

CHALLENGES BEFORE WOMEN IN CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE SATRAS: AN ECONOMETRIC ASSESSMENT

RAJIB MAHANTA
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, ECONOMICS
DAMDAMA COLLEGE
ASSAM, INDIA

Abstract

The concept of development in economics has constantly been evolving. Of late, sustenance of the cultural capital is being recognized as a vital element in ensuring quality of life, and thereby as a key element in human development. Sustenance of the cultural capital depends on participation of all members in the community. So participation of women in promoting cultural capital of the community influences the culturally sustainable development. In the cultural milieu of Assam, the Vaishnavite Satras occupy a significant place. Various subjective assessments are being put forward regarding role and participation of women in cultural activities in the Satras. In the present essay, their role and participation are tried to be assessed through some numerical parameters.

Key words: Cultural Capital, Development, women.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Culture, Cultural Value And Cultural Capital: The World Commission on Culture and Development (1995) came up with a report but is somewhat reluctant to define culture. But it delivers the message that culture plays a universal role in human affairs and that is to be promulgated. Cultural economists see at culture as a two dimensional phenomenon-functional and constituent. In functional sense, it is a set of activities. And in constituent sense, which they call a sociological/anthropological view-it is seen as a set of attitudes, beliefs, practices that are fundamental to the functioning of the society (Throsby, 1995, p 202). But both these dimensions must appeal to a group of people in collective sense. Concept of culture essentially carries with it a concomitant notion of cultural value. "something can be said to be of cultural value if it contributes to this shared element of human experience" (Throsby 1999 p 6).

Cultural Capital is an asset that contributes to the cultural value. Cultural capital is the stock of cultural value embodied in an asset. Just like an ordinary capital, cultural capital may give rise to a flow of cultural goods and services with both cultural and economic values. Cultural capital may appear in both tangible and intangible sense (Throsby 1999, p7). The objects, places and sites etc. are obvious categories in the tangible group; while beliefs, attitudes, ideas, practices etc. form the intangibles of cultural capital.

Cultural capital is an essential determinant of the culturally sustainable development (henceforth to be mentioned as CSD) of a society. CSD is an extension to the concept of sustainable development. Sustainable development- requires sustenance of the physical

capital of the society. CSD additionally requires sustenance of the cultural capital also along the process of development for it to have more meaning. There are several criteria laid by cultural economists for accomplishment of CSD. Among others it requires the development process to ensure sustenance of the cultural capital for intra-generational as well as inter-generational use.

1.2 The Satras:

In one of the most critical essays of the recent times on the role of the Satras, D. Nath (2007) introduces the Satra institution of Assam as “the most distinguished and influential socio-cultural institution of the state”, ‘peculiar to Assam, as institutions of the like nature are not to be found anywhere else in India’ (p1). Elaborating upon the anatomy of its distinction and influence, the author says,

They are a class of medieval religious institution and have been **still continuing** as a living organization with same kind of influence and authority. In that sense the Satras provide **a link between our past and present**. ... The Satras have played probably the **most significant role in the socio-political and cultural life** in Assam since the middle ages (p 1).

So the Satras are unique, influential institutions pervading through the personal and social life of a major portion of the common masses in the state. They originated predominantly as an institution providing support service, as the assembly place of the ‘guru’ and the folks in the process of proselytization in and dissemination of religious teachings relating to Neo-Vaishnavism in Assam. But in course of time it embraced different dimensions of the public and personal life in it in general and socio-cultural elements in particular; hence went through a wave of change in itself and became a significant force exerting its effect from the middle ages till today.

