ELUCIDATING THE PORTRAIT OF DARLONG WOMEN:
ANALYSIS OF RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN
CLASS IN THE DARLONG SOCIETY

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Abstract: The Darlong in the present state of Tripura (India) precisely belonged to the Kuki-Chin group of the coming of Christianity among the tribesmen and women in the early twentieth century did mark the era of change but the core internal ruling of the society - gender bias. On the other hand, denial cannot be made on the prevalence of the faculty of acceptance (either consciously or unconsciously) among the Darlong women in conceptualising the gender role in and out of the society leaving a huge dilemma on the science of their psychology- creating an atmosphere of Coleridge’s ‘willing suspension of disbelief’. Stepping further, the ethnic tribe had never encounter any social unrest up till today from the part of the suppressed class so as to surface a concrete truth of the their submissiveness and unwillingness to be so calling for an absolute social study. Under the circumstances, the paper attempts to delineate the probabilities and possibilities of triumph over feminist while analysing the refute rights and privileges of the Darlong women in the contemporary Darlong society.

Keyword: Darlong, Women, Rights and Privileges, Society and Gender.

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I. Introduction to the study: Women position in society became a topic of debate during the 19th century in England and the United States of America. In spite of the fact that the position of women had long been a matter of discourse in the work like Hobbes, John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill, Rousseau, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and many more, the subject becomes even more revolting with appearance of the writings of Bronte Sisters, Virginia Woolf and others. Historically speaking, feminist theory as a philosophy emerged as early as 1794 in publications such as ‘A Vindication of the Rights of Women’ by Mary Wollstonecraft, ‘The Changing Woman’, ‘ Ain’t I a Woman’, ‘Speech after Arrest for Illegal Voting’¹ and so on. In the 1960s and 1970s a diverse group of political and cultural movement which included women’s right to control her reproductive power, the politicization of special job allocation for women, the establishment of welfare policies by the liberal State for single mothers and other related rights came under the umbrella phrase “Second Wave of Feminism”. In accordance to famous feminist Allen Shawalter, the writing of female can be fragmented into three phases. The first phase, ‘feminine’ (1840-1880) was a period where women writes did not see their writings as an expression of their female experiences. The second phase, ‘phase of protest’ (1880-1920) was a period where we find female in political involvement and questioning the stereotype socio-cultural issues. The third phase, ‘female phase’ was period when women writing entered a new era- self awareness, courageous self-exploration and return to more realistic mode of expression. Nonetheless, there remained substantial differences within the politics of feminism-all about empowering women and feminist theory-about revolutionizing the human relationships and inequalities whether they stem from patriarchy, cultural philosophy, traditional attributes, feudal state, ideological state apparatus, market or the compulsory social arrangement of heterosexuality.

The feminist theory is also a major branch within sociology shining light on the social problems, trends, and issues that are otherwise overlooked or misidentified by the historically dominant male perspective within social theory. At times, the philosophy is often profanely understood my many as focusing on women’s goal of promoting their superiority over men. But the philosophy only meant to view the world from a different perspective rather the phalocentric one. In doing

¹ Speech of Susan B. Anthony that questioned the authoritative principles of the constitution and its male gendered language in the contemporary time.
so, the philosophy gives birth to forces that stand against inequality, oppression, social inequality and gender bias. The feminist movement want women to become empowered and given opportunities to perform role of their choice. Consequently, the issue of patriarchy and priorities of women have become part of all socio-political discussions. The feminist movement has developed the sentiment that mainstream political and public life has become remote from the experience and values of the majority. The feminist slogan “the personal is political” is not only an ideological expression but also a programme for social change. Consequently, the world today having realised the significance and importance of women had deliberately improvised and modified its old patriarchal norms. Nonetheless, society in many parts of the world continues to hold on their age old social system;

“The mutual duties of the sexes are not, and cannot be, equally binding on both. Women do wrong to complain of the inequality of man-made laws; this inequality is not of man’s making, or at any rate it is not the result of mere prejudice, but of reason. She to whom nature has entrusted the care of the children must hold herself responsible for them to their father”. 

