

**SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG GORKHALI
WOMEN IN NORTH EAST INDIA**

Sangeeta Rai

Department of Social Work

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**SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG GORKHALI
WOMEN IN NORTH EAST INDIA**

SANGEETA RAI

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK
MIZORAM UNIVERSITY**

Mizoram University

June, 2019

DECLARATION

I, Sangeeta Rai, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of the work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to do the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

This is being submitted to Mizoram University for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work**.

Date: 2019
Place: Aizawl, Mizoram

(SANGEETA RAI)
Department of Social Work
Mizoram University
Aizawl- 796004

(C.DEVINDERAN)
Professor & Head
Department of Social Work
Mizoram University
Aizawl- 796004

(KANAGARAJ EASWARAN)
Professor & Supervisor
Department of Social Work
Mizoram University
Aizawl- 796004

DEDICATION

To my Parents

Mr. & Mrs. Mani Kumar and Kalavati Rai

My Siblings

Bijaita and Pratima Rai

My Husband

Mr. Sughosh Chhetry

To all my Relatives

and

My Dear One Who are in Heaven

Bishnu Kumar Rai

Poktor Sahi

Juk Maya

Manoj Sahi

Anup Rai

Suman Rai

Rajdhan Gurung

This humble work is a sign of my love to you!

MIZORAM UNIVERSITY

June, 2019

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis “Social Capital and Development among Gorkhali Women in North East India”, submitted by Ms Sangeeta Rai for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work is carried out under my guidance and incorporates the student’s bonafide research and this has not been submitted for award of any degree in this or any other university or institute of learning.

Date: 2018

Place: Aizawl, Mizoram

(KANAGARAJ EASWARAN)
Professor & Supervisor
Department of Social Work
Mizoram University
Aizawl - 796004

(C. DEVINDERAN)
Professor & Head
Department of Social Work
Mizoram University
Aizawl - 796004

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. APL : Above Poverty Line
2. ACPLC : Assam Carbon Product Limited Company
3. BPL : Below Poverty Line
4. CCI : Civic Community Index
5. CDO : Community Development Organization
6. FGD : Focus Group Discussion
7. FPC : Female Forest Protection Committees
8. FPC : Forest Protection Committees
9. HLM : Hierarchical Linear Model
10. IPI : Institutional Performance Index
11. IQV : Index of Qualitative Variation
12. LSD : Least Significance Difference
13. NELS : National Education Longitudinal Survey
14. NGO : Non Governmental Organisation
15. NRM : Natural Resource Management
16. OBC : Other Backward Classes
17. OECD : Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
18. SC : Schedule Caste
19. SCR : Social Capital Resource
20. SMPC : State Management and Policy Centre
21. ST : Schedule Tribe

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Educate your women first and leave them to themselves; then they will tell you what reforms are necessary for them. In matter concerning them, who are you?

Swami Vivekananda.

The present study attempts to assess the relationship between women development and social capital in the context of North East India where the Gorkhas are in minority.

The concept of ‘social capital’ has captured the attention of an extensive range of scholars and professionals in varied social science disciplines and practice areas. It has gained currency in the social sciences as a paradigm for capturing the contributions of social fundamentals in elucidating a wide variety of individual and collective behaviours. In the earlier days, the capital was known only in terms of physical and monetary assets. But with the expansion of human awareness with regards to concepts of capital there emerged the two capitals which are the human capital and the societal capital.

According to Fukuyama (1997), the word ‘social capital’ was original applied by Jane Jacobs’s in his model work which was “The Death and Life of Great American Cities,” in which she examined the dense kind of social networks which existed in the earlier days and about the official and unofficial institutions surrounded by and in the outer place of the community. Glenn Loury (1977) who was an economist and as well as Ivan Light (1972) a sociologist engaged in the word “social capital” to depict the dilemma of financial development involving among cities in the nineteen seventies where

the African Americans absence the associates of faith and communal connectedness surrounded by their own societies that existed for Asian Americans and other cultural associates. This kind of absence keeps on progressing to a certain period in amplifying the qualified deficiency of black small kind of black business expansion. In the radiance of the author's conceptualization, Fukuyama defined social capital as 'the presence of a particular set of informal values or norms which are shared among members of a group that enables cooperation within them'.

In the nineties, the term was put recognizable into a border procedure by the sociologist James Coleman (1988) and the political scientist Robert Putnam (1993). Coleman (1990) described social capital as a 'social structural resource' that serves as 'a capital asset for the individual.' He commenced social capital to the societal sciences by asserting that the associations formed in the middle of human beings are responsible for the understanding of the societal well-being. Robert D. Putnam (2000) depicts the intention of physical capital which may be understood much towards the human and the objects belonging to physical capital. It not merely ascribes to the possessions of individuals but on the contrary, social capital refers to the associates among individuals' social networks and the standards of mutuality and dependability that awaken from them. Accordingly in that manner, social capital can be understood to be intimately connected to what several authors have called 'civic virtue.'

According to Bourdieu (1986), 'social capital is the combination of the substantial or potential resources which are linked to the tenure of a sturdy network of more or less institutionalized relationships which are of mutual

familiarity and recognition which assist them to credit from that network.’ The continuation of network associations is not ordinary or societal specification. In fact, it is conventionalised once and for all governed by the operation of association, counting on the family assembly, kinship associations which are the attributes of a societal association. To the World Bank (1998) the ideas of social capital are extended as the associations, relationships, and regulation that express the number and amount of an involvement in the society's activities. The escalating number of studies shows that societal togetherness is significant for societies to extend the economies in a maintainable approach. Social capital is not precisely the element that undergo under the rules and regulations of the society other than that, it is the accessory that restrain them collectively. Midgley & Livermore (1998) assumed social capital as a valuable perception for advanced social work. There has been a parallels scope between the community social workers emphasizing on the construction of a healthy community where the intentions of 'bonding' and 'bridging' can be supported in the ground of social capital.

Development signifies the procedure of expansion, maturity, completeness, enhancement and optimistic change passaging to a greater degree of excellence in life. The eventual goal of development is enhancing the well-being of the people. The term ‘development is a post-second world war concept used to examine the economic and social changes that took place in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and South-eastern Europe’ (in Caputo, 2008). The modernization and dependency presumption were efficiently determined during the nineteen fifties and sixties. The basic requirements and structural adaptation programmes as second aspects from the seventies to eighties and in the early

twenties works on the most important needs interrelated to the Millennium Development Goals and Washington Consensus. It is a normally a recognized fact that women have a substandard position in gender associations and undergo social structural inequalities in their day by day lives. For the reason that, the development of women was observed as a part of a development plans that comes forward in the year 1969 for the enhancement of women's matter. The main purpose was to assimilate women into the international economy by uplifting their eminence in the best probable manner. The Gender and Development approach recommended supplementary on the relations of gender instead of just taking into consideration of women's matter in severance.

According to the 2011 census, the population of female constituted 48.5 percent in India and the literacy rate of females is 64.63 percent. The rate of contribution of females in the workforce was only 25.51 percent in the financial sector. From the mentioned information, it is apparent that the matter of women development is one of the important topics to undergo further research. Women development can turn out to be more dependable and valuable only when an environment is shaped for them which will mechanically impact their opinion and the system of their living to develop and enhanced their identity. Women in countryside locations are still abandoned on a large scale and reliance on the native social capital can encourage them to develop. Women acquire additional mutual supportive relations because of their participation in the local associational activities. The improvement in their social capital can obtain direct associations with adult education given that the community development particularly in countryside locations is often defined as

a social learning procedure. The improvement through peer group's education can socialize and generate social capital by demonstrating on existing community networks and determinations. As a result, women development studies with regards to the social capital are appropriate in the developing world.

Development was to have been a post-colonial mission, an option for accepting a an approach of growth in which the complete world remade itself on the approach of the colonizing contemporary west, devoid of having to experience the overthrow and exploitation that colonialism entailed. The UN International Year (1975) and International Decade for Women (1975-1985) manifestly show a transfer in international concentration from the primary myopic and pessimistic views held in the direction of women's involvement in development to positive and border ones. The available policy has embellished the women in distinctive ways. On the other hand, stakeholders are an apprehension in the process of social capital to consider the degree of connections that are presence among women in their specific areas, and what kind of helping services they may bring about. This possibly would assist policy to develop strategies to amplify official and unofficial support services and connections in the community, and notify decision making concerning the allocation of possessions to services for women.

1.1 Overview of Literature

This section presents an overview of the literature which is relevant to the present study and identifies some research gaps.

According to Julia Hauberer (2010), Bourdieu and Coleman are the pioneering theorists of social capital as they have introduced the term social

capital systematically. Four major theoretical currents in the social capital literature were noted by Hauberer (2010). They are rational choice theory used by Coleman (1988), civic engagement theory pioneered by Putnam (1983), Ronald S. Burt (1997) network approach (structural hole), and Nan Lin's (1999) social resources perspective.

Along with the ever-increasing popularity of the social capital concept, numerous instruments have been put forward to measure it such as name generators, resource generators and position generators (Van der Gaag, 2005; Lin and Erickson, 2008). The name generator or interpreter is solitary of the oldest measurement methods for social capital which has been examined by several researchers. The switch over kind of name generator projected by McCallister & Fischer (1978) ultimately initiates its widest application. Of particular note amongst these is the position generator approach developed by Lin (in studies of Lin and Dumin, 1986; Lin, 2001). This dimension is the enclosure of indicators projected for all three dimensions of social capital that have been established as crucial for measurement (Flap, 2002; Lin, 2001b): the taking place of alters, the possessions of these alters, as well as the accessibility of these possessions to a fundamental individual. It is also one of several social capital measurement instruments premeditated to enclose the 'general' sphere of life of an individual in the modern world without taking into account about the specific areas of objective accomplishment, sphere of life, or subpopulations. OECD (2001) summarised social capital as networks reciprocal with shared norms, values, and understandings that support co-operation within or among groups.

Social Capital is a relevant subject for research as the investigation of the role and contribution of social capital has been a growing area of research as well as an imperative focus for many international development agencies such as the World Bank, the Inter American Development Bank, and the United Nation Development Program. The international evidence reported, for instance, in the National Economic and Social Forum (2003) suggests that the States and nation, the regional and even communities, that benefit from a high level of social capital, as associational life and public participation, tend to prolong higher levels of assistance and trust, less dishonesty, and social exclusion levels, and also higher level of competence in their Government functions. Instead of enchanting into account the macro-economic policy the presumption concern more on the number of public organizations (Anirudh, 2002). On the other hand, Vermaak (2009) tries to depict the understanding of social capital as an accretion of resources which can cause a better understanding of amalgamated social procedure in the developing world.

When we come to the Indian context, social capital has been conceptualized as an input into the process by which institutions for development are created and which can establish the sustainability or otherwise of processes aimed at achieving maturity at local levels (Chopra 2002). The concept has been used to an organisational factor strengthening the dynamics of development at micro and macro levels. At the micro level, the people have strong bonding social capital and at a macro level, the bridging and linking social capital are strong through development and execution programmes for the well-being (Choden & Indira, 2015). Parecki (2011) stress out that the homogeneous social capital prevents especially females from learning to read

while the heterogeneous social capital creates an environment favourable to female literacy. The levels of literacy in the states of India were compared to the levels of heterogeneous and homogeneous social capital.

There are studies examining the function of social capital at the watershed development and in forest protection which took place at the micro level (D'silva and Pai 2003; Mukherjee 2002). Renata Serra (2001) assessed the possibility of measuring social capital at the level of the states and elucidating the differential presentation of states in India in development. The female forest protection committee's mostly have higher level of social capital because of the fact that there before now exists the tradition of community cohesion and a more developed network of relationships based on cultural norms (Sarker and Das, 2004). Women social networks have greater homogeneity comparative to men who endow with an imperative basis of opportunity for creating a sustainable shared ecological accomplishment (Agarwal, 2004).

The character of social capital in power at the micro level has also been the focus on various studies (Jayal and Pai, 2001). Niraja Gopal Jayal (2001) explored the connection between social capital and democracy work in the framework of pastoral prominence society in the central Himalaya. Sudha Pai (2001) studied the responsibility played by social capital in the democratic presentation of Panchayati Raj institutions in the segmented societal perspective of Uttar Pradesh. There are some studies which spotlight on the social processes that facilitate to construct social capital (John and Chathukulam 2002; Mohapatra 2001) Bishnu N Mohapatra (2001) explored the associations and relations that give mount to social capital rendezvous and connectedness in a

diminutive village in Puri district of Orissa's. John & Chathukulam (2002) assess the importance of organisational rebellion i.e. the dense network of associational life is helpful in people cohesion. The concept of cooperativisation, and also the fundamental structure of Gandhian philosophy, has been challenging in modern world and connecting in rural women's improvement has turned them into prevailing patterns applied fortuitously in development circles, regardless of the local surroundings (Dutt & Samanta, 2006).

The overview of the literature on social capital and women development suggests few research gaps. Firstly, social capital as an explanation to development has not been adequately utilized in the context of North East India. Only a few studies were reported (Rai and Easwaran 2013, Khawlhing and Easwaran 2007). Secondly, though the concept of social capital is relevant to women development it has not yet been studied. Thirdly, the development of women belonging to ethnic minorities has not been adequately probed in to in the context of North East India. Fourthly, in conceptualization and operationalization of social capital attribute based indicators were used while personal network indicators were rarely used in the context of Indian literature (see Rai and Easwaran 2013). Fifthly, to conceptualize and operationalize social capital, the position generator and resource generators were rarely utilized to conceptualize and operationalize social capital in the Indian context. In the lone study where we find structural hole conceptualisation of social capital and name generator were used to measure personal networks. The present study addresses these research gaps by assessing the interrelationship between social

capital and development of Gorkhali women in three north eastern cities Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Gorkhas had been living in different part of India over 200 years. The Gorkhali speaking people have settled in different parts of India especially in the North Eastern part of India. In 1814-1816, the First and the Second Anglo-Gorkha War between the Gorkha Kingdom and British India was fought. The first war was won by the Gorkha Kingdom but unfortunately, they lost in the second one. The British realized the bravery of the Gorkhas from the war which they had fought with their only weapons 'Khukuri'. From that time onwards the British rulers started appointing the Gorkha Rifles and till date Gorkha Rifles exist in both India and Britain. After the second Anglo-Gorkhawar, the British rulers annexed one-third of the Gorkha Kingdom into India which includes the areas of Kangra, Dharamshala, Kumaon, Garhwal, Sikkim, Darjeeling, Terai etc. Henceforth, since 1816 when the 'Treaty of Sugauli' was signed by British India and the Gorkha Kingdom, all the settlers of these attached territories became Indian whether they want it or they have to. The Gorkhalis settling in Northeast India are distinguished by a high level of integration with the local indigenous communities amongst whom they have lived for centuries. They start their settlements in the early eighteen century in the north eastern part which includes Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, and Arunachal Pradesh. A vast majority of the Gorkhali population came to these places because of their service in the army. The land was given to them by the British government which leads them to settle into these areas. Thus settlement of Gorkhali people could be located in the tribal

majority states of Mizoram, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh. Their settlements are also seen in the non-tribal states of Assam, Manipur and Tripura too.

The Gorkhali community continues to be patriarchal and its social organization is hierarchically organized on the basis of the jati system. Further, it is increasingly differentiated by occupational diversification and class structure. The present study attempts to assess the relationship between social capital and women development in the tribal and non-tribal contexts of North East India wherein Gorkhalis constitute the ethnic minorities.

In this context, social capital will be conceptualized from a personal network perspective. Name generators were used for the collection of network data and operationalise social capital. For assessing women development the study used objective and subjective indicators. For the objective measurement of well-being economic indicators were used and a subjective measure of happiness was also used. As a prelude, the study attempts to explore the cultural and social structural context of women development among the Gorkhalis from their own perspective.

The results of the study will be useful for the policy makers and social workers at multilevel to formulate appropriate policies and intervention strategies for promotion of development among women of ethnic minority communities in the North East Region.

1.4 Chapter Scheme

The study is organized into the following seven chapters.

Chapter I: Introduction

Chapter II: Review of the literature

Chapter III: Methodology

Chapter IV: Social Structural Bases of Gorkhali Households

Chapter V: Social Capital and Development of Gorkhali Women

Chapter VI: Constraints to Development of Gorkhali Women

Chapter VII: Conclusion

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Review of literature helps in identifying substantive, theoretical, methodological, conceptual issues and addressing them in the context of the present work. In this chapter, a review of available works on social capital, women development, and social support networks are reviewed in three sections.

2.1 Social Capital

Fukuyama (1997) argued that social capital is a significant and relatively not intervening factor in examining certain characteristics of the world economy. In contrast to the related concept of human capital, there is less agreement of what social capital is, how to measure, from where it comes, and mostly how to get further. He defined social capital as the presence of the particular set of informal esteem which is mutually assessed among the members of an assembly that enables them to cooperate with those people. The values and norms that they share may not sometimes indicate social capital. While it does not mean that there is no social capital but it may not be strong enough. It is limited within a group of people in the same community. Two aspects to build social capital are at one person level and at the societal level including the public. In the former level, it can be built through focusing on investment in education and training for the collaboration of skills. It will help to build corporate cultures, in order to administer the workers into the way of norms that will enhance their readiness to collaborate with each other and build a sense of group identity. If they work together

jointly for a common cause than they can make more suggestion for the policy for the public as well.

The American sociologist Coleman (1988) commenced social capital to the sociable sciences by asserting that the relations formed among human beings are responsible for the reconciliation of vigorous social institutions. He assumes that well-endowed social networks and foundations are the commodities of friendly systems with an elevated extent of social resources. It can accordingly be contrasted with corporeal capital in way intellect manner that it is a generative and financial expansion which has an enhanced possibility of prospering in social systems with well-built community networks, powerfully built relations and a far above the ground of communal commitment. His outlook of the studied topic also concentrates on the reciprocal action connecting individuals who reached in the structure of faith, anticipations, agreements, rules, and collective knowledge. Therefore not merely the reciprocal action of persons alone, it can also be seen that the resulting impressions of social assets can be viewed as existing information for the collective person and for the one being. Social capital is one of those forms of capital which reduce the value over time. Like human capital and physical capital, social capital disparages if it is not resumed. Social associations expire away when it is not continued; opportunity and indebtedness weaken in excess of an incident; and norms reliable on the usual statement. He categorized social capital as two elements where one element an aspect of social structure and the other as resources. Social actors exercise control over those resources and in order to extend their control, they occupy exchanges of resources.

These social relationships act as an important function in promoting the actions of individual actors, and the form the basis of social capital.

Putnam (2000) commences the ideas of bodily capital which refers to bodily objects and human being capital. It attributes to the properties of possessions, on the contrary, social resources ascribes to the contacts surrounded by folks-societal networks and the standards of mutuality and reliability so as to blend up from them. So with that intention, the studied topic can be assumed in the direction of intimately connected to what a number of people have called public values. The differences between these are that the former calls for attention while the latter is capable when embedded in social connections. Putnam at the same time argues that the parallel level of networks is a principle to social culture and with the purpose of these connections are parallel levels of community organizations. His ideas have feasible diligence, which can be seen in an article on American democracy which was much discussed and debated.

According to Bourdieu (1986), the mentioned theme is the combination of the extensive or probable resources which are concurrent to tenure of a sturdy set of connections of additional or a lesser amount of organization relationships which are of reciprocated familiarity and acknowledgment which assist them to credit from those networks. These relationships may be available only in the form of material or of figurative exchanges which help to hinder them. Social capital is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital controlled by a gifted agent, or even by the whole mass of agents to whom he is connected. It cannot be independent because the exchanges of networks reciprocally acknowledge the recognition of a minimum of objective

homogeneity, and because it exercises a multiplier effect on the capital he acquired in his own right. The subsistence of network connections is not a natural or social given, in fact, it has been established once and for all by the first act of institution, including the family group, kinship relations which is the characteristic of a societal organization.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001) also describes the studied topic networks as actual-world connections between groups or individuals. It has recognized some significant behavior in which the topic is different from other types of resources. To begin with, the subject is relation based to a certain degree than the possessions of several entities, while various other forms of principal can moreover be in the right place or be set-aside by personal or in large number. What is most important is that the topic is shaped by collective reserves of period and attempt, other than in a smaller amount of straight approach that is the human being or formed monetary speculation. Moderately the theme is the consequence of chronological, intellectual and societal causes which furnish get higher to the rules, principles and societal relations with the purpose of conveying people collectively in networks whichever effect in combined accomplishment. It can be differentiated commencing some of the erstwhile forms of resources within so as to it enlarges if applied, throughout strengthening the networks, regulations, and principles, and reduces if not applied. It requires an assortment of positive attempt to be built up incrementally but can be promptly diminished.

The three most important diverse proportions of relations are described by Woolcock and Putnam (2000) which are bonding, bridging and linking. He

depicts the first concept as the connections that one person has with the erstwhile person who are alike with them, which may refer to the kindred surrounded by the appendage of families and edifying assemblies. The second concept refers to those kinds of connections person has with the other person who is not much like them. These kinds of people may be the one who is from a different social and financial group of people, from a diverse age group or a way of life. Then, the third concepts are those connections people encompass or are in supremacy. It enables persons and a societal group of people to get possessions, information, and knowledge from official or informal organizations further than the instantaneous societal circles. If there is no balance between the above mentioned three concepts then community segmentation can take place. For instance, the control of the first concept can lead to a society with the intention of forcefully secured with conviction and supportive regulations, but at the same time have low trust and cooperation their group, which may persist into a narrow interest and discriminate the outsiders. Henceforth, these three concepts may enlighten the personal understanding of comprehension of the range of social networks and its application in a community directly or indirectly through interaction. Although these three dimensions of social capital have been identified in these studies, the more advanced statistical framework should be identified for its measurement.

Vermaak (2009) estimates that the main objectives of social capital are to contribute to the prevalent discussion with related to the deliberate topic as an accumulation of possessions. It applied speculative sights of the topic and pick one case from countryside communities to redefine the topic as

possessions that may perhaps be used to accomplish an extensive range of village requirements, mainly those of countryside communities in the embryonic earth. By means of every sight of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam these study discusses various significant facts of the topic consequently to highlight a general idea of numerous distinct elucidations with regards to the thought and to produce innovative way in the direction of possessions, especially possessions for accomplishing the requirements of these countryside people. Keeping in mind Bourdieu's indulgent of the topic and its critiques, Vermaak headed for the depiction of the understanding of social capital as an accumulation of possessions is able to cause to an enhanced thoughtfulness of composite community procedure in the embryonic earth. Social capital may be regarded not only as an expedient for humanity but also as an influential expedient for helping the person to avail improvement in excess of people. It is not merely seen as a resource for the person or their main assembly. On the condition that social capital is implicit as revenue of societal relations, then it is possible to build a connection involving social capital and specific places and societal actions further the relatives. Rural communities may not have reached the same means at the same time as in industrialized places and ought to depend profoundly on native social capital. So, if social capital is applied at a base level, it can provide sensible habits of constructing social capital in pastoral areas of the embryonic world. Women in pastoral places are motionlessly abandoned on a great extent and dependence on native social capital can give power to women. Women take part more in mutual compassionate kindred and they involve in confined associational performance. The improvement in social capital will be capable of having straight relations

with the education of adult people given that the development of community especially in countryside places is frequently distinct as a social knowledge procedure and education of peer groups can circulate and create social capital by illustrating on breathing networks of the community and their determinations. Therefore, social capital ideas are suitable for communities of countryside mostly in the developing world, and the studies recommend that an expedient means of social capital is an encouraging and suitable thought for enclosure in enlargement efforts.

According to Anirudh (2002), a new bottom-up dynamic of development is projected by social capital theory to replace those failed efforts that were deliberate to deliver economic and social benefits from the top down. Instead of taking into account the macroeconomic policy or design of state institutions as the major concerns of public policy, consideration needs to be directed equally. When it comes to the formal and informal social capital, what matters more for social capital are attitudes and behaviors of diverse kinds that might be exhibited even without being sustained of any formal organization. Particularly in the rural areas of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, it was found that informal rather than formal relations that have the most value for citizens. Most collective action in the sixty-nine villages that the author observed occurs within shared helping connections that move towards jointly and diffuse as the requirement rouse. The only continuing support for the occurrence and usefulness of these connections exists in the kind of pictures that individual have in their mind with regards to their residential places. The villagers along with their neighbors come boldly to assist each other when needed, and it is identified that such kind of support will be obtainable and even acknowledged.

The characteristics of social organizations that encourage cooperation, including norms, networks, and social trust, are hardly absent in these communities. Therefore, the formal organizations are, definitely, not much in evidence in these contexts of social capital.

A study made by Grootaert and Bastelaer (2001) indicated that dimension of the usefulness of the present studied topic ought to embrace indicators interrelated to supremacy, organizations; confined connections and organizations; faith, regulations, and principles. Secondly, the topic has to employ both pertaining to quality and quantity methods and lastly, it should include inputs and outputs. The former include the membership of local organizations and institutions while the latter describes trust and devotion to rules and regulations, combined accomplishment. It was also recognized that it would be preeminent to endow possessions so as to construct social capital. To invest in developing the expertise and capability of the leaders in their areas should be the most excellent way to build social capital in a community. To put together the capability of little organizations and hold up combined depiction would be best to acquire possessions and attach in conversation with the administration; as well as to embrace the evaluation of social capital as an element of setting up of a provision in the enhancement processes. There are also many studies, which focused on the certain proportions of the present studied topic and their parameters.

Kusakabe (2012) present study investigates the three aspects of social capital, which are bonding, bridging, and bracing which play in achieving sustainable development. The observation is established on the qualitative information mostly lying on the case study of the Japanese region people in

order to examine the process of social capital gathering proceeding towards collective action. The first kind of connections that makes individual closely related are effective standard and obtains unity within their areas but there are limitations to access to a variety of outside connections. The second span connection among the individual helps to observe the connection and know how to sustain in sequence performs other than it is pathetic in gathering cooperative achievement in the course of unity creation. The third social capital is understood as bracing social capital as connecting resources which can execute similar problem framework. This framework joins the structure arrangement by concerning different connections beyond the specific residential areas, therefore building it achievable for a supportive action to take place. Though it is not possible to make proper conclusive judgment through this case study alone, it has been found out that implementing the generation of an aggregate of the three aspects of the discuss social capital networks may help the local government to make an effort to achieve the required policy goal of social capital.

Boateng's (2010) study depicts the function and influence of three types of the dimension of social capital as above among the Liberian women residing in Ghana. Qualitative studies have been used to examine the well-being of the respondents where the result specified that the women belonging to the Liberian refugee have built comprehensive first social capital, in the outline of cooperation among the groups and unity where they are doing things in a group to help each other. Their possessions social capital had been restricted only to relatives and associates residing in urbanized places outside their local areas. When it comes to the first and the other social capital the refugee

women had a shortage of authority, where together the capitals are significant for them to develop new ideas and favorable opportunities. There is a need to assist them to develop the two studied social capital by executing an enduring type of skill development and enlightening projects surrounded by the encampment and by rendering resources for slight measures of investment. To such an extent, it would, in turn, donate to their individual suitability and incorporation into the nation.

In Hawkins & Maurer's (2009) study, it has been found that in the preceding decade, the current deliberate subject has been examined globally in the tragedy and social work fiction, predominantly in conditions of ancient domination and inadequate financial capital of in the variety of communities of underprivileged people. Applying a study of quality grounded presumption approach, the various types of three social capitals likewise the above-studied capital has been analyzed through alens of social work studies. The present study attempts in the direction to comprehend how inhabitants utilize their three forms of the topic studied to endure from hardships in the specific areas of the people. The findings of the study highlight that the resident who is found with low level of incomes counted lying on, built ahead, and broke down all levels of three constitutes of capital for one person, its relatives, and specific survival areas. The respondents described a procedure from end to end which close connections were imperative for instant sustain, but the second and the third social capital is an accessible route to continued lasting existence and larger neighborhood and specific areas stimulation. Therefore, social workers can furnish the groundwork to facilitate clients attached to and able to furnish their optimistic social capital as an endurance instrument, determination to

build potency and as a determination for reconstruction. Hence, the social professional workers should play the role of administrator for helping them to be able to make a distinction between positive and negative social capital. Further, it helps to examine the conceptualization and operationalization of social capital to understand it in a better way and how it can affect individuals and communities as a whole.

Nath, Inoue & Preety (2001) examines the status and configuration of social capital and its contribution to forest resource management and to the livelihoods of Bangladeshi native ethnic groups in the forest environments. They draw on empirical data from three villages related with two participatory forestry projects. Components of social capital were related with both enhanced livelihood of villagers and better forest conditions. From the studies, it has been found out that non-government organizations stepped in to engage in recreation is an essential character inside the configuration of the studied topic among the villagers. While NGOs shaped bonding social capital among the villagers, it further prolonged their networks through the configuration of bridging social capital that helped them to capture numerous local government social development services. The high social capital was established to be related even to better forest condition. The result of the study recommends involving NGOs along with erstwhile stakeholders for greater success in such participatory forestry projects and for the development of the livelihood of the native people.

The author tried to examine the reciprocity involving among the present studied topic and '*Ubuntu*', which is an African public viewpoint and have indirectly suggested that every person live because the others execute, and then

the essential communication connecting individuals included support and collaboration, to the degree that the ones remaining lives are significant to any person's life. The consideration and apprehend of the specific people which are justified on *Ubuntu* are tremendously strong as a result where each person can live only within a specific area and hence the endurance of the one's society is his endurance. Social capital which is examined as the amount of the relationship between acquaintances and municipal involvement of an individual is made to be confirmed which is very important in promoting both communal and financial improvement. The study came to a conclusion that the well-built connection existing among *Ubuntu* and the studied topic highlights the prospective value of the previous one for the societal and financial enlargement of the sub-Saharan peoples. Without a doubt, the African administrations have to encourage *Ubuntu* as important tools to fight for destitution and conflicts (Migheli, 2017).

2.2 Social Capital and Social Support Networks

According to Maruthakutti (1994), every person has possessed personal connections. The person who is in their connection and how those people are associated with each one depicts somewhat regarding them and impacts the way they think and execute. The individual network analysis attempts to segregate the effect the social environment has on people and how they use the variability from one person to another to explain the variability in something we want to predict. It is a way of operationalizing social context. The effects of personal networks are concerned with the types of people in the network – that is, what the network is composed of, such as family, co-workers, neighbors etc. The associations connecting the people in the personal

association – with the intention of the pattern or construction of those relations are not emphasized. Two personal networks with roughly the same composition in terms of the characteristics of the network members can have very different effects on the person when the structures differ.

Lin (1999, 2005) assumes a network principal element presumption of social capital to clarify how such kind of theory should help to resolve a number of widespread crucial issues. In order to have an enhanced consideration of social capital, it is essential to get acquainted with the thought of capital and to place it in the form of distinct theoretical types of capital. According to him, capital is both a concept and a theory. As a concept, it depicts the investment and tenure as a means of resources in a given society. A theory of capital, it indicates a mechanism by which such esteem resources are produced, reproduced, and gathered. Social capital is characterized by resources inserted in one's social networks, which can be used or mobilized through connections in the networks. Lin had carried out two approaches which can be used to appraise the effects of social capital - how they can get that resource and how they make use of such resources. Earlier, access to social capital has been measured with a name-generation method where the main question asked is "Whom they knew usually and discuss their problems with" and the respondent is asked to give a list of names of those who give such assistance. The relationships among the respondents can provide to know the density of the network, and for analyzing the data for social resources through their names. It has been found out that it is favorable for different societies, populations, or returns, and for combining additional measures for analysis (e.g., gendered or ethnic social capital). On the contrary, the position

generator measurement has had a very recent history; still, more work remains to sharpen its adaptation to various individual, societies and its capacity to sample characteristics positions from different classes of the system at hand. Networks furnish the necessary state to approach and use of inserted resources because without networks; it would not be possible to entrap the embedded resources.

Coleman (1988) talks about network closure where he mentions that close networks have densely knit membership, making individuals highly responsible for their performance. They build relationships of trust and shape norms. One can see applications of responsibility in high-risk job environments that work with teams. The team members must trust each other, as well as have a way to identify when someone is behaving in a way that is not acceptable by the group. Network density among the group members has the positive influence in each and every individual. The kind of involving together with people in collaborative activities can lower down the outlay of giving assistance to many peoples, making the detachment of the curriculum more gainful for them. He discusses the relationship between the deliberate topic and social networks substance. The former capital is not always described by networks or form alone, in fact, it is the value of both form and content. He defined structural hole presumption where the former capital is conceptualized by the middleman most favorable in an association. The principal ground is to facilitate that a replacement is further complicated to bargain and not as much worthwhile at what time it is sheltered into other interactions. The interruption between replace relation (structural holes) are a commercial determination to the dealer the course of information among people on another side of the

structural hole, and organize the form of venture that brings reciprocally people on the contradictory side of the structural hole. The person with kindred to otherwise incoherent societal groups is located for commercial achievement, building the kind of connection between the associations where it is imperative to do so.

Ronald S. Burt (1997) chooses a person's name generators for the present studied topic research. He used the primary data which was collected from the network perspective on a possible illustration of distinct senior managers. In order to illustrate how they organize associations into kinds, and its contribution to the studied topic in a distinguished manner. Since the study is conducted among the different group so the author has to use the stratified random sampling methods to conduct the survey to get the primary information. Manager's kind of relationships into two extents of determination, viz., a familiarity which is close vs. isolated and action which is recurrent contact with new acquaintance vs. unusual contact with old friends. He gives reverence to the two filling which is the individual dialogue. Commercial power which includes the kind of power of the superior and the kind of power of the indispensable individual. Thus by differentiating the first generators for their ability to made strength as indicators of the studied topic. Burt computes the network structure of constraint as of diverse kinds of relationships and then associates the structure constraint with advance support. Therefore, the association is established to be well-built for the associations of individual relations. It was nothing for the association of the authority relationships and the closest form of individual and administrative relations communally. From the result of the study, he suggests that the first generator

is one of the most excellent approaches for the research design in studies associated with social capital.

