CHAPTER VI

TRACING PATRIARCHY IN MIZO SOCIETY:

GENESIS AND GROWTH OF PATRIARCHY

As discussed in the first chapter, the term patriarchy which is frequently used by feminists and writers literally means the rule of the father or the 'patriarch' in a family where the eldest male assumes the position of the head of the family whereby he controls his wife, children and other members of the family. The word patriarchy is now generally used to refer to male domination in the family, society, polity etc whereby men have the privilege of being the decision makers. It can also be said to be an ideology in which men are seen as superior to women, that women are and should be controlled by men and that they are part of men's properties. However patriarchy has not been a constant state in history and could and has changed according to the different periods of history. So also in Mizo society although patriarchy had existed it is necessary to study how it had changed in different periods of time and particularly in the context of migration. However as explained in the earlier chapter, Mizo did not have any written record as they did not have a written language before the advent of the Christian missionaries. Hence the early history of the Mizo has to be gleaned largely from the oral traditions which have been passed on through generations and also the folk tales and songs which had been sung and remembered from past generations.

1 Kamla Bhasin, *What is Patriarchy*, (New Delhi, 1994) p.3
Before the Mizo migrated to the present Mizoram, as described in the earlier chapter, in their migration process they settled down in Myanmar for a considerable period of time. One of the places for their settlement was regarded to be in the Kale-Kabaw Valley. However Mizo historians have not written anything very definite about the culture of the people at that time. So sources for this period need to be taken from oral traditions like folk tales. Some of the Mizo historians have assumed that folk tales like Chhura, Liandova, Lalruanga, Chemtatrada, Zawlpala leh Tualvungi, Kawrdumbela are from the days of Kale-Kabaw. They regarded these folk tales to be from this period because they have pointed out that many of the Mizo tribes like Lusei, Lai, Paite, Bongcher and Mara have these same stories though the title of the story are different. But the plot and the story remains the same. So they are of the opinion that these stories would have been from the times prior to the dispersal of the various Mizo tribes from Kale Kabaw Valley.

From these folk tales as described in the earlier chapter, it can be assumed that patriarchy had existed even at the time of their settlement in the Kabaw Valley. However it is seen from these tales that patriarchy was not very deeply entrenched. This can be derived from Chhura’s story in which one can finds that his wife told him to look after the baby and cook the food while she went to the fields. So it appears that men also did the household chores and that they did not mind baby sitting. On the other hand men also worked in the fields and sometimes went out for trading purposes as was seen in the other episodes of Chhura. This reveal that

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2 P.S.Dahrawka, Mizo Thawnthu (Aizawl, reprint, 1994) p.257
3 "ibid"
gender roles were not clearly defined and were not entirely determined by sex. So division of work was not clearly as demarcated for the men and women as it came to develop in the later period. In Zawlpala leh Tualvungi’s story, Tualvungi was seen to be weaving and that a bird came and told her about the death of Zawlpala. So during the times prior to the settlement in the hills, the people already knew the art of weaving and it was done by women. The story of Lalruanga clearly shows that women had little time to take care of themselves for his mother Zawltleipuii went to the fields even when she was heavily pregnant with child. As there were no other means of subsistence, it can be assumed that all the family were busy in working in the fields to procure their daily food and concern for women was not very evident.

These folk tales also reveal that bride price had existed even at that time and the price would be quite high especially for the chief’s daughters. For instance in the story of Liandova, Liandova who had married the chief’s daughter had to pay a large number of mithun and even necklaces as bride price.

This same story also depicts that wise women were respected and consulted during this period. Liandova was helped by a wise woman and heeding her advice, Liandova became the owner of a large number of mithuns. He was also helped by a khuavang. Khuavang as explained in the earlier chapter was one of the gods which was worshipped by the people and in this story khuavang took the shape of an old women. Khuavang helped Liandova to have a good harvest and also cooked food for him. The people also believed in fairies who were regarded to bestow blessings

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6 ibid p.137  
8 P.S.Dahrawka, op. cit., p.79  
9 ibid  
10 ibid p.70-73
upon the people. In the story of Lalruanga, his parents Zelhranga and Zawltleipuii were blessed by fairies when they were born. The father was also blessed with the power of magic. In the story of Kawrdumbela, Kawrdumbela was a very ugly person but he was blessed by a female deity and he became handsome and thereby earned his wife's favour. So it can be seen from many of these folk tales that women were considered to have wisdom and thus the society respected them accordingly. The other important fact revealed by these folk tales is that there existed important female deities to whom men went for blessings. Women deities were also regarded to be harbingers of blessings and they therefore played an important role in the lives of the people. Seeking counsel from the old women and the existence and worship of female deities reveal that the society's attitude towards women were not very derogatory. Moreover at this period of time, there was the absence of derogatory terms and sayings for women as was seen in the later period.