.............Rousseau

The Darlong society is one among the many that propagandise “women should be chaste, she must preserve her reputation and her good name” (Mazumdar. 8). In fact, until the twentieth century, women in the ethnic society were subjugated to men in all aspects. They had secondary and subordinate position in the society. Today women have become aware of their rights wanting an opportunities of equality as well as identity of their own. Though there is a greater increase in the proportion of women awareness on status and position yet the rate of suppressed voices kept increasing simultaneously. Thus, investigation into the Darlong society with an objective of presenting the silently curved rights and privileges of the female class become need of an hour in the midst of growing awareness about female self.

I.1. Tripura at a glance: Tripura is located in the north eastern part of India. Entire geographical areas of Tripura are covered with hills and slopes. The state being an ancient one, witnessed a waves of tribal flux across time from country like Mongolia, Tibet, china and Burma. The settlers were of non-Aryan stock speaking dialects that sprang from the Tibeto-Burmese language group. The mythological period of the states date back to the time when Purana and the
Indian epics (Ramayana and Mahabharata) were composed. “The land finds mention in the writings of Parasara and some other sagas who flourished in the hoary past. The Mahabharata too has references of Tripura” (Tripura. 3). The Manikya Dynasty having ruled the state for more than a century eventually end up merging with India in October 15th 1949 with maharaja Kirit Bikram Kishore Manikya being the last independent monarch to rule the state. In the present context, the state of Tripura is inhabited by both the non-Aryan stock and the Aryan stock with diverse culture and traditions.

*Darlong at a glance:* The state of Tripura has 19 Schedule Tribes listed as follows; Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Chakma, Lushai, Mog, Garo, Kuki, Chaimal, Uchoi, Halam, Khasia, Bhutia, Munda, Orang, Lepcha, Santal, Bil and Noatia. However, only nine are considered to be major tribes i.e. Tripuri, Reang, Jamatia, Noatia, Halam, Chakma, Mog, Lushai and Kuki. The Kuki included 17 unrecognised sub-tribes of which Darlong community is one.

Anthropologically, the Darlong is said as belonging to one among the many communities of the ‘Zo mi’. ‘Zo mi’ is the name of a major tribe found in various parts of South and South East Asia. They are a tribe comprising of large ethnic group which Britishers called ‘Chin’ in Myanmar and ‘Kuki’ in Manipur and ‘Lushai’ in Mizoram which is why they are also known as ‘Kuki-Chin’. They are found to have been geographically concentrated in such locations as Mizoram, the north Cachar Hills, Karbi Anglong districts of Assam, northeast part of Tripura, Chittagong Hill Tract of Bangladesh and some parts of Burma.

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2 A umbrella term constructed by the Lushais to establish its dominance over the other co-ethnic tribes. Subsequently, the Kuki group has reacted very strongly saying the Lushais themselves belonged to the Kuki.
Presently, the Darlong assumedly about 10,000 populace scattered themselves in twenty two villages all of which are located in four districts of the state. The tribe encountered Christianity in the year 1919 that brought about a tremendous change among the tribesmen and women taking from appearance to the extent of psychological upbringing. Consequently, the tribe till today lament over the lost since 1919 - lost of folktales, folksongs, myth, ballads, traditional rites and rituals, societal norms, cultural artefact and age old practices - that had long been the pillars of their individuality.