Burt (2001) in his comparative research confirmed that people occupying positions related to educational success and employment in professional occupations will be likely to belong to different social networks. Instead of people occupying positions related with poor educational attainment and unemployment, or employment in inadequately paid unskilled occupation, Burt identifies that the groups, which were weakly, connected with their alters there are opportunities for holes in the network. He calls them merely as structural holes individuals who span the holes they have a structural benefit of circulating in different flows of information. These positions are regarded to as brokers who are useful for information and or bridges on both sides of the holes.

Grootaert (2004) in his studies incorporated a measure of social networks whose main objectives were to focus on the three items-size of the network. He emphasized his studies by directing attention on the internal multiplicity of the population and secondly, by the economic position of the members selected for the study. And lastly, by the degree to which the network been provided was assisted when required by the actors. The study found out that there were a lot of differences in the population and had been engaged with different aspects of economic indicators. The educated people had occupied a high position due to which they were richer with more resources. For that reason, the authors concluded that with the support of networks, the wealthy resources and enhanced knowledgeable households are more probable

to involve themselves in groups headed for increasing their networks for the benefits of again themselves only.

Granovetter (1985) says that social networks indicate necessary information, support, and guidance through strong and weak ties. He distinguishes between strong ties and more broadly tied relationships or weak ties. Weak ties customarily exist between colleagues, acquaintances, and strong ties are found among family circles, a group of relatives, close friends, and kin. The presence of these ties are not always divided by those sets of relationships, but rather different measures of such as the occurrence of contacts, closeness, intimacy, and reciprocity. He recognized that we may feel strong ties are natural and more valuable, but it is weak ties that have more accomplished embedded resources. The information that we get requires connection to spread and it is the weak tie connections which allow us to make those relationships. Thus, individuals with abundant weak-ties will have more opportunity to gain more information. He claims that there is a failure even in the new institutional economics to identify the significance of concrete personal relations and networks of relations. Granovetter's concept of embeddedness is an attempt to analyze economic systems of social and organizational connections, not simply as a structure that leaps to accomplish an economic function, but as a form with history and continuous that gives it an independent influence on the strengthening of the system.

Hassan & Birungi (2011) manuscript have investigated the parallel association between the present research topic and the household level of poverty. It adopts a mutual way effect connection between the two areas in this article. In the paper, education has been the input resolution of earnings

as it enlarges the likelihood of the combination of social connections. Social capital has been conceptualized in terms of members of the particular areas and erstwhile associations, which has a positive outcome on individual house earnings and consequently diminishes scarcity to a certain extent. The results of the study further show that on individual house earnings and well-being of the society is positively correlated. The households who have higher income from any source are the one who contributes much to the welfare of the society. The one who has the high income is mostly the educated households. These higher income groups made use of their social capital or group involvement activities for the welfare of the society. Thus, the findings suggest that government strategies must be strengthened to enlarge on individual house earnings that lead to a deliberation of the existing societal institutions which should lead to a better way and to encourage associational development, execution and therefore help to reduce poverty.

Li, Pickles & Savage (2005) devoted the three kinds of measurement for the studied topic of the present research which is locality attachment, social connections, and public contribution. The first and the second types of measures refer to the social non-official kind of networks and the least one to social official networks. Two-parameter item response theory was used to analyze the social capital where the societal and civilizing factors of the three aspects of the studied topic and convince on social category of trust were also studied. The findings show that societal and civilizing situations have an effect on the social type of capital production. Those individual who is within the underprivileged groups were extra probable towards the depiction of social capital commencing not strong ties and those in privileged groups were further

probable to do so from an unofficial societal obligation. It was found that the unofficial social networks groups have more neighborly closeness and disposed to encourage a larger number of trusts than do the formal civic commitment groups. Thus, it is clear that the diversity of different social kind of capital has to be identified and official access to societal organizations alone should not be the main factor.

Ravanera & Rajult (2010) focal points are on the consequence of relative's structures on social kind of capital exhibited by some sort of connections: an unofficial connection with relatives, acquaintances, neighbors and colleagues; vast relationships with confined people, civic groups, and within general population; plus, thirdly relationships through institutions. The data is analyzed with the help of a reliability test and factor analysis by using the bivariate and multivariate methods. The distinctions are found on the practice of social capital surrounded by women residence where children are not in presence in a variety of marital activities. The women residence with the presence of children as a whole and the step whereas the only one parent families were all examined. The results show that unbroken families have greater social capital than in only one parent surroundings. The married mothers have greater unofficial networks, which are also parts of further primitive and intended associations. They have larger relatives trust, which may be in the locality, in addition, they also have a superior conviction in administrative sectors. Nevertheless, the family structure can be regarded as an authorization for social capital has been proved. However, this finding of the study attributes an extraordinary way of measuring the present topic in the provisions of networks where the information can be used for interpreting the

relationship between the two areas mentioned and therefore what it has been found out is that, the preceding as a fundamental factor of the latter.

McPherson, Lovin, and Cook (2001) depict comparable kind of connection where the study uttered precisely the principle structures of network and the homophiles that bond the composed of wedding, companionship, job, help, exchange of knowledge, and erstwhile types of connection. The findings point towards that the respondents' personal kind of networks is consistently associated with many social statistical characteristics, the manner of acting, and within relationships attributes. Homophilous networks confine people's social worlds which have commanding implications for the necessary information they have to acquire, the behavior they structure, and their participation. Homophily associated with race and ethnicity makes the strongest feature in their personal environments, whether with age, religion, educational accomplishment, jobs, and gender subsequent in approximately that mode. Location, families, associations, and biological position in social systems all makeup homophilous relations. The results suggest that more studies can be concentrated on the fundamental ecological processes that connect to organizations, associations, communities, social movements, and many other social forms. The impact of different networks on homophily where the motion of networks changes with time and develop other social beings.

Zucker (1986) says that the study of homogeneity plays a fundamental role in developing trust in human beings. Homogeneity within a specified community is the main feature in the promotion of trust because individuals are prone to trust more who are comparable to them. From this point of view, interactions between people are important aspects to persuade trust.

Consequently, the trust will be greater in the more open community that recompense collaborative behaviors and weight interactions along with people. Nevertheless, in the closed community comprised by strong family ties and mutual norms, and where social interactions among people are more formal, interpersonal trust is less construct, and high level of more trust will coexist with low levels of less trust. As a result, it has been found that the different aspects of trust prejudiced by the psychological process allow recognizing somebody as comparable to us. It is for this reason, that the variables such as age, race, family status, gender, and knowledge encompass an imperative role in its development

Choden & Indira (2015) conducted a study in Mysore district, Karnataka where they computed social capital empirically in the framework of Tibetan settlements. In the initial set, the study deals with the demographic particulars which include information relating to the education, occupation, and gender of the respondents was asked. In the second set, the dimension of structural social capital was done by using the alternative parameters like membership in groups and networks, extent of participation, nature of decision-making process, density and effectiveness of the groups, etc. while in the last set, the cognitive social capital deals with the dimension among the members by using alternative indicators of cognitive social capital like the presence or absence of the following character among the members of altered social networks-the degree of solidarity, collaboration, trust, consistency, cooperative action, exclusion and divergence, etc. It was found that voluntary involvement of time and money had brought the high-income and low-income group people collectively in the camp, which enhances cohesiveness and reciprocity among

the universal masses. Trust was observed as an important driver of long-term development and was used as an effort for the development of the Tibetan community. At the micro level, the members have strong bonding social capital, reflected by the stupidity of local institutions and the reliance of the respondents on these community-based institutions. But at the macro level, the Central Tibetan Administration serves as a justifiable social capital builder of the six million Tibetan promotes all the bridging and linking social capital, by planning and executing programmes for the well-being of the Tibetans in their settlements and across the world

According to Alexander. al. (2008) proposes a technique for examining the associates between the present research topic and the personal level of networks at the personal level. They illustrate a social capital resource (SCR) name mention generator technique that put to use the tangible of SCR seeing that the beginning of a frequent question these approach for an analyzing the social kind of network and the other one is the egonet method. An assessment between an older and younger group was conducted. The division of alters athwart the four fields of social capital endorse the differences connecting younger and older is different. This kind of people reported regarding the equivalent amount of alters; nonetheless, the former people have a better inconsistency to the extent of the topic studied resources. The former group reports a smaller number of connections under the political affairs and economics field of the same which was large. The latter group has an extensive than usual variety of connections as of which to assemble the same resources. The former will put forward a bigger number of connections than the latter individual. There were patterns of distinction, with the former

individual having larger inconsistency across the fields of the same. The size of the connection appears to be greater among the former people other than that there was no outline in the levels of multi-state of being abandoned. The pilot study suggests that the connection size and the multi-state of being abandoned is an imperative factor to come across at the number of questions applied in a name mention generator method than the unambiguous substance of the questions for the further research.

Lubbers, Molina & McCarty (2007) investigated whether personal kind of networks has an impact on the cultural uniform identifications of migrants in Spain. Data intended for the current study was composed of the networks of individual especially among the migrants of Spain in the form of a structured interview and also questionnaire method. Personal networks perspective allows for measuring communication in a wide-ranging way. The current study provided a transverse way to measure the connections among the types of individual networks that migrants form in Spain and ethnic self-identification. The results of the study established that the structure and composition of the kind of network are associated with self-identification. Primarily it has been found that cultural uniform identifications were found among respondents who had compact networks, little figures of subclause and little size of the native people in their network. The respondents who renowned their cultural uniform identifications have the higher level of percentages of relatives especially. The determination of bonds and the proportion of migrants were not associated with ethnic identifications. Thus, it suggests that as soon as the relational embeddedness in Spain expands the ethnicity becomes less prominent and therefore it is substituted with broad

identifications. Consequently, it is predominant when a higher proportion of the native population and the migrants living in this place explain this consequence. It was found that both the person and their characteristics of network supplement to an indulgent of cultural uniform identifications of the migrants.

Beaulieu & Hartless, 2001 used social capital as a structure for probing into the endorsement of educational achievement among the public school going students in persuade of relatives and society both. It also tries to investigate more completely the function of social capital in the society for influencing educational execution further than that endorsed to relative's social capital. The study was conducted by means of data from the National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS). A two-level hierarchical linear model (HLM) and a generalized linear mixed model were used to extend the analysis of the school going students at a multilevel. The school going respondents whose mother or father attended college have the higher level of scoring on their achievement in school. Family earnings normally have a strong effect excluding the students residing with a solitary parent earned considerably higher scores than the students from all the other lower earnings family. A weak family environment leads to the small amount of support for academic growth. Higher per-student expenditures convert into enhanced academic performance. The students residing in a locality with a high minority proportion have lower merged values and were less probable to spare time in school. Accordingly, both the process is the main factors disturbing high school students' learning accomplishment. Hence, the findings of the study recommend that policies intended to encourage the educational accomplishment must increase in length

with regards to the school and also pursue out to reinforce the social capital in both areas.

2.3 Social Capital and Women Development

Duraj (2010) conducted a study among Polish rural women. The constituents of a variety of social capital mechanism are related to social trust-weak but statistically considerable correlations exist between social kind of trust and the network of virtual contacts, trustworthiness, ethical rigor and local patriotism. The older the women, the more the level of trust was produced towards their neighbors and the local authorities. They are the one who is strongly attached to their place of living. The higher the intensity of education of women, the larger the number of individuals who are members of organizations and the smaller the number of individuals who are strongly attached to their set of living. The qualitative, as well as the quantitative research, show that active leaders are usually women who in their families undergo social activity guidance offered to them by their mothers. The rural women only to a small degree participate in the formal structures of the socio-political life while their contribution in the socio-political life is of an informal nature.

Harell (2009) findings highlight that only a lesser proportion of women encompass university degree and are the parts of the labor organization, and they are also in a higher earnings group. They are further probable to account for attending a religious service weekly. Men emerge to have more social capital with regards to be a part of the political association above women. On the other hand, the equal or better levels of other types of social capital are higher among women, predominantly when it comes to further unofficial

volunteering performance. But differences come out across individual level where men illustrate a greater likelihood to voluntarily instruct the safeguarding for an institute, at the same time women are further probable to be concerned in extra caring aspects of performance, which are given that care or sustain in the course of an association, or helping in delivering food to the needy person. Women are again further probable to declare that they have unofficially volunteered in their specific areas in comparison to men. Therefore, it can be said that the pathway of women indulgence in the family and society are one way or another dissimilar than men's pathway of life.

Caiazza & Putnam (2008) paper attempted to study the correlation involving among the social capital and the eminence of women's by and large. The authors examined the following factors in their paper with reference to employment and income. It has been found out that there are higher scarcity rates other than further financial equal opportunity, which leads to the higher per capita earnings, and higher levels of learning were largely allied with improved eminence for women. Social capital has also been considered as the principal variable extensively interrelated with the well-being and the health of women's. It has the strong correlation to women's enlarged financial self-sufficiency where the more equality, additional economic autonomy women used to have. Therefore, the performance of women is enhanced in states where they enclose a high level of social capital. Thus, the findings of the paper propose that improving relations among the group of the locality would improve the status of women and it would motivate them to become empowered and vigorously worthy individual of the locality. The improvement in education and the approach of their earnings would strength the individual

to dedicate their available resources to the benefit for the public activities. Therefore the development of women possibly be further enriched where public involvement is large in number, and it has been found out to be subordinate where people are deprived off and incoherent from their localities.

Rustagi (2004) illustrate the intricacy of the relation of gender expansion with the help of an analysis of person's indicators wrapping issues of women's education, involvement in work, and also in the decision executing. A number of women work is acknowledged and compensated, at the same time most of it is not compensated and residue to be unpaid. The number of female involvement tariff in work is still low here in India and it has been noticed that the share of women's in the planned division of service is simply seventeen percent. The school drop-out rate among the females is still high and hinting an extremely small preservation amount of girls which are at the initial level of schooling. If not the improvements acquire in the educational position of women's, their probability of participating in the societal, financial and political areas will always stay behind imperfectly. However, the degree of women's mobility and their inability to make choices reflect that women's freedom of movement is very low. This investigation put forward the effectiveness of the types of methodology for the development of women and research in distinguishing the spheres of gender retardation and potential intervention approach that can establish to be successful in enhancing the situation of women.

There has been an extensive indication in the studies that social capital contributes to the eradicate poorness, a however indication of how expansion actors can construct the dynamic social capital for the needy people left

sparse. The current paper tries to depict the role of NGO in strengthening the social capital which was meant for the needy women as a factor of a progressive programme during 2006–2012, undertaken in rural areas of Jessore District, Bangladesh. The study used qualitative aspects to deal with the data. The NGO and the respondents of the study edged the three types of social capital viz., bonding, bridging, and linking to develop the living standards of the respondents and their families, concurrently varying gender associations surrounded by the individual house and their specific areas. The women involved in the activities of NGO initiates them to develop their learning skills and attitude to face the world for their betterment. Illustrating the studied strategies, the study presents a self-motivated structure for reinforcing the topic for the development of the community, providing speculative insights into the methods for undertaking consequently. Further research should concentrate on the mentioned strategies whether the edged of the social capital can be studied to eliminate the inequality prevails with regards to masculinity. Therefore, the study suggests a design to eradicate indigence through value formation, and the realization of women's enlargement by the women's so that they can become agents of change for themselves and for the community as a whole (Seferiadis, Cummings, Maas, Bunders, and Zweekhorst 2017).

This paper examines the interchange between men/women, social capital and awareness about politics. The study reveals that the relationship between the first and the second capital is positive. Nevertheless, when the first group acquires the roughly equal amount of the second capital, men persistently execute better the third types of knowledge than women. The involvement of women's in association and interpersonal connections are considered by their

larger homogeneity and the amount of presence of the kins. This investigation has found out that woman involvement in the relative's connection, household work and the communal based organizations is larger in number, whereas men's involvement in the association and the connections lead to turn round the financial and compelling performances. Women's involvement in that kind of relationships makes them limited to get in getting in touch with a diverse group of both men and women. Therefore, women only commence illustrating close only when they fit into the kind of job where they can be involved in the decision making as an individual. Unfortunately, the deficient in knowledge would ultimately make them vulnerable which translate into a lack of power.

Boateng (2010) conducted a study among Liberian refugee women and assumes that the international community and the social work profession encompass accountability to the migrants. This revision examines the purpose and contact of what we called bonding, bridging, and linking types of the social capital on the state of being healthy and happy of Liberian women residing in an encampment in Ghana. From the investigation of the study, it has been exposed that the first discussed capital is strong among the women. They had experienced the first arrival to the refugee camp where they had found a warm welcome from their fellow people, group participation had made the bond stronger and through that, they were being able to make friends. The networks within the community turned out to be a strong bond for them and their development. But at the same time, they lack the second and the third capital, in cooperation with which increase the competency to determine innovative and creative opportunities and associations. Ultimately, the paper of the current study challenges the migrant's people in advocating their issues in

relation to the making of policies. Therefore, it would facilitate to strengthen and generate all the above three capital been studied for the development of women as a whole.

Mitchell's (1997) paper examines the nature and implications of the changing paradigms of gender in the economic development in Latin American which contributes to the planning of an extra concrete approach toward the development of needy women. The studies highlight that the consequence of new theoretical frameworks and research methods for women to make their participation noticeable in the monetary and social life of communities. The studies that probe the surroundings of women's work in both the two are giving rise to urging for a reconceptualization of the term work itself. The work of the women would compose of official income work, unofficial salaried work and not paid domestic work and societal related work so to more accurately replicate the reality of women's lives by enlarging in the society as well. Thus, this leads to recognition of the worth connecting the three methods viz., micro, meso and the macro intensity of examination. The analysis examined that Latin American society followed the patriarchal outline of relationships from the traditional period which greatly involves inequalities of authority, gender, and resource allocation which encourage men above women and is replicated throughout society. The importance of family is personified as a powerful reliable group, wherein the foundation of a broad classification of societal relations in which authority is highly demanding and planned on the origin of sexual characteristics and dominance. Therefore, from the studies, it has been recognized that the theory and practices of development also support men against women.

Agarwal's (2000) paper demonstrate to what extent the organization for natural resource management (NRM) emerge to be involving, reasonable and well-organized from the viewpoint of gender. The author also tries to interrogate potential of gender which make the social connections and its implication different. The findings of the study argued that an abandonment of sexual category may critically deform the examination and procedure on the cooperative action in universal and environmental accomplishment. It could lead to a misuse of the NRM organizations from objectivity and competence standpoints, signifying the success still where the serious level of inadequacy continue living on the relationship of the respondent. The inability to see the power of the respondent's involvement in the decision-making process would result in the deficiency of the betterment of the localities as a whole. Even though the respondents are obviously more conservationist than that of men, the focus of respondent's social networks has the knowledge of successful collaboration. Their higher reliance on these networks and their possibility leads to superior group homogeneity comparative to the other group, and these could endow with an essential basis for developing sustainable environmental cooperative achievement. The studies also outline the cause that can restrict or assist the respondent's participation in official environmental management associations where tentatively taking the explanation of gender develops an important way to a conceptual perceptive of collective action and environmental institutions. Therefore, it would release up innovative areas for investigation in terms of gendered inspirations and principles, distinction in constraints to environmental development, and suitable organizational structures for successful development.

Norris and Inglehart (2003) research found that women and men participate in associational activities can be segmented, and therefore it tries to examine substitute explanations for these diversifications. When it comes to the organized caused, there the author observed the imbalanced allotment of resources with regards to their communal and demographic classifications in the localities. On the other hand, in the cultural interpretation, it has been a highlight that the sentiments and importance of both men and women convey to social commitment for their own people. Whereas, the bureau accounts concentrates upon the function of unofficial connections viz., family, acquaintance, and colleagues. That is why, the paper suggests that the involvement of women in the organizational activities is less for the reason that they cannot, they do not want to involve, or for the reason that nobody invites them. The gender break in organizational activities appears to be more strongly associated with the last and the second last factors of connections than to the many deep-rooted first and second diversifications in both the categories.

Parecki (2011) sought to find why female literacy varies across states in India. In order to deal with the answer, the present study deliberates the states of managing the social capital through the spousal aggression and the age of females' initial marriage. The above data exhibited showed that the instruments of the first capital have a sturdily foretell literacy factors, furthermore, the second capital has accurately foretold privileged in the same manner. With these exhibitions, it reveals the connection between literacy and social capital. The first capital confined females from education while the second capital facilitates an environment encouraging to female education. States with the

high level of the second capital have favorable female literacy factors at the same time states with high level of first capital have unfavorable female literacy factors. In India, the levels of literacy were compared to the levels of the first and the second capital. Therefore, the studies suggest that there is an opportunity of connections outside the house for women's associations. It would help to enlarge the network to build the civilizing regulations which had always delight women as creative individuals of the locality traditionally towards the philosophy of womanhood for their upliftment. Until and unless, the second capital is enhanced in India, the respondent's educational attainment will not be possible. This is why the respondent in India countenance challenges of education in their society. So from the above findings, it is essential to reinforce the social capital in order to connect the respondents with people from the outer place beside house which can turn out to be the solution for the advancement of India.

Sarker and Das (2004) say that the dimensions of social capital has taken place at the regional decentralized organizations in association with the forest protection committees (FPCs) of female and the FPCs, where almost all members are below poverty line and are dependent on food-livelihood safety from jungle resources, in Bankura district of West Bengal. The study observes whether social capital is important for the successful development outcomes in female FPCs compared with the FPCs where women's involvement is negligible. The finding displays that the culture of community harmony and developed network of relationship based on customs and values, absence or poor presence of old systems and latest disunity and common identity on social and economic issues are the basic factors for shared successes that

bestow in building trust amongst communities and provide carolled actions creating an inner dynamic of the development of social capital. The research says that the level of social capital is higher for all female FPCs because all these pre-existing old characters of community harmony, common identity, common trust and harmonized actions for development are more present in each of the female FPC compared with that of joint FPCs.

Martin, Balocnit, and Venus (2013) say that the dynamics of household decision-making and into the varying appropriation of duties and authority within Kalinga households in Tabuk City. It focuses to bestow extra information on the perceptions of the defendant with regard to causes underlying combined husband-wife decision-making attributes and those following the autonomous or independent decisions of either husband or wife, and whether defendant's characteristics such as sex, education of husbands and wives along with employment of wives influence decision-making attributes inside Kalinga households. The rate of occurrence and percentages were used to prove the attributes of decision-making. The findings of this study show that the Kalinga household is generally patriarchal ever since the father usually dominates decision-making in the house. The power of husbands was most prominent in decision-making areas such as family finances and on political issues. On the other hand, decisions concerning children are seen as mutual responsibilities of husbands and wives. Increasing education between husbands and wives encourage combined decision-making attributes in most sectors of household decision-making. Hence, the study suggests that gender and development activities should be strengthened and implemented in all

government sectors and should be brought to the grassroots levels to assure gender mainstreaming.

Sikod (2007) says how the transformation in the gender segregation of labor hits women's decision-making power, and whether the long-established distribution of labor, which provides women less freedom to labor-augmenting possessions which causes the delay in development. From the studies, it has been clear that changes are taking place in women's monetary position, and these changes are impacting their decision-making authority within the household. The intra-household relationships are being requested and gender roles within the household redefined. Although, men are still the ruler of the house and they are the pivotal decision-makers. Women who are involved in family income activities participate more in the decision-making role in the house than those who are mostly involved only in household activities. What this implies is that the woman's earning power is imperative to her bargaining power with her husband over the household issues: it is how some of the powers of the man are captivated. Therefore, the result shows that empowerment seems to be a very slow process for women, therefore, there is a need of government policy to empower women by various activities, projects, and programmes, and to assist their reach to labor-augmenting resources.

Fonjong (2001) indicates women's involvement in development through non-governmental activities in Cameroon where it was found that women play a pivotal role in the development of community at all steps. Unfortunately, they work from a lower level in both traditional and state institutions. Women's empowerment is at present an important national issue of concern and both state and international efforts at mainstreaming women in development

have so far formed mixed results. The grassroots' approach of NGOs has been helpful in reaching women at all levels. Their interventions have enhanced women's approach to health, credit, training, employment, and family decision-making, where they provide opportunities for women to switch over ideas. But their wilful gender needs have not met until now such as women's approach to political involvement and control. The local NGOs and civil society are better placed to take the initiative here but, unluckily, they lack the essential human and material resources to take the lead. Therefore for that basic changes towards women's empowerment in Cameroon will not be possible without an incredible change in male attitudes and help from the government and other agencies.

Healy & Hampshire (2008) say that despite grand coverage of social capital theory in the social science literature there has been less discussion of their use in social work practice. The study brings in a teamwork model of the social capital structure that incorporates a dual focus on local community networks and the role of the organization of government, nongovernment sectors and business in the formation of social capital. The paper concludes with a consideration of how a synergy approach can be applied in, and developed through, social work practice. Social capital is a pragmatic concept for progressive social work. There are parallels between community social workers stress on community building and the ideas of 'bonding' and 'bridging' advocated in the social capital field. Similarly, concepts of advocacy and policy activism bounded within the linkage shapes of social capital which are also widely accepted ideas within progressive forms of social work. Social capital is an important concept in modern public policy and debate and so it

is vital that social workers have an understanding of its origins and uses. This paper also argued that social capital has a character with well-established themes in progressive social work, particularly its dual emphasis on local and institutional change. They acknowledge criticisms of social capital proposed by progressive analysts and they contend that these insights are useful for promoting critical and reflective approaches to the social capital formation. The authors believe social workers dedicated to working alongside service users for social justice have much to expand from the new emphasis on social capital in public and academic debate and much to add to the grounded and critical development of this idea.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

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METHODOLOGY

The preceding chapter presented a review of the literature on social capital and women development. In this chapter, the profile of the study area is presented. The first section describes the setting of the present study. In the second section, the methodological aspect of the present study is described.

3.1 The Setting: Profile of the Study Area

The present study was conducted in three cities, of North East India namely Guwahati which is one of the main cities of Assam, Shillong capital of Meghalaya and Aizawl the capital of Mizoram. The details of the studied settlements have been discussed below:-

The word ‘Gurkha’ and ‘Gorkha’ are synonymous with ‘Nepali’ and derived from the hill town and Gorkha district from which the country Nepal expanded. The name ‘Gorkha’ may be traced to the medieval Hindu warrior-saint Guru Gorakhnath who has a shrine in Gorkha. A person is known as ‘Nepali’ who has the citizenship of Nepal and the people residing in Nepal are also Gorkha as a community who has a similar custom, language and belief as that of the Gorkhas in India. To end the misconception of Nationality and Community, the Government of India had issued a notification on 23rd August 1988 explaining that the word “Nepali” means a citizen of Nepal and the word “Gorkha” means a community. Before Nepal’s emergence as a nation in the latter half of the 18th century, the designation Nepali was largely applied only to those belonging to the Kathmandu valley. Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of the ruling house of Gorkha wanted to bring diverse religious ethnic groups together under one nation. He conquered the Kathmandu valley and it

became the capital of modern Nepal. From that time onwards, all ethnic groups highly regard themselves as Nepali only. In one article written by Pradhan (2008), which highlights the differences between the Gorkha and Nepali, it is the two sides of the same coin. The word Nepali is directly linked with the people of Nepal and in order to segregate and safeguard the Gorkha identity in India, it is better to use 'Gorkha' to have a distinct bifurcation.

The Anglo Nepalese War 1814-16, between the expanding Gurkha power of Nepal and the British ruler of India, is of immense historical importance for the Gurkhas settled in India as the conflict not only brought in territorial expansion for the British rulers of India but also established a bond which never snapped hereafter between the British and the Gurkhas. The bond that grew between the two led to the induction of the Gurkhas in the British Indian Army and if one studies the relationship between the two after the war, i.e. the Anglo Nepalese War, one finds that it basically deals with issues relating to the recruiting of the Gurkhas in the British Indian Army. After the war, a treaty called the 'Treaty of Sugauli' was signed between the two countries and this led to the permanent settlement of the Gorkhas in India. It has been found that by 1900, the Gorkhalis formed more than 50% of the total population in North East India mainly Sikkim and Darjeeling, strong enough in the past century to form a government in one and demand a separate homeland in the other. The Gorkhali migration in Northeast India, once it began, followed a dynamic of its own. According to the 1941 Census, Nepalis provided 45 percent of immigrants to India.

3.1.2 Guwahati Settlements

The historical name of Assam is Kamarup. In the ancient Age, Nepal and Kamarup comprised a single domain. Matsyendranath, a great spiritual leader of Kamarup, is said to have gone to Nepal and settled there. This ancient link between Nepal and Assam was revived in modern times in the 19th Century. In the early days, the Gorkhas were cattle herders in the Assam valley, their grazing grounds spread from Baralimara to Bhavani Devithan. Bura Chapari of Tezpur was declared a professional grazing reserve in 1881. In 1920, the Gorkhas were ordered to vacate the land, but, after public pressure, the order was revoked in 1933. After the success of tea gardens in Assam, the Assam Company began bringing in laborers from 1853. After passing several legislations in 1863, people from Nepal and other communities were given the freedom to enter the tea plantation in Assam. The Gorkha population in Assam naturally increased. Labourers were hired not only in tea gardens but in the other fields also. In 1889, oil was explored at Digboi and Gorkhas were employed from the very beginning of the enterprise. Since the native people feared to enter the dense forest of Digboi, the British employed the Gorkhali for the operational work. Places surrounding Digboi viz., Itabhatti, Rashtrapati, Nalapatti, Muliabari, Topabasti, Agreement Line, GoruPhatak were all originally inhabited by Gorkhas. During the First World War, when the native people fled from Digboi, the Gorkhas were appointed as security personnel at the oil fields. In 1923, Jit Bahadur Pradhan was authorized to recruit laborers for the refineries. He brought in hundreds of Nepali workers, particularly from North Bengal.

In Assam settlements, one city called Guwahati settlements was selected for the purpose of the study. From Guwahati settlements, two localities were selected which were Devkota Nagar and Birkuchi. The detailed profiles of the two settlements are discussed below.

3.1.2.1 History of Devkota Nagar and Birkuchi Settlements

The Gorkhali people had resided in Guwahati from the 18th century but were very less in number. The one who resided there were mostly from the army background family, cow rearers, and grazers. After the retirement from the army in the early 19th century, they started their settlements for which they required land. An organization called Gorkha Panchayat was formed to fight for their land rights, in which the first president was Mr. Pahar Singh Gurung (L) and the general secretary was Padam Bahadur Chhetry. Due to lack of land for the Gorkhali people to perform their rituals, they started a Bhajan Kirtan association and through this, they performed their rituals to a certain extent. With the help of the above-mentioned associations, they started to work for land and finally, the land was given to them by the British officials. The Gorkhali people constructed a Mandir at the given land. The Mandir was constructed in a *kucha* form due to the limited amount of money. After the completion of the Mandir in the year 1932, Radha Krishna Murti was placed in the Mandir and it was named as Gorkha Thakur Bari.

In the early 19th century, there were lots of Gorkha ex-serviceman in the town but in the middle of the 19th century, many of them returned to Nepal. However, many Nepali people from Nepal migrated to India as well. From the illustration of the timeline, it becomes clear that the earlier migrants to India identified them as Gorkha but after the migration that took place in

the mid 19th century, they called themselves Nepali. The name of the organization had also been renamed from Gorkhali to Nepali as well. Soon after the migration, the name of Gorkha Thakur Bari was changed into NMPS in the year 1955. Cow rearing and grazing were their main occupation due to which two associations were formed in 1960. One is Brithathar Guwahati Gopalak Sanstha and the other one is Brithathar Guwahati Doodh Bewasai Sanstha. The Other Backward Status (OBC) was also given to them circa 1960 and due to this status, the education level among the Gorkhali population also increased. In 1967, a Gorkha student union came into existence and they started working for the development of the students. Between 1988 and 2002, NMS and NSK worked for the construction of a Mandir in a *pucca* form. The Mandir was completed in the year 2002 and is now being used by the people of Guwahati to perform their rituals. The Gorkha community demanded an Autonomous Council in the year 2003 but they did not succeed in their demand. Instead of an Autonomous Council, they were given a development council by the government of Assam in 2009.

From the timeline, it was found that the Gorkhali people of Devkota Nagar had no electricity at the time of their settlements. They could not recall the exact year when electricity was initiated in their locality, so they mostly use the birth date of their family members to recall past events such as when people started living in their locality and when marriages took place in their area. The Gorkha started their settlements in Devkota Nagar from the earlier part of the 19th century where it was found that in those days, there were no settlers in the area and the Gorkhas were the first one to settle there. It was earlier known as ‘Ara Katne Basti’ in the Nepali language which means wood

cutters locality or area. After a long period of time, the locality was named as the Nepali Basti where the Gorkhas initiated their livelihood. A Puja used to take place in underground areas in the earlier days. The Goddess name was Sheila Devi and Saraswati Devi and the people still continue to perform the puja twice a year. The local people believed that if they did not perform the pujas on time, all sorts of undomesticated animals such as Lions, tigers, and foxes used to howl and therefore the rituals are still practiced in their areas. For the performance of such rituals, the Shila Devi Mandir Samiti was formed in 1957. Badagaon Nepali Vidhyalaya was the first school in Devkota Nagar which was started in 1959. During that time, there were only five students and Nava Sapkota was the first student who still resides in the locality and was a participant of this timeline. Before the school was established in the very locality, classes were given to the children under the tree on the ground. From 1962 onwards, the community people started to perform Durga Puja. In 1977, the Nepali Basti was renamed as 'DevkotaNagar'. Prior to the eighties, road construction was started. They used to collect money as a contribution to the construction of a road in their locality and the amount they received was only four paisa. Each and every members of the family came forward for voluntary work once a week, every Friday.

