginsberg, M. (1953) *The Ideas of Progress*. A Revaluation, Boston Beacon Press.
- Goode, J.W. (1963) *World Revolution and Family Patterns*, New York. The Free Press.
- Goody, J. (1973) "Bride-Wealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia", In J.Goody and S.J.Tambiah, Eds. *Bride Wealth and Dowry*,P. 1-58, Cambridge University Press.
- Gorer, G. (1984) *The Lepchas of Sikkim*, Reprint Culture Publishing House, Delhi.

- Grigson, W.V. (1938) *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, Oxford University Press.
- Gupta, B. K. D. (1978) "Tribal Women in North East India", *Tribal Women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta.
- Haimendorf, Furer –Von. C. (1943) *The Chen Chus. Jungle Folk of Decca*, London Macmillan and Company.
- Hona, P.L (1981) "Political Socialization of College Girls in Poona". *Unpublished Thesis* of University of Poona.
- Horner, I.B. (1975) *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, Reprint.
- Hunter, W.W. (1973) *Orissa*, London. Smith Elder.
- Hutton, J.H. (1921) *The Sema Naga*, London, Macmillan.
- Jogdand, P.G. (1995) *Dalit Women in India*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Kallgren (1977) "Rural Development and Women's Economic Roles in Asia" In Das. M.S., Gupta V.K. *Social Status of Women in Developing Countries*, New Delhi M.D. Publication Pvt. Ltd.
- Kapadia, K.M. (1958) *Marriage and Family in India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press.
- Kaur, G. (1986) "A Study of Task Distribution in Rural Households of Ludhiana District" Master's Thesis, Ludhiana PAU, India.
- Kaur, I. (1983) *Status of Hindu Women in India*, Allahbad Chug Publication.
- Kaur, S. (1987) *Women in Rural Development* New Delhi, Mittal Publication.
- Kirkpatrick, J.J. (1974) *Political Women*, New York, Basic Books.
- Kotturan, G. (1989) *Folk Tales of Sikkim*. Sterling Publications Pvt. Ltd.

- Kottum, G. (1983) *The Himalayan Gateway, History and Culture of Sikkim*. Sterling Publishers Pvt.Ltd.
- Kroeber, A.L. (1952) "The Societies of Primitive Man". In A.L.Kroeber (ed) *The Nature of Culture* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Kumari, R. (1992) *Brides are Not for Burning. Dowry Victims in India*, New Delhi, Radiant.
- Lall, J.S. (1981) *The Himalaya. Aspect of Change*. India International Center. New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Lane, R.E. (1961) *Political Life*. Illinois. The Free Press.
- Lapche, T.T. (1987) "A Study of Farm Women's Contribution to Agricultural Production in East District of Sikkim State" Master's Thesis, Anand Gujrat Agricultural University, India.
- Latham, R.G. (1859) *Descriptive Ethnology*, Vol I. Eastern and Northern Asia-Europe, London.
- Lengermann, P. M. and Brantley, J.N. (1988) "Contemporary Feminist Theory", In George Ritzer, *Contemporary Sociological Theory* Alfred A. Knopf New York.
- Leonard, K. (1979) *Women in India*, Some Recent Perspectives, Pacific Affairs, 52, 1.
- Leslie, J. (1983) "Essence and Existence, Women and Religion in Ancient India" In *Women's Religious Experience* (ed.) by Pat Kalden, Room Kelm – N.Y.
- Lipset, M.S. (1959) *Political Man* Bombay, VFS Pvt. Ltd. An Adapted Version.
- Lowie, R.H. (1921) *Primitive Society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Lowie, R.H. (1950) *Social Organisation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- Majumdar, D.N and Madan, T.N (1955) *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.
- Majumdar, V. (1978) "Towards Equality". The Status of Women in India. In U. Phadnis, and Malini, (ed.) *Women of the World – Illusion and Reality*. Vikas Publishing House Pvt, Ltd Delhi.
- Malinowski, B. (1966) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London.
- Mann, K. (1987) *Tribal Women in a Changing Society*, Mittal Publication, Delhi.
- Marx, K. (1963) "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts" In T.B Bottomore (ed.) *Marx. Early Writings*, Harmondsworth Penguin.
- Mazumdar, V. (1979) *Symbols of Power*. Allied New Delhi.
- McClosky, H (1968) "Political Participation," In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Collier – Macmillan. New York, Vol. 12.
- Mies, M. (1980) *Indian Women and Patriarchy*, Concept Publishing Company.
- Milbrath, L. (1965) *Political Participation*, , Rand Mc Nally Chicago.
- Mill, J.S. (1980) *The Subjection of Women*, (ed.) by S. Manfield, Heights IIIA.H.M. Publishing Corporation Arlington.
- Millbrath, W.L. and Goel M.L. (1977) *Political Participation, How and Why do People Get Involve In Politics?* 2nd edition, Rand Mc Nally Pub. Co. Chicago.
- Morris, J. (1939) *Living with Lepchas: A Book About Sikkim Himalayas*, Hainemann, London.
- Murdock, G.P. (1963) *Social Structure*, the Macmillan Co. 9th (ed.). New York
- Nadel, S.F. (1965) *The Theory of Social Structure*. Cohen and West Ltd. London.

