

Social Anthropological Study

Chin State, Paletwa Township

—

Final Report



Prepared by: Maxime Boutry, Anthropologist (Ph.D.) and independent consultant
Saw Eh Htoo, Anthropologist, MIT
Ye Wunna, Theologian, MIT

Table of content

1. Executive summary.....	3
2. Background information.....	6
3. Purpose of the work & methodology used.....	7
3.1 Objectives.....	7
3.2 Development of the study	8
3.3 Methodology.....	9
3.4 Literature review.....	9
4. Findings and outcomes.....	11
4.1 Brief presentation of the area under study and its population.....	11
4.2 Socio-cultural organizations.....	11
4.3 Spatial organization and resources.....	13
4.4 Main social events.....	17
4.5 Pregnancy and childhood.....	19
4.6 Food consumption	23
4.7 Water	24
4.8 Hygiene	25
4.9 Health and mental health	26
5. Conclusions and recommendations	29
6. References.....	34
7. ANNEXES.....	35
Annex A: Map of north Paletwa Township and visited villages.....	35
Annex C: Main Khumi festivals.....	39
Annex D: Main Khumi clans and associated lineages	40
Annex E: Ketkuwa and Hpa Yon Chaung villages: history, description, composition.....	41

1. Executive summary

- This anthropological study of the Khumi (Chin group) villages of Paletwa Township (Chin State), comes before the implementation of a DANIDA-funded project, under which ACF notably aims to enhance livelihood resilience and improve food security for targeted communities in Paletwa Township, Chin State.
- The study aims at better identifying food security/livelihoods, water, sanitation, hygiene, nutrition and care practices needs as well as difficulties faced by families and communities in providing proper care to children – thereby increasing the risk of child malnutrition – and to provide recommendations for designing interventions on food security/livelihoods, wash and care practices for a multi-sector prevention approach to under-nutrition.
- The consultants' team was made of Maxime Boutry, International consultant, Ph.D. in anthropology (2007), Saw Eh Htoo, Anthropologist and teacher at Myanmar Institute of Theology (MIT), Ye Wunna, Theologian, teacher at MIT. The team spent around three weeks in Khumi villages in the area targeted by ACF's project. Participative ethnology's methodology has been prioritized during the study, with as much time as possible spent with the communities. Nonetheless, given the limited timeframe of this study other tools such as Focus Group Discussion (FDG) and directed questionnaires have been used as well.
- Khumi practice slash and burn cultivation (*taung yar*), principally for rice, on the hill slopes of Paletwa Township. The population is traditionally animist. However, since the end of the twentieth century, Christian missions (including Anglicans, Baptists, Roman Catholic, Protestants) started evangelizing Khumi so that nowadays a majority of them are – theoretically more than practically – Christian. Nonetheless, resorting to shamans, traditional rituals and ceremonies is still common in many parts of Paletwa Township. Few individuals are also Buddhist, and generally characterized by other Khumi as Buddhist-animist (among whom we find the shamans). A local effort by some educated Khumi also led to the revival and/or preservation of progressively abandoned ceremonies.
- The Khumi society is characterized by patrilineal descent implying that after being married a woman will enter the lineage of her husband and so all the children from this union. This strong social structure gives male individual a greater role in decision making at the village, clan/lineage levels and even at the household level. One of the consequences is that boys are generally chosen over girls to attend school. However, daily life in a Khumi village appears quite egalitarian against gender and the division of labour is generally balanced between gender and access to food and resources is undifferentiated between males and females.
- Clans and lineages still play an important role in daily life. First, it determines the impossibility for two individuals of the same lineage to intermarry. Decision makers at the village levels come from the main clan of the settlement, a role that has to be acknowledged by the villagers. **Hence local decision makers and influent individuals can be considered as equitable intermediaries to undertake any kind of project.** Besides, the clan system is a guarantee of a great cohesiveness among the villagers where **undertaking community based projects shouldn't encounter major issues.** Finally, clans play also a role in the development of Khumi society. **Since 2000, main clans gather once a year (between April and May)** to decide on social affairs within their lineages and allocate some funds for meriting children in order to go to school. **Focusing on such meetings to**

deliver key messages could facilitate their dissemination and acceptance among Khumi communities.

- Social status is not of prime importance in the daily life of Khumi communities. **It is quite important to understand the village as an effective unit being worked by as many subunits as households.** Slash and burn cultivation has to be understood this way as well. While the whole slash and burn area is a common property of the village, each parcel is worked by a single household. The relationship between the Khumi society and their nature is totally integrated in the representation of a “domain”, including the village, the cultivated hills slopes and surrounding environment. Thus **the whole village works for the preservation of the “domain” which includes the cultivated parcels as well as the surrounding environment, supporting the validity of undertaking projects on a village basis.**
- **Crisis such the 2007-2010 bamboo blooming** which caused the destruction of paddy fields and storages by the rats is a recurring threat for Khumi communities. The sudden death of bamboo forests following this blooming **has major impacts on soil fertility and weeds development.** In the villages located along the Kaladan River, this is worsened by a demographic expansion leading to the segmentation of villages and a faster rotation for slash and burn cultivation **resulting in lower productive grounds** for paddy cultivation from which the Khumi should normally be able to recover the following years. **The main issue for Khumi families** is that **many of them fall into indebtedness.** The **development of paddy banks has to be carefully scrutinized** in a society already in paddy deficit (especially on how to initiate the paddy bank). This has also to be relativized by the fact paddy is (almost) never used for income generation but for the household’s consumption. **However, given the relatively high cohesion of Khumi villages, the principle may be successful.** Other crops, such as sesame, or plants like Elephant Foot Yam (EFY) and “gamon” (*Kaempferia sp.*) can represent an alternative source of food security by bringing some incomes (especially EFY and gamon which didn’t suffer from the rats).
- **Terracing or switching from shifting cultivation to permanent or semi-permanent farming systems may have drastic consequences of the whole Khumi social organizations.** As shown by San Thein (2012: 46-48), **introducing irrigated and non-irrigated terraces tends to provoke a differentiation of wealth,** this kind of farming systems profiting to wealthier people. At the contrary, in most Chin societies, and it is true for Khumi, shifting parcels are generally equally distributed among a village’s households. Similarly, **communal work on the slash and burn parcels may be difficult to undertake.** It appeals to the conception of the domain as a common property but where the *taung yar* is a temporarily household managed area. However, the necessity under the new Farmland Law to register cultivated lands may bring changes to this conception.
- Khumi’s diet is undiversified and rice mainly accompanied by bamboo shoots and vegetables grown in the *taung yar*. When unable to procure rice, they rely on yams and other products foraged in the forest. Many other customs considerably reduce the pregnant women and infants’ mothers’ diet. **Improving nutrition during these two stages should take into account the symbolic roots of such restrictions.** Additional recommendations on important food consumption for the mother and the baby should be done within the cultural pattern of Khumi society.
- The main undermining factor in health for Khumi is the lack of human resources and associated infrastructures, and in absence of these, the lack of money. **Providing health services has to**

respect the representation of illness within Khumi's culture. That is the cause of any illness is to be found in the interaction with nature and the surnatural world, which causes can be treated with western medicine. **Avoiding looking down on such representation, and even integrating it in the curing process (for example by showing the patient first to a shaman or medium and then treating with medicines) should prove to be more efficient.**

- Open defecation is widespread in most villages, which makes sense given that whole families are spending a large part of their time in the *taung yar*. However, as observed in HYCW village, **the concept of protecting slopes bordering the rivers can be introduced successfully for preserving fresh water sources from human pollution.** However, pollution by livestock remains uneasily controllable given most animals are roaming free in the village.