DNMS was regarded as the oldest women association in Guwahati which was formed in 1982 and there were around 70 DNMS members within the locality. In the year 1982, the community started having electricity with the help of Assam Government and SSS was organised for the welfare of the people of the locality to preserve their culture and to strengthen their unity. The first President of this association was Naba Sapkota and general secretary

was Dilip Singh. The initiatives for building Middle School took place with the help of the locality peoples in the year 1988. Post office came into the locality in 1992. Tiger and leopard were seen in the community and the people enjoyed playing with the leopard during those times. Tigers and Foxes are still found there in the locality, but the Tigers do not attack people as such. The people earn their daily bread through grazing and cow rearing and for this purpose, they had to visit jungles in search of grass where they used to come in contact with the tiger and with the intention to save oneself they (tiger) only attack people. In the year 2004, a man was attacked by the tiger for the first time.

After the completion of their middle level of education the locality people have to go out of their locality for higher studies, so the community people worked hard for establishing a high school in the community. The high school came into existence in 2005. In the year 2010, the statue of late Mahakavi Devkota was placed in the main center of the community.

When we come to Birkuchi settlements, it has been indicating that during the early nineteen there were only a few houses in Birkuchi and Hit Bahadur Adhikari was the first person to live over there. They had also mentioned that before independence they had already been there and had also stayed underground at that time. A large number of the population had shifted from Silpukhuri, Chandmari (Guwahati) to Birkuchi for their livelihood, mainly cow rearing and grazing in 1950 onwards. Soon after the formation of Assam GorkhaSamela in Guwahati, its unit was formed in Birkuchi at around 1955. As the population increases, the land was given to them by Mr. Ganesh Bahadur Karki for the areas of the school. After two years, they begin to

conduct teaching under the shed of the tree. With an increase in the number of students' enrollment, they started establishing a small house and continue the teaching system. The number of students enrolled at that time was around 60.

In the year 1965, drastic changes took place in the community. They begin to celebrate Durga Puja, the festival of Teej and Bhanu Jayanti as a group in the community. Bhanu Jayanti is the birth date of late Bhanu Bhakta Acharya who was one of the greatest poets, had written many books and made a great contribution to the Gorkhali community. Their locality has been recognized as a municipality from the Panchayat system under Guwahati Council in the same year. The school runs by the community people became government school in the year 1970 and they extended to middle school in 1973. In 1975 onwards, road development took place due to Assam Carbon Product Limited Company (ACPLC). Soon after the construction of proper roads in the community, the Assamese people started to enter into the locality and start residing with the Gorkhali people as well.

El dorado club was formed by the community people in 1976. The club exhibits as an Anganwadi center for the people of the community where they can take their child for pre-school. An adult education was also given to the needy people and once in a week which is on every Sunday art classes was conducted for the children. The club is still functioning till the date. Raghunath Chaudhary High school was established in the year 1979. In the earlier days, Raghunath Chaudhary used to give keen interest to the community who had worked hard for them and the school was named after him. A land for the construction of Mandir was given to the community by Mr. Suraj

Prasad Baral in 1980. The people of the community worked extremely hard for the construction of Shiv Mandir and it was completed in 1990. After the completion of Mandir in their community, the people used to perform religious rituals in that Shiv Mandir, which became much more convenient for them. Nepali Mahila Samiti was established in 2004 for the welfare of women so that they can work together for their well-being and welfare of the community. In the year 2014, Canara bank came into existence which became helpful for the community and leads towards development as well.

3.1.2.2 Social Map of Devkota Nagar and Birkuchi Settlements

As mentioned earlier, in order to understand the community in a better way participatory rural approach of Social Map, Timeline and Services and Opportunities Map was employed and conducted in the community. The social map was made by the community leaders with the one who had already been settled there from many years ago who knew the community in a better way than the others and it was facilitated by the researcher(see figure 3.1). Devkota Nagar situated in a small hilly area not very far from Maligaon, is the main area from where they used to purchase their needs. The main houses of the Gorkhali settlers were located alongside the main roads. The statue of late Mahakavi Devkota was placed in the main area of the community. He had contributed a lot to the Nepali literature, which is why it was named after his name as Devkota Nagar.

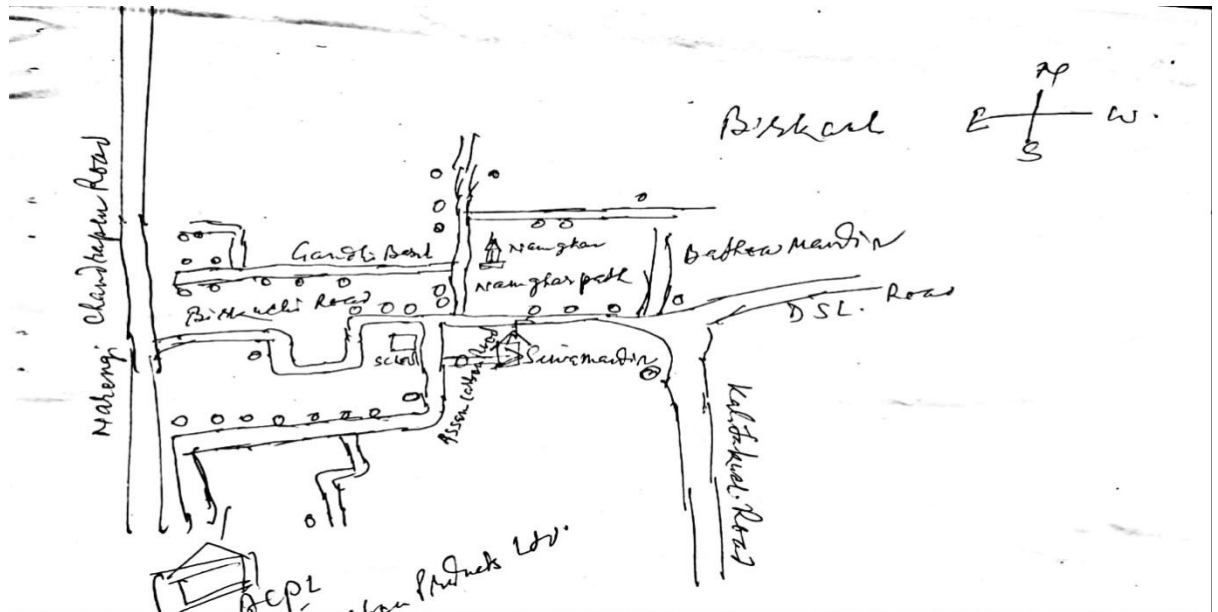
Bishnu Devi Mandir and Shila Devi Mandir were situated in the upper part of the main roads. The Mandir was well constructed with pucca buildings and there used to be lots of visitors who came to perform pujas over there. Baragaon Nepali High School was established in the main center of the

community along with primary and middle school. Sayapatri Sankritiyakala Sangam association had their own small hall in the community where they used to perform meetings and other necessary activities related to the community. Besides the community hall, there is a community library which was established by the community members for their own people. The community people had their own post office situated in the community. Next, to the community, there was still a bunch of Gorkhali locality which goes through Devkota Nagar community.

From the Social Map of Birkuchi settlements, we can see that there are around 100 houses in the community and the houses are located close to each other. They are living in a homogenous group and not in a scattered form. Despite the smaller size of the Gorkha locality, the population of the Gorkha is higher than the Assamese people but are living integrated with each other in one community. Mandir is situated in the main center of the community with a small hall attached to it which was the main point to organized every program by the locality people itself. Mandir had played a very vital role in gathering people to work together for the welfare of the community.

With the help of the ACPLC, the construction of road from the highway to the locality area had developed. They now do not face problems regarding roads within the community and can move easily from one place to another. From primary to higher level of the school had been established inside the community and to access the higher education they had to go out of the community to a place nearby.

Figure 3.1 Social Map of Guwahati Settlements



3.1.2.3 Services and Opportunities Map of Devkota Nagar and Birkuchi

The Services and Opportunities Map (see figure, 3.3) showed Devkota Nagar location which is situated near to Maligaon locality. It is larger in area and is the main sites for the Devkota Nagar people to approach for every requirement. The localities have their own government and private school. They also have a government Nepali school. Most of the children are admitted in their own locality school and the one who went out of their locality are less in number. For higher studies, they have to approach Maligaon where high schools and colleges are situated. For medical health facilities, they have to go towards Maligaon but for minor cases, they can get medicine from their own locality. Banks are under Maligaon areas and most of the administrative work can be done from this area itself. The road construction from Maligaon to Devkota Nagar is in a poor condition and people find it difficult to cross through. For traveling they have to go all through the Maligaon highway for taking any vehicle.

The Services and Opportunities Map of Birkuchi showed the important center such as Government Health Center. The Registrar Office is located within the community itself which become easier for them to access. The important health centers such as clinic, hospital, and pharmacy are nearby the community which is about only three kilometers far, called Narangi. If they had to approach the big hospital for severe cases, Guwahati Medical Hospital is there which about six kilometers far from the community. Primary, Middle, and High school are there in the community but in order to continue their higher studies, they need to go out of the community and have to spend a large amount of money in transportation.

Guwahati Medical College, Narangi College, S.R College, Junior College, Hindi College and Cotton College are the few colleges in Guwahati where the people of the community go for further studies. These colleges are about three to six kilometers distant from the community. Education facilities are sufficient enough for the people of Birkuchi where they can study from their home and not by staying in the hostels. The Electricity Department where they pay their bills just a couple of minute walk from the community and the site office of the Revenue Department is also located in the same distance. The Police Station and sabzi Bazar where they can buy their household needs are only two and a half kilometers far. The main shopping center is located at a distance of six kilometers from the community.

3.1.2.4 Daily Activities and Seasonal Calender in Mawprem and Barapather

The women of Devkota Nagar used to get up at around five to six o'clock in the morning and the first thing they do is to make breakfast for the

family members, clean the house and then take a shower to perform the puja. If they are working women then they had to rush for their work as soon as they complete the morning work at home. Till noon women are usually busy in their office work and then on working women were busy with the household work. They used to make lunch for the family and serve them as soon as they returned from their work and schools. The working women returned home after work at around 3pm in the evening and then make their lunch, have it and spend most of their time by reading the newspaper. Later in the evening, they take care of their children and the head of the family. Also, their evening time was spared for doing some community work like working for the association and whatever is required. From 8:00 pm onwards they had to prepare dinner, served and do the household work. After 10:00 pm onwards they watched TV serials, take rest which is soon followed by bed-time. These are the way that women spend their time daily and the same routine continues everyday.

January is the month of the festival and religious rituals for the Gorkhali women of Devkota Nagar. Makar Sakranti is a Hindu festival celebrated in almost all parts of India and Nepal in a myriad of cultural forms. It is a harvest festival. It marks the transition of the sun into the zodiac sign of Makara Rashi on its celestial path. The Gorkhali and Assamese people used to celebrate the festival grandly together. They used to make different varieties of eatables and share it with the people of the community. It is the time of admission in schools and institution for their children. Saraswati puja and Holi festival come in the month of February where puja is done in the school; Saraswati is the goddess of education. Holi was celebrated

as a group in the community and sometimes they used to have a feast to celebrate the festival as well. March is the birth month of the Lord Rama which is known as Ram Navami and women do participate in the accomplishment of puja. 'Chaite Dashain' is one of the festivals of the Gorkha where the married daughter come over to celebrate this festival. All the married women eagerly wait for this occasion and enjoyed to the fullest at their respective houses.

April 'Baisakh' is the first month according to the Nepali calendar and also the month of 'ama ko mukh herne ausi', where they used to perform thanksgiving to their mother. May is regarded as a pleasant month and the occasion of Buddha Purnima. In the month of June, women are busy helping their children for the preparation of their exam. Parents especially women said that exam of their children is like an exam for them as well, as they are the one who is busy helping their child to learn and accomplish their task. When it comes to studies the Indian parents are the most supportive, they would be there 24/7hrs for their children. During study hours, they would treat their child like a prince and princess and won't let them do even a single piece of work. This is the sacrifice of a mother which is still practiced among the Gorkhali women. Summer vacation starts from the month of July and the parents make use of this free time and pay a visit to their near and dear ones. Whereas, the agricultural families become incredibly busy in plowing at the field.

All the schools in their areas re-open from the month of August and as usual, the duty of women starts over again. For working women, it's the time

to prepare for the progress report card apart from their daily household routine and other school work.

‘Teej’ is the festival for married women where they fast for the long life of their husbands. During this time of the year, the married women used to visit their parent’s house and spend time with them. As a community, women used to celebrate in the group and used to perform puja. Since Teej is a festive of women, the community organized programme where only women and girl child use to participate and perform dramas, dances, sing a song as well. Teej is one of the greatest occasions for women where they can share their happiness and sadness with their fellow women and enjoy the festival to the fullest. After Teej, comes Bishwakarma puja, after this puja, the people again have to start preparing for Durga puja. During the last week of September ‘Navratri’ starts and they are involved with Mandir functions and in performing the religious rituals. Women spend their time buying new clothes for their family including them. Meanwhile, they have to spend time cleaning their houses for the upcoming festival.

October and November is the month of the festival where Durga Puja and Diwali come under this two month. They used to go to Mandir and do puja. Visits their relatives for greetings; spend time with their friends, relatives, and family members. Carol during Diwali is one of the cultures of the Gorkhali people. December being the last month of the year, children are busy with their exams followed by a short winter vacation. It is the month together and people usually enjoy their vacation by going out for a picnic with friends and relatives, also they welcome the New Year with a hope for the great year ahead.

On the other hand, the Gorkhali women of Birkuchi used to wakeup around 5:30 am and take a shower and performed puja. After that, they used to make breakfast for the family members serve them and then clean the house. With all the completion of household work, they used to take rest and watch television. At around 12 they used to make lunch for the family and serve them as soon as they return from their respective work and schools. The evening time is spared for doing some community work like working for the association and whatever is required. At around five in the evening, they used to have some tea and light snacks. From six to nine o'clock, they prepare dinner for the family. By ten o'clock they used to have their dinner and finished the household work. The time they went to sleep is mainly at around eleven at night. These are the daily routine for the women and the same continues everyday.

January is the month of celebration, festival and religious rituals for the Gorkhali women of Birkuchi. Women used to performed religious rituals and thanks God for the blessings and pray to have a fruitful year ahead. They go out for a picnic with their family and neighbours to welcome the New Year with joy. The Gokhali and Assamese people used to celebrate Makar Sakranti grandly together where they make a different variety of eatables and share with the people of the community. Mothers are usually busy due to the ongoing exams of their children in the month of February which continues till March. By April, children's exams get over and the Bihu festival gets started. 'Behu' the festival of Assamese is celebrated alongwith all the Gorkhali women, they also used to take part in the function. The Gorkhali people also participate in food making competition and they used to have a great time.

This way the bond becomes strong between the Assamese and the Gorkhali people. May is the month where no marriages take place and the women are tension free from marriage during this month.

Soon after that, the month of June comes, where summer vacation starts and they can again take rest to a certain extend. From the month of July women used to be quite busy in community work. They have to collect donation for 'Bhanu Jayanti' programme which is celebrated in an auspicious manner. August is the month for the women, where the festival 'Teej' falls. They spend time with their parents, participated in the community programme, performed religious rituals and perform many recreational activities. In the month of October, 'Navratri' started and they are busy with mandir function in performing the religious rituals. Women used to spend their time buying new clothes for their family and for themselves. Mass cleaning before the big festival is a must for every family. October and November are the months of the festival when the people celebrate Durga Puja and the festive of lights, Diwali. During Durga Puja, the people visit mandir and worshipped God. Apart from the mandir celebration, they take this opportunity to pay a visit to family, friends, and relatives; and are a fun-filled get-together. The Gorkhali sing Carol during Diwali which is one of the cultures of the Gorkhali people where they used to have lots of fun. December the last month of the year ends with joy and family togetherness. The people said that one has to let go the year happily so that the New Year will bring a prosperous year for us.

3.1.3 The Gorkhali Settlements in Shillong

The history of Gorkha settlements in Shillong is essentially linked with the British dispersion and inroad into the Khasi and Jantia Hills and the

establishment of Shillong as their administrative center. The entrance of the Gorkhas in Shillong was however started with the transit of the military in 1867 when the 44th Sylhet Light Infantry moves into their new quarters in the Cantonment. While tracing through the history of the 8th Gorkha Regiment it had found out that in 1867 when Captain Kalu Thapa (a Gorkha soldier) who had merged into Shillong with 44 Sylhet Light Infantry. He was questioned by his Commanding officer about Shillong, like how does it look like in those days and then Captain Thapa replied, 'there wasn't a rat' which means that it was sparsely populated. Shillong in 1867 could not have shown any similarity to the charming cantonment and civil stations known to many of the 8th Gorkha Rifles soldiers. It must be wrong to say that the Gorkhas came to Shillong after 1867. Thus, it can be said that the settlement of Gorkhas in Shillong must be prior to 1824 as the first temple; the Gorkha Thakur bari (Radha Krishna) Mandir was established in the year 1824 by Subedar Jai Chand Thakur.

Gorkhas constitute at present, one of the important population groups in the state of Meghalaya. They came primarily in search of a living as soldiers, porters, herdsmen, and marginal farmers. The Gorkhas were employed in the British army and after their retirement from the armed forces. The Assam Rifles alone established 40 re-settlement colonies to settle as many as 30000 Gorkha ex-soldiers in the north eastern region. The British government provided lands on rent to the Gorkha ex-servicemen in and around Jhalupra, Shillong. The Syiem of Hima Myllem also leases the land in Mawprem by issuing Patta to Gorkhas at the beginning of the 19th century. The population of the Gorkhas was then spread all over the city. Therefore, the important

aspects of the Gorkhas settlement in Shillong were the establishment and development of institutions of their own through which the Gorkhas tried to preserve their cultural and ethnic identity.

3.1.3.1 History of Mawprem and Barapather Settlements

Captain KaluThapa was the first Gorkhali to enter into the land of Shillong with the 8th Gorkha Rifle Battalions. After his retirement, he settled in lower Mawprem with his family. After the emergent of the Gorkha rifles, a Mandir named Gorkha Durga Mandir was established in the year 1872 which was one of the oldest Mandir in Meghalaya. During that period there were around twenty Gorkha households residing over there. Jay Chand Thakur bought land near Gorkha Pathsala which was worth Rs 96 in the year 1984 and settled over there. A major earthquake took place in 1897 which destroyed the town to a very large extent and only the All Saints Church was saved at that tremendous incident. From 1901-10 the cutting of road from Meghalaya to Guwahati took place. Till 1944, there was no highway road and people have to walk by foot in order to go from place to place. After that, they had good relations with the greater Assam and the construction of highway took place. Thakurbari is a Radha Krishna Mandir and its construction was accomplished in 1905 and in the same year UPS was established. British recognized Mr. Mani Singh from Manipur as an appointed teacher in UPS where the British student also went there for study in 1928.

In 1937, another school called Non-Army Churamuney Nepali School which was meant only for the girl child and not from the army background was established. The name of the school was renamed as NKPS latter. In 1946, Gorkha School was started and a higher secondary school in 1956.

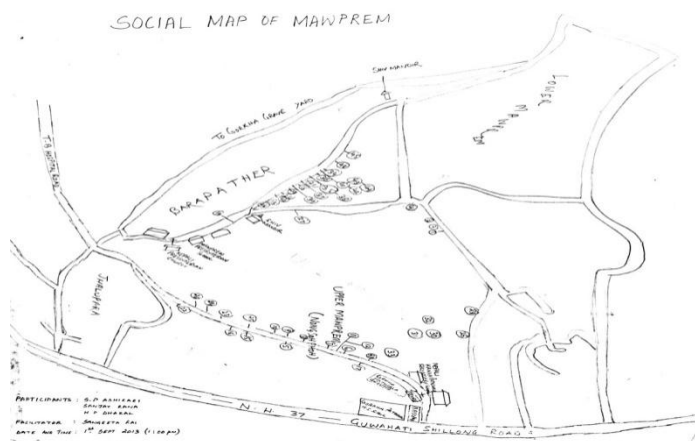
ASMS was formed in 1964 and is one of the oldest women associations in Shillong. From the year nineteen forty-one onwards the tribal people of Meghalaya became Christian. In nineteen seventy-one, a war between Khasi and Bengali took place and the Bengali people dominated the town. And in the same manner, a communal conflict took place between the Khasi and the Gorkhali people in 1987. It had also been reported that at the time of war the Khasi people used to come to the Gorkhali people house and used to stay there. They found safer with them since they were close with them at that time. From 2002 onwards, the people of the community realized the importance of women for the upliftment of the society. They started to revive women Association which were already existing and work together for the development of themselves and the community. The history of the two localities of Shillong cities cannot be rewritten into two separate parts because the people of the locality are settled in a very close homogeneous group. The locality that they are living are not far from the other and the Gorkhali people are living in a close group. Due to which the history of both the localities viz., Mawprem and Barapather are discussed jointly.

3.1.3.2 Social Map of Mawprem and Barapather Settlements

The social map of the two localities in Shillong which are Mawprem and Barapather are discussed below. The two localities are situated closely where they can share many facilities and roads with each other. The main roads in Shillong are very congested and the sub-way the same. The Gorkhali people in Mawprem and Barapather are residing in a very close group where they can work mutually for their community. They have their own Mandir in the locality where they can perform puja together and a time to get together

to praise their Bhagwan. They have a total number of three Mandir in their localities. The locality is situated in the main areas where there are schools and colleges. It is not difficult to approach each other where the connectivity is smooth. The school and playground are there in the middle of the locality where they can use it anytime as it belongs to the Gorkha community.

Figure 3.2 Social Map of Mawprem Shillong Settlements



3.1.3.3 Services and Opportunities Map of Mawprem and Barapather Settlements

The two localities of Shillong viz. Mawprem and Barapather are situated closely where they can share many facilities of the locality jointly. It is located not so far from the main areas of Shillong which mean the market areas. They have to travel for around four kilometers to go shopping and for much administrative work they can get up to that time only. Their locality is not so far from each other their time spends on transportation is the same for both. The localities have their own Rural Bank in their areas and one State Bank of India ATM. Health care centre is also there where they can get the basic need. For further medical treatment, hospital is available which just twenty minutes walk from their locality is. If one is willing to go to the

central hospital despite the distance, they can save more money and the treatment is more favorable.

The localities have a private Roman Catholic and Nepali School in their own areas which is why it is more convenient for their children to go to school. Colleges are also there and they can opt either for a local college or distant college according to their convenience. The Gorkhali people have their own school, Gorkha Pathasala School and Nepali Kanya Pathasala Secondary School. The name of their colleges which is in their locality is B.B.S College. These areas have their own police sub-station due to which it is safer than the other localities. There is also a graveyard in their locality to bury their loved ones who died. The localities are well developed with fine infrastructure and they get whatever they need within their locality itself. With regards to the Gorkha locality development, the Shillong city is one of the most developed areas as compared to the other two areas.

3.1.3.4 Daily Activities and Seasonal Calendar in Barapather Settlements

The Gorkhali women of Shillong wake up early between six to eight the morning and the first thing they do is to perform puja. The one who does not have time to perform puja in the morning will do the same in the evening depending on their convenience. After that, they have to make breakfast for their family and also have to iron their dresses. A separate tiffin has to be made for their children and their husband. Although they do not work outside they have to get everything ready for their family. They have to drop their children to school who are still under primary level and have to pick them up after class as well. The one who do not have children undergoing a primary level of school have more spare times than the other group. After the

household work, women have some free time for themselves where they can visit their friends, family and can get their personal work done. They used to spend their time knitting, weaving and stitching. They have to make lunch for their family and after that have to drop their children for tuition and vocational classes that they opted. Soon it will continue with the evening tea and watching television. The time from six to eight is the time to make dinner and to have it. After nine they become free, it's the time for family conversation where they can share the daily activities that they had done so far. After that, they used to watch television, relax and time to sleep. This way, women spend their whole day in their household works and then visiting near and dear ones.

January is the month of vacation where they can spend their time mostly with their family and visits their relatives who live outstation. Women spend their time on gardening and used to cook plenty of foods where they can happily eat together with the family members. Gathering around a warm and toasty wood fireplace is very common among the people of Shillong due to its cold weather. February is the month of school admission, women are busy with kids admissions and go shopping to complete their necessary requirements. They have to buy a new uniform for them and have to stitch as well. They have to look after all their children requirements for their entrance into the new session of school.

In the month of March, they are once again busy in their children's school activities and with their family. It is also the month of worshipping and performing pujas. Then comes the month of marriage which is April where they used to attend the maximum number of marriages within and outside their

locality. Attending marriages also gives them benefit to meet and greet with family, friends, and relatives. May is the month of parent-teachers meet where they have to participate and have to make some points to contribute for the meeting. Since, it is the time where they can share their opinion and can give a suggestion for further betterment of their children/teacher teaching/learning processes. June which is the middle month of the year is a season to prepare their children for terminal examination and after that, in the month of July, they used to declare the result. They get time for vacation and spend time with their families.

August is the month of pujas where they used to celebrate ‘Sawan’ and “Shiv Parvati” puja. They used to fast and women enjoy the most in this puja. It is the time to get together with their friends and perform the puja collaborate with them in their locality. September the festival of ‘Teej’ comes, where women again fast and visits their maternal parents. October and November is the month of religious function and again women are busy buying new clothes for self and their children. During the last month of November and the first week of December, they have to get their children ready for the final examination. After that declaration of result, one has to attend the annual function of the school. Then comes marriage session and vacation, which is one of their favorite time of the year.

3.1.4 The Gorkhali Settlements in Aizawl

The Gorkhas have been in Mizoram at least for a century and a half. In 1865, Colonel T.H. Lewin wrote, “I had formed a high opinion of the little Gurkhas, who under Col. Macpherson, had done the fighting of the expedition, and I obtained permission to send to Nepal and get immigrants from there to

colonize this frontier waste." Gorkha colonies were established on the Myani River, a northern affluent of the Karnaphuli, now in Bangladesh. Colonel Lewin wanted to establish a number of villages along the "frontier waste" between the plains and the hills so that a well-defined boundary between the local and British territories could be established. Colonel Lewin records that "the country where the villages were located had previously been uninhabited, for fear of the marauding Lushais, and my idea had been to establish there a good stockade villages of courageous, stiff people like the Gurkhas, who should serve as the buffer between the Mong Raja's territory and the independent Lushais to the east." After the construction of stockades at Lungdai and Aizawl, peace was restored in most of the hills.

The government needed manpower-traders, masons, dak-runners, chowkidars, farmers and others-for which they turned to the Gorkhas, fearing that the natives were not yet fully docile. The Gorkhas also reached Mizoram as personnel of the Frontier Police Battalion. It is also recorded that by 1891, hundreds of people freely moved across the frontiers of Manipur and Chittagong hill tracts. The Gorkhas were not among them; however, they were imported by the British themselves. There is a case recorded in 1872 when the Gorkhas rescued the kidnapped Mary Winchester, daughter of the manager of the Alexandrapore Tea Garden, from the hands of Lushai Chieftains. This act of loyalty won the Gorkhas trust of the British, who recommended that they settle in the area for good. The Surma Valley Military Police Battalion, later known as 1st Assam Rifles, was raised at Changsil in the north Lushai Hills by General Tregears in 1889. Its ranks were mainly filled by Gorkha soldiers.

The Gorkhas, after their retirement from the army and the police forces, accepted the Lushai Hills as their homeland. Today, they form the most socially organized Gorkha community in northeast India. In Aizawl, they have settled as groups of households in different localities (*Vengs* in Mizo). The prominent localities where Gorkali households settled are Maubawk, Zotlang, Bawngkawn, Thuampui, Zemabawk, Durtlang, Tanhril, Dinthar, Bazar, and Khatla. It could be noted here that in some settlements land was given to them by then the British Government. In these settlements, though they constitute a minority, they have the sizeable population for socio-cultural interaction. The study was done in two localities of Aizawl namely Bawngkawn locality and Maubawk locality respectively.

3.1.4.1 History of Bawngkawn and Maubawk Settlements

Gorkha people start their settlements at Bawngkawn in the early 19th century with a number of 17 households. The name of that 17 households are: Jamuna Devi, Jakhapani (Haldarni), Man Bahadur Thapa (Maudare), Keshav Rana, Dal Rai (Rodanga), Hiramani, Lilu Thapa, Dal Bir Rana, Meghram Bhaju, Mom Bahadur Thapa, Budhini, Thane Gharti, L.B. Thapa, Dilaram Jaishi, Premlal Jaishi, Rabilal Jaishi and Gonosiamama. In the early nineteen century, the main occupation of the Gorkhas in Bawngkawn was cow rearing. There used to be lots of cowdung in the locality due to which it was named as 'Bawngpui Kawn'. Later the name Bawngkawn was given. The Gorkhas started their settlements in the early part of the nineteen century, they were the first settlers in Bawngkawn and only in the late 40's Mizo people begin their settlements next to the Gorkhas.

Meghuram Bhaju settled in Bawngkawn at around 1900 who was one of the first settlers in the locality. Earlier he was the land owner of present Greenwood hospital and Mandir areas, where there used to be a big Thingdawl tree and the pujas were performed by them at that very same place (Thapa, 2007). A Mandir committee was started in the year 1968 and for the construction of mandir, the land was given to them by Meghuram Bhaju. He donated the land to mandir where he used to perform pujas near the 'Maina' tree. There was no school in the locality till 1951.

Inorder to pursue education, the people of the locality had to go to Chaltlang the nearby locality. It was hard for the parents to manage the transportation cost for their children and they were still poor to manage between the household works and school. Instead of sending their children to school, helping their parents in the household works and grazing was much more beneficial for the parents. So some people of the locality felt the need to start their own school in their locality itself. Land for school was given by Meghuram Bhaju and soon after the construction of the school was started. The school was established in the year 1952 and was named as Gorkha Primary School which was not meant for the Gorkhas only, since, the Gorkhas was large in number at that time and the Mizo people in minority. The Mizo people who settled at that time came to learn the Gorkhali language just like the Gorkhas and share the school with them as well.

Maubawk is situated in the southern part of Aizawl, within the urban area; it is surrounded by neighbouring communities such as Khatla, Bungkawn, Lawipu. This community is one of the oldest communities in Aizawl and has been established in the year 1903 during the British rule in Mizoram. The

Britisher's allowed a group of soldiers to live in Maubawk temporarily by making a house for them with bamboo called 'Bawkte' and after that, the community was named as Maubawk community. There are lots of different tribe living in the locality and the Gorkhas are the one who has settled first in the community.

The Gorkhali people of Maubawk start their livelihood in the locality from the year eighteen sixty. The prominent settlers in the locality were Mr. Mahavir Sahi, Mr.Dasharat Sahi, and Mr.Tek Bahadur Sahi. At that time there were fewer numbers of Mizo people and the Gorkhali people resided happily with them. The Gorkhali people settled in Maubawk after their retirement from their jobs, primarily army. From nineteen hundred years onwards their population starts increasing where people of other locality started staying in Maubawk. In the year nineteen thirty-four the people of the locality build a temporary Mandir for their locality Gorkhali people. It was made up of bamboo and the materials that they get it from the forests. They could replace the roof of the Mandir with tin in the year nineteen sixty-three where they use wood for its body as well. The land was also donated to them by their own fellow people.

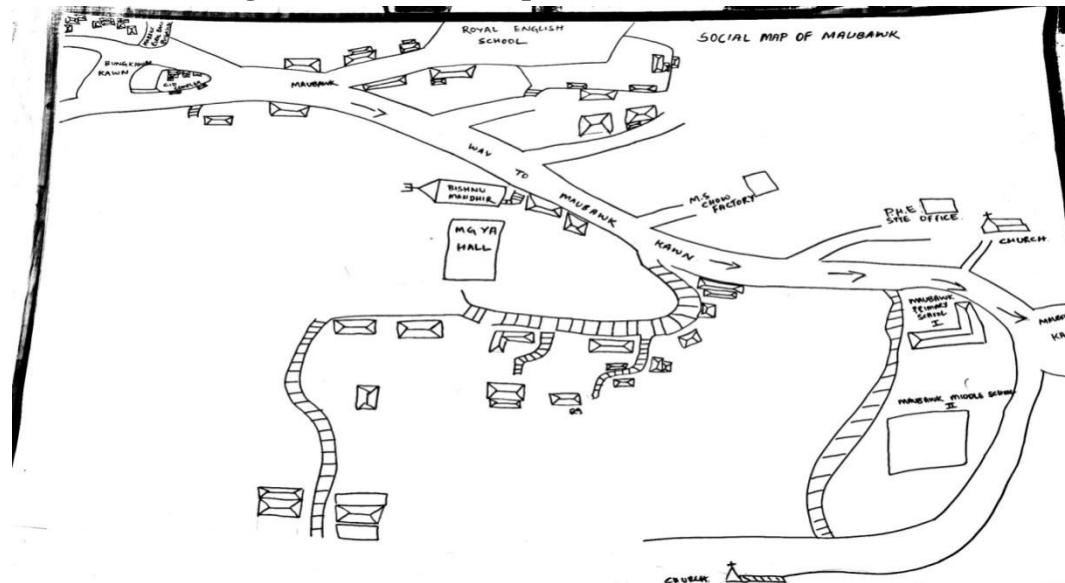
In the year 1970, when the government changed the border of Assam, many Gorkhali people shifts to Assam from Mizoram and then the population of Gorkhali people become less in the cities. The one who left the cities goes by leaving memories for the locality people and the Gorkhali people of Maubawk continued their living. They stay in the locality homogeneously and in order to maintain the unity of the locality, they form associations and then work simultaneously for their community upliftment.

3.1.4.2 Social Map of Bawngkawn and Maubawk Settlements

Bawngkawn is one of the biggest localities in Aizawl where it is situated not far from the main areas of Aizawl. The Gorkhali people are living in a homogeneous group near the main roads, the upper part of the locality and a little bit far from the main areas. The locality is well developed recently and they do not have to go to the main market for shopping since they have their own big market and able to get their needs to a certain extend. They have their own banks in the locality. Shiv Mandir is located in the main hilly areas of the locality where the Gorkhali settlers are concentrated. The locality has many big showrooms of two wheelers and four wheelers vehicles and it has become the most industrial areas next to the main bazaar in Aizawl. Due to the industrial areas, the locality is well equipped with road and the stairs are also in good condition.