1.3 Cultural Capital, CSD and the Satras:

There have been a number of studies assessing the vast repository of cultural assets in the Satras in Assam. Scholars (e.g. Gohain 1989) lament that different dimensions in it are still awaiting discovery by competent researchers. So far, Cultural assets of the functional variety defined earlier seem to have attained greater attention from scholars. Neog (1975) gives a detailed account of the various formations of rendition of Khol for Satriya Dances. It also analyses the various hand and feet gestures in this juncture. ‘Rhythms of Vaishnavite Music’ (1962) by the same author is an account of music played mainly as support to Borgeet. “SatriyaNrityaGeetBadyarHaatputhi” by JagannathMahanta ((2012), “SattraSanskritirRuprekha” by K.D. Goswami are a few examples of research by scholars exploring the music practiced and propagated in the Satras. PulinKalita (2014), MrinalKalita (2009), Ramkumar Das (2016) , NarenKalita (1985) are some of the accounts of the artifacts relating to the Satras. Similarly ‘The Art of Painting in Assam’ by Neog (1959) elaborates the painting techniques used in mask makingetc. in the Satras. Goswami (2008), Mahanta (2012) give important accounts of the cultural assets of socio-anthropological variety in the Satras. We may safely assume that **the people in general in the region share the view that all such elements make positive addition to their experiences, and living with them is better than**

without them. So they make a positive contribution to their shared experiences. Hence such elements duly may be called cultural capital in line with the definition mentioned before. So Culturally Sustainable development shall require sustenance of such elements along with attainment of development in other regular categories so long as the assumption holds good.

1.4 Women in Satras:

Role of women in attainment of CSD is obvious from its requirement of intra-generational as well inter-generational distributive spread. Inclusion of the women folk in sharing the experience of the cultural assets of the Satras shall directly imply spread of its distribution within the generation. But more importantly, it will also lay an easier foundation in the dissemination of such experiences to the succeeding generations. There are a number of analyses of the negative view held in the Vaishnavite fraternity for the women. Barman (1986, P 88-94), Mazumdar (2012, p 110-114), Nath (2007, p 22-27) may be mentioned in this regard. They consider it as a foreign element to the Vaishnavite tradition in Assam having roots in contemporary socio-anthropological scenario. Further, they decide that it is a lateral entry in to the Vaishnavite tradition; still they recognize the existence nonetheless. Although such analyses are generally based on the past, still the incident in Barpeta Satra on 04.04.2010 (the telegraph, 7th April), celibacy maintained by the bhakats in some renowned Satras still provide the general impression that the Satras in general play a regressive role towards participation of women in Satriya cultural processes. The recent verdict on Sabarimala temple by the Supreme Court of India enhanced its value as a point for focal attention. However the dissent verdict by the **women** judge in the bench brought various complications associated with this into the fore.

One of the complications in the general view regarding the place of women in the Satras is that it is predominantly formed on the basis of the Satras in Majuli, Barpeta and Bardowa Satra, as the other Satras around the State has hardly drawn any attention; although they are several hundred in number- some of them are as vibrant as those mentioned here. According to Satra Mahasabha, there are 890 Satras in Assam. The estimates of S.N.Sarma, Anil R. Choudhury, Audre Cantile, Amalendu Guha, varies between 384 to 1280. Therefore for a general view the basis of study needs to be more inclusive. Another justification for focusing on a peripheral entity in this case is that the absence of public focus, as a blessing in disguise, may put the peripheral Satras in a better position to embrace a progressive stand, shedding off its traditional regressive status.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE PAPER

In this context, we propose to make a numerical examination of the challenges faced by women in accumulation and enhancement of satriya cultural capital. We shall try to assess relative role played by a number of socio-economic variables in this case. Data shall be collected from a relatively unknown, but active Satra in Vaishnavite tradition.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Place of study: We have collected data from Shaudkuchi Satra, Sivasagar. It was originally established on 21.01.1600 (**Bhattacharya, P33-35**). Jadupati, who is credited to

have written the first book in Assam on rhythms, belonged to this Satra. (Goswami, P 9). So it is a Satra with a rich heritage. It is a Purush-Sanghati Satra of the 'bor-barojonia' group.