2. Background information

Based on the findings from an integrated needs assessment conducted in Chin State at the end of 2011 - which showed high levels of food insecurity and malnutrition, ACF implemented food distributions for vulnerable households in Chin state from March to November 2012. This will be followed by longer-term activities to prevent chronic malnutrition.

In late 2011, ACF decided to conduct an assessment in the South Chin State to assess the humanitarian situation, focusing on Paletwa Township. This was motivated by:

- Humanitarian indicators in Paletwa assumed to be below acceptable standards, despite limited information on the context and on the impact of rats infestation;
- Small number of agencies operating in Paletwa
- Transportation constraints that prevent accessing several Townships in a timely manner

The assessment confirmed that the vast majority of the population suffered from severe crop failure in 2011, thereby leading to major food shortages starting in early 2012. Indicators on household dietary diversity (HDDS) indicated that consumption patterns did not meet people's nutrition needs. Indeed, the average HDDS (i.e. number of food groups consumed out of a total of 12 groups) was at 3.26, with 50% of the households sampled below 3 food groups.

Results of a mid-upper arm circumference (MUAC) assessment that was conducted on 1,072 children under-five years of age were also worrisome: 4.6% % of the children presented oedema or a MUAC below 115mm, i.e. both indicative of severe malnutrition. Furthermore, 18.1% of the children measured were moderately malnourished and 37.59% were at risk.

In order to have updated information on the 2012 paddy harvest, in November 2012, ACF collected information among the households that benefited from food distributions (implemented by ACF and funded by the World Food Program (WFP) from March to October 2012. The monitoring exercise revealed that a large proportion of households in Paletwa Township continue to be food insecure.

Regarding access to water, in the assessment conducted by ACF in late 2011, it was found that 94% of the people interviewed collect water for drinking and other domestic purposes from unprotected sources including springs, rivers, streams or creeks. Lack of access to safe water in Chin is exacerbated by the topographic and hydrogeological conditions and remoteness of the area which make construction of WASH infrastructures very expensive and often beyond communities' economic and technical capacity. The ACF assessment also revealed that up to 77% of the households surveyed practice open defecation. Faeces are left for animals – pigs, dogs and chicken - to feed on. The majority of the latrines that were present in 23% of the households surveyed were found in appalling conditions. Cases of diarrhea are therefore frequent among the surveyed population, especially between the months of April and June.

Global acute malnutrition (GAM) was low, stunting was very high and underweight was high. Nutrition related causes of stunting found in the survey may have occurred as a result of lack of variety of all foods, especially fruits and vegetables, as well as insufficient consumption of protein and/or fat containing foods. Access to safe water and poor hygiene practices are also well known factors that can explain this result although not assessed in the current survey.

Findings from the above-mentioned assessment led ACF and its partner Karuna Pyay to launch a first intervention aiming at providing access to a balanced food basket for the 2012 lean season that

supported more than 20,000 individuals. Following this first phase of protective intervention through food distributions, ACF is now aiming at linking relief, rehabilitation and development through a longer term integrated preventive programme in the sectors of WASH as well as increasing knowledge on IYCF and child care practices.

Under this DANIDA-funded project, ACF aims to achieve three specific objectives, all of which contribute to the project's overall objective of improving and reinforcing the livelihoods, food security, health and nutrition status of marginalized and vulnerable groups in border States of Myanmar. The present study is linked to the first specific objective.

Specific objective 1: To enhance livelihood resilience and improve food security for targeted communities in Paletwa Township, Chin State.

Specific objective 2: To improve the dietary intake of vulnerable populations in Kayah State.

Specific objective 3: To contribute to the reduction of child malnutrition, mortality and morbidity in Northern Rakhine State.

Chin State is located in the northwestern part of Myanmar, bordering India and Bangladesh. It is divided into two districts, counting nine Townships. The landscape in Chin State is mainly mountainous and characterized by steep slopes and narrow valleys. The total population is slightly above 500,000 individuals, the second lowest at State and Region level in the country, after Kayah State. Transportation in Chin is severely constrained by the topography and the very scarce passable roads. Except for one main road or river in each township, villages are only accessible either by river (boats) or through footpaths, thereby making access a significant challenge for the inhabitants. In addition, landslides that cut the main cities from the (already) limited supplies received from outside the State are frequent during the rainy season.

Results of recent countrywide surveys ranked Chin as the first or second priority for most of the indicators measured:

Chin state ranks first in term of food poverty incidence (25%) and poverty incidence (71%) in the country;

Chin State has the lowest proportion of one-year-old children fully immunized against measles, the poorest antenatal care coverage and the second highest self-reported morbidity incidence;

Chin State ranks second in terms of child undernourishment (based on WHO standards) after Rakhine State.

3. Purpose of the work & methodology used

3.1 Objectives

The objectives of this social anthropological study have been defined as follow:

- Exploring knowledge, perceptions, beliefs, practices and representations related to food security and livelihoods, wash, nutrition, care and health.
- Increasing our understanding about the context, available resources and barriers to prevent child under-nutrition and health-related issues.
- Increasing our general understanding of the social and cultural background of the Chin people (structure of power, kinship, history of the settlement in the area, etc.) as well as

project oriented cultural patterns (ex: location of the latrines in the compound, beliefs and representation associated with water and water borne diseases...).

The study will allow to better identify food security/livelihoods, water, sanitation, hygiene, nutrition and care practices needs as well as difficulties faced by families and communities in providing proper care to children – thereby increasing the risk of child malnutrition – and to provide recommendations for designing interventions on food security/livelihoods, wash and care practices for a multi-sector prevention approach to under-nutrition.

Given the timeframe of the fieldwork (3 weeks in Chin State) against the range of social facts and cultural patterns which may interact with the above mentioned interests of the study, one concern for the methodology was to find an appropriate balance between producing anecdotal facts or a too general picture of the so-called Chin populations living in the area under study.

3.2 Development of the study

The consultants' team was made of Maxime Boutry, International consultant, Ph.D. in anthropology (2007), Saw Eh Htoo, Anthropologist and teacher at Myanmar Institute of Theology (MIT), Ye Wunna, Theology, teacher at MIT.

To ensure an as relevant as possible picture of the populations of this area (mainly Khumi-Chin), the fieldwork has been divided as follow:

- One and half days were spent in Paletwa discussing with ACF staff, Karuna staff (also working with ACF) of Khumi origin and interviewing resource Khumi individuals (U Kyaw, staff of Paletwa administration department and U Hwe Pa, a Khumi who worked under the socialist party in the 1960s and participated to the writing of a book, in Khumi, about their culture).
- During a first 5 days trip in the upper part of the Kaledan river, we visited the villages of Mee Zar, Kyauk Palin and Yin Khan Wa (cf. Annex A)
- During one day, back in Paletwa, the methodology has been slightly refined upon the first findings including the identification of subjects that should receive more focus.
- Finally, each of the national consultant spent 7 days in a different village: Hpa Yon Chaung (HYC Wa and HYC Phyar) and Ketkuwa (Upper and Lower).

Based on the first days spent in Khumi (and Khumi-Rakhine) villages, we assumed that socio-cultural patterns among the villages included in the study are quite homogeneous. Given the social and anthropological nature of the study, it's been decided that the national consultants would spend more time in only one village each in order to get more confidence from the local communities. We took into account differences between the villages such as access and logistic but going to the most remote villages (Pi Chaung river) was too much time spent in traveling compared to the study's timeframe and the time we must give to the communities in order to build some trust.

3.3 Methodology

The methodology

Participative ethnology's methodology has been prioritized during the study, with as much time as possible spent with the communities. Nonetheless, given the limited timeframe of this study other tools such as Focus Group Discussion (FDG) and directed questionnaires have been used as well.