- Namgyal, T. and Dolma, Y. (1908) *History of Sikkim*, Compiled by Their Highnesses Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal and Rani Yeshay Dolma, Translated by Lama Dawa Kazi Dausandup.
- Narasu, P.L. (1948) *The Essence of Buddhism*, Thacker and Co. (Ltd.), Bombay.
- Nehru, J.L. (1960) *Discovery of India*, London.
- Nei, H.N. and Verba, S. (1975) "Political Participation" In Fred I. Green Stein and Nelson, W. Polsby (ed.) *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 4 Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Niranjana, (2000) *Status of Women and Family Welfare*. Kanishka Publishing Distributors.
- Oberoi, M.K. and Sandhu, M. (1991) "Status of Women in the Society in Present Situation", In Puni R.K. (ed.) *Women in Agriculture. Their Status and Role*, Vol.1, Northern Book Centre. New Delhi.
- Orum, A.M. (1978) *Introduction to Political Sociology* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice.
- Palileo, G.J. (1995) "Rural Development and Women's Economics Roles in Asia". In Das, M.S. and Gupta, V.K. (ed.) *Social Status of Women in Developing Countries.*, Deep and Deep Publication. New Delhi.
- Palmer, D.N. (1976) *Election and Political Development, the South Asian Experience*. Vikas Pub. House New Delhi.
- Patrick, J. J. (1977) "Political Socialization and Political Education in School" In Stanley Allen Renshon (ed.), *Handbook of Political Socialization*, The Free Press, New York.

- Pomper, M.G. (1975) *Voter's Choice*. Light and Life Publication. New Delhi.
- Prasad, R.R. (1989) *Bhutia Tribals of India. Dynamics of Economic Transformation*. Gyan Publishing House. New Delhi.
- Pritchard, E.E.E. (1991) *Social Anthropology*,. Universal Book Stall New Delhi.
- Raha, M.K (1987) *The Himalayan Heritage*, Gyan Publishing House.
- Ram, R. (1978) *The Himalayan Borderland*. Vivek Publications, New Delhi.
- Rani, K. (1976) *Role Conflict in Working Women*. Chetana Publication, Delhi.
- Rath and Das (1988) *Rural Women at Work Baltimore*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Risley, H.H. (1894) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*. Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta.
- Rivers, H.H. (1973) *The Todas* Macmillan, London.
- Rivers, W.H.R. (1924) *Social Organization*, New York.
- Saksena, K. (2000) *Women and Politics*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Sapiro, V. (1983) *The Political Integration of Women. Roles, Socialization and Politics* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Saran, G. (1988) "Status of Women in Perspective". In J.P Singh, N.N. Vyas and R.S. Mann (ed.), *Tribal Women and Development*. Rawat Publication, Jaipur.
- Schappert, G.L. (1968) *Sikkim 1800-1968, An Annotated Bibliography*. East, West Center Library. East West Center.
- Sen, J. (1978) "Status of Women Among Tribe", *Tribal Women in India*, Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta.
- Sen, S. (1985) *The Working Women and Popular Movement in Bengal*. K.P. Bagchi, Calcutta.