Beyond what we can get not much is known about their life in the Kale Kabaw valley. However after their dispersal, different tribes began to migrate to various places but some of the settlement sites were quite close to each other. There are folk tales and songs which tells us about the lives of the people prior to the Mizo's migration to present Mizoram.

In legends we find that when the Mizo started shifting to the hills they did not have proper dress and that they used leaves to cover themselves. This dress was known as siap suap and hnakhal. However in many of the folktales which existed prior to the migration to present Mizoram, there is not a single mention of the dress

11 Nuchhungi & Zirtiri, op. cit.
12 ibid, p.26-28
13 B.Lal罡nglana, op. cit., p.169
which was said to be worn at that time. However though their dress was not specified, in the various folktales it is found that weaving was done by women. In the story of Liandova which existed during the days of Kale Kabaw, Liandova's wife mended his clothes. In the story of the same period Zawlpala leh Tualvungi, Tualvungi was also seen to be weaving. So it can be clearly understood that when the Mizo settled in the Kale Kabaw Valley and before migrating to the hills, weaving was done by Mizo women. However as mentioned in Chapter III, it appears that when the people started to migrate to the hills they were constantly on the move and so they had little time to do all the processes of weaving as the process took a long time. So they did not have the time to weave and hence they had to resort to wearing clothes made of leaves. Cotton growing was perhaps not very possible for a moving population. Finally when they had a more or less settled life, they again revived the art of weaving.

In the family and in the society, it appears that patriarchy had existed. This can be drawn from the story of Duhmanga leh Dardini, in which the father is the decision maker in the family. In the story mentioned, Duhmanga had a wife named Dardini who was disliked by her in-laws. So when Duhmanga went to the forest for hunting, they divorced her. This was in contrast to the customs which later prevailed. According to the custom, parents cannot divorce their daughter-in-law. The only one who could divorce a wife was her husband. However Duhmanga somehow remarried her. Among the unmarried male youth, there seem to have started the notion that girls should act according to men's desires. In the story mentioned, Dardini showed favour to Duhmanga while there were other suitors also. This angered the other

14 P.S. Dahrawka, op. cit., p.178 - 179
suitors and they stopped going to Dardini’s place. But other than stopping their visits they did not take any action against Dardini. So, it appears that men wanted women to please them but did not take any harsh action against her or her family as was seen in later period. This would also reveal the fact that women’s private space was more respected which decreased as time passed. This could be because the people did not have zawlbuk (bachelors’ dormitory) as it was not mentioned in this story by the writer. Moreover in many of the folk tales which were told during this period, not a single of them mentioned zawlbuk, so it appears that zawlbuk did not exist at that point of time. It is not known when zawlbuk began to exist in the Mizo villages. It might have started when the people were near the Tiau river or after they entered present day Mizoram. This is because the Lai and Mara did not have any zawlbuk. In the folk tales, zawlbuk is found in the story of Chalkunga leh Thanghniangi. This story is from the period when the Mizo had settled in Mizoram and the place where these two people reside was in a village called Khawnglung which was in south Mizoram.

When the people were between Thantlang and Run, there seems to be no war among themselves. Even if a war had occurred between the different tribes, there are no records of it in the oral traditions. Hence the wars might not be significant. However after the Mizo had crossed Lentlang and were near the Tiau river (this is today the boundary between India and Burma), there are instances of wars against each other. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, all the men did not take part in the war but only a selected man would represent the whole tribe. However later on

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15 ibid. p.193-219
16 B.Lalthangliana, op. cit., p.180
almost all the men used to take part in the war. Gradually the people began to raid, loot and kill trying to usurp each other's power. In this case, the society being patriarchal and men who were considered to be stronger assumed the role of warriors. Since the different tribes were now in a constant state of warfare, men assumed the role of protectors of the village. They now began to bring the head of the slain and held a ceremony in which the slayers were honoured. Men then began to hold more power, prestige and dignity in their hands. As women were seen to be in need of protection, men assumed more importance than before. Women had to depend on the men for their survival. Due to the many wars which were fought among the tribes the people began to migrate to different places. Moreover since the people practiced jhum cultivation, they needed more land spaces and when their sites began to be exhausted they had to move to other places. Eventually they began to spread themselves into present Mizoram. However all the tribes did not migrate to Mizoram and some tribes stayed behind in the Chin Hills.