- FDGs aimed to introduce the team, the study's objectives and get general information about the village and its surroundings. It helped doing mapping of the villages and get the mainstream voice regarding the different issues raised by the study.
- Direct observation has been applied (children nursing, feeding, participation of the villagers, and by gender, to the different tasks, etc.)
- Interviews with HH targeted:
 - o "Undifferentiated" households (gender balance has been ensured)
 - o Households with pregnant women and households with women having children under 5 were also included
 - o Interviews also took into account the different socio-cultural statuses (chief, pastor, shaman, villagers)
- Key informants interviews included
 - o Local authorities in Paletwa and villages (village administrators)
 - o Community leaders
 - o Traditional healers ("shamans", "midwives", others...)
 - o Government health workers
 - o Elders
 - o Pregnant women
 - o Women with children under 5 (ensure gender representativeness among children)

The semi-structured questionnaire (presented in Annex B) used to organize this research was divided into the main following fields:

1. Spatial organization
2. Power, statuses and organizational structures
3. Pregnancy and childhood
4. Nutrition
5. Water and hygiene
6. Health seeking behaviour / Mental health

The outcomes and findings section follows more or less this structure.

3.4 Literature review

While academic literature on Chin is not so developed (compared to other Myanmar's ethnic minorities such as the Karen), it is even more difficult to find information specifically dealing with the Khumi society. And for the existing one, it generally dates back to the colonial period and no later than the 1960s.

F. K. Lehman's work, *The structure of Chin society* (1963), despite dealing with the Chin population as a whole (but divided into Northern and Southern Chin societies), is still of great help to understand the main patterns of the Khumi society. We sometimes refer to this work when relevant.

Among the most recent academic literature found on Chin society, we can also cite Lian H. Sakhong's work, *Religion and Politics among the Chin People in Burma (1806-1949)* (2000). This book however deals mainly on the relationship between the Chin ethnic minority and the central government of Burma (Myanmar) and is of little help for the present study.

Let's also cite the Lorenz G. Löffler's article, "Khumi/Khami Vokabulare Vorstudie zu einer sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung" (1960), from which we could draw some references on Khumi vocabulary.

There is also few studies on the Khumi society living in Bangladesh, and generally written by Bangladeshi scholars. However, these are mostly folklorist studies focusing on traditional dress and/or livelihood (which change more rapidly in Bangladesh than in Myanmar).

Finally, there is some information about Khumi scattered on the internet, ranging from missionaries' work to the dedicated Khumi Media Group (<http://khumimediagroup.wordpress.com>).

4. Findings and outcomes

4.1 Brief presentation of the area under study and its population

To quote ACF's "Nutrition survey of 6 to 59 month children from north area of Paletwa Township, chin state republic of the union of Myanmar" (2013: 10):

"Chin state is located in north western Myanmar and borders India to the north and Bangladesh to the west. It is mainly mountainous with an average altitude of 1 000 meters above sea level. [...] Paletwa Township is located 18 km from the Bangladesh border and is only accessible by boat from Sittwe, in Rakhine State. Accessibility throughout Paletwa is severely constrained by the topography and lack of roads. The only modes of transportation between villages are walking paths and local boats that travel along the Kaladan River. The Kaladan River is also the main route for the movement of food and goods between villages. Movement between villages is made even more difficult depending on the season. During the dry season, northern Paletwa can sometimes be difficult to reach by boat due to the low river bed. During the rainy season access to villages by walking can be severely limited due to frequent mud slides."

The villages included under the current ACF's project are predominantly Khumi, with a small proportion of Rakhine ethnics. Khumi (also spelled Khami) are included into the main Chin ethnic minority of Myanmar. Under this label, however, many ethnic groups coexist, speaking different languages. For a study of the Chin society as a whole, see Lehman 1963. Regarding the Khumi themselves, literature is scarce (see literature review above). We present below the main characteristics of their social organization as per our interviews.

As an introduction, Khumi practice slash and burn cultivation, principally for rice, on the hill slopes of Paletwa Township. The population is traditionally animist. However, since the end of the twentieth century, Christian missions (including Anglicans, Baptists, Roman Catholic, Protestants) started evangelizing Khumi so that nowadays a majority of them are – theoretically more than practically – Christian. Nonetheless, resorting to shamans, traditional rituals and ceremonies is still common in many parts of Paletwa Township. Few individuals are also Buddhist, and generally characterized by other Khumi as Buddhist-animist (among whom we find the shamans). A local effort by some educated Khumi also led to the revival and/or preservation of progressively abandoned ceremonies (see a summary of the main ceremonies in Annex C).

4.2 Socio-cultural organizations

The Khumi society has patrilineal descent with corporate, unilineal groups which are segmentary. Lineages and clans are not clearly discernable. According to Khumi Cultural Association in Paletwa, 18 main clans (*sai*¹) exist (see Annex D). These are segmented into different lineages, for example the main descent Kechy-Nemlau² include 11 lesser segments (Kechy, Nidhym, etc.).

The distinction between clan and lineage can be explained as follow. The lineage is the unit within one individual cannot marry to another. A Kechy-Nemlau boy cannot marry a Kechy-Nemlau girl

¹ Transcribed *cen* in Löffler (1960).

² For clan and lineages names, the transcription generally follows the official Khumi one.

(same clan and lineage). However, a major lineage can intermarry with a sub-lineage (even of the same clan). Hence a Kechy-Nemlau can marry with a Kechy clan Nidhym lineage.

To complicate a little bit, there are also some lineages that contracted alliances mainly for cultivation purpose (see below). Thus, for example, Kechy-Nemlau cannot intermarry other lineages such Khamang or Patlai Chy.

One village is often inhabited by one major clan cum maximal lineage – this was truer in older times – or at least a dominant clan coexisting with minor clans and other lineages – which is the case today (for instance, Sengla clan is dominant in upper Ketkuwa, Ketchy is the dominant one in HYCW, see Annex E). Nowadays, the main clan (and maximal lineage) of the village generally holds the most important position. For instance, the Lanvo clan and Sengla maximal lineage is the majority in upper Ketkuwa. Present-time village tract administrator of Da Let May village tract (including Ketkuwa village), U Than Tun, is also from Sengla lineage. The villagers have elected him. Former village administrator under Military Regime, U Kan Gyi was also from Sengla lineage. Former township party unit chairman of Paletwa township, now lives in Ketkuwa, U Hla Win is also from Sengla lineage. In lower Ketkuwa, Sa Teh Chy lineage of Khenla-Asang clan is the majority. U Htun Lone, village Administrator of Lower Ketkuwa since 2012 is Sa Teh Chy and U Aung Ngor, former village administrator from 1999-2007, is also Sa Teh Chy. But U Sein Htun, former village administrator from 2007- 2011 and before U Htun Lone, is from Kechy clan, Nidyhm lineage.

According to our observations³, political power and territory are quite intermingled in Khumi villages. The traditionally most powerful authority for Khumi is the *Khukeung*, meaning the “Lord of the Domain”. They represent the forefather of a village’s domain and head of the maximal lineage. They are the masters in their own domain. The word *khu*, or *khua*, in most of Chin languages refers to the settled area. It designates what is inhabited, “what has feeling, ‘soul’”. [...] *Khua*, then, is that in which life is felt to exist, by extension also a lively, human [...] place, a village and its houses and kitchen gardens. This is related to the first morpheme in the word *khu-mi* (‘man’) that is, the Khumi Chin” (Lehman 1963: 172-3).

Traditionally, the *Khukeung* rules and administers everything within the domain. He can ask for villagers' labor to construct public buildings and village roads. Villagers used to pay him tax on paddy or vegetables. If villagers got meat from the jungle or kill domestic animals, they have to pay one hind, foreleg or head to him. *Khukeung* forms a group of village elders to judge the villagers' law suits. The position and authority of *Khukeung* can be transferred from generation to generation in his family.