- Sengupta, S. (2001) *Tribes OF Eastern Himalayas*. Mittal Publication. New Delhi.
- Sharma, K. (1984) *Women in Focus. A Community in Search of Equal Role*, Delhi, Sang am Books Pvt. Ltd.
- Sharma, U. (2001) *Women's Emancipation Rights vs. Population Control*, Tarun Offset, Delhi.
- Sherring, C. A. (1906) *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, London Edward Arnold.
- Sills, D. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12, The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, New York.
- Singh, A.M. (1975) "The Study of Women in India. Some Problems in Methodology in Women in Contemporary India" In Alfred De'Souza (ed.) *Women in Contemporary India*, Delhi, Manohar.
- Singh, K.A. (2000) *Empowering of Women in India*, Manak Publication Pvt. Ltd.
- Singh, K.S. (1988) "Tribal Women. Anthropological Perceptive" In (ed.) J.P. Singh, N.N. Vyas and R.S. Mann (1988) *Tribal Women and Development*, Udaipur. MLV Tribal Research and Training Institute, Tribal Area Development, Rajasthan.
- Singh, K.S. (1993) *People of India. Sikkim*, Volume XXXIX Anthropological Survey of India. Seagull books, Calcutta.
- Sinha, A.C. (1972) *Elites of Sikkim. A Study in Political Development*, *PhD. Thesis*.
- Spardley, J.P. and David, W.M.C. (1975) *Anthropology, Cultural Perspective*.
- Stocks, C. De.B. (1975) *Sikkim Customs and Folklore*, Cosmos Publication.
- Strauss, L. (1953) *Social Structure in Anthropology Today*, (ed.) By A.L.Kroeber.

- Talcott, P. and Bales, R. F. (1955) "Family Socialization and Interaction Process," The Free Press New York,
- Tambiah, S.J. (1973) "Dowry and Bride-Wealth and the Property Rights of Women in South Asia", In J. Goody and S.J. Tambiah, (ed.) *Bride-Wealth and Dowry*, P. 59-169, Cambridge University Press Cambridge.
- Upadhayay, H.C. (1991) *Status of Women in India*. Vol. 1, New Delhi, Anmol Publication.
- Upreti, H.C. and Upreti, N. (2000) *Women and Problem of Gender Discrimination*, Pointer Publishers, Jaipur.
- Verba, S. Ahmed, B. and Bhatt, A. (1971) *Caste, Race and Politics* Beverly Hills Sage.
- Verba, S. and Nie, N. H. (1972) *Participation in America*. Harper and Row New York.
- Verma, S.K. (1991) *Women in Agriculture. A Socio Economic Analysis*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company.
- Westermarck, E. (1921) *History of Human Marriages*. 3 Vols. 5th Ed., Macmillan, London.
- White, J.C. (1909) *Sikkim and Bhutan: 21 years on North East Frontier, 1887-1908*.
- Yalman, N. (1967) *Under the Bo Tree*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Journals:

- Agarwal, B. (1986) "Women Poverty and Agriculture Growth in India". *Indian Journal of Peasant Studies*. 13(4).
- Badigar, C.L. and Roa, M.K.S. (1980) "Participation of Farm Women in Decision Making on Farm and Home Aspects". *World Agricultural Economic and Rural Sociology Abstracts* 23(9) 740.
- Banerjee, N. (1991) "Indian Women in a Changing Industrial Scenario". *Social Change* Vol. 21 No. 1, New Delhi.
- Bardhan, K. (1983) "Women's Work, Welfare and Status". *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XX, Nos. 5, P. 2261 – 2269.
- Basu, S. (1966) "Bhots of North Sikkim". *Man in India*, Vol. 46, No.2.
- Brown, A.R. (1941) "The Study of Kinship System", *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 71.
- Campbell, A. (1840) "Note on Lepchas of Sikkim with a Vocabulary of their Language". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IX, Part I.
- Coldwell, J.C. Reddy P.H. and Caldwell, P (1983) "The Causes of Marriage Change in South India", *Population Studies*, 37 (3) P 343-361.
- Dalton, J.H. (1855) "Note of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and the Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains". *Himalayan Journals A New Edition*, Carefully Revised and Condensed London-2, Vol 5.
- Dhamala, R. (1995-96) "Women Participation in Socio Economic and Political Process of Sikkim", *Himalayan Miscellany*, Vol. 9/10, March 28th –34.

- Dowse, R. and Hughes, J. (1971) "Girls, Boys and Politics", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, P.53-65.
- Elshtain, J. (1974) "Moral Women and Immoral Man. A Consideration of the Public / Private Split and Political Ramification". *Politics and Society* 4(4).
- Ginsberg, M. (1958) "Social Change", *British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. IX.
- Goldstein, M.C. (1971) "Stratification, Polyandry, and Family Structure in Central Tibet" *South Western Journal Anthropology* 27 P 64-74.
- Gupta, A (1977) "Mobilizing Women for Change", *Social Scientist* Vol. 6, No. 82 August.
- Lee, M.M. (1976) "Why Few Women Hold Public Office. Democracy and Sexual Roles". *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 91. No. P 297 – 314.
- Leighley, J. (1991) "Participation as a Stimulus of Political Conceptualization", *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 53 No.1. P 20.
- Levine, N. (1982) "Belief and Exploration in Nyinba. Women's Witch Craft". *Man* 17 P 259-274.
- Lindenbaum, S. (1981) "Implication for Women of Changing Marriage Transactions in Bangladesh," *Studies in Family Planning*. 12(11) P 394-401.
- Mazumdar, V (1989) "Reservation for Women". *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 24 No. 50 December 16.
- Mezey, G. S. (1978) "Does Sex Make Difference? A Case Study of Women in Politics". *Western Political Quarterly* Vol. 31. No. 4.
- Mondal, R. S. (1998\1999) "Status of Bhutia Women of Darjeeling Himalayas. A Profile", *Himalayan Miscellany*, Volume 12 and 13.

- Nakane, C. (1966) "A Study of Plural Societies in Sikkim (Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepali)" *Minzokuga ku-Kenkyu The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* XXI P 15-64.
- Rani, J. (1990) "Development Paradings in Economic." *Women's Perspective*. July 28, Vol. XXVII, P 40.
- Schlegel, A. and Eloul, E. (1988) "Marriage Transactions: Labour, Property, Status". *American Anthropologist*, 90(2) P 291-309.
- Sengupta, A.L. (1968) "Indian Women. Her Position and Problems in Modern Times." *Journals of Family Welfare*, Vol. 10, No. 4, June P 51-90.
- Sharma, K. and Mazumdar, V. (1979) "Women's Studies. New Perception and the Challenges", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XIV, No.3, January 20.
- Sharrif, A. (1991) "Women Workers. Gender Equality and Female Autonomy". *Social Change*, Vol. 20, No.1.
- Spiro, M.E. (1975) "Marriage Payments, A Paradigm for the Burmese Perspective". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 31(2) P 89-115.
- Srinivas, M.N. (1964) "Social Structure". *Sociological Bulletin* Vol. XIII, March, No. 1.
- Stein, A.A. (1951) "Mi-nag and Si- Hia:geographic historique et legends ancestrales" *Bulletin d e l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme- orient*, Liv, 79-106-1959 Les Tributs Anciennes des Marches Sino- Tibetaines.Paris:Press Universitar es de France.
- Thompson, L. (1993) "Conceptualizing Gender in Marriage. The Case of Marital Care" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 55 (August) P 557-569.