**Elucidating the portrait of Darlong Women:** The Darlong society like other tribes in North East India is a patriarchal and patrilineal society. In the pre-Christianisation period was far more rigid in their socio-political and cultural approach often trampling over the weaker gender. Folktales like ‘Thangsua Puan’, ‘Nāíthakboia’, ‘Ringmâirikêla’ and others delineate the dominance of male over female. The first story deployed a young boy who was chased out of home by the cruelty of his step-mother resulting in an orphan, to serve the purpose of revenge. The boy grew up to be a wealthy man by marrying the daughter of the wealthiest person in the adjacent village through his sheer intellect. As we go through the story, fate played a cruel role.
when famine fell throughout the entire territory letting the boy’s parent to go in search of survival where they eventually end up falling in the hand of their cast-away child. Getting the opportunity, the boy even the score by killing his parents in the most torturous way- tying his mother’s waist and father’s throat to a horse and making it run randomly. In this context, the ‘waist’ and ‘throat’ plays a very significant role in deciding the torture and suffering men inflicted over women in the time as the father would breathe his last in a minute or so while the step-mother would have to endure a longer period of pain unable to die as quick as her husband. Again, the second story, ‘Nāithakboia’ too has almost the similar kind of theme where father banished his two sons at the expense of his second wife. As a result, they had to wander through a dense forest and wild jungle to find their path of survival. In the latter part of the story, we see that the elder brother transformed himself into a hornbill as a consequence of eating the eggs. The younger brother later met a happy ending when his marriage with the daughter of a wealthy man took place. In the marriage ceremony, the elder brother paid a tribute in his bird form and he threw his feathers upon his younger brother as a sign of his blessing. The father, on the other hand, asked for the same to his elder son who instead of feathers excreted upon him that eventually becomes the cause of his dead in the end of the story. As a result of the insult, the father goes back home in shame only to murder his wife in a most treacherous way putting the entire blame of the committed crime solely on the mother despite of the fact that the crime was committed mutually by both the parents. Further, the Darlong oral narratives portrayed characters such ‘Ṭāiramnu’, ‘Nuhmeite’ to denote villain idiosyncrasies as stories like ‘Nāithakboia’. ‘Parual Sarika’, ‘Ṭlumtea’ and others display the menace of these characters. In other words, these characters may represent the kind of villain we find in the English fairy tale such as ‘Hansel and Gretel’, ‘Harry Potter’ so on and so forth. However, the horrifying character usually dies at the hand of an ordinary man like the little boy of ‘Nāithakboia’ who managed to cheat the witch and acquired the magic swan with which he could avenge his father and step-mother in the end. In yet another story, ‘Ṭāiramnu’ was desperately in love with ‘Ṭlumtea’, the hero of the story bearing the same name. She waited years and years for an opportunity but was always denied. One day her hunt becomes successful when she abducted her lover ‘Ṭlumtea’ on

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3 A person who banished his son.
4 Aged lonely lady.
his way back home from jhum\textsuperscript{5}. Unfortunate enough, ‘Ṭłumtea’ ran from the castle in absence of Ṭāiramnu. While reacting to the story, the listeners frequently negates the beloved’s i.e. Ṭāiramnu’s emotions and sentimental attachment to the hero where as the hero’s imprisonment in the castle and his detachment from his family were more responded. In many instance of the tales of the tribe, we find the female gender used as a form of socialisation\textsuperscript{6} and political establishment. This was, perhaps, because of the fact that the community in the contemporary time gives less importance to the feminine gender as a whole or attempt to create a masculinity complex consciously or unconsciously through their literature which primarily is in oral form. Thus, Virginia Woolf in her ‘A Room of One’s own’ term such act of language as ‘That is a man’s sentence’ that further echoed in Dale Spender’s ‘Man made Language’ 1981 arguing ‘language is not neutral medium but one which contains many features reflecting its role as the instrument through which patriarchy finds expressions’.

The past Darlong society has undergone huge amount of changes in modern time considering the psychological revelation of the common folk. This, basically, was the indirect result of the Christianity in the year 1919 marking an era of evolution in their practical life; a girl child is as much dependable as a boy child, properties can be inherited by girl child, equal education opportunities. However, there is no denying the fact that a girl child (as always in the past) is consciously and unconsciously dictated by the father’s law- ‘dictum of the male’. The very silent existence of ‘dos and don’t’ norms in the society act as a indicator suppressing women. In fact, the very religion that freed the female from many past restraints restricted them to act equally as men in its sphere- ‘The Church’. Here in lies the question of ‘why and how’. On the other hand, contradictory to the social change the era of evolution also brought about a regress in term of culture where the folkdance, tales, myth and other traditional elements of the folk vanished into thin air highlighting the role vitally played by women in the past further being narrowed and silencing their voices to supplementary extent.