Besides the *Khukeung* who is the authority of the main clan (possibly regrouping different lineages), are also the angreng– literally “chief” or “rich man (Löffner 1960) – who are linked to a lineage. They are also influent in the village’s affairs and can be considered as the Burmese “*lu gyi*”. If it seems that

³ According to what Lehman described about Southern Chin societies (1963: 88-91), clan doesn’t represent a political unit, neither it has a distinct political structure. The effective political unit is the lineage. Since in older times one lineage represented one clan/settlement – and generally this lineage would be found only in this settlement – social and spatial unit would coincide, which is the case in our observations. When few lineages coexist, leaders are generally (but not systematically) coming from the dominant clan cum lineage.

traditional *Khukeung* no longer exist as such, former angreng kept their position through the official administration. Thus in some villages some angreng became the village administrator.

The position of angreng is acquired through wealth acquisition and, most importantly, wealth redistribution mainly done during the “Fest of Merits” (Angreng Cheang Pawi). This position is not hereditary. In older times it would imply large sacrifices of cows. The angreng’s authority (which persists through these days) is thus acknowledged by the whole village. It is not a forced one. Villagers consider these angreng as merciful and generous for the clan. angreng thus receive support from most of the villagers. It seems that some angreng, in older times, could acquire sufficient influence and power to become *Khukeung*, thus claiming some domains under which they would ally different lineages⁴, notably in order to keep large areas for slash and burn cultivation. Hence the impossibility to marry an allied lineage, considered as brotherhood. It seems also that some weaker lineages went under the protection of more powerful ones, then becoming their slaves. It would mean the “weak” lineage is not recognized anymore as such (somehow integrated into the “powerful” one) and consequently unable to intermarry with the major lineage (hence reducing its potential to develop itself). However, it may not represent an obvious change in social status (and access to resources) since, as noted by Lehman (1963), there are not significant hierarchies between lineages in Southern Chin communities.

4.3 Spatial organization and resources

This section may refer more explicitly to the two villages of Hpa Yon Chaung (HYC) – made of HYC Wa (HYCW) and HYC Pyar (HYCP) and Ketkuwa – Upper and Lower (see Annex E for more details on these 2 villages: composition, myth, demography). However, the outcomes should apply to most Khumi villages.

- **The village in its environment**

As briefly explained, the environment can be divided into the domesticated one (*khua* or *khu*), including the village and cultivated parcels, and the wild one (*ram*). Both *khua* and *ram* are frequented by men, and most of surrounding distinctive natural features have a name. These names, (for creeks, mountains, etc.) have been given by the main clan’s ancestors and myths are generally associated to these places. Villages are permanent, but sister-villages may appear due to clan segmentation and demography.

Mountains are often associated to local spirits. The mountain located east of HYCW is known as a spiritual worshipping place and a spirit-house is built on the top. For this reason, no one is allowed to cultivate on this mountain. This is where ceremonies – such as the “harvest ceremony” – take place if they are not hold in the village.

On the same slope of **HYCW village, leaders instituted a community forest in 1993**. Nobody is allowed to cut trees and the area is considered as a preserved area ensuring the availability of hunting games. Interestingly, **there is also a community forest** following the same rules, **owned by the village at the East side of lower Ketkuwa**.

⁴ According to Khumi elders, these alliances were done during the Fest of Merit gathering angreng from different lineages.

The surfaces used for slash and burn cultivation (to which we will refer as *taung yar*, the Burmese term) are included in the *khua* domain and thus belong to the whole clan (and the village tract since then). Accordingly, both men and women frequent the *taung yar*. A parcel identified by a family doesn't belong to it, and can be used by another one few years after (see more details in the following bullet point). The whole surface belonging to the village is believed to have been set-up and acquired by the settlement's founders, generally the Lord of the Domain (the *khukeung*). In most places, these areas correspond to the current village tract administrative division. However, for some villages this cutting-out led to some loss for the community (and reversely gain of land for the bordering village). It also happens in some village tracts that villagers can practice *taung yar* in another village tract's forests. Nowadays, following the necessity to register lands under the new Farmland Law, some people started to register land for permanent individual ownership at the Settlement and Land Registration Department (under Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation).

As *khukeung* is the master of his domain, mountains, streams and even the villages are named after him. For example, the village of Ketkuwa was the domain of Khukeung Mahn Seng and Ketkuwa mount was also called Mahn Seng mount.

In a Khumi village, each family has its house. Each son creates a separate household after being married with the exception of the youngest one, who being expected to take care of his parents, may remain on his father's house site. Traditionally, all Khumi houses follow the same pattern, the front door being aligned with the back door, intersecting the slope's declivity. Houses are made of wood and/or bamboos.

Evangelization however impacted on houses' pattern. For example in Ketkuwa, only a few houses are reminiscences of typical Khumi house, with long piles (protecting from wild animals) and large spaces at the front and back (to expose paddy to the sun). Present-day houses in Ketkuwa have one or two rooms and kitchen space is at the rear left. In HYCW as well as the other villages (more remote) visited during the first fieldwork, houses were still made according to Khumi tradition.

Social status may influence the type of house as well. Only five houses at upper Ketkuwa and another one at lower Ketkuwa are made of wood. The biggest wooden house at upper Ketkuwa is owned by present-time village tract administrator and was built since his father time who was one of the wealthiest men in Paletwa township. Village administrator of lower Ketkuwa also owns the only wooden house. While traditionally roof is made of leaves, now tin ones appeared in some villages where individuals made consequent amounts of money on *gamon* (*Kaempferia sp.*) cultivation.

There is no designated place to build the house. Some areas may be forbidden like in HYCW village, where people cannot build their house close to the river to prevent human (and breeding animals)'s wastes from polluting it.

Houses cannot be built in November (see Khumi calendar in Annex F) as it is the month during which recently dead people's souls are liberated from the world of the livings.

- **Livelihoods**

A great majority of the households have access to a parcel for slash and burn cultivation (60 out of 63 families in Ketkuwa). Only those families, which are only composed of elders, widow and small children do not have hill-side cultivation. These families grow glutinous rice and other plants at the sites in the next year where other people have already used for cultivation in the previous year.

Nearest cultivation sites are fifteen minutes' walk and farthest sites are one and half hour walk away from the village. Anyone can choose any place they like within the domain of a village. One can choose as much as he wants and the width and length of the area chosen depend on one's labor force. After choosing an area, he marks the area with a cross sign bamboo together with a whetstone in some cases. They then put water in the bamboo which will remain in the *taung yar* until the end of the land clearing. If the water inside contains many impurities many weeds will grow in the *taung yar* and the contrary if the water remains clear. The bamboo is then cut longitudinally into two parts and thrown in the air after "asking" [the spirits] the quality of the coming harvest. If the two parts fall each on a different side, the harvest promises to be good. If a second person doesn't see the signs, he may also mark the same area. For this case, there are passersby who may have noticed the first signs and witness who did first. Then the second person chooses another place. They never argue for one place, as it is believed that conflicts over land use may affect all the village's harvests.

Most people clear their parcel between December and January. Some begin as early as November. Then they burn the whole area at March where the ashes become fertilizer for cultivation (it seems that for the villages along the Kaladan River, township authorities mark and declare the day to burn for each village tract). If the burning sites are not close to the village, they don't make the firebreak to limit the fire. Both men and women work in the *taung yar*. Children, when not at school, generally follow their parents in the *taung yar*. For infants, the woman stays at home (see 4.5 Pregnancy and childhood).