Maubawk has a good locality structure and most of the houses are situated near the main roads. It is not a big locality, in fact, a small with an evergreen locality. They have their own Mandir in their locality which is situated in the center. The roads are good which leads to the 'tlawng' river of Mizoram. But the sub-road which is used for connecting locality people is not in good condition which needs to renovate well. Due to the scarcity of water, they make use of the river water which is located in their locality. The government school is located in the heart of the locality but the private school is located outskirts which is very much near to the other locality. There is a Public Health Engineering office in the locality and also a small market for selling vegetables. The Gorkhali people live as a group in the locality.

Figure 3.3 Social Map of Aizawl Settlements



3.1.4.3 Services and Opportunities Map of Bawngkawn and Maubawk

Bawngkawn settlers have their own areas bank in their locality which is the state bank of India where the majority have their account and the locality people are making best use of it. One hospital is also there in their locality and for further health treatment, they can also go to their nearby hospital which is not far from their locality which is about four to five kilometers. For administrative works, they have to travel four kilometers away from their locality. Government and private schools are there in their areas. One Gorkhali primary school and one high school are also there in their locality. Two colleges are situated in their locality itself which is beneficial for the students. For the university, they have to approach the main University of Mizoram which is located at a distance of about fourteen kilometers and the other autonomous university is not far from their locality which is situated next to their locality only. For traveling outstation, they can get the vehicle from their locality itself.

The locality of Maubawk is not so near the main bazaar areas, they have to take the vehicle to go to many places. For health-related issues, the nearest hospital to their area is Aizawl hospital whereas the Government Civil hospital is at a distance of about forty minutes ride by car. For education purpose, the people of the locality have to go four to ten kilometers from their locality and the main university is fifteen kilometers far. With regards to the administrative work, the main offices are four kilometers and for financial related work, they have to approach banks of the same distance. For paying water, electric and television bills, they get it done within their locality. Main market areas are located at about five kilometers away and for petty needs; they can get it from their locality.

3.1.4.4 Daily Activities and Seasonal Calendar in Bawngkawn and Maubawk

Women usually get up early in the morning at around 5:30 am and the first thing they do is prepare food for the family. Since the Government has changed the school starting time a bit early than usual timing, women had to complete the meal as early as possible. They have to serve the family members and make the tiffin ready for them. Only then they used to have their own meal and do the cleaning part. And if they are working women, they had to rush to work only after the completion of household works. During day time they used to spend time with their nearby friends and by doing the important works of the house. Sometimes women used to spare their time in voluntary works for the community and for their association. Also, they had to prepare lunch for their family during day time if they stay at home and had to serve them as well. They got some time to rest and soon

after that, they had to start preparing food for dinner. When all the other family members return back home, they have their dinner together. Night time is the best time for them to take rest and watch television. They used to sleep at around 10:00 at night.

The seasonal calendar was conducted among the unemployed women of Bawngkawn because the number of employed women is less in number comparing to unemployed women. Like they have mentioned, that first week of January is the month of vacation for their school going children so they are free from all the daily works which they had to do everyday hurriedly. February and March are the month of examination for their children, the mother has to stay up with their children for moral support and help them in their studies in every possible way. Vacation starts from the last week of March and April for the school going children and at that time, women used to be quite free from their busy schedule and enjoy their time visiting their relatives and friends. From May to August is the rainy season and women are found to be busier in their household work, they do not get time even to go out from the house. In the meantime, they used to be involved in the social activities of their community and spend time working for their women association.

The month of September to November is a festive season and are quite busy celebrating the events with their family and friends. During the month of September, they used to celebrate Bishwakarma Puja, soon after this puja the next preparation is to celebrate the grand Durga puja and Diwali. This festival is one of the greatest celebration for the Hindu and everyone, especially women will try their best to give their children new clothes and shoes so that they enjoy the festival to the fullest. Buying new stuff has almost become a

tradition which is why the children used to ask for it whenever this occasion comes. But at the same time, some parents found it difficult to manage the festival due to financial problem. Thus, this festival brings happiness to the rich whereas sadness for the poor family.

The last month of the year is December where the women said that it is the month where they used to get some Christmas vacation. Since their children used to be free they spend time doing the household work, family get together and go out for some trips. Aizawl women spend most of their time with their family, looking after their children and their neighbor's friends. They do participate well in the activities also. The women of Maubawk are mostly unemployed and the rate of employment is very low due to which the activities that they perform are mostly the same. They get up early in the morning and first used to drink tea and have to make for the whole family. Then they have to prepare a meal for them and for the one who has to go out for works and schools. After the entire family members leave for their respective work, the women have to continue their household work.

During day time they get some spare time for themselves which includes going to the market. At the mean time, they use to visit their near and dear ones. If they are at home then they need to make lunch for the family and have to entertain their home visitor. In the evening they have to prepare a variety of food for dinner and continue to be in the kitchen. Some of them used to perform puja at home in the evening who do not have time to do in the morning. After that, each and every member of the house gather together and has their dinner. Once they are done with dinner, they relax and spend their time mostly with family by watching television.

The seasonal calendar was conducted among the unemployed women of Maubawk. As they talk January season it is the month of the holiday of their school-going children so they found to be free from all the daily works which they had to do everyday impulsively. The month of examination for their children is February and March where the mother has to stay with their children for moral support and help them in their studies. Last week of March and April is the period of vacation for the school going children and at that time women used to be quite free and enjoy their time visiting their relatives and friends. May to August is the month of the rainy season and spend most of their time at home. In the meantime, they are involved in the social activities of their community and spend time working for their community.

The month of September to November is the most awaited season for every family. Everyone is busy celebrating the events with their family and friends during this time of the year. Thus, festival sometimes brings happiness to the family, especially for the children. The last month of the year is December where the women assumed that it is the month where they used to get some holiday due to Christmas. Since their children used to be free they spend time doing the household work, family get together and went out for some trips. Aizawl women spend their valuable time mostly with their family in looking after their children and with their neighbors.

3.2 Methodology

In this section, the methodological aspects are presented in four sub sections. The first two subsections present the research problem in terms of objectives and hypotheses. In the third section, the research design is presented while in the fourth subsection, chapter scheme is presented.

3.2.1 Objectives

The following are the objectives of the present study.

1. To understand the cultural and social structural context of the Gorkhali women in North East India from an emic perspective.
2. To probe into the demographic, social and economic structural characteristics of Gorkhali women in North East India.
3. To assess the social capital endowment of women from a personal network perspective.
4. To assess the development of Gorkhali women in North East India.
5. To assess the relationship between social capital endowment and development of women.
6. To suggest measures for social work practice and social policy advocacy to promote women development in North East India.

3.2.2 Hypotheses

In order to provide focus the following hypotheses are formulated for the study:

1. There is intercity variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India.
2. There is interjati variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India.
3. There is intercity variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India.
4. There is intercity variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India.

5. There is interjati variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India.
6. There is interjati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India.
7. There is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women development.
8. There is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women happiness.

3.2.3 Research Design

The present study is descriptive in design and cross-sectional in nature. The study is based on primary data collected mainly through field survey with structured pre-tested personal interview schedule from the three major city cities of North East India. It also employs participatory and case study methods to supplement the quantitative data.

3.2.3.1 Sampling

The unit of the study was individual while the respondents were the adult Gorkhali women. The population of the study comprised of all the Gorkha women in North East India. A multi-stage sampling procedure has been used to select the cities, localities, households, and woman.

The first stage is a selection of the city. The three major cities of the region viz. Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl have been chosen purposively for the present study. The second stage is a selection of the Gorkhali settlements. The researcher has collected the socio-economic details of the Gorkhali settlements from the community leaders in all the three cities. In each of the cities, one core and one peripheral locality have been selected purposively. The

third stage is a selection of households. The lists of households of the selected localities have been compiled. From these lists, using systematic random sampling 50 households were drawn. In the selected household one married woman between the age group of (20-60 years) was selected at random and interviewed. Thus, the total sample size was 300.

3.4.3 Tools of Data Collection

Structured personal interview schedule was used for collecting data for the purpose of the present study. Before the actual data collection, a pilot study was conducted in all the settlements and in the light of that findings, the structured personal interview schedule was framed. It has been pre-tested again in all the settlements i.e. in Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl. The final survey was conducted in all the selected localities between the months of September and November 2013.

The interview schedule contains fourteen sections with a number of sub-sections. The major sections of the interview schedule are a demographic profile, socio-economic profile, social capital and women development (see appendix).

For the measurement of social capital the name generator, interpreter, and interrelator instruments have been used. From the social network perspective, social capital has been operationalized in terms of three dimensions. The first dimension composition social support network composition is measured with two composites of scores of homophily and heterogeneity. The second dimension network structure which is a composite of degree (size) and density of social support networks. The third dimension is the structural hole is composite of effective size and constraint. The aggregate

scores of each of these dimensions were derived from factor analysis with principal component analysis and from further factor analysis the measure of social capital was derived.

3.4.4 Operationalization of Social Capital and Women Development

For operationalizing women development, economic indicators and happiness were used. An economic indicator such as assets personally owned, monthly personal expenditure, personal savings, and annual personal income have been used. Factor analysis was used to derive an aggregate weighted composite score of women development. All the four items have more than 0.33 factors loading in the first factor.

The happiness of women is measured with the help of a modified Oxford Happiness questionnaire. It was having 29 items. Factor analysis with principal components method was used to select items from these 29 items. Only the items having more than 0.33 loading in first factor were included in the final measurement. Thus, only twelve items were selected and the other items were discarded. The weighted regression score derived from factor analysis was considered as the composite measure of women happiness.

The reliability of Happiness has been assessed with the help of Alpha and Guttman's split half methods. The Guttman Split-Half Coefficient was worked out to 0.622 while Alpha was computed to 0.75.

In order to understand the community contexts and women's challenges, the participatory methods such as social map, services and opportunities, seasonal calendar and daily activities schedule were conducted. In addition, case studies and focus group discussion are carried out for depth understanding of the developmental challenges of Gorkhali women.

3.4.5 Data Processing and Analysis

The data was collected through quantitative and qualitative means. Reverse scoring was undertaken for some of the items in happiness index scale. The quantitative data collected through the field survey was entered into a master chart after coding and further fed into an excel sheet. It was later imported into SPSS for statistical analysis. The data was cleaned and checked for errors and missing data. The data were processed with the help of computer packages of Microsoft Excel. For Personal Network Analysis, E-NET software was used. SPSS was used to analyze the conventional attribute based socio-economic data. The personal social network measures derived from E-NET such as socio economic composition, heterogeneity, homophily, structure hole etc., were analyzed with the help of SPSS. Factor analysis with principal component analysis was used for aggregation and weighting of the indicators and dimensions of social capital, women development, and happiness. To analyze the attribute data cross tabulation, averages and percentages were used. One way analysis of variation, Pearson's chi-square test, Cramer's V, Spearman's rho, and Karl Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients was also used for analysis of data.

This chapter has presented the setting and methodological aspects of the present study. In the light of that, the next chapter presents a discussion on the social background of respondents.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURAL BASES OF GORKHALI HOUSEHOLDS

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURAL BASES OF GORKHALI HOUSEHOLDS

The previous chapter describes the settings of the respondent's community and the methodology of the present study. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the demographic, social, as well as economic structural bases of the households and their members in the three Gorkhali settlements in North East India. It has been presented in four subsections viz. demographic characteristics, family structure, social structure, and economic structure.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics

The demographic profile includes age-group, educational status and marital status of the Gorkhali women in North East India (see table 4.1) with the total population of three hundred. In respect to the age-group of the members of the three localities, age group was classified into three categories namely early adulthood (18-35), late adulthood (35-59), and old age (60 above). It has been found out that more than half of the respondents fall into the second category i.e. late adulthood. The Gorkhali women of Aizawl have the highest number of late adulthood respondents with 63%, decrease towards Shillong with 61% and Guwahati with 54% of respondents which are the least one. Whereas in the second category which is the late adulthood, here it has been found out that the respondents in Guwahati have the highest of the two-third population followed by Aizawl and Shillong respondents respectively. Only some of the respondents fall under the old age category with only 1% in both locality viz., Guwahati and Aizawl while Shillong had a little more respondent with 4% as compared to the other two localities. As a whole, the

mean age of the Gorkhali women among the three cities were 40 years and that of the standard deviation was 55 years to its upper limit and 25 years to its lower limit.

The educational status of the respondents has been classified into six levels viz., illiterate, primary (1-4), middle (5-7), high (8-10), higher secondary (11-12), and graduate above. The number of education of the respondents was highest in the high school level of education. The Gorkhali women of Guwahati and Aizawl have the highest level of high school education (32%) while Shillong women the least one (23%). The second category is the middle school level where there is only a slight difference in their percentages. Here we can see that the respondents of Aizawl (35%) have the highest per cent followed by Guwahati (31%) and Shillong (14%) respondents. Shillong has the lowest level of high and middle education as compared to Aizawl and Guwahati respondents.

In the higher secondary Shillong have the highest number of respondents followed by Guwahati and Aizawl. In the same manner, the Gorkhali women of Shillong with two-fifth of the population have a higher level of graduate and above education than the other two groups which counts only one-fifth. Whereas Aizawl has the lowest level of higher secondary and graduate above education although there were only slight differences between the Gorkhali women of Aizawl and Guwahati. Therefore, the mean years of education of the respondents were nine standard and the standard deviation was four standard to graduate level of education.

The marital status of the community is classified into four groups viz., unmarried, married, divorced/separated and widow. The majority of the

respondents were under the married category in all the three cities which means almost all the Gorkhali women were married. The second highest group is the widowed group with a total number of eleven percentages of the population. The widowed respondent was highest in Guwahati respondents (15%) followed by Aizawl (11%) and Shillong the least one (7%). The unmarried respondents were high in Shillong respondents followed by Aizawl and Guwahati respectively. Whereas, the percentage of divorced/separated respondents was very less in all the three cities which was only one percent each in the three areas.

Table 4.1 Demographic Profile of Respondents

Sl.No	Characteristic	City			Total N = 300
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Age Group				
	Early Adulthood (18 – 35 Years)	45	35	36	116
	Late Adulthood (35 -59)	54	61	63	178
	Old Age (60 and Above)	1	4	1	6
	<i>Mean Age</i>	38 ±10	41±22	40±10	40±15
2	Educational Status				
	Illiterate	6	5	4	15
	Primary (1 - 4)	3	11	8	22
	Middle (5 - 8)	31	14	35	80
	High School (9 - 10)	32	23	32	87
	Higher Secondary (11 - 12)	12	22	9	43
	Graduate and Above	16	25	12	53
	<i>Mean Years of Education</i>	9 ± 4	9 ± 4	8 ± 3	9 ± 4
3	Marital Status				
	Unmarried	2	5	4	11
	Married	82	87	84	253
	Divorced/Separated	1	1	1	3
	Widowed	15	7	11	33

Source: Computed

Mean ± S.D

4.2 Family Structure

The family is one of the subsystems of a society. The structural attributes of family viz., type of family, the size of family, a form of family and gender of the head of the households are discussed in this section (see table 4.2).

The first component of the structure of the family is its type. There are two types of family observed in the contexts of Gorkhali community in and outside Mizoram. They are mainly joint and nuclear types of family. As regards this, nuclear family constitutes the higher percentage in all the settlements as compared to the joint family. Aizawl respondents have the highest number of the nuclear family which was 73% followed by Shillong with 71% and Guwahati has the lowest one with 62%. Whereas with regards to the joint family the result was opposite with the former one. The Gorkhali women of Guwahati have the highest number of the joint family followed by Shillong and Aizawl Gorkhali women respectively.

The second element of the family structure consists of its size. The size of the family has been classified into three categories viz., small (1-3), medium (4-6) and large (7 and above). The medium size of the family was the most dominant category and constitutes more than half of the population in all the settlements which were followed by the small and large size of the family. The respondents of Aizawl had the highest number of medium size of family 68% followed by Shillong with 61% and Guwahati the least one with 53%. While in the small size of the family the respondents of Guwahati had the highest number with 38% and Aizawl with the lowest at 24%. The large size of the family was less in all the three cities as compared to the other

two categories. But it was high among Guwahati Gorkhali women followed by Shillong and Aizawl Gorkhali women. Therefore, the mean size of the family was four and the standard deviation was two.

The third structural element of family studied is the form of family. In the context of Gorkhali respondents, the three forms of family are found namely stable, broken and reconstituted families. Almost all the respondents of the three cities fall under the stable form of family. The Gorkhali women of Guwahati have the highest level of a stable family with 98% and Aizawl with a slight difference of 97% where Shillong Gorkhali women have a least one with 91 per cent. The number of respondents with the constituted form of families was again high with Shillong respondents which were eight percent and it was lowest in the other two cities respondents. The broken family was very low in all the three cities with only one per cent of the respondents belongs to Guwahati and Shillong whereas we can see that the number was nil among Aizawl respondents.

The last element of the family structure was the gender of the head of the three Gorkhali cities household. Gorkha community is a patriarchal family where man is the head of the family. In the findings we found women headed family as well mainly due to the reason of widowhood and divorce. With reference to the head of the family in regards to the gender, it was found out that male-headed households are dominant in all the three cities. The Gorkhali women of Shillong and Aizawl have the highest ratio of the male-headed family (79 per cent) each and that of the Gorkhali women of Guwahati have less than the other two cities (66 per cent). On the other hand, the

respondents of Guwahati have the highest female-headed family and it was same as the respondents of Shillong and Aizawl (21 percent) respectively.

Table 4.2 Family Structural Bases of Respondents

Sl.No	Characteristic	City			Total N = 300
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Type of Family				
	Nuclear	62	71	73	206
	Joint	38	29	27	94
2	Size of Family				
	Small(1-3)	38	27	24	89
	Medium(4 -6)	53	61	68	182
	Large(7 and Above)	9	12	8	29
	<i>Mean size of family</i>	4 ± 2	5 ± 2	5 ± 2	4 ± 2
3	Form of Family				
	Stable	98	91	97	286
	Broken	1	1	0	2
	Reconstituted	1	8	3	12
4	Gender of Head				
	Male	66	79	79	224
	Female	34	21	21	76

Source: Computed

4.3 Social Structure Bases of the Community

The social structural characteristics such as religion and community are discussed below (see table 4.3).

Gorkha community belongs to Hindu religion and the result shows that the majority of the population belongs to Hinduism and only a few of them had been converted to Christianity. In Guwahati community, 100% of the respondent belongs to Hindu religion with no Christian religion. In the same manner, we had found out that only 2% of the respondents belong to Christianity in Shillong and the other 98% were Hindu. Therefore, the number of the Christian religion was high in Aizawl with 14% as compared to the other two communities. The Christian Gorkhali respondents do take part in the

community activities except on the religious activities. As we know that religious and community activity are very much related to each other due to which in many circumstances the Christian Gorkha respondent is not being able to participate actively.

Table 4.3 Social Structural Bases of Respondents

Sl.No	Characteristic	City			Total N = 300
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Religion				
	Hindu	100	98	86	284
	Christian	0	2	14	16
2	Jati Hierarchy				
	Brahmana	43	48	8	99
	Chhetry,Shahi,Pradhan,Ghart etc	41	27	38	106
	Rai,Limbu,Thapa,Tamang etc	16	23	36	75
	Bishwa,Sarki,Damai etc	0	2	18	20

Source: Computed

The social structure of the community was analyzed in terms of Jati hierarchy. The jati system has been categorized into four order viz., Brahmana at the highest level and in the second level are Chhetri, Pradhan, Gharti, Shahi/Thakuri etc. The third level is Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang, Gurung etc., and at the bottom, there were Bishwa, Sarki, Damai, Lohar, Sunar etc. The above classification is not the so-called classification given by the prominent people, in fact, it has been classified by the researcher according to the jati which is very much prevalent in the present world within the studied communities. From the findings, it has been found out that the most dominant category is the second category and followed by the Brahmana community with the least differences. Where Guwahati had the highest second category respondents (41%) followed by Aizawl (38%) and Shillong with the least one (27%). Shillong had the highest Brahmana community respondents (48%) and Aizawl with little of 8% respondents only. On the other hand, Aizawl had the

highest third category group (36%) and in the same way highest low category group (18%) whereas Guwahati least in both the category with 16% and 0% respectively. Guwahati and Shillong population has been concentrated in the first and second category community while Aizawl population in the last three groups.

4.4 Economic Characteristics

The discussion on economic characteristics is presented in terms of dependency, primary occupation, secondary occupation, socioeconomic category, and annual personal income (see table 4.4).

The dependency rate was very high among the respondents (70%) as compared to the earner rate (30%). It was highest with 72% of the Shillong respondents and only one per cent gap with Guwahati respondents which was 71% where Aizawl had a little of 67% respondents. While on the contrary, Aizawl had the highest earner respondents (33%) despite Guwahati and Shillong. Thus, there was not much distinction in dependency rate among the settlements and it was analyzed that Aizawl had the highest earner rate and Shillong with the highest dependent rate.

The primary occupation has been categorized into six groups viz., Skilled Labourer, Government Worker, Petty Business, Pensioner, Wage Labourer, Cultivator, and Large Business. As we mentioned above, the dependency rate was high (70%) which leads toward the low level of primary occupation. Respondents with skilled occupation were high in Shillong (14%) followed by Guwahati with fewer differences (12%) and much lesser with Aizawl respondents (9%). From the thirty per cent of the earner rate, the remaining around 18% of the respondents had been employed under

government workers, petty business, wage laborers, and pensioners. For many respondents, they had to depend on their pension sum as their primary income. Only a small per cent of the respondents had large business as their primary occupation (2%) only. There were no respondents who have had a secondary occupation as their income to support the family and themselves.

The socio-economic category of the household indicates its position in the class structure. It consists of two categories namely poor (BPL) and non-poor (APL). The majority of the respondents belong to the non-poor category and a very few of them are under the poor category. In all the three settlements, the non-poor category had crossed ninety percent of the population and only around six per cent of the respondents belong to the poor category according to the findings.

Table 4.4 Economic Structure of the Communities

Sl.No	Characteristic	City			Total N = 300
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Earner/Dependent				
	Earner	29	28	33	90
	Dependent	71	72	67	210
2	Primary Occupation				
	None	68	72	67	207
	Skilled Labourers	12	14	9	35
	Petty Business	10	3	8	21
	Govt. Workers	7	3	8	18
	Pensioner	2	3	6	11
	Wage Labourers	1	3	2	6
	Large Business	0	2	0	2
3	Secondary Occupation				
	None	100	100	100	300
4	Socio Economic Category				
	Poor(BPL)	4	8	7	19
	Non-poor (APL)	96	92	93	281

Source: Computed

4.5. Patterns of Living Conditions

In this section, the living condition of the community such as personal assets, household income, personal income, and personal expenditure are discussed below.

4.5.1 Personal Assets

In this study, the personal assets of the settlements include different kinds of materials viz., television, house, radio, furniture, jewels etc., (see table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Pattern of Personal Assets

Sl.No	Characteristic	City						Total N = 300	
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
1	House/Buildings	12000 (30)	45014	89000 (73)	348994	125000 (89)	447750	75333 (75)	331069
2	Jewels	25120 (63)	20517	21310 (17)	21468	13200 (9)	11324	19877 (20)	18953
3	Car	0 (0)	0	8000 (7)	54458	0 (0)	0	2667 (3)	31563
4	Television	1170 (3)	3496	880 (1)	4646	660 (0)	2212	903 (1)	3586
5	Two-wheeler	0 (0)	0	1850 (2)	9147	0 (0)	0	617 (1)	5335
6	Refrigerator	410 (1)	1970	200 (0)	2000	700 (0)	2549	437 (0)	2191
7	Household Utensils	510 (1)	2209	290 (0)	2066	300 (0)	1059	367 (0)	1847
8	Household Furniture	470 (1)	1642	120 (0)	624	490 (0)	1755	360 (0)	1439
9	Washing machine	0 (0)	0	100 (0)	1000	180 (0)	1274	93 (0)	935
10	Transistor	20 (0)	200	30 (0)	300	0 (0)	0	17 (0)	208
11	Assets Personally Owned	39700 (100)	54203	121780 (100)	382698	140530 (100)	454261	100670 (100)	345996

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

As regards the pattern of personal assets, the most predominant form of assets of the respondents was house/buildings and jewels in all the settlements.

Aizawl had the highest house/buildings personal assets and Guwahati had the least one. The mean amount of personal assets in the former settlements were Rs 125000 and that of in the latter was Rs 12000 respectively whereas a number of jewels are a little bit lesser than that of house assets. The mean value of jewels which was highest among Guwahati respondents Rs 25120 and least among Aizawl respondents Rs 13200. The total amount of the personal assets owned by the respondents are quite high and again here also Aizawl respondents had the highest personal assets (Rs 140530) followed by Shillong (Rs 121780) and Guwahati (Rs 39700). Therefore the mean amount of the three settlements as a whole was 100670, while, the standard deviation for the same was Rs 245326 to its lower limit and Rs 446666 to its upper limit.

4.5.2 Annual Household and Personal Income

In this section, income has been divided into two patterns namely annual household income and annual personal income of the settlements (see table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Annual Household and Personal Income

Sl. No	Characteristic	City						Total N = 300	
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
1	Annual Household Income	257700	215236	371820	416463	313360	459384	314293	380550
2	Annual Personal Income	38000	81677	55340	146450	92320	438973	61887	271344

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

The former one was much greater than the latter one. Shillong respondents had the highest annual household income (mean value Rs 371820) despite the other two settlements while Aizawl respondents had the highest annual personal income (mean value Rs 92320). On the contrary, Guwahati respondents had the lowest annual household income (mean value Rs 257700)

and annual household income (mean value Rs 38000) as well. The total mean annual household income of the three settlements respondent was 314293 and that of the annual personal income was 61887. Thus, the former one had a standard deviation of Rs 66257 and Rs 694843, whereas, the latter one had Rs 209457 and Rs 333231 respectively.

4.5.3 Pattern of Personal Expenditure

Expenditure is what someone is paying for something. The opposite of income and an amount of money spend. The items of monthly personal expenditure have been classified into five parts viz., transport & communication, mobile phone bill, cosmetics, recreation, health, and personal care (see table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Pattern of Monthly Personal Expenditure

Sl.No	Component	City						Total N = 300	
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
1	Transport & Communication	2203 (30)	1697	3140 (27)	6295	1695 (23)	1541	2346 (27)	3901
2	Mobile Phone Bill	1607 (22)	1229	2865 (25)	5435	2430 (33)	3053	2301 (26)	3693
3	Cosmetics	1367 (19)	1331	2490 (22)	5112	1907 (26)	1028	1921 (22)	3130
4	Recreation	1273 (18)	1367	1923 (17)	4089	723 (10)	713	1306 (15)	2562
5	Health and Personal Care	800 (11)	610	1065 (9)	2074	680 (9)	463	848 (10)	1282
6	Monthly Personal Expenditure	7250 (100)	4825	11483 (100)	21934	7435 (100)	4767	8723 (100)	13355

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

Since we had mentioned all the income part of the respondents in the above statement and now in this section, we are going to explain the monthly personal expenditure part. The expenditure of the respondents was high in the

transport and communication sector followed by mobile phone bill and the least one with the health and personal care. Shillong had a high expenditure in transport and communication sector (mean value Rs 3140) while Aizawl with the least amount (mean value Rs1695). Women spend high in this sector because they had to visit their maternal family and had to be in touch with them through mobile phones. While they spend less on health and personal care because they were still young and healthy to a certain extent. The total mean monthly personal expenditure of all the settlements was Rs 8723 and that of the standard deviation was Rs 4632 to its lower limit and Rs 22078 its upper limit.

In this chapter, the demographic, social and economic background of the respondents across the three major cities of North East India has been described. In the next chapter, the results on analyses of social capital and women development will be discussed.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT OF GORKHALI WOMEN

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT OF GORKHALI WOMEN

In the previous chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the socio-economic background of the respondents belonging to three major cities of North East India. In this chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the results of analysis of social capital, women development and relationship between social capital and women development. This chapter has been presented in terms of three sections. The first section discusses the results of analysis of social capital. In the second section, the women development has been discussed while the third section is devoted to discuss the bearing of social capital on development of Gorkhali women in the North East India.

5.1 Social Support Network and Social Capital

Social capital in the present study has been conceptualized from the perspective of the social network. Personal Network analysis or egocentric network analysis is used in the present study to assess social capital. Data on egocentric networks of the social support of the respondents were collected with the help of name generators and interpreters embedded in the interview schedule. The social support networks of the respondents were analyzed for their composition and structure. E-Net software (Borgatti, 2006) was used to analyze the egocentric social support network composition and structure. The statistical summary measures personal network derived from E-Net were further analyzed with the help of SPSS.

In this section, the findings of an analysis of social support networks of women respondents in terms of composition, structure and social capital endowment are discussed. The section is presented in terms of three broad

sub-sections. The first sub-section is devoted to discussing the composition of social support networks. The second sub-section presents a discussion on the structural aspects of social support networks. In the third sub-section, discussion on the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India is presented. In this sub-section, the results of testing of the first and second hypotheses are also discussed.

5.1.1 The composition of Personal Social Support Networks:

The composition of social support networks of respondents refers to the characteristic attributes of the alters in social support network. Alters are those who provide support or related to the actors (respondents). The composition of the personal networks of the respondents was analyzed in terms demographic, social, economic characteristics, respondents relationship with their alters, respondents closeness and types of social support. In this section, discussion on the results of the statistical analysis of network measures is presented in six subsections. The first subsection presents the demographic composition of personal social support networks. In the second subsection, the social and economic composition of the social support networks is discussed. The type of relationship and closeness in social support network are discussed in the third subsection. In the fourth subsection, the type of social support received is discussed. In the fifth section, the results of the analysis of heterogeneity measures are discussed. In the last section, discussion on the homophily measures is presented.

5.1.1.1 Demographic Composition of Personal Social Support Networks

The personal social support networks of the respondents are connected with different groups of people and have been analyzed with the demographic

composition (see table 5.1). The demographic composition of the respondent's networks is discussed in terms of gender, age and education. As these attributes are converted into percentages at the group level, the variation in them was discussed with one-way analysis of variance. For post hoc comparison least square difference was used wherever there are significant differences.

As regards gender, the personal social support networks are by and large composed of women and a few alters were men. There is no significant difference between the Cities in terms of the percentage of women in the social support networks. The computed F ratio for the intercity variation (2.59) in the percentage of women in the social support networks was not even significant at 5 per cent level.

However, the percentage of men in the social support networks of the respondents significantly differed between the three major cities of North East India. The computed F ratio (10.83) for intercity variation in the percentage of men was significant at 1 per cent level. The Gorkhali women in Shillong had a greater percentage of men in their personal networks as compared to those in Guwahati. On the other hand between the percentage of men in social support networks of the respondents in Guwahati and Aizawl, there is no significant difference. Likewise, there is no significant difference in the percentage of men in the social support network of the respondents in Shillong and Aizawl.

It had been found out that the male networks were significant where the computed F value was 10.83. Guwahati and Shillong respondents have

differences in the male networks as compared to Aizawl respondents. Besides those female networks was not significant at all.

The age of the alters in respondents social support networks is measured in terms of minimum, maximum, total and average at the individual network level. As Mean and Standard deviation of them were computed and intercity differences were assessed with one-way ANOVA and LSD. The age of the alters in the social support networks of the Gorkhali women varied significantly between the three cities. On the whole, it ranged from 32 years to 53 years. The minimum age of the alters was highest in Aizawl (35 Years), closely followed by Shillong (32) and Guwahati (29). The intercity differences in minimum age between Aizawl and Guwahati, Aizawl and Shillong, as well as Guwahati and Shillong were significant at 5 per cent level. Likewise, the average age of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents were also significantly different across the three cities Aizawl, Shillong, and Guwahati. The mean age of the alters in the social support network was highest in Aizawl, followed by Shillong and Guwahati. Between all pairs of the cities, there was a significant difference in the mean age.

The third characteristic is education which was measured in terms of a number of years. The mean years of education of the alter in the social support networks across the cities ranged from 6 to 12 years. In the minimum number of years of education of alters there is no significant intercity variation while in maximum, total, and an average number of years of education of alters there were significant variations between the cities. The average mean years of education of alters in the social support networks of the respondents

was higher in Shillong (10 Years) as compared to that of those in Guwahati and Aizawl (10 Years).

Table 5.1 Demographic Composition of Personal Social Support Networks

Sl.No	Characteristic	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Gender									
	Male	15 ^a	18	22 ^b	22	19 ^{ab}	22	19	20	10.83**
	Female	85 ^a	18	78 ^a	22	80 ^a	23	81	21	2.59
2	Age									
	Minimum	29	8	32	8	35	10	32	9	11.89**
	Maximum	51 ^a	10	53 ^{ab}	11	55 ^b	13	53	11	10.42**
	Total	208 ^a	80	193 ^a	90	153	77	185	85	3.14*
	Average	39	7	42	7	44	9	42	8	3.22*
3	Education									
	Minimum	6 ^a	4	7 ^a	4	6 ^a	3	6	3	1.36
	Maximum	12 ^a	3	13 ^a	2	11	3	12	3	10.98**
	Total	52 ^a	23	48 ^a	25	31	17	44	24	25.18**
	Average	9 ^a	2	10	2	9 ^a	2	10	2	8.54**

Source: Computed ** P <0.01 *P < 0.05 Mean ± S.D

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.1.1.2 Social and Economic Composition of Personal Social Support Networks

The social and economic composition of personal social support networks is analyzed in terms of Jati hierarchy, ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic category (see table 5.2).