In the modern Darlong society, socio-political and cultural terms and conditions are dictated by the Darlong Apex Court or the Village Council helps to dispense laws at the village level. The

\textsuperscript{5} Traditional method of cultivation by tribal.
\textsuperscript{6} Cannon to establish oneself materialistically.
Apex Court viz. Darlong Hnam Inzom (DHI) where selected individuals represent the Institute for specified period and undergoes every norms of democratic republic consisting of Chairman/president, Vice-president, Nodal secretary, Asst. Secretary, Finance secretary, Asst. Finance Secretary, Secretary (Economics and Education), Asst. Secretary (Economics and education) and other eleven committee members. Inclusively the institute have 19 members and every village has the one quota each for nominating their respective representatives. Under the banner of the DHI functions the Village Council, acting as it branches and implementing force at the grass root level. A case study on customary laws of Darlong women

In the Darlong society, if a woman is found to commit adultery for sake of money, the particular women would be panelised. In the pre-Christian if a women is found committing adultery is either be-headed or casted out of the village. In fact, the entire family were at times abandoned to die astray. In the famous legend of “Hrangsuna and Chawngmawii”, Chawngmawii was beheaded by her villagers for loving a man from another village considering it to be a case of prostitution.

In the Darlong Apex Court, rape is considered to be a rare case. Nevertheless, the matter cannot be denied. If a man raped a woman or even made an attempt to do so, the man has to pay Rs. 500 for the crime he committed against the women. Further, if the raped women happened to be badly injured, the man has to bare all the necessary expenses. However, if in any case, the victim met her death in the circumstance, the predator has to pay Rs. 10,000/. In the early phase, rape was dealt in a very compromise manner; i) Under the consent of the village elders and the demand of the victim family, the victim was given on to the hands of the predator for marriage. In the legendary tale of Zialunga, the protagonist Zialunga raped a woman when she was having a bath a lake. The rape gave birth to a child, Zawlṭleipuii who later grew up to be the most beautiful woman in the Darlong history. However, Zialunga was not penalised in any circumstance instead was given the right of being Zawlṭleipuii’s father.

ii) If the victim gives birth to a child through the rape, the predator was panelised with “Faruang”- the penalty of bearing the entire expense of the particular child and will simultaneously have every right over the child under the consent of the village elders and the
victim. The tradition of “Faruang” yet prevailed in the Darlong society. However, the case in which applied had differ; when a couple divorce or part from each other after having a child, the father can pay “Faruang” of his child (i.e. 1000/= monthly) with the mutual acceptance from the part of the mother else well. The Darlong folk often narrate this tale where a king committed adultery and while she was sleeping and the king in return promised to pay “Faruang” secretly to the woman

When a man fails to keep promise of marrying her, the person may be taken to the Apex Court for justice. However, if only the victim demand for justice. In this case, the man betraying a woman/girl shall be penalised with a sum of Rs. 500 Further, if the particular person has more than one or more victim then he has to pay the amount mentioned for each victim. In the pre-Christian period, I doubt there were such cases because a man was given the license of “Nghaksak”- the liberty of marry a woman for trial period. The marriage would be socially sanctioned only if the woman passed the trail. On the other hand, there was also the liberty to reserve a girl- “Chongmoilak” (similar to a child marriage) for marriage at a very young age by a boy. While the boy has all the privilege to reject any moment he like even after reservation. The present Customary Book of the Darlong also made a mention of the tradition in spite of it not being practiced any longer.