The main culture is paddy. The length of rotation depends mainly on demography. In more accessible places (from Paletwa and along the Kaladan River), demographic pressure is high and available parcels are scarce and land left vacant for a maximum of 3 years. In more remote places rotation can happen on a 10 years period. Logically, areas that haven't been used within ten years are more fertile than those used after three years, but they are also farther than those of less fertile areas.

Paddy is planted in April or May and harvested between August and October, depending on the time/life span of different paddy grains. Most families grow three or four 'taungs' of paddy seeds. One 'taung' is approximately 0.375 bushel (equivalent to 32.5 liters). It corresponds more or less with a surface of 1.5 to 2 acres. If a person grows one 'taung' of paddy seeds, he might be able to harvest 30 'taungs' of grains.

Rice is not for sale rather barely enough for family consumption for the whole year. So some slash and burn cultivation sites are also used to grow "gamon" and now mostly sesame, for sale to buy rice for those times when families are out of paddy grain. Gamon grown in April can be sold in January or February. Some, after harvesting time, search for elephant foot yam tuber (*Amorphophallus campanulata*) in wild forests, for commercialization and, rarely, for the household's consumption. Elephant foot yam cultivation became is now frequent thanks to the current attractive market prices.

Gamon started to be commercialized about 10 years ago. Before that time, and still nowadays, many families who were out of paddy grain in May-June (and sometimes earlier) have to lend paddy from others with high interest rate. Next circle of harvest time has to wait until August to October (depending on the rice variety). Some work for others who have riverside cultivation with daily wages (2000 MMK/day) and some search for elephant foot yam tuber to sell on local markets.

It seems that while gamon was highly profitable at the beginning (harvesting about 10 times the sown quantity), production yields drastically decreased in the past years (only 3 times the sown quantity). Nowadays many families grow sesame together with paddy.

We already underlined that rice was more oriented on the household consumption rather than for commercialization purpose. Gamon cultivation, on the contrary, has been able to provide security to some households especially during the bamboo blooming episode of 2006-7. However, gamon's productivity seems declining according to our interviews. As an alternative source of food, Khumi also plant sesame, peanuts (only along the Kaladan River), corn and dig for foot yams in the forest. Fishing is an important activity for protein content in daily meals. Some families also grow glutinous rice (principally for fermenting alcohol and for ritual purpose). Other plants and vegetables grown together with paddy are roselle (*Hibiscus sandariffa*), bitter gourd (*Momodica charantia*), red or cayenne pepper, basil (*Ocimum canum*), cassava plant (*Manihot utilissima*), lady finger or okra (*Hibiscus esculentus*), aubergine or egg-plant, indian trumpet (*Bignonia indica*), pigeon pea (*Cajanus cajan*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*), water convolvulus (*Ipomaea aquatica*), ridged gourd (*angular luffa* plant), sweet potato and banana stems and buds. All of these are not for sale rather for family consumption.

Some families may possess orchard lands or irrigated paddy lands (20 households in Ketkuwa own rive-side cultivation sites), especially along the Kaladan River. In more remote areas, orchards and irrigated paddy lands are rarer. **Contrarily to slash and burn parcels, riverside, orchards and irrigated paddy land are owned individually and granted by the Government the form 7.** They thus can be sold, inherited or pawned by individuals.

- **Breeding and hunting**

Most households possess livestock (mainly pig and chicken, cows, goats and sometimes dogs) but these animals are generally reserved for ceremonial purposes. Those range from a son coming back to his parent's place to bigger ceremonies such as marriage. In fact, meat is often absent from daily meals (see 4.6 Food consumption) except when the husband, or some relatives caught some wild animal.

Chicken are kept away from predators (snakes, dogs, foxes) by putting them in elevated places. These can be individual baskets or small henhouses for larger livestock. Goats, pigs and cows are left free to wander in the village, eating plants as well as all sorts of wastes, including excrements. While this could be a limiting factor to home gardening, many house compounds are protected by fences. Cows are quite an exception among other animals in terms of income. As the whole region is near Bangladesh, an informal trade led by Bangladeshis consists in bringing cows from Myanmar to Bangladesh in exchange of money or material goods such as, herbicides, solar panels and other electronic devices.

Hunting is a common practice and even some pieces of forest are communally managed notably for the purpose of preserving sources of wild animals. When a man (only men hunt) comes back with a game, tradition wants that part of it are shared with influent villagers, relatives as well as with those who helped cutting it up. For four legs games, the middle rib, plus a piece of meat, is offered to the mother's younger brother. The right leg goes to the elder (or younger) sister. The forelegs are offered to the brothers.

Games bearing babies are generally avoided as consuming pregnant animals may affect (in a negative way) births in the household (possibly a taboo linked to environment preservation). Women commonly avoid eating games, and more particularly when they are pregnant as they consider games' meat too "strong". Nowadays games can be sold out to make an income, especially in bigger villagers⁵.

4.4 Main social events

In this section we treat the main events that are birth, marriage and death. The main facts are presented and such social events being of great complexity, the fieldwork couldn't cover neither all the aspects of these nor all their interrelations with the whole Khumi society.

- **Birth**

Birth is always a welcomed event in Khumi society. Birth happens at home, sometimes in the *taung yar* or on the way to the hill, as women don't stop working even in the last month of pregnancy. The labor is done by traditional midwives, and later more and more by health-workers, whether governmental or religious ones (see 4.9 Health).

The first child shouldn't be born on Wednesday and especially on Saturday. If it happens, the parents give the child to a priest (or a monk for the few Buddhists) as a token and the father has to cross over the child 7 times if it is a boy and 6 times if it is a girl (see the similar numerology in Annex C) with a knife on his shoulder. A child shouldn't be born in the Khumi month of *Tlang Ngawi* (meaning "missing and remembering somebody", corresponding to November), which is the month dedicated to freeing the dead from their attach to the living world.

Within one or two days, the child's family kills a pig and makes brew to treat those who help in childbirth especially if the newborn child is a boy. Girls' earlobes are pierced within ten days after birth.

Traditionally, the newborn child is named seven days after birth. Grandparents or parents or their priest may name the child. Sometimes the child is named after his grandfather's name. When the villagers are Christians, newborn child is baptized at about one month old. In some places, different names are given to the baby following ancestor's names until he stop crying, stating the name's suitability.

The new born baby has to be shown to his/her grandparents from mother side at one, three, five, seven or nine months old. It has to be odd months since even ones, because of the "ended" character of these numbers, are identified to world of dead (and by extension the spirit's world). If the child's family has to transfer to another place soon after the child's birth, it has within one month to show the child to the grandparents. And if the child's family lives far away from the grandparents it may take as long as nine months. Showing the newborn to the mother's parents is a way to repay the debt to the wife-giving descent. The child is allowed to be on the grandparents' house only after the child is shown to them. The parents have to sleep at least one night at the grandparents' house. If there is any funeral in the village, this child-showing custom has to wait until all funeral affairs are

⁵ For example, wild dogs are sold in Mee Zar (an important village up the Kaladan River) 1500 kyats a skewer of 4 tenth of viss.

finished. The parents of the child have to bring along one or three or seven or nine chickens (odd numbers) for the grandparents. At least they must bring chicken eggs. The grandparents kill a pig and wear pig-blood-strained strings to the child. It is seven strings if the child is a boy and six strings if the child is a girl. The grandparents also give silver coin necklace and a blanket to the child. The child's parents have to give money for the price of the pig. After staying one night, the family of the child has to leave the village as soon as possible that before another funeral in the village might happen. The pig that is killed for the child must not be all eaten. They bring back one hind or fore leg or head (depends on the size of the pig) to their home village and give pork curry to their neighbors and the grandparents from child's father side.

If the child is on the house of the grandparents of mother's side before doing the custom, which accidentally happens when another child carry the child and being in the house if both families live in the same village, that custom must be followed immediately on that day.