The first social characteristic of social composition studied here is jati hierarchy. Among the Gorkhas in North East India, the society is organized in terms of a number of the endogamous tribe like Jati groups. They are ordered into four hierarchical categories. On the top, we see the Brahmanas. The next in the order is the Jatis of Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc. In third place, the tribe's like Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc. are placed. The jatis such as Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc. are placed in the lowest ladder of jati hierarchy.

The jati composition of the social support network of the respondents reflects the social hierarchy in Shillong and Guwahati. Most of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents in Shillong and Guwahati belonged to the BrahmanaJati which occupies the top of the hierarchy. In these two states then comes the next category in the jati hierarchy i.e. Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc, which is followed by Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc. The respondents of the jati group of Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., were occupying the next position. Those who don't belong to these categories are still lesser in the social support networks as alters. In the social support networks of the respondents from Aizawl, the mean percentage of the Brahmanas was less yet for other categories the order was intact.

All the four jati categories had significant intercity differences and only the last category i.e. others was not significant. The average percentage of Brahmana alters in the social support networks of the respondents is higher in Shillong (42%) and Guwahati (41%) as compared to Aizawl (7%). Between the former two, there is no significant difference in the percentage of the mean percentage of Brahmana alters in the respondent's social support networks. The percentage of alters in the social support networks belonging to the Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc. the category was highest in Guwahati (37%), followed by Aizawl (32%) and Shillong (26%). However, between Guwahati and Aizawl, the mean differences in the percentage of the alters belonging to the second level is not significant. Likewise, between Shillong and Aizawl also there was no significant difference in the percentage of alters in the social support networks of the respondent.

The percentage of Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc. who belong to the third layer of jati hierarchy among the Gorkhals is higher in Aizawl (36%) as compared to Guwahati (15%) and Shillong (18%). Between the respondents of the latter two cities, there is no significant difference in their presence of the members of the third layer of the jati hierarchy. A similar pattern of intercity variation in the presence of the Jatis of the fourth layer viz., Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc. could be observed. The percentage of them in the social support networks of the respondents as alters is highest in Aizawl (17%), followed by Shillong (4%) and Guwahati (2%) could be observed. However, between the respondents of the latter two cities, there is no significant difference in their presence of the members of the fourth layer of the jati hierarchy

The second characteristic of the social composition of a social support network of the respondents taken up for discussion is ethnicity. In the context of the three north eastern cities studied eight ethnic groups were found among the alters of the personal networks of the respondents. They were Gorkhali, Assamese, Khasi, Bengali, Muslim, Punjabi, Manipuri and Mizo. A vast majority of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belonged to the Gorkhali ethnic group invariably across the three cities studied. Hence, the presence of the members of the other ethnic groups was found to be marginal. Only 9 per cent of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belonged to the other ethnicities.

Interestingly, in the respondents, social support networks the presence of the majority ethnic groups such as Assamese, Khasi, and Mizo could be seen in the respective states. In the social support networks of the respondents in Aizawl, the presence of the majority ethnic group is greater (6%) which is

followed by Khasis in Shillong (5%) and Assamese (5%). However, on an average of 1 to 2 per cent of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belong to the Bengali community.

The third characteristic of the social composition of a social support network of the respondents is religion. The alters in the social support networks belong to three religious groups viz., Hindu, Christian, and Muslim. A vast majority of the alters in social support networks of the respondents belongs to the Hindu religion and only a few of alters in the social support networks of the respondents were Muslims (5%). The respondents of Guwahati (99%) have the highest alters in social support networks which is the first category of religion followed by Shillong (93%) and Aizawl (86%) respectively. Aizawl (26%) respondents have the highest Christian alters percentage in social support networks follow by Shillong (13%), on the contrary, Guwahati has no alter in this category. Henceforth, on an average 1 to 5 per cent of the alters in social support networks of the respondents belong to the Muslim religion.

In the fourth characteristic observed is the socio-economic category of the alters in the social support networks in the three cities correspondingly. The socio-economic category has been classified into two group's viz., poor and non-poor category. The result of the analysis highlight that the majority of the respondents alters in social support networks belong to the non-poor category and only a few of them are under the poor category. In all the cities a vast majority of the alters in the social support network belong to the non-poor category. There is a significant difference in the socio-economic category composition of the alters in the social support network of the alters. In Aizawl

(99%) most of the alters in the social support networks belong to the non-poor category. Likewise, in Shillong (98%) and Guwahati (97%), most of the alters belonged to the non-poor category.

Table 5.2 Social and Economic Composition of Personal Social Support Networks

Sl. No	Characteristic	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Jati Hierarchy (Community)									
	Brahmana	41 ^a	33	42 ^a	35	7	20	30	34	45.2**
	Chhetry,Shahi,Pradhan, Gharti etc.	37 ^a	30	26 ^b	28	32 ^{ab}	35	32	32	3.6*
	Rai,Limbu,Thapa, Tamang etc.	15 ^a	24	18 ^a	27	36	37	23	31	15.8**
	Bishwa,Sarki,Damai etc.	2 ^a	8	4 ^a	12	17	31	7	21	16.3**
	Others	6 ^a	12	10 ^a	16	8 ^a	17	8	15	1.9
2	Ethnicity									
	Gorkhali	92	15	89	17	91	20	91	17	0.6
	Assamese	5	10	1 ^a	4	0 ^a	2	2	7	14.2**
	Khasi	0 ^a	2	5	10	0 ^a	0	2	6	21.5**
	Bengali	2	9	3	8	1	9	2	9	1.5
	Muslim	0	4	1	5	0	2	1	4	2.0
	Punjabi	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.9
	Manipuri	0	2	0	0	1	4	0	2	1.0
	Mizo	0 ^a	0	0 ^a	3	6	15	2	9	14.6**
3	Religion									
	Hindu	99	4	93	16	86	27	93	19	13.5**
	Christian	0	1	6	13	12	26	6	17	13.4**
	Muslim	1	4	2	7	1	5	1	5	1.1
4	Socio Economic Category									
	Poor	3 ^a	8	2 ^a	7	0 ^a	3	2 ^a	7	2.9
	Non-poor	97 ^a	8	98 ^a	7	99 ^a	10	98 ^a	9	0.5

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.1.1.3 Patterns of Relationship and Closeness in Social Support Network

The first characteristic illustrates the type of relationships of the respondents with their alters. Six types of relations viz., kin, friend, neighbor, community leader, land lord/lady and none were found. Of this kinship,

friendship and neighborhood were the three major sources of social support to respondents. Among the three types of relationship, Kins constituted the majority of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents (see table 5.3).

The social support networks of the respondents are concentrated with the kins or relatives of the respondents. Among the three cities, the Gorkhali women of Aizawl (65.5%) have the highest percentage of alters in social support networks followed by Shilong (51.6%) and Guwahati (45.8%) respectively.

The second highest percentage of alters in the social support networks of the respondents were the friends of the respondents. The result is exactly the opposite of the kin relationships where in this friend relationship it has been found out that Guwahati (37.5%) have the highest alters in social support networks of the respondents precede by Shillong (19.7%) and Aizawl (18.4%).

The third highest percentage of alters in the social support networks of respondents are their neighbours Aizawl the highest followed by Shillong and Guwahati. The same kind of findings has been found out in Li, Pickles and Savage (2005) studies, where the unofficial social networks groups have more neighbourly closeness than the official groups. Whereas in the last three relationships which are the community leader, landlord and the none group, Shillong Gorkhali women have the highest social support networks as compared to the other two cities.

The second characteristics of the alters in the social network of respondents is the closeness of the Gorkhali women with them. The level of closeness of their relationship is measured with the five-point scale Viz., not

close at all (0), not very close (1), somewhat close (2), close (3) and very close (4).

The respondent's closeness with their alters in social support networks is analyzed with minimum, maximum and the average at the network level. The results show that the respondents had a very close relationship with the alters in their social support networks. The closeness measure ranges between 3.4 and 3.9 (Close to Very close). The overall average 3.7 shows that most of the respondents were very close to their alters. There was intercity variation in closeness between the respondents and their alters. The respondents in Aizawl are closer to their alters as compared to those in Shillong and Guwahati while between the latter there is no significant difference found.

Table 5.3 Respondent's Relationship and Closeness with their Alters

Sl.No	Characteristic	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Relationship									
	Kin	46.8 ^a	29.4	51.6 ^a	30.4	66.5	33.0	55.0	32.0	11.0**
	Friend	37.5	29.5	19.7 ^a	23.1	18.4 ^a	26.5	25.2	27.8	16.2**
	Neighbour	13.9 ^a	16.9	20.4	25.2	11.0 ^a	21.1	15.1	21.6	5.2**
	Community Leader	.9 ^a	3.9	4.5	12.3	1.7 ^a	7.3	2.4	8.7	5.1**
	Land Lord/Lady	.2 ^a	2.0	3.0 ^b	10.0	1.3 ^a _b	5.7	1.5	6.8	4.5**
	None	.7 ^a	4.4	.7 ^a	4.7 _a	.1 ^a	1.4	.5	3.8	0.7
2	Closeness									
	Minimum	3.4 ^a	.6	3.2	.7	3.6 ^a	.7	3.4	.7	10.1**
	Maximum	3.8 ^a	.4	3.9 ^a	.3	4.0	.0	3.9	.3	10.4**
	Average	3.6 ^a	.4	3.6 ^a	.4	3.9	.2	3.7	.4	17.4**

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.1.1.4 Patterns of Social Support: Type of Support Received

In this subsection, the patterns of types of social support received by the Gorkhali women respondents as well as their trust with their alters in the social support network in the three cities have been discussed (see table 5.4).

Three types of social support viz., emotional, financial and informational were assessed. Among the three types of social support, the emotional social support is at the top followed by financial, and information support respectively in all the cities. There is no difference in the pattern between the respondents across these three cities of north east India.

However, there is the difference in the availability of the support. The F ratios of intercity variation in emotional (13.8), financial (14.8) and informational (9.8) support are significant at 1 per cent level. The percentage of alters offering emotion support in the social support network is highest in Guwahati (74.9%) followed by Aizawl (65.8%) and Shillong (57.4%). However, the percentage of alters offering financial and informational support are highest in Aizawl followed by Shillong and Guwahati.

Table 5.4 Patterns of Social Support

Sl.No	Type of Support	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Emotional	74.9	20.4	57.4	24.9	66.8	25.2	66.4	24.6	13.8**
2	Financial	28.3 ^a	24.1	35.2 ^a	23.5	48.2	30.9	37.2	27.6	14.8**
3	Information	20.8	22.2	29.1	23.4	37.4	32.7	29.1	27.3	9.8**
4	Trust	15.9	17.5	25.0	21.8	32.0	26.7	24.3	23.2	13.0**

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.1.1.5 Heterogeneity in Social Support Networks of Respondents

The heterogeneity in social support networks of the respondents has been assessed with respect to the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the alters. When the characteristics are categorical variables as in case of gender, ethnicity, jati, and socio-economic category the heterogeneity of the social support networks were measured with two viz., Het (Herfindahl, Hirschman, Blau heterogeneity measure)ⁱ and IQV (Index of qualitative variation)ⁱⁱ. On the other hand, the heterogeneity of the alters in the social networks is measured in terms of standard deviation (SD) when the variables are continuous. In the present study age and education were continuous variable assessed in terms of a number of years. Het and IQV measures are in the range of 0 and 1. The value closer to zero indicates that the network is homogeneous while its proximity to 1 show that it is perfectly heterogeneous. In the present subsection, the heterogeneity of alters is assessed for gender, age, education, community, ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic category (see table 5.5).

The social support networks of the Gorkhali women respondents were found to be homogeneous in all most of the demographic, social and economic characteristics. The only exception being the Jati of the alters. Both the measures of heterogeneity are closer to 1 in all the three cities viz., Aizawl (0.56), Shillong (0.71) and Guwahati (0.68).

Of the seven measures heterogeneity in social support networks of the respondents only three characteristics viz., jati, religion, and socio-economic category have significant intercity variations. In jati heterogeneity of the alters,

Shillong (0.71) had the highest index value followed by Guwahati (0.68) and Aizawl (0.56) respectively (see figure 5.1).

Table 5.5 Heterogeneity in Social Support Networks of Respondents

Sl.No	Characteristic/ Measure	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Gender									
	Het	.19 ^a	.20	.25 ^a	.20	.22 ^a	.22	.22	.21	2.06
	IQV	.38 ^a	.41	.50 ^a	.41	.44 ^a	.43	.44	.42	2.07
2	Age									
	SD	7.81 ^a	3.77	7.82 ^a	4.48	8.07 ^a	5.53	7.90	4.63	0.10
3	Education									
	SD	2.32 ^a	1.24	2.35 ^a	1.47	2.03 ^a	1.39	2.23	1.37	1.69
4	Community (Jati Hierarchy)									
	Het	.40 ^a	.21	.41 ^a	.22	.30	.25	.37	.23	6.18**
	IQV	.68	.34	.71	.36	.56	.44	.65	.39	4.48**
5	Ethnicity									
	Het	.11 ^a	.19 ^a	.15 ^a	.22	.10 ^a	.18	.12	.20	2.15
	IQV	.20 ^a	.33	.26 ^a	.37	.18 ^a	.35	.22	.35	1.44
6	Religion									
	Het	.01	.06	.09 ^a	.17	.10	.18	.06 ^a	.15	10.97**
	IQV	.02	.12	.17	.32	.20	.35	.13	.29	11.10**
7	Socio Economic Category									
	Het	.04 ^a	.11	.02 ^{ab}	.09	.01 ^b	.04	.02	.09	3.06*
	IQV	.07 ^a	.23	.05 ^{ab}	.18	.01 ^b	.09	.04	.18	3.06*

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

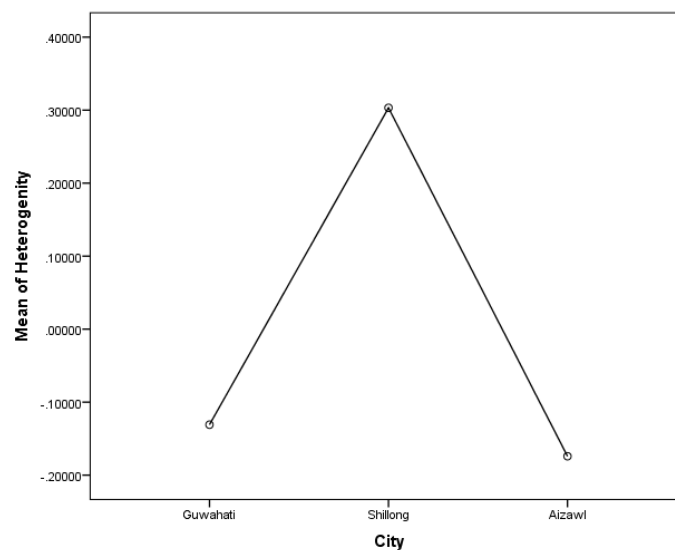
P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

Therefore, between them there are significant variations could be observed. The jati heterogeneity of the alters is higher in Shillong as compared to Guwahati and Aizawl and between the latter two the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belonging to Guwahati have greater jati heterogeneity. As the religious homogeneity, it is highest in Guwahati (0.01) as compared to Shillong (0.09) and Aizawl (0.10) and between the latter two cities, the religious homogeneity is greater among the alters in the social support networks of respondents in Shillong. As regards the socio economic

diversity, it is highest among the alters in the social support networks of the respondents in Aizawl as compared to those in Guwahati. Between the social support networks of respondents in Aizawl and Shillong, there is no significant difference in the homogeneity among the alters in the social support networks. However, there is no significant difference between the socio-economic homogeneity among the alters in the social support networks of the respondents in Guwahati and Shillong.

Figure 5.1 City of Domicile and Heterogeneity



5.1.1.6 Homophily in Social Support Networks of Respondents

Homophily is another measure of the composition of social networks. It measures the similarity of the actors and alters in their specific attribute or characteristic. Monge and Contractor (2003) summarized two main lines of reasoning that support the theory of homophily, including Byrne's (1971) similarity-attraction hypothesis and Turner's (1987) theory of self-categorization. The similarity-attraction hypothesis predicts that people are more likely to interact with those with whom they share similar traits. The theory of self-categorization proposes that people tend to self-categorize themselves and others

in terms of race, gender, age, education, etc., and that they use these categories to further differentiate between similar and dissimilar others.

The homophily in social support networks of the respondents has been assessed in terms of three measures viz., average Euclidian distance, same proportion, and E-I indexⁱⁱⁱ. Same Proportion and E-I index were computed for categorical attributes such as gender, jati, ethnicity, religion and socio economic category. The average Euclidian distance was computed for continuous variables such as age and years of education. E-I Index varies between -1 (homophily) and +1 (heterophily) while the same proportion varies between 0% (heterophily) and 100 per cent (homophily). Their indices were analyzed for their intercity variation with one-way analysis of variance and LSD (see table 5.6).

The social support networks of the respondents across the three north eastern states are homophilous in terms of gender, jati, religion, ethnicity and socio economic category. Only in age and education, heterophily could be seen in the social support networks of the respondents. In age and education, there seems to be heterophily. In age, the average squared Euclidian distance was worked out to 194.5. Similarly, the average squared Euclidian distance value for education was worked out to 18.1 years. On the whole, in terms of gender 81 per cent of the alters in the social support networks were of the same gender as that of the respondents. The E-I index was worked out to -0.5. In Jati terms, most of the alters in the social support network belong to the same category as that of the respondents. The E-I index was worked out to -0.1. In terms of ethnicity, 91 percent of the alters belongs to the same ethnicity as that of the actors (respondents). The E-I index was worked out to -0.80. More

than 90 per cent of alters of the respondents belongs to the same religion as that of the respondents. The overall E-I index was worked out to -0.8. In the socio-economic category, 92.3 of the alters belonged to the same strata as that of the respondent. The overall E-I index was worked out to -0.8.

Table 5.6 Homophily in Social Support Networks of Respondents

Sl.No	Characteristic/ Measure	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Gender									
	Same Proportion	85.3 ^a	17.6	78.2 ^b	21.6	80.40 ^{ab}	21.49	81.3	20.5	3.2*
	E-I	-0.7	0.4	-0.6	0.4	-0.60	0.43	-0.6	0.4	3.2*
2	Age									
	Average Euclidian Distance	136.9	140	201.2 ^a	175.0	246.11 ^a	279.59	194.6	210.7	7.0**
3	Education									
	Average Euclidian Distance	14.5 ^a	16.5	21.1 ^a	25.5	18.66 ^a	21.27	18.1	21.5	2.4
4	Community (Jati Hierarchy)									
	Same Proportion	53.8 ^a	30.8	58.4 ^a	29.3	55.82 ^a	36.08	56.0	32.1	0.5
	E-I	-0.1	0.6	-0.2	0.6	-0.11	0.72	-0.1	0.6	0.5
5	Ethnicity									
	Same Proportion	91.9 ^a	15.2	89.2 ^a	16.6	91.38 ^a	18.10	90.8	16.7	0.7
	E-I	-0.8 ^a	0.3	-0.8 ^a	0.3	-0.83 ^a	0.36	-0.8	0.3	0.7
6	Religion									
	Same Proportion	99.3	4.2	92.0	17.9	85.44	27.55	92.3	19.8	13.2**
	E-I	-1.0	0.1	-0.8	0.4	-0.71	0.55	-0.8	0.4	13.2**
7	Socio Economic Category									
	Same Proportion	93.4 ^a	20.9	91.3 ^a	26.1	92.35 ^a	25.83	92.3	24.3	0.2
	E-I	-0.9 ^a	0.4	-0.8 ^a	0.5	-0.85 ^a	0.52	-0.8	0.5	0.2

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

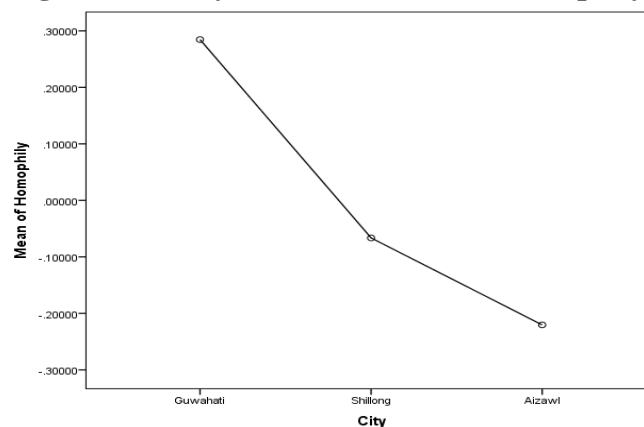
P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

Intercity variation in homophily could be observed in terms of gender, age, hierarchy, religion and socio-economic category. On the other hand, no such significant difference could be observed in homophily with regard to education, jati, ethnicity or socio-economic category. The social support networks of the respondents from Guwahati are more homophilous as compared

to those in Shillong. But they are not significantly different from those in Aizawl. However, between Shillong and Aizawl, there is no significant difference in gender homophily. The social support networks of respondents in Shillong and Aizawl are more homophilous as compared those in Guwahati in age. In terms of religion, the social support networks of the respondents in Guwahati are more homophilous as compared to those in Aizawl and Shillong. Between the latter two, those in Shillong have more homophilous social support networks as compared those in Aizawl (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 City of Domicile and Homophily

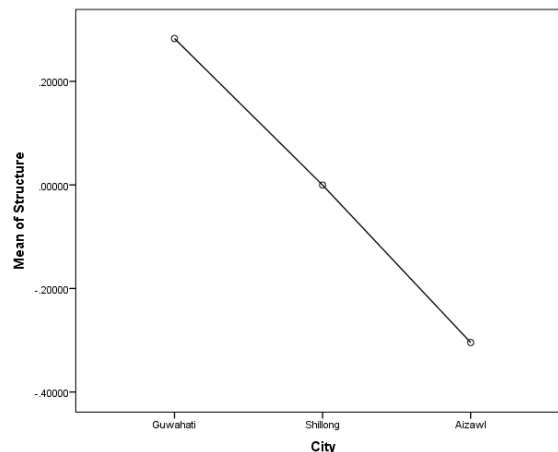


5.1.2 Structure of Personal Social Support Networks

In this section structure of the relationship between the actors and alters is discussed in terms of two set of indicators. The first set of measures is called by Stephen Borgatti (1998) as standard external ego-network measures for social capital at the individual level. Two of such measures viz., size, and density are discussed here. They second type of measures is structural hole measures proposed by Burt (1992) viz., effective size and constraint. Intercity variations in these measures are discussed as under. These measures were computed in each of the respondents and analyzed for their intercity variation (see table 5.7).

The degree is the first measure of the structure of social support network of the respondents. Size/ Degree is the number of alters that an ego (respondent) is directly connected. It is supposed to have positively related to social capital. The more people one has relationships with, the greater the chance that one of them has the resource she needs (Borgati 1998). There was a significant intercity variation in the size of social support network. The size of a social support network of the respondents was highest in Guwahati (5.57) followed by Shillong (4.73) and Aizawl (3.7) respectively. The mean differences in the size of social support networks between Guwahati and Shillong, Shillong and Aizawl, as well as Guwahati and Aizawl were significant (see figure 5.3).

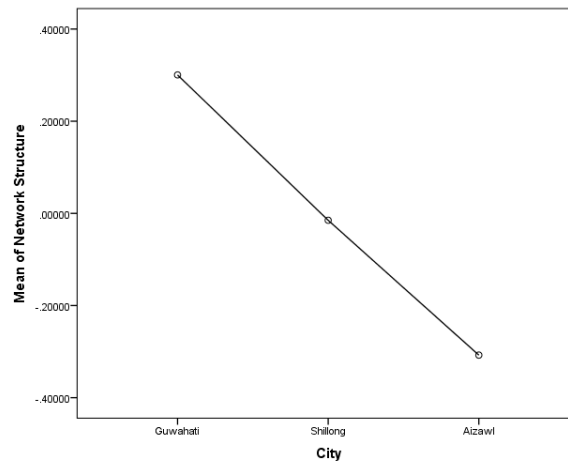
Figure 5.3 City and Structure



The second measure of the structure of social support network is density. It measures the proportion of pairs of alters who are connected (Burt, 1983). The relationship of density with social capital is negative. If all the alters of an actor are tied to each other, they are redundant (Borgatti 1998). There is no significant intercity variation in the density of the social support

network of the respondents. It was worked to 0.48 in Guwahati and Shillong. It was 0.47 in Aizawl (see figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4 City and Network Structure

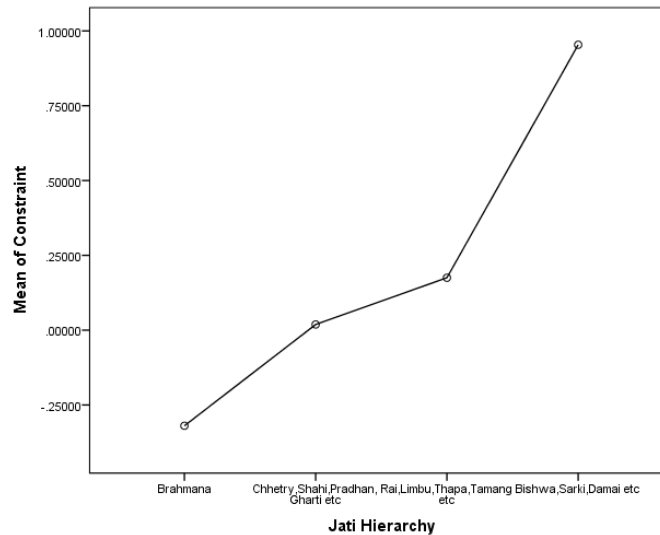


The structural hole means the separation between nonredundant contacts. Nonredundant contacts are connected by a structural hole. Nonredundant means contacts that lead to people outside your current network. A structural hole is a relationship of non-redundancy between two contacts. The hole is a buffer, as an insulator in an electric circuit. As a result of the hole between them, the two contacts provide network benefits that are in some degree additive rather than overlapping (Burt, 2015). Burt has proposed two measures of the structural hole as indices of social capital. They are effective size and constraint. These two are assessed for their intercity variation.

Effective size is the third measure of structure and social capital discussed here. Effective size is the number of alters, weighted by strength of tie, that an ego is directly connected to, minus a "redundancy" factor. The contribution of effective size to social capital is positive. The more different regions of the network an actor have ties with, the greater the potential information and control benefits (Burt, 1992). There is no significant intercity

variation in the effective size of the social support networks of the respondents. It was highest in Shillong (1.19) closely followed by Guwahati (1.17), and Aizawl (1.15).

Figure 5.5 Jati Hierarchy and Constraints



The constraint is the fourth measure of social capital discussed here. Constraint measures the extents to which all of the ego's relational investments directly or indirectly involve a single alter (Burt, 1992). The contribution of constraint to social capital is negative. The more constrained the actor, the fewer opportunities for action (Borgatti 1998). The results of one-way analysis of variance indicate that there is significant intercity variation in structural constraint in the social support networks of the respondents. It was highest in Aizawl (0.82), followed by Shillong (0.72) and Guwahati (0.62) respectively. Between Aizawl and Shillong, Shillong and Guwahati, as well as Aizawl and Guwahati significant mean differences in constraint, could be observed (see figure 5.5).

Table 5.7 Structural Hole Measures: Personal Social Support Networks

Sl.No	Measure	City						Total N = 300		F
		Guwahati n = 100		Shillong n = 100		Aizawl n = 100		Mean	S.D	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D			
1	Degree	5.57	1.86	4.73	1.95	3.70	1.43	4.69	1.92	25.97**
2	Density	0.48 ^a	0.08	0.48 ^a	0.07	0.47 ^a	0.10	0.48	0.09	0.42
3	Effective Size	1.17 ^a	0.69	1.19 ^a	0.73	1.15 ^a	0.48	1.17	0.64	0.11
4	Constraint	0.62	0.19	0.72	0.22	0.82	0.22	0.72	0.22	20.82**

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

Typical egocentric social support networks with the average degree, density, effective size, and constraint are depicted in Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8.

Figure 5.6 Social Support Network of a Typical Gorkhali Woman in

Guwahati

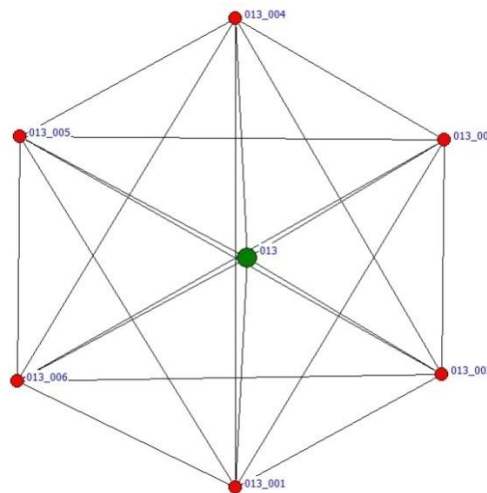


Figure 5.6 shows a typical social support network of a Gorkhali woman in Guwahati. The size (degree) of 6 alters. Its density was worked out to 0.5. It means that the network has only half its potential connections. Its effective size was computed to 1 while constraint was 0.5. The effective size of the network seems to be very low while the constraint seems to be high.

Figure 5.7 Social Support Network of a Typical Gorkhali Woman in Shillong

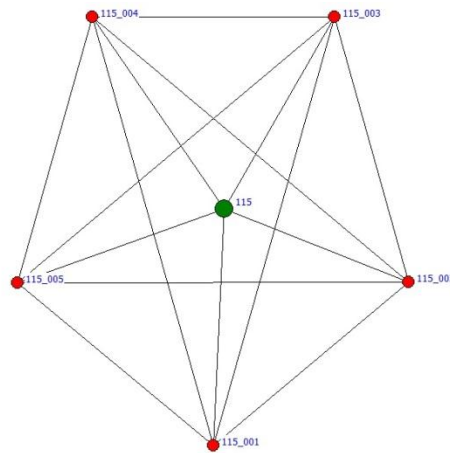
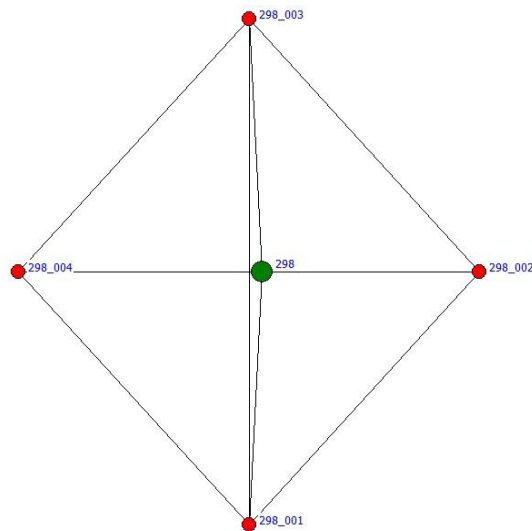


Figure 5.7 depicts a representative social support network of a Gorkhali woman in Shillong. The size of the social support network was worked to 5. Its density was computed to 0.5. The effective size was worked out to 1 while its constraint was 0.7. As compared to the former network its size was smaller while density was same. Though the effective size of this network and that in Guwahati was same, the constraint is higher.

Figures 5.8 Social Support Network of a Typical Gorkhali Woman in Aizawl



The above figure number 5.8 visualizes a typical egocentric social support network of a Gorkhali woman in Aizawl. The size of the network was worked

out to 4. The density of it was worked out to 0.5. Its effective size was 1 while constraint was 0.8. As compared to the typical social support networks in Guwahati and Aizawl, the social support network of Gorkhali women in Aizawl are smaller and more constrained though the effective size was similar.

5.1.3 Social Capital Endowment

In the earlier two sections, the composition and structure of social support networks have been discussed in a discrete fashion individually. In this section an attempt has been made to aggregate them and discuss their intercity and inter jati variation.

Social capital in the present study is measured in terms of compositional and structural measures of networks. The compositional measures include homophily and heterogeneity while the structural measures include size, density, effective size, and constraint. As homophily, heterogeneity and structure involve a number of indicators factor analysis with principal components method has been used to derive weighted aggregate factor scores. Weighted aggregate scores of homophily and heterogeneity were factor analyzed and network composition measure was derived. Factor analyzing size and density measures network structure score was derived. Similarly, factor analyzing the constraint and effective size structural hole was derived. Factor analyzing the network composition, network structure and structural hole social capital measure was derived (tables derived from factor analysis presented in the appendix). These all summary measures of social capital were analyzed for their intercity and inter jati variations.

This subsection is presented in terms of six clauses. The first clause presents the intercity variation in social capital, intercity differences in levels

of social capital has been discussed in the second clause. The relationship between jati hierarchy and the social capital endowment is discussed in the third clause. In the fourth clause, inter jati differences in levels of social capital is discussed. In the fifth clause, the patterns of relationship between the dimensions and indicators of social capital are discussed. The demographic correlates of the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women have been discussed in the last clause.

5.1.3.1 Intercity Variation in Social Capital

The first hypothesis of the present study reads that there is intercity variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India. This hypothesis has been tested with one-way analysis of variance of social capital measure derived. The computed F ratio for intercity variation in Social Capital (1.32) was not even significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted (see table 5.8).

However, in both of dimensions viz., Composition of Social Support Network as well as Structure of networks significant intercity variation could be observed. In a composite measure of the composition of social support network and its both constituents homophily and heterogeneity, significant intercity variation could be observed. The composite index of the composition of social support networks of the respondents was in case of Guwahati (0.24), followed by Aizawl (-0.03) and Shillong (-0.21) respectively. Between Guwahati and Aizawl, the mean difference was not significant. It means that the social support networks of the respondents in Guwahati and Aizawl are

more diverse as compared to those in Shillong. Composite homophily was highest in Guwahati (0.28) which is followed by Shillong (-0.07) and Aizawl (-0.22) respectively. Between the latter two cities, there is no significant variation in homophily. Thus the respondents in Guwahati have higher homophily as compared to those in Shillong and Aizawl.