3.2 Population; Population of the study constitutes the women members above 5 years of age from the families or households who are in the premise of the Satra, and regular participants in regular ordinary activities in the Namghar. Women married off are not included.

3.3 The variables: (i) Dependent Variable: Expertise of the members in execution of various cultural activities relating to the Satriya traditions is taken as the dependent variable. Completing a particular activity without assistance by others, unless the activity itself calls for, is treated as expertise; irrespective the aesthetic value of the performance. Eleven different cultural performances are earmarked for evaluation of expertise, with 1 mark being assigned for expertise in an area, zero for its absence. Hence, total value obtained by a member in scale of expertise is

$$\frac{\text{total expertise score}}{11} \times 100$$

(ii) Independent Variables: there are five independent variables; namely access, residential status, economic freedom, age and educational standard.

The access is about whether a respondent is allowed to perform an activity or allowed to enter a place so as to perform an activity peculiar to that place. Here again we have taken eleven variables. Following the same considerations as above, the score of a respondent in the scale of access is measured by-

$$\frac{\text{total access score}}{11} \times 100$$

Participation in committees has been decided upon participation in the 16 managerial positions in the Satras mentioned in Mahanta (2007, p111-115).

The residential status is parted in to three headings- FTR (Full Time Resident), TSE (Temporarily Settled Elsewhere), PSE (Permanently Settled Elsewhere). Elaboration of these concepts can be found in Mahanta (2017). A respondent essentially falls in either of these three categories. He scores 1 where he belongs, and zero in the other two heads.

Educational status is measured in terms of the year of completed schooling.

3.4 The Model: the basic functional relation proposed or presumed among the variables is -

$$Y = f(A, E, F, T, P, C, S)$$

Where, $Y = \text{Expertise Index}$

A= Age, E= Educational attainment measured in terms of Year of Schooling, F= full time residents, T= temporarily settled elsewhere, P= permanently settled elsewhere. C= Access Index, S= Earning. E is measured in terms of the number of years in schooling. F, T and P together implies the residential status of the respondent. All the three of them are used as dummy variables. A respondent must score 1 in either of the three and 0 in the other two. Earning also appears in the model as a dummy variable. C is expressed as percentages; so also Y.

Here we are applying linear regression model with two dummy variables and four quantitative variables. The structure of the model applied being-

$$Y = a_1 + a_2A + a_3E + a_3 D_1 + a_4 D_2 + a_5 C + a_6S + u$$

Here : $D_1 = 1$, if FTR, but neither TSE or PSE

$D_2 = 1$, if TSE, but neither FTR or PSE.

So , if $D_1 = D_2 = 0$, then PSE.

3.5 Data Collection: Census method has been adopted for collecting data as the size of the universe is small.

4. Analysis of the Data:

4.1 The average score of women in expertise index is 19.62 and standard deviation is 22.42. So the Coefficient of variation is roughly 114%.. At the same time the average score of women in case of the index of access is 23.92 and standard deviation is 8.02. So the coefficient of variation is around 34%. So quite clearly there is greater variation in expertise than in access. The access to the satriya cultural capital varies between 20% to 40%. The average scale of expertise is less with greater degree of variation. It implies that within the same level of access there is scope for enhancing the degree of expertise in satriya cultural areas.

After adjusting for the heteroscedasticity the values of the parameters are found as under.

Explanatory variable	Coefficient	Robust st. error	p> t
Access	1.88	.66459	0.008***
Earner	-12.72	5.6569	0.032**
TSE	1.23	6.6911	0.856
FTR	10.75	7.6191	.168
Education	1.19	.5814	.049**
Age	1.76	.1921	.367
Constant	-44.48	12.3965	.001***
F (6,32)	14.54		.000***
R ²	0.5720		

***=Denotes significance level of 1%.

**=Denotes significance level of 5%

4.2 The explanatory power of the model: The constant of the model is negative and is significant at 1% level of significance. So there is a possibility that there might be some important explanatory variables excluded in the model. But since the F- Value is also significant at 1% level of significance, therefore the existing variables also have strong relevance in explaining the subject matter.