- Vidyarthi, L.P. (1983) "Tribes of India". In *People of India*. Some Genetical Aspects. XV *International Congress of Genetics*, Dec 12 –21, ICMR, New Delhi.
- Walker, A.J. Martin, S.S.K. and Thompson, L. (1992) "Feminist Vision," *Family Relation 41* (October) P 378-384.

Reports, Handouts

- Acharya, M. and Benett, L. (1982) "Women and the Subsistence Sector Economic Participation and Household Decision Making in Nepal". *World Bank Staff Working Paper* No. 526 Washington DC World Bank.
- Basu, S.K. and Jindal, A. (1990) "Genetic and Socio-cultural Determinants of Tribal Health. A Primitive Kuttiya Kondhs Tribal Group of Phulbani District, Orissa", *ICMR Final Report*, NIHFV.
- Devi, S.V. (1988) *Role of Women Economic Development*, 70th Annual Conference Volume (Part 1) Jaipur, Indian Economic Association.
- Draft Report on Customary Laws and Usages of Bhutia Community of Sikkim No. 53, Dtd. 08.02. 2002 Government of Sikkim, Law Department, Gangtok.
- Khan, T.S. (1991) "Sorry, It's a Stag – Party". *The Times of India*. 19th May.
- Kshatriya, G. (1992) "Health as Parameter for Women's Development National Workshop on Education and Women's Development". National Institution of Education Planning and Administration, New Delhi.
- Parthasarthy, G. (1988) "Public Policy and Trends in Women in Development" Paper Presented at Workshop on Women in Agriculture. Trivandrum Centre for Development Studies, Feb. 15-17, Mimeo.

- Sharma, S.K. (1997) "Population, Urbanization and Environment:" A Report Submitted to State Council of Science Technology and Environment, Govt. of Himachal Pradesh, Shimla Unpublished.
- Sikkim. Human Development Report (2001) Govt. of Sikkim. Social Science Press, Delhi.
- Statical Profile of Schedule Tribe. Social Welfare Department (2001). Govt. of Sikkim.
- Sultana, F. (1984) "A Study of Female Labour Force Participation in Development. Its Extent and Impact on Family Living Baroda," M.S. University.
- Swaminathan, M.S. (1985) "Imparting a Rural Women User Perspective to Agricultural Research and Development." Philippines, IRRF.
- *The Place of Women in Buddhism*-A Talk Given to the Midlands Buddhist Society (UK) on Sanghamitta Day (1988) By Swarna de Silva First Published (1988). This Edition June 1994-INTERNET.
- United Nations (1993) Women's Education and Fertility Behaviour Case Study of Rural Maharashtra, India. New York Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis.
- Women and Political Participation in Women in India, India 1985, Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare, Country Paper, N. Delhi.

APPENDIX

Individual slip

1. Name of Respondent - 2. Age -
3. Place of Birth - 4. Age at Marriage -
5. Duration of Marriage -
6. Marital Status - Unmarried/1st marriage II/Widow/Separated/Divorced
(i) Age of menarche -
(ii) Age of menopause -
7. Number of Sibling - (i) Brothers -
(ii) Sisters -
8. Number of Children - (i) Sons alive -
(ii) Daughter alive -
(iii) Abortions -
(iv) Still births

9. Educational level -

Illiterate	Primary	Middle	High Sch	Sec.	Graduate	Post Graduate
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(a) Before marriage -

(b) After marriage -

10. How important is education - Important/Not Important/Don't know.

11. Working Status

Student	House Wife	Agriculturist	Trader	Artisan	Govt.prof.	Private
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(a) Before marriage –

(b) After marriage –

12. Do you think it is important to work outside house? Yes/No

If yes, why?