As the people were constantly on the move, women had to depend more and more on men. Men began to decide when and where to migrate and in this process of migration men played the part of decision makers and protectors. This increased the patriarchal domination and hence women had to follow all the norms laid down by men. Hence in the process of migration, patriarchy became more defined. This resulted in a clear cut demarcation between the roles of women and men. Men took up the role of hunters and warriors while women were confined to the house and the jhum. Men began to dominate the public realm and women were relegated into the private domain. However it should be noted that women were not the authority in the

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17 K. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute leh an Thlahte Chanchin* (Aizawl, 1976) p.82-84
private domain. Men were also the decision makers in the private arena. Thus women had no voice either in the public or private sphere. Moreover due to the insecurity of the people women could not easily move from place to place as there was the constant fear of being killed by their enemies. They had to be constantly accompanied by male companions who acted as their guard. Thus the mobility of the womenfolk was restricted and they had to depend on their men more than before. As a result women could not have any power in their hands and men began to use derogatory remarks to show that men were superior to women. Thus the men converted the biological constraints to gender roles.

Various sayings began to surface which showed how women were viewed by the men. There appeared sayings like ‘Women and crab do not have any religion’, ‘Women’s wisdom do not cross the village spring’ and others which are mentioned in the earlier chapter. These sayings clearly reflect the attitude towards women and the social values of the time. From these sayings it can be seen that women were regarded not to have any wisdom and reasoning power and that they were not worth to have any power in the public and private domain. It appears that these sayings became common after the Sailo dominated the other Lusei tribes and ruled more or less over most parts of Mizoram. In the various folk tales of the Mizo, the sayings which are mentioned above were not to be seen at all. Mizo also had a belief that entry to pialral (the highest abode of the dead) could be attained only through their husband’s merit. If their husbands had killed the requisite animals and also give a feast of merit, then only can women enter pialral. Thus women could not enter pialral by themselves. This made women to be more dependent and subservient to

\[18\] Lalthanliana, op. cit., p.261
the men. This belief reveals that the dominant male values in the society also created
religious beliefs. Moreover the Lusei also believed that a man who did not sleep with
his lover would be shot by Pawla on the route to pialral after his death.¹⁹ This belief
is not to be seen among the Lai and Mara. This would indicate that the concept of
being shot by Pawla was fabricated by the Lusei after they departed from the other
tribes. This belief showed the men's attitude towards women and that a religious
sanction was given for the control of women's sexuality. If the men had respected
women, then they would not always seduce women or do something which could be
derogatory to them. It can also be understood that this belief was one method of
subordination of women. Among the Lusei, it was a habit for men to boast if they
had successfully seduced a woman and would not think about the feelings of the
girl.²⁰ The idea of men boasting their lovers to their friends had existed in the society
for a long time and had circulated in the society so much so that girls and boys are
reared on these patriarchal societal values and norms. The men did not care whether
they loved the girl or not and all they wanted was to win as many girls as possible.
However this was absent among the Lai and Mara.²¹ This could be because their
society gave more personal space to the womenfolk and were more respected than
the Mizo women and also they need not have to live in fear of Pawla after they died.
So the Lai and Mara never boasted of their love lives to their friends. The attitude of
the Mizo men indicate that the level of patriarchy had been more strengthened after
the Mizo migrated to Mizoram.