4.3 Age, Residential Status and cultural Expertise: Among all the variables, age and residential status of the respondents seem to be insignificant in determining the cultural expertise. Residential status was classified in to three categories- FTR, PSE and TSE. Both

the dummy variables used to explain them were found to be insignificant. So collectively the entire set of variables of residential status is deemed insignificant. It implies that staying inside or outside the Satra does not have any significant impact on expertise of the women in cultural affairs. This is a noteworthy finding. General perception is that those living inside the Satra are in a better position for expertise in Satriya cultural resources over those who settle outside. But data does not show any significant difference contrary to popular belief. The PSE population inherently has two distinct subgroups- those who moved out at a ripe age after living till youth at the Satra, and the siblings of those parents. The first category has proven competence of withstanding to the challenges of the external conditions, hence can be thought of as persons with better skill set. So before moving out of the Satra they might have earned some expertise in satriya cultural assets during their stay inside the Satra. Thus they might have covered up the lack of expertise of their siblings in the same areas since both categories are clubbed together in the model. Separation of both verities might have shown some new facts unexposed so far.

4.4 Earner, Education and Expertise: Role of the women as a bread earner to the family is the only variable of the five, which have a negative impact on expertise in cultural activities in the Satra. Movement of an women from non-earner to earner category seem to have reduced their expertise by a measure of 12 percentage points on average. However the variation in this category seems to be reasonably high. Nonetheless, this relation is found to be statistically significant at 95% probability level.

Contrary to that at the same 95% level of statistical significance, one additional year of schooling seem to have positive impact on earning expertise in cultural areas in the Satras by 1.2%. The very low standard error in this category implies this to be a fairly consistent outcome in the area of study.

4.5 Access and Expertise: Increase in terms of access to the women to the cultural repository in the Satras by 1% seems to increase their expertise by 1, 9%- i.e. by almost double. The very low standard error in this data implies that it is a fairly consistent outcome. Implying that it is the strongest of all other relations the data in this regard is found to be significant at 99% level of significance.

The access to the women is restricted by traditional taboos. It has already been mentioned that the average access to women in the Satra is found to be only about 24% with a coefficient of variation of around 34%. So there is a fairly significant scope for enhancing their access to the Cultural repositories in the Satras for a better performance among them in cultural areas. Their participation in Bhaona, rendition of khol or other musical instruments on formal occasions, performing various rituals in the Sanctum sanctorum, etc. were all found to be non-existent. As has already been noted, within the present level of access to the women also there is a considerable scope for enhancing their expertise also- as the average scale of expertise was found to be 19% only, which is lesser to the average value of access by around 5 percentage points.

5. Conclusion:Based on the analysis of the Data, access to the women was found to be the most important impediment for their expertise in cultural areas. The other significant factors being education- which have a positive impact, and participation in earning activities- which have a negative impact.

So the institutional set up of the Satras has the onus for improving the expertise among the women in raising the standard of their proficiency in culture.

Improvement in their cultural expertise shall lead to better accumulation of the cultural capital in the Satras considering from gender neutral perspective of the whole phenomenon of cultural values. Pretty obviously this shall lead to better position in terms of culturally sustainable development in the land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barman, S. (1986). *Shankardev: Kriti aru Kritiswa*. Golaghat: Puthitirtha Prakashan.

Bhattacharya, S. (2004). *Asomor Satra Porichoi*. Majuli: Sri Sri Auniati Satra.

Das, R. (2016). *Guru Ason Sandarbhat*. Barpeta: Barpeta Sahitya Sabha.

Gohain, H. (1989). *Asomiya Jatiyo Jibonot Mohapurushiya Parampara*. Guwahati: Lawyers Book Stall.