Similarly, a significant intercity variation could be observed in the structure of social support networks and both of its measures viz., structural hole and network structure. In the structural index of social capital, the respondents in Guwahati (0.28) had the highest score, followed by Shillong (0.00) and Aizawl (-0.30). There are significant mean differences in the structure of social support networks between Guwahati and Shillong, Shillong and Aizawl as well as Aizawl and Guwahati. In terms of network structure, social capital was highest in Guwahati (0.30), followed by Shillong (-0.2) and Aizawl (-0.31). In terms of structural hole, social capital was highest for the respondents belonging to Guwahati (0.26), followed by Shillong (0.01) and Aizawl (-0.30).

Table 5.8 Intercity Variation in Social Capital

Sl.No	Measure	Guwahati n = 97		Shillong n = 97		Aizawl n = 90		F
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	
1	Composition	0.24 ^a	0.75	-0.21	0.95	-0.03 ^a	1.21	5.33**
	Homophily	0.28	0.66	-0.07 ^a	0.95	-0.22 ^a	1.25	6.94**
	Heterogeneity	-0.13 ^a	0.79	0.30	0.91	-0.17 ^a	1.20	7.25**
2	Structure	0.28	0.94	0.00	1.05	-0.30	0.93	8.47**
	Network Structure	0.30	0.95	-0.02	1.01	-0.31	0.96	9.14**
	Structural Hole	0.26 ^a	0.94	0.01 ^a	1.08	-0.30	0.89	7.52**
	Social Capital	-0.02 ^a	0.83	0.12 ^a	1.03	-0.11 ^a	1.12	1.32

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.1.3.2 Inter City Differences in Levels of Social Capital

The composite social capital measure was classified into four groups using visual binning method (Mean \pm SD) available in the transformation menu of SPSS package. The four levels are Very Low (≤ -1.00000), Low ($-.99999 - .00000$), Moderate ($.00001 - 1.00000$) and High ($1.00001+$). The differences in the levels of social capital between the three cities have been discussed here (see table 5.9).

Table 5.9 City and Level of Social Capital

Sl.No	Level of Social Capital	City			Total N = 300
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Very Low (≤ -1.00000)	9 (9.3)	13 (13.4)	20 (22.2)	42 (14.8)
2	Low ($-.99999 - .00000$)	43 (44.3)	31 (32.0)	34 (37.8)	108 (38.0)
3	Moderate ($.00001-1.00000$)	35 (36.1)	39 (40.2)	22 (24.4)	96 (33.8)
4	High ($1.00001+$)	10 (10.3)	14 (14.4)	14 (15.6)	38 (13.4)
5	Total	97 (100)	97 (100)	90 (100)	284 (100)
6	Pearson Chi-Square	12.17			
7	Cramer's V	0.146			

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

The distribution of social capital among the respondents in the area was found to be normal. On the whole, most of the respondents are located in either moderate or low levels of social capital. Most of the respondents living in Shillong have either a moderate or high level of social capital endowment. On the other hand, most of the respondents from Guwahati as well as Aizawl have a social capital endowment at low or moderate level. From the pattern of distribution of social capital endowment also we could not see any significant association between the City and level of social capital. The computed chi-

square value was not significant even at 5 per cent level. Even here also the first null hypothesis of the present study has been validated.

5.1.3.3 Jati Hierarchy and Social Capital

The second hypothesis of the present study reads that there is inter jati variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in north east India. To test this hypothesis one way analysis of variance was used. The independent variable was Jati Hierarchy and the dependent variable was composite social capital measure (see table 5.10). The computed F ratio was inter jati variation in the social capital was not significant at 5 per cent level.

Similarly in the composite measure of social capital also there is no significant inter jati variation in social capital. But in one of its components homophily, there is significant inter jati variation could be observed. Brahmana, Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc, and Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., had more homophilous network composition as compared to Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc. In the composite measure of heterogeneity, no significant variation could be observed.

On the other hand in composite measure structure, the significant variation could be observed. The Brahmana had greater social capital endowment as compared to Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., respondents. Between Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc., and Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc., no significant difference social capital endowment could be observed. Also between Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc., and Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., we could see any significant difference in social capital endowment rooted in the structure of social support network.

In both the measures of structure viz, network structure and structural hole significant inter jati variation could be observed. In both these measures respondents belonging to Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., jatis have lesser social capital endowment as compared to all others. However, among the so-called higher jatis there is no significant variation in the social capital endowment.

Table 5.10 Jati Hierarchy and Social Capital

Sl.No	Measure	Jati Hierarchy								F
		Level I		Level II		Level III		Level IV		
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
1	Composition	0.08 ^a	0.97	-0.11 ^a	0.90	0.03 ^a	1.12	0.11 ^a	1.04	0.76
	Homophily	0.21 ^a	0.84	-0.16	1.02	0.00 ^a	1.13	-0.20 ^a	1.08	2.65*
	Heterogeneity	0.07 ^a	0.97	0.04 ^a	0.92	-0.05 ^a	1.09	-0.39 ^a	1.07	1.28
2	Structure	0.17 ^a	0.90	-0.01 ^a	1.03	-0.08 ^{ab}	1.10	-0.58 ^b	0.94	3.21*
	Network Structure	0.18 ^a	0.97	-0.01 ^a	0.88	-0.10 ^a	1.15	-0.56	1.00	3.29*
	Structural Hole	0.16 ^a	0.82	-0.01 ^a	1.09	-0.06 ^a	1.06	-0.59	1.10	3.03*
	Social Capital	0.01 ^a	0.81	0.08 ^a	0.94	-0.03 ^a	0.93	-0.36 ^a	1.02	0.99

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

5.1.3.4 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Social Capital

Jati hierarchy is supposed to have a significant effect on social capital embedded in the composition and structure of social capital of the Gorkhali women. There is evidence to support such a proposition. The computed Pearson's chi-square value was not significant at 5 percent level. Nor the Spearman's rho ordinal correlation was significant at 5 per cent level (see table 5.11).

Most of the respondents belonging to the highest Jati group (Brahmana) have either low or moderate level of social capital endowment. A similar pattern of distribution of respondents could be observed with regard to the Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc., (level II) and Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc., (level III) and Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., (level IV) groups of jatis. However, a greater proportion of respondents belonging to the lowest jati order

Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., (level IV) have a very low level of the social capital endowment as compared to the others.

Table 5.11 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Social Capital

Sl.No	Level of Social Capital	Jati Hierarchy				Total
		Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	
1	Very Low(≤ -1.00000)	9 (9.3)	15 (14.9)	12 (17.6)	6 (33.3)	42 (14.8)
2	Low ($-.99999 - .00000$)	40 (41.2)	34 (33.7)	28 (41.2)	6 (33.3)	108 (38.0)
3	Moderate (.00001 - 1.00000)	38 (39.2)	35 (34.7)	19 (27.9)	4 (22.2)	96 (33.8)
4	High (1.00001+)	10 (10.3)	17 (16.8)	9 (13.2)	2 (11.1)	38 (13.4)
5	Total	97 (100)	101 (100)	68 (100)	18 (100)	284 (100)
6	Pearson Chi-Square	11.51				
7	Cramer's V	0.12				
8	Spearman rho	-.09				

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

Brahmana	Chhetry,Shahi, Pradhan,Gharti etc	Rai,Limbu, Thapa,Tamang etc	Bishwa,Sarki,Damai etc
Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV

5.1.3.5 Patterns of Relationship between Dimensions and Indicators of Social Capital

In the previous clause, the results of the variation in social capital have been discussed with reference to two factors city of domicile of women and their location jati hierarchy. Social capital in the present study has been conceptualized and operationalized in terms of ego centric social network concepts. The indicators of the composition of a social support network, the structure of the social network, and structural hole were used to measure social capital endowment of the women respondents belonging to the Gorkhali community in north east India. In this clause, discussion on the interrelationship between these dimensions of social capital and their composite

of social capital has been attempted. Karl Pearson's product moment correlation was used (see table 5.12).

The composite measure of social capital has found to have a significant correlation with all its dimensions composition, the structure of social support network and structural hole and its indicators.

The first dimension of social capital is the composition of the social support network. It is a composite of composite measures of heterogeneity and homophily. As expected both the indicators have a significant relationship with the composition of social support network. The composite heterogeneity is negatively associated with composition while the latter has positively related to it. Social support network Composition is negatively correlated with social capital. The components of the composition of social support network are significantly related to social capital. Homophily was having a negative relationship with social capital while heterogeneity has a positive relationship with the composite measure of social capital. The positive relationship of heterogeneity to social capital has been expected by Burt (1997).

The second dimension of social capital in the present study is the network structure of social support which is a composite of the degree (size) and density of the network. Both these indicators were significantly related to network structure. The size of the network has a positive relationship with the network structure of social capital while density has negatively related. As expected by Burt (2001) the size of the network has negatively related the composite of social capital while density has a negative relationship. Network Structure was found to have a positive relationship with the composite social capital.

The third dimension of social capital in the present study is a structural hole. Two of its indicators by Burt have been considered. They are effective size and constraint. In the composite structural hole, the former had a positive relationship while the latter had a positive relationship. With the composite social support measure, the structural hole had a positive relationship. As expected by Burt the effective size has a positive relationship with social capital while constraint has a negative relationship.

Table 5.12 Dimensions and Indicators of Social Capital: Inter Correlation Matrix

Variable	Variable										
	Va01	Va02	Va03	Va04	Va05	Va06	Va07	Va08	Va09	Va10	Va11
Va01	1	.87**	-.87**	-.182**	-.33**	-.29**	-.208**	-.29**	-.12*	-.19**	-.77**
Va02	.87**	1	-.51**	-0.04	-0.07	-0.12	-0.07	-.16**	-0.09	-0.05	-.61**
Va03	-.87**	-.51**	1	.30**	.50**	.39**	.32**	.35**	.11*	.31**	.74**
Va04	-.18**	-0.04	.30**	1	.71**	-.71**	.96**	.70**	-.88**	.99**	.76**
Va05	-.33**	-0.07	.50**	.71**	1	.39**	.61**	.28**	-.33**	.66**	.53**
Va06	-.29**	-0.10	.39**	-.71**	.39**	1	-.76**	-.21**	.64**	-.74**	-.55**
Va07	-.21**	-0.07	.31**	.96**	.61**	-.76**	1	.83**	-.83**	.99**	.77**
Va08	-.29**	-.16**	.353**	.71**	.28**	-.21**	.83**	1	-0.04	.78**	.60**
Va09	-.12*	-0.09	.114*	-.88**	-.33**	.64**	-.83**	-0.04	1	-.86**	-.68**
Va10	-.19**	-0.05	.311**	.99**	.66**	-.74**	.99**	.77**	-.86**	1	.77**
Va11	-.77**	-.61**	.742**	.76**	.53**	-.55**	.77**	.60**	-.68**	.77**	1

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

Va01	Va02	Va03	Va04	Va05	Va06
Composition	Homophily	Heterogeneity	Network	Structure	Degree
Va07	Va08	Va09	Va10	Va11	
Density	Structural Hole	Effective Size	Constraint	Structure	

5.1.3.6 Demographic Correlates of Dimensions and Indicators of Social Capital

To study the relationship of demographic variables such as age, education, mean years of adult education with dimensions and indicators of

social capital Karl Pearson's product moment correlation coefficients have been used (table 5.13).

The results of the correlational analysis of demographic variables with dimension indicate that education is a major determinant of the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women. The respondent's education is significantly correlated with all the dimensions of social capital and thus with the composite measure of social capital. It had a positive relationship with a composite measure of the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women. Structural hole and network structure had a positive relationship with the education of Gorkhali women. Size of the social support network and effective size important indicators of each of these dimensions had a positive relationship with the education of the respondents though density and constraint have a significant relationship with it. The first dimension of social capital viz., the composition has negatively related to the education of the respondents. The indicator of composition homophily had a negative relationship with the education of respondents while heterogeneity of the respondent had a positive relationship.

Next, to the education of the respondent the household mean years of adult education emerges as a significant variable associated with Gorkhali women's social capital endowment. Years of education of respondents is positively related to the composite social capital measure. Though with both the Structural Hole indicators, it did not have a significant relationship, it has a significant relationship with degree and density of social support networks. It has a positive relationship with heterogeneity though it did not have a

significant relationship with homophily. It has a positive relationship with the first dimension of social capital i.e. the composition of social support networks.

Table 5.13 Correlates of Dimensions and Indicators of Social Capital

Sl.No	Dimension	Age	Mean Years of Adult Education	Education	Size of Family	Annual Household Income
1	Composition	0.113	-.172**	-.240**	-0.039	-.134*
	Homophily	0.061	-0.085	-.148*	-0.056	-.126*
	Heterogeneity	-.135*	.214**	.269**	0.011	0.107
2	Network Structure	-0.069	0.1	.179**	-0.05	0.039
	Degree	-0.071	.232**	.274**	-0.038	0.084
	Density	-0.019	.168**	0.113	0.003	0.047
3	Structural Hole	-0.082	0.11	.203**	-0.043	0.05
	Effective Size	-0.09	0.107	.144*	-0.041	0.022
	Constraint	0.012	0.005	-0.09	0.012	-0.034
4	Structure	-0.076	0.106	.193**	-0.047	0.045
5	Social Capital	-0.115	.126*	.244**	0.007	0.112

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

P < 0.05

5.2 Development of Gorkhali Women

Women development is the process of increasing the well-being of women. The well-being of women can be assessed with the help of objective indicators and subjective indicators. Women development is objectively measured with the help of economic indicators and subjective rating of their happiness. Four economic indicators viz., the value of Assets Personally Owned by the respondent, Annual Personal Income of Women, Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women, and Personal Savings of Women were factor analyzed with principal component analysis and a composite factor score was derived. A modified version of Oxford Happiness questionnaire was used to assess happiness. The items in the Oxford happiness questionnaire were factor analyzed to derive a composite score of happiness (see appendix). Both of these objective and subjective measures are analyzed for inter-city and inter jati

variations. They were classified into four levels and the association between city and jati hierarchy and levels of women development and happiness were further analyzed.

This present section is presented two sub sections. The first sub-section presents the city of domicile and women development while the second section explores the relationship between jati hierarchy and happiness of Gorkhali women.

5.2.1 City of Domicile and Women Development

The present subsection is devoted to discussing the variation in the levels of women development and happiness. This subsection is presented in four clauses. The first clause discusses the intercity variation in women development. In the second clause, the results of analysis of the association between city domicile of Gorkhali women and women development is discussed. In the third clause, intercity variation in women happiness is discussed. In the fourth clause, the association between the jati hierarchy and levels of women happiness is discussed.

5.2.1.1 Intercity Variation in Women Development

The third hypothesis reads that there is intercity variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North east India. To test this hypothesis one way analysis of variance was used. The independent variable was city while the dependent variable was composite women development (see table 5.14). The computed F ratio (1.70) was not even significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North east India has been accepted.

Analysis of variance of the individual indicators of women development reveals that of the four indicators of women development took only one indicator shows significant intercity variation. In Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women, there is significant intercity variation could be observed. The F ratio (3.26) was significant at 5 per cent level. Respondents in Shillong (Rs 11483) had significantly greater income as compared to those in Guwahati (Rs 7250) and Aizawl (Rs 7435). Between these two cities, there is no significant difference in personal expenditure could be found. In other indicators of women development viz., Assets Personally Owned, Annual Personal Income of Women, Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women, and Personal Savings of Women there is no significant intercity variation could be observed.

Table 5.14 Inter City Differences in Indicators of Women Development

Sl.No	Indicator	City			F
		Guwahati n = 100	Shillong n = 100	Aizawl n = 100	
1	Assets Personally Owned	39700 ^a ± 54203	121780 ^a ± 382698	140530 ^a ± 454261	2.43
2	Annual Personal Income of Women	38000 ^a ± 81677	55340 ^a ± 146450	92320 ^a ± 438973	1.05
3	Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women	7250 ^a ± 4825	11483 ± 21934	7435 ^a ± 4767	3.26*
4	Personal Savings of Women	20112 ^a ± 101680	20045 ^a ± 62795	13940 ^a ± 54161	0.22
5	Women Development	-0.14 ^a ± 0.66	0.12 ^a ± 1.24	0.02 ^a ± 1.00	1.70
6	Happiness of Women	0.14 ^a ± 0.98	0.05 ^a ± 0.96	-0.19 ^a ± 1.04	2.86

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

*P < 0.05 Mean ± S.D.

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

5.2.1.2 City of Domicile and Level of Women Development

Women development has been classified into three levels using Mean \pm SD with the help of visual binning technique. To study the association between the city of domicile and level of women development cross tabulation, chi-square and Cramer's V were used (see table 5.15).

The results of cross-tabulation of city and level of women development show that there is an association between city and women development. This is contrary to the results of one-way analysis of variance reported in the earlier section. The computed Pearson's chi-square (9.4) and Cramer's V (0.13) were significant at 5 percent level. The respondents from Shillong had a slightly better level of women development as compared to those in Aizawl and Guwahati.

Table 5.15 City of Domicile and Level of Women Development

Sl.No	Level	City			Total
		Guwahati	Shillong	Aizawl	
1	Low (-.99 - .00)	83 (83)	74 (74)	83 (83)	240 (80)
2	Moderate (01 - 1.00)	15 (15)	19 (19)	8 (8)	42 (14)
3	High (1.01+)	2 (2)	7 (7)	9 (9)	18 (6)
4	Total	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	300 (100)
5	Pearson Chi-Square	9.437*			
6	Cramer's V	0.125*			

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

** P < 0.01

*P < 0.05

Most of the respondents could be located at the low level of women development in all the three cities of North East India. However, the proportion of the respondents with a low level of women development is higher in Guwahati (83%) and Aizawl (83%) as compared to those belonging to Shillong (74%). At a moderate level, greater proportion of respondents from

Shillong (19) could be seen as compared to those in Aizawl (8) and Guwahati (15).

5.2.1.3 Intercity Variation in Women Happiness

The fourth hypothesis reads that there is intercity variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North east India. One way analysis of variance was used to test this hypothesis. The independent variable was city while the dependent variable was composite women happiness score (see table 5.14). The computed F ratio (2.86) was not even significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North east India has been accepted (see table 5.14).

5.2.1.4 City of Domicile and Level of Happiness of Gorkhali Women

The composite score of happiness of women has been classified into four levels using Mean \pm SD with the help of visual binning technique. To study the association between the city of domicile and level of women development cross tabulation, chi-square and Cramer's V were used (see table 5.16).

There is no significant association between the City of Domicile and the Level of Happiness of the respondents. The computed Pearson's chi-square (4.36) and Cramer's V (0.09) were not even significant at 5 per cent level. Most of the respondents irrespective of the city of domicile have a moderate level of happiness. At a low level, more than one-third of the respondents could be noticed across the cities. At very low and high levels more than one-tenth of the respondents could also be noted across the city of their domicile.

Table 5.16 City of Domicile and Level of Women Happiness

Sl.No	Level	City			Total N=300
		Guwahati n=100	Shillong n=100	Aizawl n=100	
1	Very Low (<= - 1.00)	10 (10)	12 (12)	18 (18)	40 (13)
2	Low (-.99 - .00)	32 (32)	33 (33)	36 (36)	101 (34)
3	Moderate (01 - 1.00)	46 (46)	43 (43)	36 (36)	125 (42)
4	High (1.01+)	12 (12)	12 (12)	10 (10)	34 (11)
5	Total	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)	300 (100)
6	Pearson Chi-Square	4.357			
7	Cramer's V	0.085			

Source: Computed Figures in parentheses are percentages

** P <0.01

*P < 0.05

5.2.2 Jati Hierarchy and Women Development

The present study aims at knowing the bearing of jati hierarchy a major form of social structure on women development and happiness. Inter jati variation in women development and happiness has been explored in this subsection. This subsection is presented in four clauses. The first clause presents the inter jati variation in women development. Discussion on the association between the levels of jati hierarchy and women development is discussed in the second clause. In the third clause, the discussion is inter-jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women is presented while in the last clause the association between the levels of jati hierarchy and women happiness is discussed.

5.2.2.1 Inter Jati Variation in Women Development

The fifth hypothesis reads that there is inter jati variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India. To test this hypothesis

one way analysis of variance has been used. The dependent variable was a composite measure of women development while the independent variable was jati. The computed F ratio (0.15) was not significant at 5 percent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no inter jati variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. The F ratios computed for inter jati variation in Assets Personally Owned (2.42), Annual Personal Income (1.05), Monthly Personal Expenditure (3.26) and Personal Savings (0.22) are not even significant at 5 percent level (see table 5.14).

5.2.2.2 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Development of Gorkhali Women

Having seen that there is no mean difference in indicators of women development and their composite index between the jati groups at different levels of hierarchy, an attempt here is made to see the association between jati hierarchy and level of women development. Cross-tabulation of jati and level of women development is shown in table 5.17.

Table 5.17 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Women Development

Sl.No	Level	Jati Hierarchy				Total
		Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	
1	Low (-.99 - .00)	77 (77.8)	86 (81.1)	60 (80.0)	17 (85.0)	240 (80.0)
2	Moderate (01 - 1.00)	16 (16.2)	14 (13.2)	10 (13.3)	2 (10.0)	42 (14.0)
3	High (1.01+)	6 (6.1)	6 (5.7)	5 (6.7)	1 (5.0)	18 (6.0)
4	Total	99 (100)	106 (100)	75 (100)	20 (100)	300 (100)
5	Chi-Square	0.88				
6	Cramer's V	0.038				
7	Spearman rho	-0.03				

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

** P < 0.01

*P < 0.05

Brahmana	Chhetry,Shahi, Pradhan,Gharti etc	Rai,Limbu, Thapa,Tamang etc	Bishwa,Sarki,Damai etc
Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV

The chi-square (.881) and Cramer's V (0.04) values are not even significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, there is no association between Jati Hierarchy and level of Women Development. Irrespective of location in jati hierarchy a vast majority of respondents are at low level of women development. At a moderate level of women development, more than one-tenth of the respondents in each of the jati group could be found. At a high level of women development, a very few in each of the category could also be observed.

5.2.2.3 Inter jati Variation in Women Happiness

The sixth hypothesis of the present study reads that there is inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India. This hypothesis is tested with the help of one-way analysis of variance. The independent variable was jati hierarchy while the dependent variable was the composite score of women happiness (see table 5.18).

Table 5.18 Inter Jati Differences in Indicators of Women Development and Happiness

Sl. No	Indicator	Jati Hierarchy								F
		Level I		Level II		Level III		Level IV		
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
1	Assets Personally Owned	85515 ^a	313306	101321 ^a	356383	115213 ^a	339683	117700 ^a	473275	0.12
2	Annual Personal Income	51455 ^a	147606	87358 ^a	426610	49600 ^a	84091	24600 ^a	82081	0.54
3	Monthly Personal Expenditure	8331 ^a	6196	7754 ^a	6447	10640 ^a	24155	8605 ^a	9268	0.73
4	Personal Savings	23606 ^a	102142	12676 ^a	51450	13027 ^a	25559	37600 ^a	134256	0.91
5	Women Development	-0.01 ^a	0.88	-0.04 ^a	0.92	0.04 ^a	1.04	0.10 ^a	1.70	0.15
6	Happiness	0.2 ^a	1.0	0.0 ^{ab}	1.0	-0.2 ^b	1.0	-0.2 ^{ab}	0.7	3.2*

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

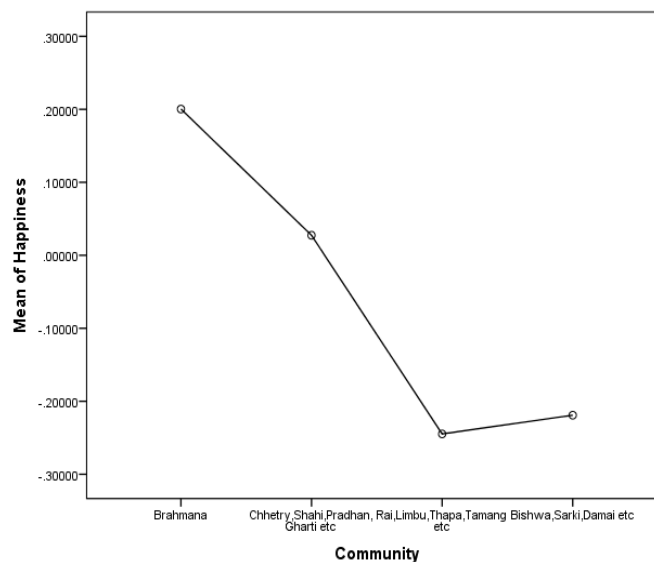
*P < 0.05

Note: Means followed by the same superscripts do not significantly differ

Brahmana	Chhetry,Shahi, Pradhan,Gharti etc	Rai,Limbu, Thapa,Tamang etc	Bishwa,Sarki,Damai etc
Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV

The computed F ratio (3.2) was significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India has been rejected. And the alternative hypothesis that there is inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India has been validated. Between the respondents of Brahmana jati and those of Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc., group there is a significant difference. The members of the former group have greater happiness as compared to those of the latter group (see figure 5.9).

Figure 5.9 Jati Hierarchy and Happiness



5.2.2.4 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Happiness of Gorkhali Women

To study the association between the jati hierarchy and levels of women happiness analysis of cross breaks has been used. Pearson's chi-square and Cramer's V were also used (see table 5.19).

The results of the chi-square test and jati hierarchy shows that there is no association between jati hierarchy and level of happiness of Gorkhali women. The computed chi-square (10.68) and Cramer's V (0.109) were not even significant at 5 percent level.

Most of the respondents in each of the jati groups either have a moderate or low level of happiness. About one-tenth of them in each of the jati group have a very low level of happiness. More than one-tenth of the respondents belonging to the Brahmana and Chhetri jati groups have a high level of happiness. On the other hand, a few of the respondents belonging the lower jati groups of Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang and Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., have a high level of happiness.

Table 5.19 Jati Hierarchy and Level of Happiness

Sl.No	Level	Jati Hierarchy				Total
		Level I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	
1	Very Low (<= - 1.00)	10 (10.1)	13 (12.3)	15 (20.0)	2 (10.0)	40 (13.3)
2	Low (-.99 - .00)	28 (28.3)	35 (33.0)	29 (38.7)	9 (45.0)	101 (33.7)
3	Moderate (01 - 1.00)	46 (46.5)	45 (42.5)	26 (34.7)	8 (40.0)	125 (41.7)
4	High (1.01+)	15 (15.2)	13 (12.3)	5 (6.7)	1 (5.0)	34 (11.3)
5	Total	99 (100)	106 (100)	75 (100)	20 (100)	300 (100)
6	Chi-Square	10.68				
7	Cramer's V	0.109				
8	Spearman rho	-0.165*				

Source: Computed

Figures in parentheses are percentages

** P <0.01

*P < 0.05

5.3 Social Capital and Women Development

The present study hypothesises that social capital endowment of Gorkhali women has positively related to women development and happiness. An important related question is that arises here is that how the demographic background of the women respondents relates to the women development and happiness. This present section addresses these issues. To address these issues Karl Pearson's coefficients of correlation have been used (see table 5.20 and 5.21). The present section is organized into two subsections. The first section

presents a discussion on the demographic determinants of women development and happiness. In the second section, the relationship between social capital and women development as well as happiness is discussed.

The seventh and eighth hypotheses of the present study have been tested in this section.

5.3.1 Demographic Determinants of Women Development and Social Capital

Demographic characteristics viz., the age of respondent, mean years of adult education of household, education of respondent, size of family and annual household income are considered for their association with women development and happiness (see table 5.20).

Age of the respondent had a significant relationship with neither women development nor women happiness. Mean years of adult education of the household of the respondent had a consistently positive relationship with women happiness and development. Likewise, the respondent's education has directly bearing on women happiness and development. Size of the family has no relationship with women development but having a positive relationship with women happiness. Similarly, the annual household income of the respondent had positively related to women development and happiness.

Table 5.20 Demography, Women Development and Happiness

Sl.No	Demographic Variable	Women Development	Happiness
1	Age	0.101	-0.052
2	Mean Years of Adult Education	.252**	.162**
3	Education	.238**	.167**
4	Size of Family	0.041	.173**
5	Annual Household Income	.477**	.119*

Source: Computed

** P <0.01

*P < 0.05

5.3.2 Social Capital, Women Development and Happiness

The present study seeks to understand the relationship between social capital and well-being of Gorkhali women. The seventh and eighth hypotheses are focusing on this relationship. The seventh hypothesis of the present study reads that there is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women development. This hypothesis was tested with the help of computation of Karl Pearson's product moment coefficient between composite measures of social capital and women development (see table 5.21). The computed correlation coefficient (0.057) was not even significant at 5 per cent level. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between social capital endowment and women development among Gorkhali women in north east India has been accepted.

Women development has no significant relationship with a structural hole and network structure dimensions of social capital. None of the indicators of social capital in these two dimensions are significant at 5 per cent level. Both the indicators of network structure size and density have no significant relationship. Nor the indicators of structural hole effective size and constraint have any significant relationship with women development. However, the composition has a negative relationship with women development. One of the indicators of social support network composition viz., homophily has a negative relationship with women development while heterogeneity has no significant relationship.

Table 5.21 Social Capital, Women Development and Happiness

Sl.No	Variable	Women Development	Happiness
1	Composition	-0.119*	-0.091
	Homophily	-.155**	-0.058
	Heterogeneity	0.05	0.10
2	Network Structure	-0.046	0.061
	Degree	-0.028	.139*
	Density	0.033	0.083
3	Structural Hole	-0.022	0.049
	Effective Size	0.012	0.016
	Constraint	0.047	-0.028
4	Structure	-0.034	0.056
5	Social Capital	0.057	0.083
6	Women Development	1	0.019
7	Happiness	0.019	1

Source: Computed ** P <0.01 *P < 0.05

The eighth hypothesis of the present study reads that there is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women happiness. This hypothesis was tested with the help of Karl Pearson's product moment coefficient (see table 5.21). The computed correlation coefficient between women happiness and social capital (0.083) was not even significant at 5 per cent level. Therefore, the null hypothesis that here is no relationship between social capital endowment and women development among Gorkhali women in north east India has been accepted.

None of the dimensions of social capital composition, network structure, and structural hole have any significant relationship with women happiness. However, only one indicator of the network structure of social capital i.e. degree (size) of social support network has a positive relationship with social capital.

Thus, social capital endowments of Gorkhali women have no significant bearing on their economic development and happiness. Not only that there is

no significant relationship between women development and happiness could also be observed. The correlation coefficient between women development and happiness (0.019) found to be not even significant at 5 per cent level.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the findings of an analysis of social support network, the social capital measures derived from social network, women development, and the relationship between social capital endowments of Gorkhali women on the one hand and women development and happiness on the other. In the next chapter, an attempt is made to present a discussion on the challenges to the development of Gorkhali women development in North East India.

CHAPTER VI

CONSTRAINTS TO DEVELOPMENT OF GORKHALI WOMEN

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CONSTRAINTS TO DEVELOPMENT OF GORKHALI WOMEN

In the last chapter, an attempt has been made to describe the composition and structure of social support networks as well the social capital endowment and their bearing on the development of the Gorkhali women in North East India. In this chapter, an emic understanding of their developmental challenges has been discussed. This chapter has been presented in two sections. The first section is devoted to the development of Gorkhali women: challenges, and constraints. The second section discusses the lived experiences of Gorkhali women.

6.1 Development of Gorkhali Women: Challenges, and Constraints

In this section, the challenges, management strategies, constraints and strategies for their development have discussed from an emic perspective. This section has been presented in four subsections. The first section presents the perceived challenges to Gorkhali women in North East India.

6.1.1. Challenges of Gorkhali Women

This section describes the challenges faced by the Gorkhali women in their respective cities. They have perceived a total number of eight challenges viz., identity crisis, ethnic discrimination, jati inequality, religious conversion, lack of awareness of rights, language, adjustment and lack of awareness. The list of the problems is highlighted on the basis of their perception to the situation that they have faced and are still facing. The information collected by the researcher is analyzed with Smith's Saliency where the mean rank of the problems is mentioned (see table 6.1 and 6.2).

From the above eight problems, it was found that identity crisis occupies the first rank in order of frequency. Ninety-six percent of both Shillong and Aizawl Gorkhali women perceived that identity crisis is the main problem of their people but Guwahati Gorkhali women scored less among the cities. In the second rank is the ethnic discrimination where Shillong has the highest rank and Guwahati the least. The local people look down on the Gorkhali people and if any problem arises where Gorkhas are involved, then they are asked to go back to their motherland, Nepal. Official works are often delayed by the local people and behave in a different way with the Gorkhas.

On the contrary, Jati inequality is found to be high in Guwahati and least in Shillong. Although the community leader used to indicate that Jati based discrimination is a presence in Gorkha society but women mention that it still exists. Openly they used to say that we consider that all people same only but at the time of marriage they would like their child to marry from their Jati only. If a majority of women got married to a man from other Jati, they are not completely accepted and used to face challenges from their in-laws and society. Religious conversion holds the fourth rank with Shillong the highest and Guwahati the lowest from the three cities. There is a slight difference between Shillong and Aizawl which are Christian state in the majority. If an individual converted into other religion that thing would lead to family problems. When a Gorkha man got married to women from other religion then he used to convert into his wife religion which leads to a family identity crisis, whereas with related to women these kinds of cases are rare. The head of the family decision of conversion brings about dejection among children. Another reason is due to the unfavourable economic condition of the

Gorkhali which is why they have to convert because they used to get support from the missionaries.

The fifth rank is the rights of the Gorkhali women because when they are being discriminated they cannot even speak against them to safeguard themselves. They belong to the land since they had the rights but still do not know how to make use of it during the time of discrimination. Guwahati women highly feel that they are not aware of their rights while this was found the least among Shillong women. Language and adjustment was placed the sixth and seventh rank which is high in Aizawl and low in Shillong. Most newly married women from outside the study areas face problems in dealing with the local language, especially in Aizawl. They cannot go out by themselves for shopping and cannot even do some official work by themselves. They become dependent on their husband and family members due to which they cannot work independently. This is because, in Aizawl, most of the people use only Mizo language for communication. Women have to compromise so many aspects of their life in order to become a good wife and daughter-in-law. They have to change their eating, working and sleeping habits soon after they get married. They cannot live as they used to in their own home. The last rank is the lack of awareness of their problems. Gorkhali women themselves cannot even identify their problems and are not aware of it. Guwahati women gave the highest rank and Shillong showed the lowest.