²⁰ ibid
²¹ N.E.Parry, op.cit., p. 291
The change in the level of patriarchy could be seen not only in the belief of the Mizo but also in the language. Lalrinawmi commented that the term *hmeichhia* appeared when the Sailo began to attain supremacy in Mizoram. Hmeichhia is used for the word ‘women’. Hmei means mistress or concubine and *chhia* means bad. Lalrinawmi further stressed that prior to the ascendancy of the Sailo, the term *minu* was used and not hmeichhia. *Mi* denotes a person and *nu* denotes a feminine gender. This appears to be true because if we look at the other tribes of Mizo, they have not used the term *hmeichhia* at all. The Zo and the Lai have used the word *minu* for women while the Mara used *chanong*. The Zo and Mara have used the term to denote a feminine gender while the Mizo have included a word which was derogatory. V.Lunghnema in his book wrote one of the oldest songs of the Mizo and this song runs as follows:

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\begin{align*}
    Mi inhrawkna hril tang ningla Ja-eh \\
    A kung hruiah hril tang ningla Ja-eh \\
    Minu leh mipa aw Leiranot seija \\
    Mi inthawkna ti tang ning e, Ja-eh.
\end{align*}
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This song talks about the creation of earth and the people in it. It states that women and men were created together and it uses the word *minu* for women.

So, in this song, we find that *minu* was used for the word women and since this song is regarded to be one of the earliest songs of the Mizo, it can be deduced that *minu* was used to denote women rather than the word *hmeichhia*. As it is

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23 Duh Cung Nung, *Lai Numphung* (Falam, 2001)
24 N.E.Parry, *op. cit.*, p.508
believed that all the Mizo tribes are descended from the same place and since the other tribes did not use the term *hmeichhia*, it could be deduced that this term was coined only after the Mizo have settled in present Mizoram. Thus it could be regarded that subordination of women was seen not only in the sayings about women but also in the term for women. Hence women's subordination became more prominent after the Mizo have migrated to Mizoram and had more a settled life and more of immovable property and that even the language had changed to show how women had been considered as inferiors.

The attitude towards women was clearly revealed in the life of Sibuta. Sibuta was a chief of *Palian* clan who settled down in Mizoram. He took the life of his half sister, Darlalpuii by slaying her.\(^{26}\) He speared her in a way in which a mithun was killed to be used for the feast of merit. He might be the only one to be shown in Mizo history who was described as a cruel chief but the murder he committed showed the position of women in the society. If women had some respectable status in the society the chief would not dare treat his female family member so cruelly. Writers on this topic mentioned that onlookers also did not try to save the girl as they were afraid of their chief. But this also revealed that if a man was treated in the same way, he might have someone to save him.

The Mizo had their own concept of religion and believed in the existence of God who looked after them. The people also believed that spirits of different kinds which were mentioned earlier resided everywhere and that they need to be appeased. However, different tribes had their own way of sacrifices and rites but there were not much differences. They had a clear concept of a creator who was supposed to look

after the humans. They called this *Pathian, khuavang* and *khuam* — the first refers to a male deity while the second refer to a female deity. Lalrinawmi considered that *khuam* had an important place in the earlier religious beliefs and practices of the Mizo and that *khuam* was later replaced by the favoured Sailo male deity, *Pathian.*

*Pathian* could be said to be the favourite deity of the Sailo because in the folk tales we find that *Pathian* visited the village of Zahmuaka, the predecessor of Sailo. *Pathian* tried to enter the house of a Hnamte clan, but as that man was having a certain sacrifice, he could not entertain any guests. So Zahmuaka welcomed him in his house and *Pathian* was very pleased with him and hence blessed him saying that he would rule and prosper. Hence *Pathian* was worshipped by the Sailo and when other tribes submitted to the Sailo, they too followed what the Sailo worshipped. This legend was thus used to legitimize Sailo supremacy just as we find in many early societies in other parts of India that Brahmins and kings often claimed that they were from a divine lineage and had been divinely appointed. However, it should be noted that the importance of *khuam* did not mean that the Mizo society was at any time a matriarchal society but it signified a more egalitarian gender relations. However the importance of *khuam* in the lives of the people could not be ignored.