To earn Money	To be independent	To Help family	For self
1	2	3	4

13. What is your husband's attitude towards your outside work?

- (i) No appreciation
- (ii) Appreciation
- (iii) Does not say anything

14. What is your opinion towards women's work outside home?

- (i) No appreciation
- (ii) Appreciation
- (iii) No other alternative but compulsion

15. How many hours do you spend for household work?

Hours of work	1-2 hrs
5	
6	
8+	

16. How many hours do you spend on work other than household?

Hours of work	
Not applicable	
3	
4	
5	
6+	

17. The work you do outside is Govt. job/someone else's farm.

Any industrial work	Family farm	Family business	Pvt. Farm	Govt. job

18. Do you work throughout the year/seasonally/once a while?

Throughout/Seasonally/Occasionally.

19. Do you go out of the house only for house related works?

Yes/No

20. Do you go for activities other than house activities?

Yes/No

21. What are the places and how frequently do you visit?

	Every day	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Yearly
School/College					
Friends house					
Parents house					
Relatives house					
Cinema					
Family functions					
Financial activities					
Own purpose					
Other					

22. Do you need permission to go these places?

Yes	No	Not allowed

23. Who gives permission to go?

Parents	Husband	In-laws

24. Can you go out alone?

Parents	Husband	In-laws	Sibling	Alone	Neighbour

25. Are these places in neighbourhood or outside?

Neighbourhood/Outside

26. Who gives consent in the selection of the spouse?

CHOICE	No response	Self	Parents

27. Preference for marriage practice

Marriage preference	
Traditionally practiced arranged marriage	
Marriage by choice or love marriage	

28. Which type of marriage did you have?

- (i) Traditionally practiced arranged marriage
- (ii) Marriage by choice or love marriage
- (iii) No response.

29. What is the desired number of sons and daughter by you.

- (i) Sons
- (ii) Daughter
- (iii) Either

30. What should be the desired number of children

- (i) One
- (ii) Two
- (iii) Three
- (iv) Four
- (v) Four+

31. Information regarding decision-making.

(a) Have you heard about family planning? Yes/No

(b) What are the methods have you heard about?

- (i) Pills
- (ii) Condoms
- (iii) Copper T
- (iv) Sterilization

(c) When is family planning practiced?

- (i) After completion of family
- (ii) For spacing of children

(d) Who is practicing it?

Wife	Husband	Both
1	2	3

(e) Who took decision about family planning?

Wife	Husband	Both	In-laws
1	2	3	4

(f) What is the method practiced?

- (i) Pills
- (ii) Copper-T
- (iii) Sterilization
- (iv) Local
- (v) Others

(g) What is the source of knowledge of family planning method?

No source	Doctor	Health worker	Husband	Friends	Media
1	2	3	4	5	6

(h) Place of delivery

Home	Primary Health Centre	Nursing Home
1	2	3

Child delivered by

- (i) Doei
- (ii) Auxiliary nurse
- (iii) Trained Doctor
- (iv) Relative

(j) Who took decision about sending children to school?

Wife	Husband	Both	Others
------	---------	------	--------

(k) How much education should be given to Boys & Girls?

Education	Boys	Girls
No education		
Less than primary		
Middle		
High School		
Higher Education		
Graduation		
As long as they want		

(l) Did you worry about the sex of your child when pregnant? Yes/No

(m) Is birth of female child welcome?

32. Information regarding access to family resources.

(a) Is access free or restricted. Free/Restricted.

(b) Who controls the resources? Mother/Father/Self/Husband/Husband+Self
(Budgeting)

(c) Who makes decision regarding these in the household?