If the child is dead before showing to the grandparents, the custom of killing pig and bringing chickens to the grandparents' house must also be followed without the child.

This custom is followed until today that even if the parents of the child live abroad (for example Malaysia, and that happens to a family at lower Ketkuwa), at least a photo of the child is sent to the grandparents and the grandparents will send back the strings for the child.

- **Marriage (and divorce)**

As said in the first chapter, marriage is regulated by exogamy outside one's lineage, and this exogamy extends to allied lineages. When villages were composed of only one clan/lineage, the rule implied village exogamy, thus favoring mobility and exchanges among the different Khumi communities. This is mostly the case nowadays as well, as villages are generally inhabited by a dominant lineage.

People are married by their own choices or their parents' arrangement. Sexual intercourse, if discovered and/or if it leads to pregnancy should necessarily end into marriage. In this case, the parents will interpret their own dreams as good or bad omens and determine if this union will be auspicious or not.

The groom has to pay a bride price which goes to the family, and particularly to the bride's younger brother. The latter can use the bride price to contract marriage at his turn (this was especially true when bride-price was set with material belongings such as gongs, swords, traditional blankets, etc.).

For the marriage of the eldest girl, her father and her uncle (mother's brother) are responsible to lead the negotiations. For her younger sisters, the father alone can take the responsibility. *Pa-keung*, the uncle from the bride's mother side, is paid respect and regarded as one's own parents and religious leaders. According to Khumi tradition, *Pa-keung* also designates the father-in-law and more generally a male wife-giver. Even if, in Southern Chin societies, there is no rank differentiation between wife-givers and wife-takers lineages (the first one being higher for Northern Chins), *Pa-keung* is still regarded as a respectable person. In many occasions, a man has to bring chickens for the *Pa-keung* (thus on her wife's side) and *Pa-keung*, in turn, will kill a pig for him.

Marriages are preferably done during the month of Lilu (November) so if the newly married want to make a separate household they can directly start to look for an agricultural ground to exploit.

Poligamy is tolerated among Khumi, and even encouraged if the first wife, after few births, didn't give yet a son to her husband. We encountered in different villages households made of one man

married to few women, up to 8. Being married to many women may be seen as a sign of wealth and power. It is also a way to bring more workforce to the household. Once again, giving birth to many males is also a social accomplishment in itself in the Khumi society. From the women side, this custom may be source of discontent. As an example, in Yin Khan Wa village one woman was staying at the village with 8 children, of whom she gave birth to 4. The 4 others are from a second wife, gone to the *taung yar* with her husband. She recalled that her husband decided to take a second wife, after she gave birth to a first child, a boy. So this decision was not motivated by the will to get a boy, but more as a way to get “prestige”. Yet, when the first wife get to know this situation, she came back to her village, as she is from another village along the Kaladan River in the south and left the child to her husband, according to Khumi custom. However, the one year old child couldn't live without her mother so she came back short after living for her village. Now she's taking care of all household's work during the day, breastfeeding her own as well as the second wife's children.

Adultery is sanctioned according to traditional rules. It happened for example that a married man had a sexual intercourse with another woman and had to pay 1 lakh (negotiated to 60 000 MMK) to this woman. In case an extra-conjugal affair leads to pregnancy, the man has the right to claim the child, and generally do so.

Divorce or separation legally exists in Khumi society. Customs state that in such case the children belong to the husband. The children can stay until 3 years old with the mother, after what the father can take the child(ren) but has to “repay” breast-feeding by giving the mother a compensation. A woman can remarry after a divorce, however the bride-price she will receive will significantly decrease. It regularly happens that single elders (whether widows or divorced persons) get together to ease daily life.

The eldest son inherits from valuable goods and lands (orchards and irrigated rice fields). He creates generally a separate HH then extending the lineage. When leaving his parents, he inherits of about 30% of the goods (rice, animals).

- **Funerals**

The deceased person is generally buried. It was not clear if they used to cremate their dead before evangelization or not. However, cemeteries are a significant feature of Khumi villages, as gravestones are always left to recall the dead and carry his prestige beyond the world of the livings. There used to be a mourning period at home, most often 7 days, before burying the deceased person. Since there are Christian they keep the dead no more than one day at home.

If a woman dies, her brother has to lead the funeral ceremony. He acts as the *Pa Keung*, and leader hosting every guest. The deceased's family has to give him spears or the equivalent of money, chicken curry and one bottle of alcohol in return. After funeral ceremony, he has to serve all the guests with pork curry.

If the dead person is a man, his mother's brother has to take the *Pa-Keung* role.

4.5 Pregnancy and childhood

We decide to discuss here pregnancy and childhood apart since pregnant women and children under five years are of major importance for ACF's concern. We focus here on both health and nutrition related with these two issues.

- **Family planning**

Most people never heard about family planning. During FGD, it even happened that some village elders interpreted family planning as a project to weaken the Khumi society and responded that Khumi are a minority so that women should give birth to as many children as possible so as to increase the Khumi population in order to gain self-governance in Paletwa township area. This point of view (politically motivated) shouldn't be interpreted as women's discourse. While women wouldn't openly go against Khumi customs (of which giving birth to many children seems an accomplishment in itself), there may be some awareness to rise about family planning. Actually, many mothers in the visited villages gave birth to ten children or more, being pregnant almost every year. Children can also be considered as a workforce for the household, until they marry. Many women also experienced child death for one or two time. According to IRC project manager in Ketkuwa, the village has high under five child mortality rate. According to ACF (2013: 8) report, both the "crude death rate [0.26] and the less than 5 death rate [0.73] are within acceptable limits". (2013: 8). Mothers who experienced miscarriage were not hospitalized due to difficulties in monetary expenses. IRC is providing funds to village mother groups (in Ketkuwa) to take care of these issues.

Contraception is uncommon since every new child is possibly a boy and every boy is welcomed in the family. We shouldn't interpret that girls are unwanted. Yet, boys are more valued according to the patrilineal system. Nonetheless, some government health workers started to give injections and pills for contraception. This has to be linked with "modern" concepts such as "poverty" – acquired through evangelization and by more exposition to other populations such as Rakhine – which tend to rationalize the household's financial capacity to raise children. However, more children, both male workforce and the ability to cultivate larger slash and burn parcels.

There is no traditional method or herbal medicine for abortion. As said above, every new birth is welcomed. Christianity also prohibits abortion. However, the Western sense of poverty already discussed above, linked to the idea of being able to raise ones children translated into economic terms, may sometimes link to abortion cases as observed in HYCW village (women then use *kay thi pan* pills).

- **Pregnancy**

As soon as a woman is pregnant, she does not go to houses in the village that already experienced a death of woman during child delivery. A common belief is that a household sheltering a pregnant woman should not eat meat from an animal killed by the household. Other beliefs generally say that no pregnant woman should eat 4-legged animals. Pregnant women should not eat pregnant animals as, according to beliefs, it will affect their labor. Many virgin girls also follow this rule, as it would affect their reproductivity. There are also many prohibited foods:

- The meat of reptiles is generally forbidden, including monitor lizard, turtle and tortoise, snake, and monkey. It is said that eating turtle or tortoise will make the fetus stick to the uterus like the two faces of the tortoise' shell. Snake meat will complicate the delivery.
- Monkey's meat will lead to the birth of a mute and monkey-like child.
- Eggs are avoided for different reasons: either they believe the child will not be educated since an egg does not have a start and an end; or eating egg may cause abortion.
- Coconut is also avoided because it has to be split in the middle, which put the child at risk of having a harelip. Seemingly, we heard the story of a man who cut a chicken into two halves, an act bearing the same consequence: his wife gave birth to a child with a harelip. Hence the symbolic of cutting "livings" (fruits or animals) into two halves (similar parts) shapes different taboos for pregnant women.
- Hornbill meat would cause the birth of a polio child.