Lalrinawmi further argued that the displacement of the female deity by a male deity showed that Mizo religion was moving towards a stronger patriarchal religion. The *duhljan* dialect which the Sailo used became dominant after the Sailo ascertained their supremacy and hence the male god *pathian* got concretised and people accepted it as the one who created and looked after them. This would also show that the

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28 Lalrinawmi, op. cit., p.24ff
29 K.Zawla, *op. cit.,* p.164
30 Lalrinawmi, *op. cit.,* p.26
society was increasingly becoming patriarchal in which women hardly had a place in the society. It was during this period when only pathian was worshipped that Christianity entered Mizoram. The missionaries themselves came from a strong patriarchal society and the values which they had were also based on patriarchal norms. Hence “the ecclesiastical structures, perceived as the inheritors of the powers exercised by male missionaries, came to support the movements of patriarchalization that were already in process in the pre-modern or early modern period.” When the missionaries came and began to translate the Bible, their interpreters did not know the term to be used for God because they could not decide whether khuavang or pathian was more powerful. So the earlier translation for God was given as Jehova. But this term was later replaced by Pathian as it was ‘the most suitable in most men’s opinion’ as mentioned by J. Merion Lloyd, one of the Welsh missionaries in Mizoram. Gradually therefore the concept that God could have been female (khuanu or khuavang) was completely overridden and Pathian the male God concept became dominant – a concept first popularized by the Sailo dominance and later crystallized by Christianity.

There were also women seers called zawlnei in all the villages and in the folk tales we find that women zawlnei were more popular than their male counterparts. They were consulted by the people when they were in trouble or when they fell sick. They were consulted because they were believed to be in touch with the supernatural world. These zawlnei were in great demand as the people believed that sickness could be cured only by sacrifices to appease the spirits. Though zawlnei did

33 Saiaithanga, *op. cit.*, p.14
not perform any rites yet the people depended on them to know which sacrifices were to be offered. But they did not act within the true religious sphere and hence they did not occupy official position. Hence they were not given any remuneration by the villagers to show their gratitude. Though they were not much respected as the male priest yet the village could not do without them. Thus though they did not occupy a high position yet the roles as zawlnei gave an influential status for some women.

Besides zawlnei there were people who composed songs and sang those songs themselves and a significant number of the poet composers were women. If we look at the history and culture of other communities also, we find that women are nature poets and constitute the larger number of poets. One of the early famous Mizo women composer was Pi Hmuaki. She was from the Ngente tribe and she was believed to have lived before the Lusei migrated to present Mizoram. She could easily compose songs and she did compose a lot of songs. The people thought that if she continued to compose songs then later generations would have nothing to compose about. They therefore buried her alive so that she would stop composing. This showed not only the people's ignorance but it also revealed their attitude towards women. There were also other women poets like Thailungi, Aikhiangi, Darpawngi, Saikuti, Laltheri, Lianchhiari. These women lived after the Mizo migrated to present Mizoram. They did not have power in their hands but they were respected and people sang their songs. Thus these few talented women gained

34 ibid
35 For instance see the reference to Assamese women in Birendra Kumar Barua's writings on Assamese language and culture.
36 Lalthanliana, op. cit., p.355
37 ibid
respect of the men through their songs. These women went to the chiefs' houses in the evening and sang along with the men. So, these few women had the opportunity to visit the chief's house and gained the respect of the villagers. But the respect which they earned was only for themselves and they did not improve the lot of the women in general.

Women were thus subordinated in all spheres of life even though they played an important role in the society. It was in this kind of patriarchal society that the British began to administer and they were followed by the Christian missionaries. After the missionaries spread the gospel, in a few years all the Mizo embraced Christianity. However in the Chin Hills, it took a lot of time for the people to convert themselves to Christianity. But at present all the Chin people under the present study are now Christians. Many changes were brought about and the government also tried to amend some of the existing customs such as raids. But the missionaries and the government did not try to change the customs such as inheritance for women and other laws which would be in favour of women. So the present customary laws are still in favour of men as was described in the earlier chapter. Due to the customary laws and the patriarchal values women therefore had to face many problems till today. This could be seen in some of the report submitted to the National Commission for Women, New Delhi. One case which was seen in this report is about Marthi and Lala who were married but childless. Both of them were employed under the government and so they took Housing Loans and built their own house. However Lala died soon after. After a month, Kunga, the brother of Lala ordered

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38 Interview with Laltansanga in Lunglei on 15th December 2005. He is from Myanmar but is now settled in Lunglei.

Marthi to vacate the house as he said that the house belonged to his brother and since they did not have any son, the property should be passed to him. Marthi having limited knowledge about legal issues vacated the house and rented a place. She also took furnitures and other household properties. Kunga was still not satisfied with just owning the house and snatched her television, refrigerator etc saying they were his brother’s property which should be passed on to him. Marthi could not fight him back and being under stress passed away within a year. There are also other more or less similar cases in which women were the victims of their in-laws. It can also be said that these women were the victims of the discrimination of women in customary law. Thus British administration and change of religion to Christianity did not change the existing customs in which women could inherit property without any interference and also the right to claim their children. On the other hand, all divorced or widowed women do not face problems as this is because of the leniency of their in-laws who have sympathy for them. But if they have some clash with their in-laws they often face problems and the customary laws could hardly do anything for them.