**Divorce law**

“Ral Inma” is a tradition of separation of a lover and a beloved from marrying each other. The tradition applies to a boy and a girl prior to marriage and is not applicable to a married couple. When a girl and boy decide to marry each other with or without witness but circumstances changed just before the marriage resulting in an informal divorce for the two. The phenomenon is called “Ral Inma” and the boy shall be liable to pay Rs. 2000/= for robbing one’s chastity. In this case, if the girl is with a child the boy had to pay a “Faruang” (1000x3=3000) and if in any case the boy refused to pay the penalty, the child shall inherit his/her mother’s name. However, if a child is but in the womb of the mother during the informal divorce it belong to the mother given the situation that the boy filed a case in the apex court.
Rule.1: The woman returning back to her husband house shall be considered as family members as did her husband living days. However, if complication rises from her in-law or children or even husband relatives and was divorced by the latter. She shall be handed over Rs. 500/= as divorce fee called “Maktha” in the vernacular language. No doubt, the husband relatives or the children who sent out the wife/mother must have a reasonable cause for it.

Rule.2: When a wife is separated without any specified reason and logical explanation, according to the apex court law, the divorce woman has every right to move out from her husband house along her bag and baggage inclusive of the thing her husband gave her.

Rule.3: If the mother has a minor child with her during the death of her husband, the child shall go with the mother but own by the father giving Rs. 3000/= as “Faruang” (paid by the relatives or alike). No doubt, if the child is an adult he/she has every liberty to choose with whom he/she would live in future and no “Faruang” can be demanded from the part of the mother.

Rule.4: If the woman was pregnant during the divorce and the woman decide to divorce her death husband then the child shall be owned by the father (relatives or so) and no “Faruang” can be demanded.

Rule.5: After the death of a husband, when a wife decide to divorce her death husband, she would be liable to pay Rs. 500/= as divorce fee called “Maktha”. In addition she shall have to return the entire fee (Hmanpui) paid as bride price by the husband during her marriage. Existence of minor child shall apply to the same rule as before. However, if the wife is pregnant the apex court shall examined as to whether the incident happened prior to the husband’s death or after. Accordingly, the woman and the child shall trial.

Laws after the Death of her Husband
After the death of her husband a woman have to return to her husband house or her brother house and goes back to her husband house having completed the tradition of ‘Kir Inle’- (the wife must return to her father’s house if death separates her from her husband) But she can only return back to her husband house if her children calls her back. But it is seen in many cases the children
are very small and her husband family did not call back. So at times if the her father is still alive she lives with her father, sometimes she have to stay separately. At times her husband family supports her. A young woman name Mawii (name change)who was just 24 years lost her husband and they have three children, she had to return to her father house, her children was age 2, 4, 6. She alone had to look after her children education and it was very difficult for to support her family now. Customary law for Darlong woman was not in favour of woman in the Patriarchal Darlong society

**Adultery after death:** If a woman is found committing adultery after the death of the either husband or also known as “Chawse hnuai pasal nei” in the Darlong language. she has topay fine return her husband’s family the entire ‘Hmanpui’- bride price paid during the marriage. Further, she cannot demand any of her properties such as ornaments given by her husband etc. In the past, the Darlong society practice the tradition of ‘Polygamy’ and since the society was a patriarchal society, hence any divorce law or marriage law hardly bears any hurdle on the part of the male. On the contrary, the male are given every liberty for second marriage after the death of his woman regardless of the presence of his children. Infact if a man lost his wife he is encouraged to marry. In traditional Darlong society, if a woman have a younger sister they usually have to marry her sister husband.

**Adultery**

When a man commits adultery, the Darlong apex court may look into the matter in accordance to its customary laws;

**Rule.1:** The woman is to return to her father’s/brother’s house.

**Rule.2:** The woman’s brother/father shall inform the village council consisting of the village elders (age and knowledge) existing under the banner of DHI to look into the matter on behalf of them. The proceeding shall take place at the house of the woman’s father/brother.