Goswami, P. P. (2004). *Bargitar Swaralipi*. Guwahati: Chandra Prakash.

Mahanta, A. (2012). Sankaradeva and the Status of Women in Assamese Society. In R. K. Goswami, *Essays on Sankaradeva* (pp. 192-204). Guwahati: Anunad.

Mahanta, J. (2012). *Satriya Nritya Gita Badyar Hatputhi*. Guwahati: Bhabani Publishers.

Mahanta, P. (2007). *The Sankaradeva Movement: Its Cultural Horizons*. Guwahati: Purbanchal Prakashan.

Mahanta, R. (September,2017). Throsby's Concept of CSD and the issue of Population: An Analysis of Shaud Kuchi Satra, Sivasagar. *Academia*, 156-161.

Mazumdar, R. (2012). *Religious Institutions and Social Development in Assam, 1826-1952: A Study of the Satras*. NEHU: Unpublished PhD Thesis.

Nath, D. (2007). *Satras in Colonial Assam: their response to the emerging sociopolitical issues*. Guwahati: ICHR.

Neog, M. (2008). *Rhythm in the Vaishnava Music in Assam*. Guwahati: Publication Board of Assam.

Throsby, D. (1995). Culture,Economics and Sustainability. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 199-206.

Throsby, D. (1999). Cultural Capital. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 3-12.

unknown. (2014, august 14). *Freedom by G B Shaw-para by para explanation*. Retrieved april 05, 2019, from writetoscore.com.

W.J.Baumol. (1962). *On the Performing Arts: The Anatomy of their Economic Problems*. American Economic Association, 495-502.

Table:1: Values of the variables in the regression line

Sl no	Name	Age	Educational valuation	FTR	TSE	PSE	Earnner	ACCESS Index	Expertise Index
1	Hunmai	80	0	Y				36	36
2	Kanmai	54	9	Y				36	36
3	Prarthana	42	15	Y				18	27
4	Tagar	42	15	Y				18	45
5	Maini	17	9	Y				18	0
6	Kuhi	12	4	Y				18	9
7	Putali	52	15			Y		18	36
8	Mamu	56	12	Y				36	64
9	Tulu	32	12	Y				18	27
10	Akamani	8	3	Y				18	18
11	Jamuna	55	10	Y			Y	36	64
12	Lata	41	17			Y	Y	18	0
13	Kaku	54	15			Y	Y	18	0
14	Riya	20	16			Y		18	0
15	Runmoni	50	17			Y		18	36
16	Mamoni	58	7	Y				27	9
17	Bebi	52	15			Y	Y	18	0
18	TukTuk	21	16			Y		18	0
19	bu-mon	19	12			Y		18	0
20	Biju	62	12		Y			18	36
21	Padma	60	10	Y				36	64
22	Shyamoli	28	17		Y		Y	18	0
23	Saraswati	82	4	Y				36	55
24	Xuwodi	51	15			Y		18	18
25	Mainu	28	17			Y	Y	18	0
26	Toru	52	12	Y				27	55
27	Bhonti	22	14		Y			18	55
28	Buli	44	15			Y		18	18
29	Saini	20	11			Y		18	9
30	Monika	38	15		Y			18	0
31	Majoni	59	9		Y			18	0
32	Karbi	25	17		Y			18	0
33	Ranju	55	15		Y			18	0
34	Bhonti	23	16		Y			18	0