From the above discussion, it may be inferred that Gorkhali women, belonging to a minority group in India, face more challenges with regards to identity crisis which leads to discrimination in all the three cities. With regard to this, the women of Shillong and Aizawl have higher salience than those

from Guwahati. Whereas the women of Guwahati have a high level of awareness of how they are deprived of their basic requirements as being the daughters of the land.

Table 6.1 Perceived Challenges of Gorkhali Women

Sl. No	Challenge	City									Total N = 300		
		Guwahati n = 100			Shillong n = 100			Aizawl n = 100					
		%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S
1	Identity Crisis	71	1	0.71	96	1	0.96	96	1	0.96	91	1	0.91
2	Ethnic Discrimination	21	2	0.19	50	2	0.39	52	2	0.44	55	2	0.41
3	Jati Inequality	86	3	0.52	39	3	0.25	48	3	0.33	52	3	0.34
4	Religious Conversion	29	4	0.18	54	3	0.27	44	4	0.25	45	4	0.25
5	Lack of Awareness on Rights	50	5	0.19	36	5	0.13	40	6	0.11	40	5	0.14
6	Language	29	5	0.14	4	5	0.02	40	4	0.22	22	4	0.12
7	Adjustment	29	6	0.11	18	5	0.08	40	5	0.14	28	5	0.11
8	Lack of Awareness	57	6	0.11	36	6	0.06	44	7	0.06	43	6	0.07

Source: Computed

\bar{R} = Mean Rank

S = Smith's

Saliency

Table 6.2 Pattern Differences in Perceived Problems of Women: Spearman's rho

Sl.No	City	City			Total
		Guwahati	Shillong	Aizawl	
1	Guwahati	1	.957**	.927**	.957**
2	Shillong	.957**	1	.945**	.950**
3	Aizawl	.927**	.945**	1	.994**
4	Total	.957**	.950**	.994**	1

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

* P < 0.05

6.1.2 Strategies Used to Manage Problems

The next section describes the strategies which can be used to manage the above challenges faced by the Gorkhali women in North East India. The respondents mentioned six strategies to manage their problems viz., knowledge seeking, seeking guidance, social participation, social support seeking and reliance of own strengths (see table 6.3 and 6.4).

The first strategy to manage their challenges perceived by the Gorkhali women is to seek knowledge. Smith's Saliency is 1 in all the three cities where the Gorkhali women of Guwahati and Shillong women have a slightly higher percentage than Aizawl. Improvement in women's education will lead to women development. It will enhance women to identify their rights thereby diminishing the identity crisis that they are facing. Through knowledge, they will have the power and others will not be able to discriminate against them. Guwahati women have the highest rank with the matter of the second rank which is proper guidance wherein the other two cities felt the same way. The Gorkhas are living as a minority group in all the settlements, and the women felt was that they need very good and effective leaders to guide them and especially teach the uneducated women how to behave in the community. They have to guide their fellow women in terms of dressing and communication. They believe that women play an important role in shaping the behaviour of their children and family. Women guidance meant a lot for their children and family to lead a happy and worthwhile life.

The other four management strategies are social participation, social support seeking, the reliance on own strengths and seeking political support which is written on the basis of their rank. In all these, Guwahati women rank highest as compared to the other two areas. If women involve in group activities then they will know more about the society, each other's needs and how they can help each other for their progress. They will be able to interact more with the local people and learn the local language easily. Also to work together for their better relationship, this will reduce their differences and help

them to adjust easily. The Gorkhali women should be able to approach each other for any support and this can be possible only if they are united.

Women play a vital role in teaching their children about religion because children learn a lot from their mothers. They should always preserve their culture by making it alive in their daily life. Mothers should make their children go to temples so that children may develop an interest in their religion and culture. Another suggestion was that women should try and involve more in political issues so that they can stand for themselves and their people. All the women of all three cities found education the highest strategy for managing their problems. But we can see that with regard to seeking political support, the women of Guwahati again are highest and those of Aizawl are lowest. The main reason for these differences is that in Aizawl, women do not have any expectation from the political party because they cannot get any ticket for politics which is meant for the Mizo people only. The situation is somehow the same in Shillong. But in Guwahati, the scenario is completely different where there are Gorkha political leaders also.

Table 6.3 Strategies Used to Manage Problems

Sl. No	Strategy	City									Total N = 300		
		Guwahati n = 100			Shillong n = 100			Aizawl n = 100			%	\bar{R}	S
		%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S			
1	Knowledge Seeking	100	1	1.0	100	1	1.00	91	1	0.91	96	1	0.96
2	Seeking Guidance	88	2	0.7	52	2	0.42	52	2	0.43	58	2	0.47
3	Social Participation	88	3	0.6	52	3	0.32	57	3	0.34	60	3	0.37
4	Social Support Seeking	88	4	0.4	62	4	0.26	52	4	0.23	62	4	0.28
5	Reliance of Own Strengths	88	5	0.3	48	5	0.11	57	4	0.16	58	5	0.16
6	Seeking Political Support	88	6	0.1	24	4	0.07	9	6	0.01	27	5	0.06

Source: Computed

\bar{R} = Mean Rank

S = Smith's Saliency

Table 6.4 Pattern Differences in Strategies: Spearman's rho

Sl.No	City	City			Total
		Guwahati	Shillong	Aizawl	
1	Guwahati	1	.899*	.986**	.986**
2	Shillong	.899*	1	.868*	.956**
3	Aizawl	.986**	.868*	1	.956**
4	Total	.986**	.956**	.956**	1

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

* P < 0.05

6.1.3. Constraints to Development of Gorkhali Women

Gorkhali women of North East India have indicated thirteen constraints to their development viz., lack of education, lack of skills, inadequate encouragement, lack of self-esteem, early marriage, lack of unity in the community, inadequate sense of belongingness, lack of employment opportunities, backbiting, landlessness, donation seeking NGO'S, substance use and self-employment (see table 6.5 and 6.6).

As of the thirteen constraints mentioned by the respondents, the lack of education is ranked the first. The Gorkhali women of Aizawl show the highest rank in terms of constraints whereas those living in Shillong and Guwahati have lower constraints. The Smith's Saliency is two for Aizawl Gorkhali women and one for Guwahati and Shillong Gorkhali women. In the same manner, skills development, encouragement in learning and developing self-esteem of women record the same for Shillong women and least for Guwahati women. Early marriage of women is more prevalent in Guwahati due to the low level of education and therefore employment opportunities are fewer for them. There is a lack of unity within the community and the sense of belongingness is still low which is due to the ethnic discrimination.

The Gorkhali women of Guwahati feel that backbiting or gossiping about each other is also one of the constraints for women development and once women can overcome this negativity amongst themselves, they can start motivating and building up each other. One of the reasons of backbiting is that women in a locality have so much free time for gossip. The land issue is mostly with the people of Shillong where there is difficulty in buying and selling land and some of the Guwahati women face a similar constraint but in Aizawl, this is not the issue. Substance abuse with regards to women can be seen more in Guwahati and Shillong than Aizawl. Self-employed women are very few in number and even from this small earner group, donations-seeking from different organizations is still common and Gorkha women are obligated to contribute.

Table 6.5 Perceived Constraints to Development of Gorkhali Women

Sl. No	Constraint	City									Total N = 300		
		Guwahati n = 100			Shillong n = 100			Aizawl n = 100					
		%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S
1	Lack of Education	86	1	0.81	90	1	0.78	66	2	0.57	82	1	0.73
2	Lack of Skills	43	3	0.23	58	3	0.39	55	3	0.37	52	3	0.33
3	Inadequate Encouragement	13	1	0.12	44	1	0.44	40	1	0.40	33	1	0.32
4	Lack of Self-Esteem	41	3	0.27	58	4	0.26	55	4	0.26	52	3	0.26
5	Early Marriage	47	3	0.27	22	5	0.07	25	5	0.09	31	4	0.14
6	Lack of Unity in the Community	39	4	0.14	19	4	0.08	23	3	0.14	26	4	0.12
7	Inadequate Sense of Belongingness	30	3	0.16	19	4	0.08	13	5	0.05	21	4	0.10
8	Lack of Employment Opportunities	20	3	0.11	5	3	0.02	13	2	0.11	12	3	0.08
9	Backbiting	13	4	0.07	9	5	0.04	34	5	0.13	17	4	0.07
10	Landlessness	1	10	0.00	15	4	0.05				7	5	0.02
11	Donation Seeking NGOs	1	11	0.00	1	3	0.00	9	4	0.04	3	5	0.01
12	Substance Use	4	9	0.01	4	5	0.01	4	2	0.03	4	6	0.01
13	Self-Employment	1	2	0.01							1	2	0.00

Source: Computed

\bar{R} = Mean Rank

S = Smith's Saliency

In this section, it can be deduced that education is the main constraint of women development. Therefore, women have to be educated for themselves, their children and their families. The feeling of not being able to help their children at homework after their school makes women vulnerable. They marry at an early age due to which they cannot complete their education. Hence, with a low level of education they cannot do anything and in addition, are unskilled for jobs which are strong constraints to their development.

Table 6.6 Pattern Differences in Constraints: Spearman's rho

Sl.No	City	City			Total
		Guwahati	Shillong	Aizawl	
1	Guwahati	1	.847**	.796**	.927**
2	Shillong	.847**	1	.968**	.982**
3	Aizawl	.796**	.968**	1	.957**
4	Total	.927**	.982**	.957**	1

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

* P < 0.05

6.1.4 Suggestions for Development of Gorkhali Women

A total number of ten suggestions have been given by the Gorkhali women of North East India in accordance to their perceived problems. The suggestions include education, unity in the community, women's rights awareness, women's socio-political participation, understanding of women, skill training, adult education, women's work participation, approachment, and vocational education (see table 6.7 and 6.8).

Education has been identified as the main constraint as well as one of the main strategies suggested for the development of Gorkhali women. They exhibited ten suggestions from the constraints that they are facing as a minority population. It was also observed that Shillong women ranked the highest in giving suggestions to improve education whereas, in Guwahati, it was the least. Guwahati women have a high opinion with regards to the

importance of adult education, rights of the women, training for their skill development and vocational skills and a similar trend is found among Shillong and Aizawl women as well. Parents are very busy earning their living and do not have time to help children in their studies. A girl child understands the problems of the family better way than boy child so in many cases, girls have given up their studies for the sake of their siblings and family needs. These leads to early marriage with less education and later on, face challenges socially and economically. Women must, therefore, be provided with opportunities to continue their education through adult education programmes. The Gorkhali women also get a lesser opportunity than the indigenous people in training services for skill and so this needs to be challenged.

The unity of the Gorkhali population is a must as they are a minority group and if they are not cohesive, they will be unable to advocate their own rights and approach one other for any kind of support. Through social involvement and participation, women can get encouragement for their development and can also contribute to their community's development. Women strongly believe that there is a need for a mutual understanding between their in-laws for a family to be happy and healthy. In many cases, the main reason of family breakdown is because of in-law issues. A supportive and mature partner becomes a must to handle the balance between the partner and the family. In order to make all the suggestions applicable, women themselves play an important role in motivating and shaping themselves through courage, positive attitude, determination, and hard work.

Table 6.7 Suggestions for Development of Gorkhali Women

Sl. No	Suggestion	City									Total N = 300		
		Guwahati n = 100			Shillong n = 100			Aizawl n = 100			%	\bar{R}	S
		%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S	%	\bar{R}	S			
1	Women Education	79	1	0.72	93	1	0.92	83	1	0.80	86	1	0.82
2	Unity in the Community	57	2	0.46	39	2	0.26	57	2	0.45	50	2	0.38
3	Women's Rights Awareness	64	3	0.44	20	2	0.14	40	2	0.30	40	2	0.28
4	Women's Socio Political Participation	51	3	0.29	24	3	0.13	32	4	0.17	35	3	0.20
5	Understanding of Women	51	4	0.25	30	3	0.15	26	4	0.11	36	4	0.18
6	Skill Training	51	5	0.17	27	4	0.11	23	6	0.07	35	5	0.12
7	Adult Education	40	6	0.14	23	4	0.13	17	6	0.08	27	5	0.12
8	Women's Work Participation	47	3	0.31	2	5	0.02	2	2	0.02	18	3	0.12
9	Approachment	16	4	0.09	4	7	0.01	38	5	0.15	16	5	0.07
10	Vocational Education	29	7	0.05	20	6	0.04	15	8	0.02	22	7	0.04

Source: Computed

\bar{R} = Mean Rank

S = Saliency

Table 6.8 Pattern Differences in Suggestions for Women Development: Spearman's rho

Sl.No	City	City			Total
		Guwahati	Shillong	Aizawl	
1	Guwahati	1	.717*	.699*	.926**
2	Shillong	.717*	1	.738*	.886**
3	Aizawl	.699*	.738*	1	.849**
4	Total	.926**	.886**	.849**	1

Source: Computed

** P < 0.01

* P < 0.05

6.2. Emic Understanding of Women Development

In this section, an attempt is made to present the results of qualitative data analysis. The first subsection presents the lived experiences of Gorkhali women from the point of view of development. In the second subsection, the results of the focus group discussion have been discussed.

6.2.1 Case Studies of Lived Experiences of Gorkhali Women

A case study is a comprehensive description of an individual or group or institution. A total number of six case studies of Gorkhali women were conducted in Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl so as to understand the constraints to their development from their own perspective.

Case I: A Married Women Professional

Smt. Nanu is a married woman of 50 years who is born and brought up in Shillong. She is a teacher by profession living with her husband and two children as a nuclear family. She earns around five lakhs annually and her husband also holds a government job. At the time when she got married which was around 27 years ago, she joined a large joint family of 35 members. Before her marriage, she used to have a job but had to quit after marriage. Her in-laws were so conservative and did not accept their daughters-in-law working outside the house. After marriage, she was involved fully in household work and had to prepare food for 35 persons every day. Sometimes, she even went to bed hungry as the food was insufficient for everyone. “Why life is unfair to me was the thing that always came to my mind during such times. Since I have a husband by my own choice, I have to get used to it and go along with the flow of life. Life is not only about hanging around with friends in a coffee shop, one day you have to go out and face the world and making yourself more capable and independent by working hard” she would encourage herself.

She also says “My husband was also aware of the things that I used to do in the house the whole day and he began to feel sorry for me. From then on, he started encouraging me to continue my studies and after the completion of my studies, I got a job as a teacher. With all the obstacles he supported me to study and could convince his elders for me to work outside. Luckily, my husband has been so supportive because of which I am now a teacher. I do not lose hope and will keep moving forward in life. A Homemaker is the best person to make a house into a home but I do not just want to stay at

home and stop at that point. In fact, I have a lot of things to do in my life and only with courage, hard work and the support of my husband; I am now at this point”.

In terms of the development of Gorkhali women, she says “Our Gorkhali women are very busy in household works right from morning till night. They get up early in the morning to make breakfast for their family, then lunch and then dinner. These all constitute the daily routine of the women but are not productive work at all but. Our women can do wonders but they are not willing to do so at all. When their children grow up, most of the women feel that they have to do something as they are free. However, they cannot get any job because they are not educated and they do not have the skills to do any kind of work.”

‘What I strongly believe is that if our generation passes on the significance of education to the youngsters then only our Gorkha women’s status will be better in all aspects. There are no constraints for the development of our women but the only fact is that women lack the attitude, motivation and support system.’

Case II: An Educated Young Married Home Maker

Smt. Tara, a young married woman of 29 years has a daughter and lives with her husband in a joint family of five members. She had completed her education upto graduation. She has been married for seven years and she is a homemaker. She wants to work but her husband and her mother-in-law do not allow her to do so. Her husband works in a reputed company and earns a huge amount of money and so she is not permitted to work. For the past two years, she and her husband and daughter has moved out and lived separately.

Her husband has to go out of station due to work at least once a week and spends more time outside the house. She has nothing to do at home except for looking after her child. Most of the household work is done by her maid servant and when her daughter goes to school, she is free and has to stay at home the whole day without doing any productive work at all.

'Malai pura bore lagcha diuso kei garne hudaina ani timilai yesto dekhda ramro lagyo. Mero pani higher studies garne chahana thiyo. Behe gareko baat ma kei garnu sakena budo ka family le bujhene malai ani maile pani afno kura rakhnu chode.'

Smt. Tara feels bored and has always wanted to pursue higher studies but she could not continue as she got married. She envies the work done by the researcher as pursuing Ph.D. was also her dream. Her husband and her in-laws do not understand her ambition to study more. And for an introverted person like her, even discussing her dreams to them is difficult. From her experience to date, what she feels is that Gorkha women should not marry at an early age. Hence, they need to study more and focus on their goals first.

Case III: A Drop out Girl Becomes a Professional

Smt. Maya is a married woman of 59 years, born and brought up in Guwahati. She is a teacher by profession and lives in a joint family. She earns around five lakhs annually and her husband is also holding a government job. She had to drop out of school while she was studying the tenth standard as her mother passed away and her brother told her not to continue her schooling because she is the eldest daughter and has to shoulder the responsibilities of the house. She had to look after her siblings and also all the household work. They used to have a cow which was their main source of

livelihood and she had spent most of her teenage life distributing milk in their locality.

At the age of 19 years, she got married and became continuously busy with her husband's family. She conceived three children and become busy raising them. Then, after nine years she resumed her study which was a major break through in her life as she had always been interested in her career and was always keen to continue her studies. She gave extra effort to her study and she learned English as a subject for three years since she was weak in that subject. She, at last, completed her bachelor's degree in Hindi and had undergone a training course to become a teacher. She has worked so much for their community children through imparting education to them. Besides that, she is also interested in writing and had received state and national awards for her writing in Nepali. Smt. Maya is very active in women's associations and also holds the position of President in Mahila Samiti (women association) in their locality.

'Mahila Sanstha haruleramrokaam gari ayeko cha, pahilagaun ka aymi manche haruleafno naam pani lekhnun janeko thiyena. Sanstha le jor diyekokaran le ahile ta afno signature pani dinu janeka chan'

The above statement means that in the earlier days, women cannot even give their signature for personal use but with the efforts of women's association, now they are able to do so. The low education status of women is the main hindrance to their development and the people in their locality need education the most. They are trying their level best to help each other in every situation through this association.

Case IV A Young Educated Home Maker

Smt. Seema, 35 years of age who is married into a reputed joint family where both the father-in-law and mother-in-law serve under the Government of India. She married their only son who is a doctor and they have one child. She got married when she was 25 years of age and before marriage, she had already completed her studies. She has worked hard to get her degree and after that, she got a job and supported her brother in his studies. She continued to work and bear the expenditure of her family. She is a very hard working woman and does immense work for her family. At the age of 25 years, she got married and continued her job. Her workplace is quite far from their locality and had to travel for around 30 minutes on her scooter.

During the time of her pregnancy, while going to work, she underwent a spontaneous abortion and had to quit her job. Her parents-in-law wanted her to stay at home and take care of her health since it was their first grandchild. Thereafter, there was no chance for her to work she became busy with her household work and has to look after her child too. All her family members would go out to work and she had to stay home with her child. Now her child is quite grown up so she has gone to work voluntarily in their local primary school where her mother-in-law is also working.

'Maile ani mero ama baba le kasto jor garera padai ma yo mukam payeko ho ani kaam pani gareko ho besi samei taka nabhaye pani. Yesto mukam payera ahile school ma tyo pani voluntary kaam garda sarei pir lagcha. Mero sasu ani sasura haru yesto padeko bhaye pani uni harule bujhi diyena ki malai pani euta kaam garnu maan cha bhanera. Ghar ma kei paisa ka kami chaina ani teibhara nei malai ta ghar mai basnu bhancha. Mero

buda le pani afno ama baba lai pura maan cha teseile unarko against kei kura gardaina.'

According to Smt. Seema, her parents had given their best for her education. She worked for a while but cannot continue after marriage. Although she has a master's degree, she has to work in a school on a voluntary basis which brings her morale down. Even though her in-laws are educated, they do not allow her to hold a job. Since money is not a problem in the family, they want their daughter-in-law to stay at home and look after the house. "My husband loves me but cannot go against his parents and allow me to work outside". She states that money is not everything in life and one must have a job in order to maintain her dignity and identity. "If one has to stay in the house for a long time with a lot of free time, then one's mind can lead to unnecessary and negative which is not favorable.

Case V: A Middle-Aged Contractor

Smt. Neetu is a middle-aged married woman and lives in a nuclear family with her husband and three children. She has a step-mother-in-law who is still young and so they could not remain in the joint family. Her husband is a teacher and she is also working as a contractor. Before marrying, she did not get a chance to study further and had to get married due to family pressure. Her parents wanted her to marry when they were alive and she had done what was told of her but she does not regret their decision till date because her husband is a very understanding person and supports her in every possible way. She is an independent woman and had been working even when her child was very young. She had to sometimes travel out of the station but

her husband was always there to support her in household work and in looking after their children also.

'Katti Gorkhali aimy le contract haruta keta manche ka kaam ho bhanera kaam garnu khochdaina. Tyo ekdam jhuto kura ho chori manche le pani kaam garnu sakincha ani ahile maile pani garera dekhayeko chu. Padai ta garnu parcha bhapani contract garnu ka lagi chai euta confident chayincha ani tyo chai masanga cha bhannu chahanchu. Sabei Gorkhali aimy harule pani yo kura chai jani rakhos ki kaam bhanda keta ya keti ka alag alag hudaina sab ek ho ani afule sano thannu hudaina.'

Gorkhali women are not yet confident enough to work and undertake a job in a society which is male-oriented. A job like a contractor is mainly done by men in Aizawl and women are not comfortable with this kind of job. What Smt. Neetu believes is that there is no difference in men's work and women's work but the most important thing is that we have to accept any kind of job. With confidence, we can do all kind of jobs as done by men. One does not have to acquire higher education to do any kind of work; in fact, confidence is the main factor to increase the level of development of Gorkha women.

Case VI: Middle Aged Home Maker

Smt. Teena, a married woman of 42 years had studied up to eighth standard and could not continue due to the poor economic condition of her family. In addition, she did not have much interest in her studies. Earlier, education was not given much importance as their main aim was to have an education up to high school and after that, get married. The same thing happened to her when she got married to her boyfriend at the age of 23 years

and now she is the mother of three children. Her husband is a wage labourer and sometimes she used to help him in his work.

“It is very hard to run a family with one person’s income where our children have to go to school and there are many other needs to be fulfilled. Although we can ask help from our family, it is not always possible. Since we stay separately, we have to bear the responsibility of our own family but my husband is not emotionally mature and does not care about these things. If we got some money for our daily needs, it is enough for him and he does not care about saving for the future.”

Smt. Teena says that they do not have any future plan and they just went along with life. They got married at an early age without thinking about the future and now they are suffering. Her husband started drinking alcohol and this creates more problems in the family. In the earlier days, they used to be happy with the small amount of money which her husband used to earn daily. His income was sufficient for them to carry on their daily living but alcohol has ruined their life. Smt. Teena told her husband not to drink but he cannot quit his drinking habits and her words do not have any meaning for him.

‘Mero buda raksi piunu lagyo bhane kaam ma jadaina ani ghar ka kharcha kasari chalaune tes karan le ghar ma pani jhakra bhai rakcha. Kahile kaso ta chodera jam jasto lagcha bhapani ke garne chora chori lai dekhda maya le garda pani chodnu sakdaina. Maile nai chodera gaye bhane mero buda ta khattam nai huncha. Hami Gorkhali aimi manche Mizo jasto hoina ki kei bhayo bhane buda lai chodera jane sano kura ma nani lai tuda banaune.

Ek choti behe garyo bhane maran le matra hamilai chuttaucha. Euta thulo bishwas sanga baseki chu kunei din ta yo nasha lai chodcha bhanera.'

“When my husband starts taking alcohol, he stays at home and does not go for work. If he does not go for work, then we cannot run our family which is why we keep on fighting with these issues. Sometimes I just want to leave all these things behind and leave him but because of my children, I cannot do that. If I leave him, he will not be able to survive and it will be like letting him die. We have intense faith in a marriage that once we are married then only death will separate us. We, the Gorkha women have strong faith in marriage and we are not like the Mizo women for whom divorce is easy. The rate of divorce is much high among Mizo women than among Gorkha women”.

Because of her husband’s behaviour after drinking, Smt. Teena has to take care of the family and at this point, she used to regret not studying when she was young. She had to stop her schooling at an early age and get married. Now due to her family problems, she has to work hard to earn their daily living. Since she does not have any skills to work and all she can do is to work as a labourer where women are not much preferred. She wants her children to study and she hopes to give her best to educate them. She does not want her children to face the same hardships she has undergone.

From the above cases, it can be identified that all the Gorkha women from the three study areas face a lot of challenges in their life. Right from their teenage years, they have to give up their studies due to family problems and face more challenges after marriage mainly due to lack of education. Their spouse plays a vital role in their development because an understanding partner

supports a wife to continue her studies so that she can become an independent woman. Some women are not as lucky and have to bear the burden of an alcoholic spouse and conservative in-laws. As a whole, Gorkhali women need education in order to address the challenges faced by themselves and their families.

6.2.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD was conducted with the women from three study areas which are Aizawl women (AW), Shillong women (SW) and Guwahati women (GW). The women who participated in the discussions are mostly of middle age and widows. They are of mixed groups where some are employed, self-employed and house maker. Seven to ten women from each group participated in the discussion. The participants were briefed about the objectives of the exercise beforehand.

The main themes of the discussion are as follows:

- i) Feelings and perceptions of being a woman in a patriarchal society
- ii) Problems faced by Gorkha women within and outside the community
- iii) Hindrances in the development of Gorkha women
- iv) Strategies to overcome challenges faced by Gorkha women

6.2.2.1 Guwahati Gorkhali Women

“To be a woman is the best experience in this world” was a statement made by the women to start the discussion. To be able to born as a Gorkha woman is one of the fortunate things for them where the girl child is treated as ‘Devi’ (Goddess) in their culture. A girl child is being worshiped and girl children are given a high place in the Gorkha community. The participants felt like one of the fortunate women in this world where they enjoy their life to

the fullest. They are allowed to work even after marriage if they have a good family and enjoy full freedom making their culture still alive. Since Gorkhali women are living in a male dominant community, they sometimes used to face challenges in their lives mainly in decision- making. But many of them feel that the family lead by men at home is more preferable than that of women because the women themselves are not confident in leading a family. Women want men to lead a family where women can give full support to them.

Another major problem is that women do not know their rights especially when they face ethnic discrimination from the local people. Nowadays people know the existence of the Gorkha people and their history of how they were one of the first settlers of the mainland. However, there are still lots of people who do not know about it and women must have the knowledge in order to be accountable. The case of Guwahati is slightly different with regards to an identity crisis and owning shops. The people of Guwahati do not face problems related to donation collected by local people because of their non-local identity but they willingly give donations at the time of pujas. The people of Guwahati have OBC status and the situation is much better but educated women are still very less in number.

Married women face a lot of challenges in their family and the major problems they face is with their in-laws. They feel that husbands need to understand them and the problems related to their in-laws will be solved immediately. At the same time, the in-laws also have a problem related to their daughters-in-law. They feel that their daughters-in-law accept only their sons as a family but do not accept their in-laws in the same way. They want their daughter-in-law to accept their whole family which is lacking in many

marriages today. At this point, men play an important role in balancing between their wife and parents. If men are emotionally mature, they can handle this balance family life will be harmonious and happy. They feel that the unity of the people is needed for their growth and also they need to be united with the local people. The cooperation with the locality people is a strong necessity for their development because, at the time of difficulties, they can count on them.

According to women, education has been one of the main factors for the hindrance of development. They have to educate themselves which is for the betterment of the community as a whole. The other reason for the underdevelopment of Gorkhali women is gossiping and back biting. Due to lack of education and employment, women have a lot of free time and use this to gossip about others. They themselves know that it is not a good thing but do so as a means of outlet and recreation. What they actually desire is to stop gossiping and to be busy in some productive work which would be suitable for them. They felt bad that some women indulge in alcohol and do not want such behaviour in their society.

6.2.2.2 Shillong Gorkhali Women

Women of Shillong are happy to be born as a Gorkhali woman although they faced many challenges in their earlier days in this male dominant society. They love their life as women but when they have to become fully dependent on men then their life becomes complicated. All women are not lucky enough to have an understanding husband and therefore most of the women have to undergo many challenges in their daily life. Women are the one who always has to understand the family because they

have that power and are also trained from an early age. They are the ones who have to drop out of school because of family situations and have to look after the family to become a good daughter, a good sister and an excellent house maker.

The main problems they face as being Gorkha women is the problem of identity crisis. Whenever there is an unwanted situation created by any of the non-local residents, then they are asked to leave the Shillong. They are often greeted by hurtful comments like, “Go back to Nepal, your homeland”. There are also land issues in Shillong when it comes to buying and selling of land but if they want to stay there without buying land, then they can stay happily. It is difficult for the Gorkhali educated women to pursue their higher studies because first preference is given to the local tribal people and then only they are given a chance. Although they do have Central University, it is difficult for them to get seats over there because first preference is given to the tribal students. They do not have OBC status and they have to apply for everything under the general category. The case of Aizawl and Shillong is quite similar with regards to identity problems. Women face a lot of challenges after marriage because they have to relocate to their husband’s house and start a life with a whole new set of individuals. They face lots of adjustment problems and sometimes also quarrel with their in-laws. These are one of the reasons for their separation with their spouse or with the family. They need a very supportive husband who can understand them and help them to adjust to every situation.

What they feel is that unity among the Gorkhali women is needed for their upliftment and empowerment and development will come only when

women learn to work as a team. They should always keep in mind that they are part of a minority population and thus unity is the main tool for a better position in society. The main hindrance for the development of Gorkha women is a low level of education. Women get married at a young age and do not complete their education. If they are not educated then they cannot get employment and cannot contribute to their family income. They are very good at looking after the family but they wish to do something useful for themselves and contribute to their family as well. When their children are young, they have to give full time and attention to them but as their children are grown up, they need some kind of work to occupy themselves. Due to lack of education, they become vulnerable and cannot do what they want. Not having pursued their education is one of their biggest regrets to date, and therefore wants their children to achieve the highest level of education.

Alcohol is always a problem for the lack of development among women and men likewise. Some women are also consuming alcohol which leads to family dysfunction. The main reason why women consume alcohol is that of their husbands. Their husbands are alcoholics with no concern for their family's needs and some wives become frustrated enough to drown their sorrows in alcohol. There are also some women who consume alcohol although their husbands do not do so. These kinds of women are very hard to handle and they do not care for their family. The situation of a family where both the parents indulge in alcohol is one where the children bear much suffering. Since women are the main builders of a family, at least the mother should not indulge in such behaviour.

6.2.2.3 Aizawl Gorkhali Women

The importance of the girl child in a family is recognized by the Gorkhali people and many of them prefer more girl child than a boy. Although there is still a belief that boy child is better because they look after their parents at old age. But still, the world is changing and so do their beliefs. From their experiences, many women in today's world are looking after their family and the Gorkha people are also changing their perceptions towards the girl and boy child.

For Gorkha women in Aizawl, an identity crisis is one of the major problems that they are facing to date. Due to their looks, they are not accepted by the local people because the local people have Mongoloids looks and the Gorkha people are the combination of different Jatis. The Gorkhali people who have been living in Mizoram prior to 1956 years only can get the citizenship of Mizoram and not the others. The Gorkha people who settled in the land after that cannot get any beneficiaries from the State. If a Gorkhali person or family owns a shop, then they become obligated to give donations collected by local organizations.

With regards to OBC status, the situation is similar to the Shillong people and the Gorkha women of Aizawl do not have any job expectations in state government jobs. Although the Gorkhas have been living in the land from their forefathers, they are still facing identity crisis and have to keep reminding the local people that they too belong to the same land. They do not have any other place to go because most of them are staying in the land that they bought or received from the British Government. If asked where their motherland is, they have no reply other than to say Mizoram. The relationship

between brides and in-laws is much better in Aizawl even though there are still some conservative and strict in-laws. When a woman gets married within her community, they do not face too many challenges as most Aizawl Gorkhali women are quite open-minded towards their daughters-in-law.

There is still a lack of unity within Gorkhali settlements where one cannot bear to see the success of others and this becomes one of the main reasons for the hindrance of development. The level of women education is still very low in the Gorkha community and they have to really work on this aspect for their development. The more the women are not employed, the more time they spend time at home and in the society where lots of gossiping and negative talk occurs. Women need to work in order to occupy themselves and to do more productive things for themselves and their society. Aizawl women say that the rate of divorce is less in Gorkha community because they do not leave their husband at the time of crisis even though they may be alcoholics. They keep on living with them for the sake of their family and are of the perception that this long-suffering nature of women is a superpower that leads to the betterment of their family.

From the above discussion, the Gorkhali women of the three cities came to a concrete conclusion about the fact that those married women who can handle their in-laws well are the one who can stay happy in their family. Women should not take too much burden when it comes to marriages whether their laws will be good or not and so on. What they believe is that if they love their son and want to marry him, then they should be able to love their family and accept them as well only after which a happy married life can happen. There may be some exceptional cases where the in-laws or the women

may not accept each other and becomes difficult to live together. But as a whole, what they believe is that if 'we keep on behaving well with them then one day they can change their mind and understand us.'

Education of Gorkha is most important for any kind of development. Every Gorkhali should give the utmost importance to the education of their children and their quality will help them to fight any kind of crisis. If they are educated, then they will be employed in higher administration which will automatically make them rise above others. Gorkha women need education as a weapon for their growth. They realize that although they could not attain higher education themselves, their children can have the best education. They do not want their children to undergo the same circumstances that they are going or have gone through. In spite of the fact that they do achieve get a higher education before their marriages, they desire their partners to support their wife in accomplishing their education even after marriages.