Respondent	Parents	Husband	Husband + Self	Others
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5

- (i) What item to cook?
- (ii) Obtaining health care?
- (iii) Purchasing jewellery + other household item?
- (iv) You going and staying with parents and siblings?

(d) Are you allowed to keep some money for yourself? Yes/No
Does she have the freedom to spend it? Yes/No

(e) Does the house own any livestock? Yes/No

(f) Does house have following items

- (i) Pressure Cooker
- (ii) Kerosene
- (iii) TV/Radio
- (iv) Telephone
- (v) Scooter/Cycle/Motor Cycle
- (vi) Car

(g) Who takes decision about major investments and saving

Self	Husband	Husband + Self	In-laws

33. Information regarding locational awareness.

- | | Yes | No |
|---|-----|----|
| (a) Are you aware about the Post-Office in your area? | | |
| (b) Are you aware of Public Health Centre? | | |
| (c) Are you aware about Police Station? | | |
| (d) Are you aware of Bank? | | |
| (e) Are you aware of Childs School? | | |

34. Measuring Political Awareness.

- (a). Are you interested in politics? Yes/No
- (b). How much interest do you have in politics? A lot/Some/Little
- (c). Do you participate in politics? Directly/Indirectly/Do not participate
- (d). If did not participate. What are the reasons?
- (i)Lack of time.
 - (ii)Domestic duties
 - (iii)Family problems.
 - (iv)No interest.
 - (v)Other reasons.
- (e). (i) Do you know the name of the person who was elected from your constituency?.
- (ii) Do you know the party to which he/she belonged.
- (iii) Which is the ruling party at the centre. Do you know?
- (f). Did you exercise your vote? Yes/No
- (i) (If Yes) Why did you exercise your vote?
- (ii) (If No) Why did you not exercise your vote?
- Illness.
 - Other engagements.
 - Did not want to vote.
 - Other reasons.

(iii) In whose advise did you cast your vote? Husband/Self/Parents/Both.

(g). (i) Do you read newspaper? Yes/No

(ii) How frequently do you read the newspaper? Frequently/One's in a while/Daily

(iii) Do you discuss politics? Yes/No/Sometime

(iv) Do you think women should participate in politics? Yes/No

(v) (IF Yes) Explain Why?

(vi) (If No) Explain Why?

(vii) Would you vote for a woman candidate?

35. (a) Is the husband allowed to beat/abuse/torture his wife? Yes/No

(b) On what occasions can he do it?

(i) If you leave without informing

(ii) Don't do assigned work.

(iii) Neglect family.

(iv) Are unfaithful.

(c) What should a women do if her husband and family victimize her?

(i) Should ignore

(ii) Keep quite

(iii) Report to police

(iv) React back

(v) Should go to friends

(vi) Go to panchayat

(d) Why do a man exploit a women?

(i) To keep her under control

(ii) Alcohol

(iii) Drug

(iv) Suspicion

(v) Others

35. Why would a man marry again?

Death of wife	For children	Variety

36. Can a women remarry? Yes/No

Under what circumstances

- (i) Death of husband
- (ii) Divorced
- (iii) Affair
- (iv) Maltreated

37. Can a women dissolve her marriage? Yes/No

38. (i) Can a women marry outside her caste? Yes/no

(ii) What happens if she marries?

Outcasted	Accepted

39. (i) Who succeeds property of father? Son/Daughter/Both

(ii) Who succeeds property of mother? Son/Daughter/Both

40. Do you visit a holy place during menstruation? Yes/No

41. Are Lama and Lamani equal? Yes/No

42. Why is there not a venerated lamani?

43. What do you perceive the women's place in religion?

HOUSE HOLD SLIP

Schedule No: -

Village: -

Household No: -

Name of the head: -

Religion: -

Clan:

Family

type

(Nuclear/Extended/Joint)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sl. No.	Name of member of family	Relation with head of the family	Sex M/F	Age	Marital status M/UM	Educational level P/M/S	Working Non Working	Occupation