35	Bini	33	17		Y				18	27
36	Bhontii	6	1		Y				18	0
37	Kuki	35	17		Y		Y		18	0
38	Tuku	29	15	Y					18	0

Table 2: Analysis of the Expertise Index

Name	Barg eet	Na am	Dih aa	Rendition ofKhol	Guna mala	Ritu als	Da nce	weav ing	Wo od cra ft	Maskm aking	paint ing	tot al sco re	expert ise- value	Expe rtise Index
Hun mai	x	1	1	x	x	1	x	1	x	x	x	4	0.363 636	36
Kanm ai	x	1	1	x	x	1	x	1	x	x	x	4	0.363 636	36
Prarth ana	x	1	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	0.272 727	27
Tagar	x	1	1	x	1	x	1	1	x	x	x	5	0.454 545	45
Maini	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Kuhi	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	0.090 909	9
Putali	x	1	1	x	1	x	x	1	x	x	x	4	0.363 636	36
Mam u	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	x	x	x	7	0.636 364	64
Tulu	x	1	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	3	0.272 727	27
Akam ani	x	x	x	x	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	2	0.181 818	18
Jamu na	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	x	x	x	7	0.636 364	64
Lata	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Kaku	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Riya	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Runm oni	x	1	1	x	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	4	0.363 636	36
Mam oni	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	0.090 909	9
Bebi	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
TukT uk	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
bu- mon	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Biju	x	1	1	x	1	x	x	1	x	x	x	4	0.363 636	36
Padm a	1	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	x	x	x	7	0.636 364	64
Shya moli	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0
Saras wati	1	1	1	x	1	1	X	1	x	x	x	6	0.545 455	55
Xuwo	x	1	x	x	1	x	X	x	x	x	x	2	0.181	18

di														818	
Mainu	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Toru	1	1	1	x	1	1	X	1	x	x	x	6	0.545 455	55	
Bhonti	1	1	1	1	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	6	0.545 455	55	
Buli	x	x	x	x	1	x	X	1	x	x	x	2	0.181 818	18	
Saini	x	x	x	x	1	x	X	x	x	x	x	1	0.090 909	9	
Monika	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Majoni	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Karbi	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Ranju	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Bhonti	x	x	x	x	X	x	X	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Bini	x	1	x	x	1	1	X	x	x	x	x	3	0.272 727	27	
Bhontii	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Kuki	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	
Tuku	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	0	0	0	

TABLE 3: Analysis of Access Index

Name	A G E	EQ- VA LU E	sanctum sanctorum	eatable's distributive role	lead in naam	participation in naam	bhona	rendition of khol/ musical instruments in namg har	role in committees	prosel itising	bhag awat path	Morning offerings	gunm ala	to tal	ACC ESS AVE RAGE	AC CES S CEI LING
Hunmai	80	0	x	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	4	36.36 364	37
Kanmai	54	9	x	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	4	36.36 364	37
Prarthana	42	15	X	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	3	27.27 273	28
Tagar	42	15	X	1	X	1	x	X	x	x	X	1	3	27.27 273	28	
Maini	17	9	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19	
Kuhi	12	4	X	X	X	1	1	1	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37	
Putali	52	15	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19	
Mamu	56	12	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	X	1	4	36.36	37	

															364	
Tulu	32	12	X	1	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	3	27.27 273	28
Akamani	8	3	X	X	X	1	1	1	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Jamuna	55	10	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Lata	41	17	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Kaku	54	15	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Riya	20	16	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Runmoni	50	17	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Mamoni	58	7	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Bebi	52	15	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
TukTuk	21	16	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
bu-mon	19	12	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Biju	62	12	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Padma	60	10	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Shyamoli	28	17	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Saraswati	82	4	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Xuwodi	51	15	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Mainu	28	17	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Toru	52	12	x	1	1	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	4	36.36 364	37
Bhonti	22	14	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Buli	44	15	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Saini	20	11	X	X	X	1	x	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Monika	38	15	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Majoni	59	9	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Karbi	25	17	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Ranju	55	15	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Bhonti	23	16	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Bini	33	17	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19

Bhontii	6	1	X	X	X	1	1	1	x	x	x	X	1	3	27.27 273	28
Kuki	35	17	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
Tuku	29	15	X	X	X	1	1	X	x	x	x	X	1	2	18.18 182	19
												stdev	8.026 3839 6			
												average	23.92 3445			