Women have to work together as a group to help each other to solve their problems and to make a change in society. Women are already working together as an association but these associations need to be strengthened not only internally but outside their community as well. Working together with the local associations within their own areas is one of the best ways to preserve their identity. If the Gorkhali people are united among themselves and continue their unity with the local people, this will lead to the development of the Gorkhas.

The analysis of the above FGD findings with Gorkha women in North East India are discussed as below:

(i) Feelings and Perceptions of Being a Woman in a Patriarchal Society

The women of Guwahati perceive that being a woman is the best experience in this world where Gorkhali women are fortunate as the girl child is treated as 'Devi' (Goddess) and given a high place in the Gorkha community. But after marriage, if they do not get a good husband, then their lives become miserable in the male dominant society. Women of Shillong are happy to be born as a Gorkhali woman although they face challenges in their earlier days. They love their life as women but it becomes miserable if they have to become fully dependent on men. The importance of the girl child in a family is recognized by the Aizawl Gorkhali people and many of them prefer more female than male children although there are some who still prefer a boy child as they can look after their parents at old age.

(ii) Problems Face by Gorkha Women

The Gorkha women as being part of a minority group in all the three cities of North East India mainly face the problem of identity crisis problems which is prevalent in all the study areas. The Gorkhali people do not have a homeland in India due to which they have to struggle so much in their daily life when it comes to identity. When they are asked to go back to their homeland in times of communal crisis in their locality, they often become clueless and have to clarify to the people how much they are also the settlers of the land just as they are. They do not have any other place to go because they have been living in the area from the time of their forefathers.

(iii) Constraints to Development of Gorkhali Women

Gorkhali women of the three different cities perceived that education of women had always been the main constraint of development. They are literate

but not educated due to certain circumstances. The women of Guwahati said that the education of women is needed for their development and they are facing challenges from their in-laws where they are not allowed to work outside their homes after marriage. They want their daughters-in-law to stay at home and look after the family. The Shillong women's constraint for development is again education which is similar with the two cities. The Gorkhali educated women face challenges in getting seats for higher studies due to OBC status which is not given to them by the government like the case in Aizawl. They mention that the indulgence of women in alcohol is also the reason for their backwardness. Gorkhali women of Aizawl have constraints with regards to their education and the less number of employed women. They are denied employment opportunities because they do not have the OBC status. The lack of unity is also a major constraint to the development of Gorkhali women.

(iv) Policy Suggestions

The education of a girl child should not be neglected and full investment must be made for their education is a suggestion made by the Gorkhali women of all three cities. Through education, the Gorkhali women can become aware of and can safeguard their rights from all the internal and external factors. The family is the most important aspect of their development because, without their support, women development is not possible. Since they are living as a minority group in each of the three cities, unity among them becomes a necessary weapon. The uneducated women can be uplifted through adult education, skill development, and training.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to look at the challenges of women from the points of view of the respondents. In the next chapter, the findings of the present study are summarised. The conclusion and implication of the present study are also presented.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

The present study probes into the bearing of social capital on the development of Gorkhali women in North East India. It also tries to contextualize the relationship between social capital endowment of women and their development to the socio-cultural and structural context of the women belonging to the minority ethnic group of Gorkhas in North East India. Further, it also explores the challenges and constraints to the development of Gorkhali women from an emic perspective. Social capital, in the present study, has been conceptualized from the perspective of social network and operationalized with the help of composition and structural measures of egocentric networks. Women development has been conceptualized in terms of objective economic indicators and subjective happiness. The study was conducted in three major cities of North East India viz., Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl. Qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to fulfill the research objectives and hypotheses.

The previous chapter presented an emic understanding of the Gorkhali women in North East India with regard to their developmental challenges. This chapter has been presented in three major sections. The first section presents the summary of the findings of the present study. In the second chapter, the conclusion of the study is presented. The implications of the study are presented in the third section.

7.1. Summary of Findings

This present section tries to summarise the findings of the present study. It has been exhibited into seven sub-sections. The first sub-section is

devoted to a description of the socio-cultural and structural context of the Gorkhali women in the North East of India. In the second sub-section, the social background characteristics of the Gorkhali women are discussed. The third sub-section deals with the findings on the composition and structure of social support networks of the Gorkhali women in North East are summarised. The fourth sub-section summarises the findings on the social capital endowment of the Gorkhali women in the three cities. The fifth sub-section presents a summary of the findings on the development of Gorkhali women in North East India. The sixth sub-section presents the findings on the relationship between social capital and Gorkhali women development in North East India. In the seventh section, the challenges to Gorkhali women development in the North East are summarised.

7.1.1 Socio-Cultural and Structural Context of Gorkhali Women in North East India

The Gorkhas have been living in different parts of India over 200 years. The Gorkhali speaking people have settled in different part of India especially in the North Eastern part of India. The study was conducted in three cities of North East India viz., Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl. In all the three cities the Gorkhali people have settled there prior to the eighteenth century and lived together with the native people. The Gorkhali people used to participate in the social, cultural and religious activities of the non-Gorkhali people and the latter were taking part in the former's activities too. That close and mutual kind of relationship was there at that time between the groups. But time changes so do people and their relationships. Now the younger non-

Gorkhali generation hardly knows about the good relationship of their forefathers with the Gorkhali people.

It has been observed from the present study that the Gorkhali people are residing in a homogeneous group and their location is more favorable because of their early settlements in those areas. They give importance to the establishment of Mandirs and Schools for their community people in their respective areas as well as to creating welfare associations for themselves. The Gorkhali women are working together as an association and help the needy. They play a vital role in strengthening the connection with the non-Gorkhali people of their respective localities by involving in the socio-cultural activities.

Gorkha society is patrilineal and jati based. Social relations in Gorkha society are regulated by the norms of jati order and principles of patriarchy. The woman's primary role is seen in terms of her domestic responsibilities. Gorkhali women of the three cities are mostly unemployed and their standard of education is generally low. Most of these women are busy in household and family work which makes them happy. But at the same time, it does not help them in their individual development since they are not doing any productive work for themselves.

7.1.2 Social Structural Bases of Gorkhali Women in North East India

The social structural bases of Gorkhali women respondents have been discussed in terms of demographic, social, economic characteristics and living conditions.

The demographic structural bases of the respondents have been studied in terms of characteristics of age, education and marital status. No significant differences in these characteristics could be noted across the three cities -

Aizawl, Shillong and Guwahati. Most of the Gorkhali women respondents in all the three cities belong to Late Adulthood (35 -59) age group. Most of the respondents were literates in all the cities and have crossed the middle school. A vast majority of the respondents were married invariably in all three cities.

Family structural background of the respondents was explored in terms of the type of family, size of family, a form of family and gender of head of the family. In terms of these structural features of family, no significant difference in the pattern could be observed across the three cities. As regards the type of family, most of the respondents belonged to nuclear families while a significant proportion of joint families are still found in all the three cities. Small, medium and large size of families could be noted in all the cities. Most of the respondents belonged to medium sized families invariably in all the cities. As regards the type of family, a vast majority of the respondents belonged to stable families across the three cities. Broken or reconstituted/step families are rarely found among the Gorkhalis in North East India. As regards the gender of head of the household, most of the respondents in all the three cities belonged to male-headed families.

Social structural bases of the respondents have been discussed in terms of religion and jati hierarchy. Almost all of the Gorkhali respondents belong to the Hindu religion and only a few of them have converted to Christianity. The proportion of converts to Christianity is greater in Aizawl. As regards jati hierarchy, four groups could be observed among the Gorkhalis in North East India. They are Brahmana, Chhetry, Shahi, Pradhan, Gharti etc, Rai, Limbu, Thapa, Tamang etc, Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc. The Brahmana is considered the highest while the Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc., group is considered as lowest. The

respondents of Guwahati have the highest group of second jati hierarchy viz., Chhetri, Pradhan, Gharti, Shahi/Thakuri etc. However, there is the difference in the pattern of distribution of respondents across the three cities. The pattern of distribution is similar between Guwahati and Shillong. Only the first three jati group's viz., Brahmanas, Chhetry and Rai, Limbu, and Thapa could be found in these two cities while all the four groups were present in Aizawl.

Economic structural bases of the respondents were explored in terms of dependency, primary occupation, secondary occupation, and socio economic category. In terms of these economic structural characteristics, no significant difference could be noted among the respondents across the three states. As regards dependency, most of the respondents were dependents across the three cities. Skilled labour, petty business and government service were the three avenues for women employment among the Gorkhali women in the three cities. Daily wage labourers or large business owners were rarely found among the Gorkhali women in all these cities. However, most of the respondents belong to the non-poor category invariably across the three cities.

Living conditions of women respondents were discussed based on personal assets ownership, annual household income, annual personal income and monthly personal expenditure where differences in the levels of living could be noted among the women. The respondents from Aizawl have the highest value of personally owned assets as compared to Shillong and Guwahati respondents. Among the assets, house/building and jewels are the two forms of assets owned by most of the Gorkhali women in all three cities. The annual personal income of the Aizawl Gorkhali women is highest followed by Shillong and Guwahati Gorkhali women respectively. Whereas, the monthly

expenditure of the Gorkhali women is highest among the Shillong respondents followed by Aizawl and Guwahati respondents respectively.

7.1.3 Social Support Networks of the Gorkhali Women in North East India

Social support networks data were collected with the help of name generators, interpreters and interpellators. Egocentric social support networks of the Gorkhali women were analyzed for their composition and structure with the help of E-Net software. They were further analyzed with the help of SPSS for their differences in variation and pattern across the three cities. The composition of the social support networks was analyzed in terms of the alters (source of support) demographic and social characteristics. Heterogeneity in the composition of the alters in the social support networks and the homophily (similarity) of the actor (respondent) and alter have also been analyzed. In this subsection, the findings are summarised.

The demographic composition of the alters in the social support networks include gender, age, and education. As regards gender, the alters of personal social support networks of Gorkhali women are by and large composed of women and a few alters were men. The Gorkhali women in Shillong had a greater percentage of men in their personal networks as compared to those in Guwahati and Aizawl. Male networks were significant whereas female network was not significant. The age of the alters in the social support networks of the Gorkhali women varied significantly between the three cities and as a whole. It ranged from thirty-two to fifty-three years of age. The mean years of education of the alter in the social support networks across the cities ranged from six to twelve years.

The social composition of the alters in the social support networks has been discussed in terms of jati, ethnicity religion and socio economic category. Social hierarchy in all the three cities could be observed through the jati composition of the social support network of respondents. Most of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belonged to the Brahmana Jati which occupies the top of the hierarchy which is followed by the second, third and fourth categories respectively. A vast majority of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents belonged to the Gorkhali ethnic group invariably across the three cities studied and only a few of them come from other ethnicities. In the same manner, a vast majority of the alters in social support networks of the respondents belong to the Hindu religion and only a few of alters in the social support networks of the respondents were Muslims and Christians. The majority of the alters in social support networks of the respondents belonged to the non-poor socio-economic category and only a few of them were from the poor category.

Type of relationship, the closeness between the actor and alter, and type of social support received were also discussed. Kins constituted the majority of the alters in the social support networks of the respondents followed by friends and neighbours across the three cities. There was inter-city variation in closeness between the respondents and their alters. Aizawl respondents are closer to their alters as compared to those in Shillong and Guwahati. Among the three types of social support, emotional social support is at the top followed by financial, and information support invariably in all the cities.

Homogeneity measures indicate the similarity among the alters in the network in terms of their demographic, social and economic characteristics. The

social support networks of the Gorkhali women respondents were found to be homogeneous in most of the demographic, social, and economic characteristics. There is heterogeneity in the composition of social support networks of the respondents across the three cities of north east India. Homogeneity in social support network was observed in terms of gender, education, religion and socio-economic category of the alters. Homogeneity was observed only in case of the alters' age and jati across the three cities.

As regards homophily i.e. similarity between the actor (respondent) and alters (social support), the social support networks of the respondents were similar across the three cities for most of the demographic, social and economic characteristics. The social support networks of the respondents were homophilous with regard to gender, jati, ethnicity, religion and socio economic category. Heterophily in the composition of social support networks of the respondents could be seen only in age and education.

7.1.4 Social Capital Endowment of the Gorkhali Women in North East India

Social capital in the present study is operationalized in terms of compositional and structural measures of networks. The compositional measures include homophily and heterogeneity while the structural measures include size, density, effective size, and constraint. As homophily, heterogeneity and structure involve a number of indicators, factor analysis with principal components method has been used to derive weighted aggregate factor scores.

The first hypothesis of the present study reads that there is intercity variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India. This hypothesis has been tested with one-way analysis of variance of

social capital measure derived. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. However, in both of the dimensions viz., Composition of Social Support Network as well as the Structure of networks, the significant intercity variation could be observed. In a composite measure of the composition of social support network and its constituents - homophily and heterogeneity, the significant intercity variation could be observed. Similarly, a significant inter-city variation could be observed in the structure of social support networks in both structural hole and network structure. The distribution of social capital among the respondents in the area was found to be normal. On the whole, most of the respondents are located in either moderate or low levels of social capital. Most of the respondents living in Shillong have either a moderate or high level of social capital endowment. On the other hand, most of the respondents from Guwahati as well as Aizawl have a social capital endowment at a low or moderate level. From the pattern of distribution of social capital endowment, no significant association between the City and level of social capital was found.

The second hypothesis of the present study reads that there is inter jati variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women in north east India. In the composite measure of social capital, there is no significant inter jati variation in social capital. Hence, the null hypothesis that there is no inter jati variation in the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women has been accepted. Jati hierarchy has no significant effect on social capital embedded in the composition and structure of social capital of the Gorkhali women in North East India. Most of the respondents belonging to the highest Jati group

(Brahmana) have either low or moderate level of social capital endowment. However, a greater proportion of respondents belonging to the lowest jati such as Bishwa, Sarki, Damai etc. have a very low level of the social capital endowment as compared to the others.

The results of co-relational analysis of demographic variables with dimensions and indicators of social capital indicate that education is a major determinant of the social capital endowment of Gorkhali women. The respondent's education is significantly correlated with all the dimensions of social capital and thus with the composite measure of social capital. In the same manner, the household means years of adult education of the respondents is also positively related to the composite social capital measure.

7.1.5 Development of Gorkhali Women in North East India

Women development is the process of increasing the well-being of women. The well-being of women can be assessed with the help of objective indicators and subjective indicators. Women development is objectively measured with the help of economic indicators and subjective rating of their happiness. Four economic indicators viz., the value of Assets Personally Owned by the respondent, Annual Personal Income of Women, Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women, and Personal Savings of Women were factor analyzed with principal component analysis and a composite factor score was derived. A modified version of Oxford happiness questionnaire was used to assess happiness. The items in the Oxford happiness questionnaire were factor analyzed to derive a composite score of happiness (see appendix). Both of these objective and subjective measures are analyzed for inter-city and inter jati variations. They were classified into four levels and the association between

city and jati hierarchy and levels of women development and happiness were further analyzed.

The third hypothesis is that there is inter-city variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India. To test this hypothesis, one-way analysis of variance was used. The independent variable was city while the dependent variable was composite women development. In the light of the analysis, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. The one-way analysis of variance reveals that out of the four indicators of women development, only one indicator which is Monthly Personal Expenditure of Women shows significant intercity variation. The results of cross-tabulation of city and level of women development show that there is an association between city and women development. This is contrary to the results of one-way analysis of variance reported in the earlier section. While most of the respondents could be located at the low level of women development in all the three cities, the respondents from Shillong have a slightly better level of women development among the three.

The fourth hypothesis states that there is intercity variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India. In the light of the one-way analysis of variance, the null hypothesis that there is no intercity variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. There is no significant association between the City of Domicile and the Level of Happiness of the respondents. Most of the respondents, irrespective of the city of domicile, have a moderate level of happiness.

The fifth hypothesis reads that there is inter jati variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India. To test this hypothesis, one-way analysis of variance has been used. In the light of the statistical analysis, the null hypothesis that there is no inter jati variation in the development of Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. Irrespective of location in jati hierarchy, a vast majority of respondents are at low level of women development. More than a tenth of the respondents in each of the jati groups could be found at the moderate level of women development. A small number in each of the categories could also be observed at the high level of women development.

The sixth hypothesis of the present study states that there is inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India. This hypothesis is tested with the help of one-way analysis of variance. In the light of the results of the analysis, the sixth null hypothesis that there is no inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India has been rejected while the alternative hypothesis that there is inter jati variation in the happiness of Gorkhali women in North East India has been validated. Between the respondents of first category jati and those of the third group, there is a significant difference. The members of the former group have greater happiness as compared to those of the latter group. There is no association between jati hierarchy and level of happiness of Gorkhali women. Most of the respondents in each of the jati groups either have a moderate or low level of happiness.

The demographic characteristics viz., mean years of adult education of household, education of respondent and annual household income had a

consistently positive relationship with women's happiness and development. Whereas the size of the family has no relationship with women development, it has a positive relationship with women happiness. The seventh null hypothesis that here is no relationship between social capital endowment and women development among Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted.

7.1.6 Social Capital and Gorkhali Women Development in North East

India

The present study seeks to understand the relationship between social capital and well-being of Gorkhali women. The seventh and eighth hypotheses focus on this. The seventh hypothesis of the present study states that there is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women development. This hypothesis was tested with the help of computation of Karl Pearson's product moment coefficient between composite measures of social capital and women development. In the light of the correlational analysis, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between social capital endowment and women development among Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. Women development has no significant relationship with a structural hole and network structure dimensions of social capital. None of the indicators of social capital in these two dimensions are significant at 5 per cent level. Both the indicators of network structure size and density have no significant relationship. The indicators of structural hole effective size and constraint also have no significant relationship with women development. However, network composition has a negative relationship with women development. Homophily, one of the indicators of social support network

composition also has a negative relationship with women development while heterogeneity has no significant relationship.

The eighth hypothesis of the present study states that there is a direct relationship between social capital endowment of Gorkhali women and women happiness. In the light of the results of the correlational analysis, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between social capital endowment and happiness among the Gorkhali women in North East India has been accepted. None of the dimensions of social capital composition, network structure, and structural hole have any significant relationship with women happiness. However, only one indicator of the network structure of social capital i.e., degree (size) of social support network has a positive relationship with social capital. Thus social capital endowments of Gorkhali women have no significant bearing on their economic development and happiness. It could also be observed that there is no significant relationship between women development and happiness.

7.1.7 Emic Understanding of Women Development

The present subsection summarises the findings of the emic understanding of the challenges and constraints to the development of Gorkhali women in North East India.

What factors constrain development among the Gorkhali women? What can be done to promote their development? These are certain pertinent questions raised in the present study. So as to answer these questions, a few open-ended questions were included in the interview schedule. The responses were analyzed with the help of percentages and Smith's salience. It was found that there is no significant difference in the pattern of ranking of these

constraints and suggestions by respondents across the three cities of North East India. Spearman's rank correlation coefficients were computed to see the significance of differences in the pattern of ranking across the cities of Guwahati, Shillong, and Aizawl. In the perception of Gorkhali women, low education status, lack of skills, inadequate encouragement, lack of self-esteem, early marriage, lack of unity in the community, inadequate sense of belongingness, lack of employment opportunities, backbiting, landlessness, donation seeking NGOs, substance use; and lack of avenues for self-employment were the challenges faced by them. They have suggested promotion of women's education, unity in the community, women's rights awareness, women's socio-political participation, understanding of women by men, skill training, adult education, women's work participation, accessibility of leaders, and vocational education as measures for promoting women development.

From the lived experiences of Gorkha women analyzed through case studies, it could be observed that they face a lot of challenges in their life. Right from their teenage years, they have to give up their studies due to family problems and face challenges after marriage due to lack of education. The spouse plays a vital role in the development of a Gorkhali woman because an understanding partner would support her to continue her studies or undertake employment so that she can become empowered. Wherever a Gorkhali woman faces problems from her spouse and/or herin-laws, her development is curtailed. As a whole, Gorkhali women realize the role of education and employment to develop themselves to address their challenges.

The participants of FGDs conducted with the Gorkhali women in the three cities came to a concrete conclusion that married women who can handle their in-laws well are the ones who can stay happy in their family. They feel education of Gorkhas is of utmost importance for any kind of development. Every Gorkhali should give priority to the education of their children which will help them fight any kind of crisis. If they are educated, they will be employed in higher administration which automatically will increase their identity and status in the community. They also felt that women have to work together as groups to help each other to solve their problems and to make a change in society. Women are already working together as an association and it was felt that these associations need to be strengthened not only within but also outside their community. Being part of a minority group, Gorkha women from all the three cities felt that identity crisis is another challenge faced by them.

7.2. Conclusion

Gorkhali women in North East India suffer from low status in family and community due to their low level of education and economic dependency. Their well-being measured in terms of objective economic indicators show that they are by and large, at a low level of development. However, their level of happiness was mostly moderate. There is no significant relationship between social capital endowments of Gorkhali women and their development or happiness. Most of the Gorkhali women have a low level of social capital. However, women well-being measured in terms both objective economic indicators and subjective happiness is positively related to the household mean years of adult education as well as the respondents' years of education.

Women's education remains low because of the cultural expectations of their roles primarily in terms of their domestic responsibilities. The patrilineal and patriarchal norms prevent women's educational advancement as well as economic participation. This, in turn, perpetuates a low level of economic development of women as well as low level of social capital endowment. Wherever Gorkhali women get an opportunity for educational advancement, employment or entrepreneurial involvement, they are successful across the three cities of North East India. Gorkhali women in these three cities feel strongly about the need for their educational advancement and economic participation. They expect their cultural ambiance to change in favor of their development and empowerment.

7.3. Implications

In light of the findings and suggestions, a few policy suggestions and suggestions for future research are put forward in the following two subsections.

7.3.1. Policy Suggestions

1. For enhancing the development of Gorkhali women in North East India, the most critical strategy would be to promote their human capital especially educational advancement and skill development. Apart from promoting the education of girl child, adult and continuing education also need to be promoted among the Gorkhali women. Efforts need to be made to generate awareness among the members of the Gorkhali community on the importance of education of girl children and women. Efforts are also needed to bring Gorkhali children and women closer to educational institutions.

2. Another important strategy for enhancing the economic development of women is promoting the economic participation of Gorkhali women who are by and large economically dependent on men. The cultural confinement of women to the domestic walls needs to be changed. Self-employment and professional employment need to be encouraged. Programmes for skill development and entrepreneurial development programmes also need to be organized for women.
3. Encouragement of social participation of Gorkhali women is yet another strategy for their development. Women's associations and self-help groups can play a significant role in enhancing their human capital endowment in terms of knowledge, skill, and capacity on the one hand and social capital endowment on the other.
4. Gender stereotypes and prejudices permeate the Gorkhali community in North East India. These stereotypes perpetuate the low social status of women in the family and community. Also, Gorkhali women are confined within domestic walls thus preventing their active participation in the economic, political and social life of the society as active citizens. Efforts must be made to create a favourable cultural climate in the Gorkhali community for women's education, employment as well as social and political participation.
5. The major stumbling block in the progress of Gorkhali people in Shillong and Aizawl is that their communities are neither included in ST/ST or OBCs lists though jati system and therefore, inequality prevails among them. This prevents them from accessing public educational institutions and government employment. Hence, the Gorkhali community as a whole needs to be included in the OBC list.

7.3.2 Suggestions for Future Research

1. Social capital remains a fertile field of research for social scientists especially social workers. The theoretical and methodological advancements can be tapped to understand the problems of development in varied contexts of India.
2. The present study employed name generators to operationalize social network conceptualization of social capital. The other two methods of operationalizing social capital i.e. position generator and resource generator can also be used to assess access and utilization of social capital in the Indian contexts.
3. The problems of rural, urban and tribal community development can be studied from the perspective of social capital rigorously with social network methodological tools. The present study uses individual-level indicators of social capital while community-level indicators of social capital can also be further explored in the Indian contexts.

ⁱHerfindahl, Hirschman, Blau heterogeneity Measure is computed with the following formula.

$$H = 1 - \sum_k^n P_k^2$$

Where p_k indicates the proportion of alters that fall in the category k .

ⁱⁱIndex of Qualitative Variation (IQV) is a normalized measure of H so that it can achieve maximum value of 1. IQV is computed with the following formula.

$$IQV = \frac{1 - \sum P_k^2}{1 - \frac{1}{k}}$$

ⁱⁱⁱKrackhardt and Stern (1988) have given a very simple and useful measure homophily. Krackhardt and Stern's E-I index is computed with the following formula. E-I index =

$$\mathbf{E - I Index} = \frac{E - I}{E + I}$$

Where E is number of ties to members in different groups (external), I is number of ties to members of same group (internal). E-I Index varies between -1 (homophily) and +1(heterophily).

APPENDICES

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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT AMONG GORKHALI WOMEN IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Research Scholar
MsSangeetaRai
Ph.D. Scholar
Department of Social
Work
Mizoram University

Research Supervisor
Dr.Kanagaraj Easwaran
Associate Professor
Department of Social
Work
Mizoram University

Household Interview Schedule (Confidential and for Research Purpose Only)

I. Identification Information

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Schedule No: | 2. Date of Interview: |
| 3. State: | 4. Locality: |

II. Profile of the Respondent

1. Name :
2. Community(Specify) :
3. Gotra(specify) :
4. Religion :
5. Types of Family : 1. Nuclear 2. Joint
6. Size of Family :
7. Forms of Family : 1. Stable 2. Broken 3. Reconstituted
8. Socio Economic Category: 1. Very Poor(AAY)2.Poor(BPL)3.Others (specify)

III. Family Profile

a. Kindly furnish the demographic details of the members of your family:

ID	Name	Age	Sex ****	Marital Status ***	Community	Educ	Earner/ Dependent* *	Relation to Head*

**** 1 Male 2 Female

*** 1 Unmarried 2 Married 3 Divoreced/Seperated 4 Remarried 5 Widowed

** 1 Earner 2 Dependent

* 1 Head 2 Husband 3 Wife 4 Son 5 Daughter 6 Grandchildren 7 Others

IV. Please give us the details of the occupation of the earning members of your family.

	Sex				
		#Primary	##Secondary	Primary	Second

1.Govt. Officer 2.Govt. Workers 3.Cultivators 4. Wage Labourers5.Skilled Labourer6.Petty Business 7.Large Business

1.None 2.Govt. Officer 3.Govt. Workers 4.Cultivator 5. Wage Labourers6. Skilled Labourers 7.Petty Business 8.Large Business

V. Kindly give us the details of assets personally owned by you.

Sl.N	Asset	Number	Value (In Rs)
a.	Television		
b.	House/ Buildings		
c.	Jewels		
d.	Household Furniture		
e.	Household Utensils		
f.	Refrigerator		
g.	Vehicle		
h.	Others (Specify)		

VI. Details of monthly expenditure of your family

Sl.N	Item	Quantity	Monthly Expenses(Rs)
a.	Food Grains and Pulses		
b.	Greens Vegetables and Roots		
c.	Meat		
d.	Grocery and Edible Oil		
e.	Electricity		
f.	Clothing		
g.	Transport		

h.	Recreation		
i.	Drugs and Medical		
j.	Education		
k.	Alcoholic Beverages		
l.	Pan &Supari		
m.	Tobacco & Smoking		
n.	Others (specify)		

VII. Please give me the details of personal annual expenditure

Sl.No	Item	Annual Expenses (Rs)
a.	Clothing	
b.	Transport & Communication	
c.	Recreation	
d.	Cosmetics	
e.	Others(specify)	

VIII. Please give me the details of personal Savings and Investments in rupees

Sl.N	Form	Savings(Rs)
a.	Cash in hand	
b.	Friends and Relatives	
c.	Money Lenders	
d.	Commercial Banks (Including govt. loan)	
e.	Cooperatives	
f.	Post Office	
g.	LIC : Insurance Savings	
h.	Self Help Group(SHG)	
i.	Others(Specify)	

IX. Frequency of your participation in the community organisations.

SI.No	Organisation	Meeting				Voluntary Work			
		Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a.		4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
b.		4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1

X. Social Network Capital: Name Generator

- a. Do you know anyone with whom you share and discuss your personal problems at the time of difficulty (outside work and home)?

SI.No	Name	Relation

- b. In case you have some exigency whom will you approach for financial and material support?

SI.No	Name	Relation

- c. If you need to know something about education, health, employment, or government whom will you approach for information and clarification.

SI.No	Name	Relation

- d. Who keep(s) a spare key of your house or whom you leave your house key when you are out of station?

SI.No	Name	Relation

e. Please give me the details of members in your network.

Sl.No	Name	Sex	Age	Education	Ethnicity	Community (Specify)	SEC	Religion	How close? **
1									
2									

** 0 Not at all close; 1 Not very close; 2 Somewhat Close 3 Close; 4 Very Close

h. Will the following pairs of members in your support group can talk to each other when you are not present.

Sl.No	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1												
2												
3	Re55											

XI. Please rate the following items in terms of agreement.

S.No		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
a	Ma ahile jun awastha maachu ma khasai santustachaina. (R) I don't feel particularly pleased with the way I am. (R)	1	2	3	4
b	Ma arubektiharu pratitibraruchirakchu. I am intensely interested in other people.	1	2	3	4
c	Malai lagcha kijeevan bastab mai upalabdhimulak cha. I feel that life is very rewarding.	1	2	3	4
d	Mero lagbhaksabaisanganyano bhawana cha. I have very warm feelings towards almost everyone.	1	2	3	4
e	Ma kahilekahimatraanandka anubhavgarerauthchu. (R) I rarely wake up feeling rested. (R)	1	2	3	4
f	Ma bastab ma jeevanpratiassawadichaina.(R) I am not particularly optimistic about the future.(R)	1	2	3	4
g	Malaidheraikuraharuramailolagcha. I find most things amusing.	1	2	3	4
h	Ma sadhaipratibaddharalagansilchu. I am always committed and involved.	1	2	3	4
i	Jeevanramro cha. Life is good.	1	2	3	4
j	Malailagdaina kisansarbasnukalagiramrothau ho. (R)	1	2	3	4

	I do not think that the world is a good place. (R)				
k	Ma dheraihaschu. (I laugh a lot.)	1	2	3	4
l	Ma merojeevan kaharek chizbata santustchu. I am well satisfied about everything in my life.	1	2	3	4
m	Malailagdaina ma aakarshakchu. (R) I don't think I look attractive. (R)	1	2	3	4
n	Mailegarnakhojekaramailegarekokuraharumaakehikehikhalipan cha.(R) There is a gap between what I would like to do and what I have done. (R)	1	2	3	4
o	Ma dheraikhushichu. (I am very happy.)	1	2	3	4
p	Ma kehikuraharu ma sundartabhetchu. (I find beauty in some things)	1	2	3	4
q	Meroprabhava ruharupratisadhaiaananda purnahuncha. I always have a cheerful effect on others.	1	2	3	4
r	Ma jastasukaiawastanusarifulai dhalnasakchu. I can fit in (find time for) everything I want to.	1	2	3	4
s	Malailagchabastab ma merojeevanko niyantranmaachaina. (R) I feel that I am not especially in control of my life. (R)	1	2	3	4
t	Malailagcha ma jastasukaikurakopanisanaganasakchu. I feel able to take anything on.	1	2	3	4
u	Malailagcha ma puranarooop ma manasikroop ma sajjagchu. I feel fully mentally alert.	1	2	3	4
v	Ma prayakhushi ra santoshko anubhavgarchu. I often experience joy and elation	1	2	3	4
w	Malai nirnayalinateti sajjilolagdaina. (R) I don't find it easy to make decisions. (R)	1	2	3	4
x	Merojeevankakhasaiarthathathaudeshyabhayejastolagdaina. (R) I don't have a particular sense of meaning and purpose in my life. (R)	1	2	3	4
y	Malailagcha masanga shaktikopurna bhandarcha . I feel I have a great deal of energy.	1	2	3	4
z	Dherai jasoghatna harumaa mero ramroprabhav rahancha. I usually have a good influence on events.	1	2	3	4
aa	Ma arumanche harusanga ramaudaina. (R) I don't have fun with other people. (R).	1	2	3	4
ab	Ma khasaiswastharaheka anubhav gardaina. (R) I don't feel particularly healthy. (R)	1	2	3	4
ac	Ma sanga khasai bigatkaasukha danubhav haruchainan. (R) I don't have particularly happy memories of the past. (R)	1	2	3	4

XII. Do you face any problem/ difficulty because you are Gorkhaliwomen.

S.No	Problem/Challenge	How do you manage?
a.		
b.		

XIII. What are the main constraints to development of Gorkhali Women in your area?

S.No	Constraints	What can be done to develop Gorkhaliwomen?
a.		
b.		

PARTICULARS OF THE CANDIDATE

Name Of Candidate	: SANGEETA RAI
Degree	: Ph.D
Department	: Department of Social Work
Title of Thesis	: Social Capital and Development among Gorkhali Women in North East India
Date of Payment of Admission	: 31 st July 2013
Approval of Research Program	
1. Synopsis Presentation	: 14 & 15 Oct. 2013
2. Board of Studies	: 17 th Oct. 2013
3. School Board	: 23 rd Oct. 2013
4. Academic Council	: 3 rd Dec. 2013

BIO-DATA

Name : SANGEETA RAI
Date of Birth : 7th June 1988
Father's Name : Mani Kumar Rai
Email ID : sangeewalling@gmail.com
Permanent Address : Z/C 74, Zotlang, Aizawl Mizoram
Educational Qualification

CLASS	BOARD/ UNIVERSITY	YEAR OF PASSING	DIVISION	PERCENTAGE
HSLC	MBSE	2003	First Div.	60 %
HSSLC	MBSE	2006	Third Div.	46%
Bachelor of Arts (Economics)	MZU	2009	Second Div.	47%
Master of Social Work	MZU	2011	First Div.	67%
M.Phil (SW)	MZU	2013	A Grade	65%