Thus the changes brought about by western influence were mainly under the patriarchal system and did not question or challenge the existing patriarchal structures.

The government and the missionaries work among the Mizo and Zo was not however confined to men only. They introduced schools for girls which had a profound effect on women. Though the missionaries wanted women to receive education and develop but the main reason for the missionaries work among women
was done so that the development of the people would be on the same level. This was because a lot of men had received education and were employed while a few women were educated. This resulted in an imbalance between the development of men and women. The missionaries also wanted the Christian men to have Christian wives who would help them in their responsibilities. Hence due to the missionaries work among women, women began to receive education even though it was a slow process. Nevertheless, more and more women were educated and thus opened new avenues for them. They got employment in the church, schools and even in government offices. Hence education can be said to be the most important agency for the women to develop themselves and undergo a change. There is a change in the family life as explained in the earlier chapter. Christian husbands began to take more interest in the family and even helped their wives in the chores whereas in the pre-Christian period husband and wife rarely talked to each other.

Christianity and education can be therefore said to have helped women in some ways. But the patriarchal norms which definitely became stronger and dominant in the society through the process of migration did not become weaker and Christianity did not help in weakening it either. For instance in the church, women are still excluded in many of the important positions. In the early Christian period there were some women who were appointed by the Presbyterian and Baptist Church as Bible Women. These Bible Women went from village to village spreading the gospel and helping in the church activities. But later in the 1950’s these jobs were taken away from them and the post of Bible Women do not exist any more. So it can

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41 C.L.Hminga, *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram* (Serkawn, 1987) p.293-294
42 BMS Annual Report for 1920
be said that the role played by *zawlnei* in pre-Christian era was continued by the Bible Women during the early Christian period. Unfortunately this role as Bible Women which gave some women an important position was taken away. Thus it could be said that the role of women in the early years of Christianity was more important than it became later. In the church, patriarchy is also prominent as it could be seen that all the important posts are held by men. This is because women are still not allowed to be ordained as ministers. As all the important posts have to be filled up by ordained ministers, women therefore do not find any place in the decision making bodies. There are women committee members who represent the women’s organisation but in such committee meetings, women are just one or two. Thus they do not have any voice in such decision making meetings. So women are subordinated in the religious sphere. This is reflected when Baptist Kohhran Hmeichhe Pawl (Women’s Organisation in the Church) submitted a petition to the Church that women should be allowed to be ordained. But this agenda was rejected by the General Committee which scrutinized the various agendas for the Assembly.43 Thus the petition did not reach the Assembly meetings. The role played by women in the church is mainly as fund raisers which is not much different from the pre-modern period where the animals to be offered for sacrifices were reared by women.

In conclusion, it can be said that patriarchy had existed long before the Mizo had migrated to Mizoram. It was always the eldest male who was the head of the family. In the society also, men were the decision makers. As time passed and as the people migrated to the hills and to Mizoram, patriarchy also grew stronger. The

patriarchal domination increased as the people became more and more involved in wars and raids. Hence men who were the warriors took up the role of protectors and women became dependent on them for their survival. Though women depended on their men for safety against their enemies, food was mostly procured by women. They had to look after the household chores and work in the fields. They worked hard for the family but recognition was not given to them. They did not have any voice in the society also. Thus men dominated the public and private realm and women were relegated to the background. Women no doubt are educated today and could earn their own living, but they do not have any legal rights. Land even today is mostly owned by the male head of the family and women can not inherit any property except in a very special case. Women have been economically empowered through education and employment but they are still not the decision makers in the society and in the government also. There are no women ministers in the government at present. In the church also, women are pushed to the background. Thus patriarchy which had existed from pre-migration times and which was strengthened in the process of migration still exist in that strengthened form in the society. However to know how much migration had effected gender relations in the society still needs to be examined. This will be studied in the next chapter in which a comparative study of the Mizo who had migrated to Mizoram and the Zo of the Chin Hills in Burma is made.