A pregnant woman has to work until her child birth because she will not be to work in the *taung yar* for about 3 months after delivery. Some pregnant women even experienced child delivery on the way to hill-side cultivation sites. In this case the child might be named as *Laung Kai*, meaning "giving birth on the way".

Most of women don't link scrawny infants to diet but to the fact they (the mother) have to work hard, for long periods under the sun.

- **Labor and birth**

Traditionally, the woman gives birth kneeling down and uplifting her hands to hold a bar over her head (or the traditional sarong of the man). If she cannot hold her hands any longer, two or three people will help to uplift her hands. In that way, someone will be able to squeeze her womb. If it doesn't work, the woman has to lie on her stomach over a wooden device used for polishing rice to press the womb. This was led by traditional midwives and some experienced women helped the labor.

Nowadays, labor position has changed so the pregnant woman is lying on her back. This is surely due to the introduction of Christianity, and now many believe that the child will not be educated if the head of the child hit the floor in the kneeling position of the mother. Most pregnant women now give birth with trained midwives, either government health workers or religious midwives.

If the mother has experienced infant death over and over again, the next infant will have to suck milk from a bitch or a goat at least once right after birth . It is a way to assimilate the child as non-human, thus taking him away from bad spirits. The child may nevertheless be fed again by the mother after this ritual. Such child will not eat dog or goat's meat over his/her lifetime. This practice is echoed in the myth of origin of the Leing Lawi clan (see 4.6 Food consumption).

A woman who gives birth to a child has to stay in a room near to the hearth for seven days as post-natal confinement. The woman has to warm herself at a fire all the time during the confinement (so that in some cases she might even burn her back).

She also has to drink hot water as much as she can in order to clear her body from the "bad blood". It is said to be also good for lactation. Hot water must be drunk only with a spoon made out off a gourd.

After birth, the mother's regime is restrained to plain rice only, with no salt, during the first 15 to 25-30 days. Even if the relevailles' duration varies according to the informants, 1 month appears the most frequent. So generally after 1 month, the regime can be enhanced with **salt that needs to be burnt.**

If the new born child is a boy, the mother, in order for her boy to be able to climb trees and mountains quickly, must eat dried squirrel-meat when the baby is three months-old. **Until five months, the mother has to choose to eat** only one "kind" of meat, coming from **inland animals or water animals.** Most mothers choose to eat water-meat (fish, molluscs) because they say, they want to chew betel taking into account that lime is made from some kind of snails. Fish is also more available than other meats on a daily basis.

Only after five months, the woman's diet returns to normalcy. When discussing the potential consequences of such practices, women mentioned that following traditional ways make them free from all harm. Even the Christian pastor's wife, the nurse aid and other educated women practice that tradition.

10 days after delivering, the woman may have to work some light house-chores. Blood-strained clothes are to be washed at home because if these are washed in the stream or river, it is believed that the spirit of the newborn child will be startled. Garbage and trash from the house must not be thrown away, and the father must not dig deep holes and must not chop big trees so as the spirit of the newborn child not to be startled.

- **Childhood**

Breast-feeding is extended until next pregnancy. A child may suck milk until s/he attends the school. But most married women in the village are pregnant every year, as they have no family planning. Most babies have their chances to suck milk only for five months. Most parents sleep together again one and half months after childbirth.

Starting from three months, babies are fed masticated rice by their mothers. It is just plain rice with a little salt. Solid food is given as early as possible so that "the baby can spend longer period of time without being fed thus allowing the mother to work". Since the woman's diet is limited until the child is 5 months old, solid food is sometimes masticated by other members of the household.

Until 5 months, the child is mainly taken care of by the mother. After 5 months, other members of the household, including the child's father may babysit the child time to time. It is very common to see fathers carrying their child in the village. Grand parents on the father's side, if alive, often baby-sit the child when the parents are in the *taung yar*. Some households give the responsibility to the child's aunt (father's sister). Elder brothers and sisters also assist in taking care of the newborn.

Life is not ritually divided into different stages. However, children are considered independent from parents' care around 7 years old. At this age, they already participate in the household's tasks (such as filling water), prepare food for themselves, baby-sit their siblings, etc.

At 13/14 years old, children are totally considered part of the household's workforce for agricultural works.

At 16/17, they are in age of being married. Age of marriage tends nonetheless to be postponed since nowadays more children are going to school.

4.6 Food consumption

Traditionally, no ritual is associated with daily meals. Since their evangelization, Christian Khumi pray before eating their meal. Not all the villages have the same number of meals during the day. While in HYCW they generally eat 3 meals a day, in Ketkuwa 2 meals seem the rule. However, 2 meals per day seems more spread among Khumi villages than 3. Khumi generally eat before going to the *taung yar* and cook when returning in the afternoon. Breakfast takes place around 6am, and dinner around 6-7pm. The meal's frequency may also depend on the distance separating the village from the *taung yar*.

The main food is rice and rice is celebrated in each ceremony. One of the most important one is the harvest feast, where they pray the rice spirit to give them enough rice. Our brief insight in the Khumi spiritual life reflects that in every festival they always ask the spirits to give them enough food, especially rice. Rice is thus intrinsically linked to their cultural pattern. As already remarked by Lehman (1963: 182), "Chin [...] have an exaggerated idea about what a truly good harvest ought to be, of what standards of consumption ought to be take as normal, are so inflated, that in an ordinary year excessive claims are made on the harvest. Consequently one rarely hears a Haka Chin admit that a crop has been a really good one". On the other side, rice shortage almost happen every years for most of Khumi families.

As already noted by Lehman half a century ago (1963: 64), the Southern Chin diet – and so forth the Khumi's one – is quite undiversified (compared to the North). According to ACF (2013: 38), the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS) in Paletwa is 5.48, which is above the minimum acceptable score of 4. While Northern Chin adopted since a long time the use of cooking oil and curries inspired by an Indian basis, in the South oil is absent for the daily meal. Oil is not part of the basic ingredients of Khumi food. About oil, Khumi from Kyauk Palin village told us the only time they consumed oil in quantity was after ACF's food distribution. Even eggs are rare in the Khumi diet, generally reserved for ritual exchanges.

Meat is quite exceptional in daily meals, maybe except from fish. During ACF's survey, only 23.6% of the households consumed "meat and poultry" in the previous 24 hours, while almost 50% consumed fish and sea products (ACF 2013: 38). Meat is generally eaten during rituals. Rice is accompanied with seasonal vegetables they grow in their *taung yar* or find in the forest. Bamboo shoot is available all year and is the most recurrent rice's accompaniment. Edible molluscs, edible snails, crabs, some fishes, crickets and some birds caught with nets also serve as accompaniments. Games are also adding meat to meals from time to time. During food shortages, Khumi forage for yams and leaves. Salt is used daily. Solid ash, instead of salt, can also be used in cooking meats. Ash curries are traditional Khumi meal. First-quality ash is obtained from burning bamboo shoots that are neither dry nor wet. Husks of sesame are also used to make ash.

Most of the villages have no marketplace for food-sale and heavily rely upon bigger villages along the Kaladan river for supply. Most of groceries are run by Rakhine ethnics. Khumi, as the whole, have a weak interest in business.

Each clan respect some prohibited food according to their myth of origin. For instance, the Temtu clan do not eat tiger. When their enemies chased them, they met a tiger on the way which show them the way out of danger. They accordingly thank the tiger and vowed they will not kill and eat any tiger. According to the myth, the tiger also promised them that it will not make harm to any of the Temtu clan.