**Rule.3:** The village shall imposed a penalty of Rs. 1000/= on the other girl with whom the husband had an illicit relationship for attempting to snatch the husband of other woman called “Voksun Hmam” in Darlong. Prior to the existence of the DHI or the village council, a group of
woman would take up the issue and dealt with the matter at will keeping in mind the humanity of being woman.

**Rule.4:** If the other woman as well has a husband, the man who commits an act of adultery shall have to pay a penalty of Rs. 1000/= called ‘Ret Lei’. Thereafter, a conclusion shall be made as to whether the adulterer would continue to live with the old wife or the new one. Depending on the decision made by the adulterer, judgement would be drawn. If the adulterer decides to live with the new, he must pay a ‘Maktha’ and complete other formalities before he pay a fresh bride price (Hmanpui) for the new one. The same law applies for the woman involved in adultery including the divorce law mentioned above. However, if the adulterer decides to continue living with the old wife then everything goes fair and fine.

**Adultery (married man and Unmarried woman):** When a married man and unmarried woman commit adultery;

- **Rule.1:** The wife would return to her father’s house.
- **Rule.2:** The father would inform the village council to look into the matter on their behalf.
- **Rule.3:** The unmarried woman first of all would be penalised with Rs. 2000/= as ‘Voksun Hman’.
- **Rule.4:** Decision by the man involved to be made as to which of the woman he choose to live with from then. Accordingly, if the man choose his old wife thing would be fine after paying Rs. 2000/= for having robbed a girl’s virginity. However, if he choose to live with the new one, he must pay the ‘Maktha’ Rs. 500/= and rule regarding adultery would be applied on him (discussed earlier). Similarly, when a married woman commit an act of adultery with an unmarried man, the same law will be applied with inclusion of ‘Ret Lei’ and exclusion of ‘Voksun Hman’ and there cannot be ‘Maktha’ if the married woman choose to leave the old and live with the new.

**Conclusion**

Analysis of rights and privileges of Darlong women on customary laws pertaining to marriage, divorce and inheritance shows that unconsciously promote gender biases. It is clear that the Darlong women like other tribes in Northeast India do not have any formal laws recognizing and protecting their rights. The plight of the Darlong women in the contemporary Darlong society
have been adequately elucidated. When the different laws of divorce is illustrated it is seen that men have more privileges as divorce is easy for them. Since divorce is approved by the customary law it has put woman in a very fragile position. A divorced women is only entitled ‘Maktha’ which is merely a fine but not economic values. Divorce payment is only about Rs.500/- as these payments also have social connotation and it is by no means meant for economic security of the woman. Inheritance by woman is not mentioned in the customary law of the Darlong. As a rule no woman is permitted to inherit property, married or widows are not entitled to inherit property.

Secondly, the portrait of women as being reduced to symbols of villainy may be studied from the perspective of radical feminism that claimed women’s oppression as coming from ‘socially produced mythologies’ such as the women being ‘naturally domestic’ or ‘naturally mothers’. I find this concept quite practical in term of the Darlong society where reference are often drawn from the past myths and tales to serve the purpose of the present. For instance, when a village elders interpret any women cases (divorce or alike as mentioned in the earlier discussion), the woman involved would first be educated on the basis of conduct laid down by women in the past or rather history. The Darlong women despite of enjoying and occupying certain pivot roles in the socio-political scenario in present time, the imperceptible thread of women subjugation continued to survive. Thus, in a practical field all the decision making, family administration is done by male. As matter of fact, the women cannot transcend their present situation and identify themselves as ‘women’. However, the circumstance at which the Darlong women stand cannot all be accounted to the fact that women are more capable in work like childrearing, household duties and others is what makes women different and hence stronger than men. Thus, the women in Darlong society could render the job of supporting the family instead of only rearing child and performing other household duties.

Our question now, if the above discussed deprived rights and privileges of women class in the Darlong society One way to remedy the above problems is to bring about a mass consciousness among the target group for unless one takes part in public space no amount of political representation or legal changes will empower them and bring about a self-consciousness among the Darlong woman.
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