Likewise, Samtu Chy clan members don't eat Boa or any snake. They also have a similar story about escaping from their enemy.

The Leing Lawi don't eat dog because a bitch has once been their mother. It is said that this clan faced the curse of not having anymore descent and each Leing Lawi child would die being an infant. They thus gave away their children to female dog which adopted and fed them. They escaped their fate thanks to this dog and from that day they won't eat this animal. Nevertheless, people look down on them as a lower "caste".

There is no specific diet linked to social or economic status. Depending on ceremonies, performers are not allowed to eat salt and fish-paste, or one of these two ingredients. Livestock are principally exchanged during rituals: marriage, funerals, spirit feasts, welcoming guest or one's kinship. Let's nonetheless remark here that ritual food exchanges are generally gendered, are more exactly divided in the wife-giver family and the wife-taker family. The wife-taker family offers chicken and the wife-giver family offers pig. In the Khumi social organization, where prestige and status is based on the capacity to sacrifice a large amount and/or more valuable animals, it marks the relative superiority of the wife-giver on the wife-taker. This pattern is followed when the family presenting a newborn child (wife-taker) has to kill chicken for the mother's parents (wife-giver). It is also the case for marriage ceremony, where the broom's family (wife-taker) will kill and prepare chicken (they won't eat) and in return the bride's family (wife-giver) has to kill and cook pork (that they won't eat) as offering to the broom's family. Similarly, the brother kills a pig when welcoming her sister who must kill a chicken in return.

4.7 Water

Waters from rivers and creeks are under the control of the God of Water. He's depicted in a myth explaining the Khumi's patrilineal descent system.

Once upon a time, a Khumi girl or *aunglo* (virgin girl) fell in love with water god. It was so dark that the girl cannot see the face of water god. She asked to see his face and when it was dawn she could see the face of water god was so ugly that she was afraid of him. She thus ran away from him. But soon she realized she was pregnant. The water god asked her to give him the child if it is a boy, when he will be three years old and that she could keep the baby if it is a girl. It was a boy but the mother did not want to give him away to his father. So the water god got angry and there was flood all over the world. The flood was so severe that it reached the Ryhm Kho cave (*ryhm kho*, actually, is not the name of a specific cave rather it is the Khumi name to call caves) where the mother and her relatives live. The flood was at the entrance of the cave and her relatives were afraid. They gave away the blanket that is used to carry the child and the water retreated for a length of a bamboo tree (approximately five yards) or so. So they were sure that it was the father of the child, water god. They told the child's mother to give away the child. By this story or following this custom, in Khumi, even if the father of a child died, the relatives from the father side take the children to follow the patrilineal descent. It is more serious if the child is a boy because he has to follow his father's clan and lineage.

For the Khumi, each creek has its own story. For instance, the Palet creek, which spring is in Kyauk Pa Daung, flows into the Kaladan River. Then, the town on the Kaladan River situated on the mouth of the Palet Creek is traced to Kan Ya Zar Gyi who came from India. He lost against his brother, Kan Ya Zar Nge, in building a pagoda order by the king within one night. He then separated from his brother and came along to Rakhine State but he had his Throne (Palin) to carry. But the throne was so big and heavy that he had to abandon it on the mouth of the Palin Creek, which became the Palet Creek and giving the name of town of Paletwa (the mouth of Palet Creek).

Drinking water is taken from the surrounding creeks. Depending on the villages, water supply may imply to cover great distances in the dry season. In some places, IRC, UNDP and Christian missions built pipe systems to carry the water from the nearest creeks to the village and store into concrete tanks. Despite this system, water can also be scarce in dry season as it is the case in Uper Ketkuwa village. Piped water is not available in lower Ketkuwa where pipes were destroyed by moles. Although there are pipes and concrete water tanks in the village, villagers of lower Ketkuwa have to get water from nearby small creek which is only one-foot wide and one inch deep. The other stream, which is about five feet wide and 6 inches deep, is about 3 furlongs away from the village. These water sources are not available in summer time. So villagers from both parts of the village have to drink water from Kaladan river. According to our survey villagers don't practice any group supply or mutual-aid procurement for fresh water. During the dry season, many villagers suffer from diarrhea. Diarrhea seems a recurring disease seriously affecting villages at the dry season. From ACF (2013: 35) report diarrhea was prevalent for 14.9% of the children with one or more acute illnesses.

In HYCW village as well, most villagers drink the water from the creek flowing through the village during monsoon. They rely on the Kaladan River during the dry season. In HYCP, water supply is an issue as the village is situated far from the river. During the dry season, they dig hand made wells to access water.

In both villages there is a clear preference from the villagers to supply freshwater from the small creeks. Most people directly links the fact of drinking water from the main Kaladan River and suffering from diarrhea during the dry season. Another issue, which could not be fully answered, is they may prefer water from creeks and rivers than rainwater. ACF (2013: 14) reports that "even in the middle of the wet season, only a small fraction of people (11.8%) used rain as a source". While, indeed, this "could be blamed on the lack of clean rainwater collection surfaces as the majority of the dwellings were thatch roofed", we suspect other reasons rooted in Khumi beliefs concerning water. However, we were unable to obtain a definitive answer.

4.8 Hygiene

When water tanks are available, like in Ketkuwa or Kyauk Palin village, every villager take a shower at least once a day. Otherwise, they take bath in the nearby creek when water's available. In dry season, they all go to the Kaladan river. Some villagers use soap, some don't. Most people don't wash their hand during the day, not even after defecating. They usually rinse hands (without soap) before and after eating.

Apart from villages targeted by NGOs, they hardly build any toilets. And even where one or two toilets are available in the village, villagers don't use them. In Ketkuwa village, every house has its own toilets provided by IRC in 2012 and UNDP in 2004. Fine system was used in order for every

household to build toilet because although UNDP provided toilet trays in 2004 many villagers put them in their ceilings. Before 2013, only five out of ten households had toilets. So IRC also provided toilet-trays, tin-roofs and even locks for toilets. As recalled by IRC staffs, when monitoring their project in Ketkuwa, one of them wanted to go to toilet, which was closed with a key-lock. The host hurriedly searched for the key and gave it to her. The staff was astonished by the cleanliness of the toilet and praised the owner of the toilet. Then the owner said that he locked the toilet and reserved it for IRC staffs when they need to use it when they are in the village.

Open defecation is widely spread. Even in HYC villages, where approximately half of the households have toilets, we could hardly see somebody using them. They seldom use toilets, living early their house for the *taung yar* and coming back only in the evening, thus they often practice open defecation on the way, or outside the village. They are however able, at least in some places, to make the link between faeces pollution and health. In HYC for example, people dispose their excrements in the areas surrounding the village but always at the opposite of the creek from which they supply freshwater.

Animals generally go free in the village so excrements are found all around. Leaving the animals wandering in the village and in the surroundings is principally a way to reduce the food their owners have to procure them (especially for pigs).

4.9 Health and mental health

All villages don't have a government health worker available. Some are coming from the main village of the village tract but these visits are not regular and hindered by the poor transportation conditions. In many villages there are religious (depending on the most influent church in the village) midwives. We cannot draw generalities from our fieldwork which took into account only 5 villages, however in these 5 midwives were often absent. Hence villagers generally rely on auto-medication (and auto-injection) they can get either to the local store shop (most often kept by a Rakhine ethnic) if existing or by traveling to the closest main village. Generally, Khumi people, quite mistrustful of new western medication prefer medicines they are familiar with and may even refuse new types of medication (even if more efficient).

Many of the Khumi possess a general knowledge about medicinal plants available in the village's neighborhood. Traditional healers exist in some, often being the shaman. Animal sacrifices and offering to spirits are part of the traditional healing process. This is supposed to threat the cause of the disease (bewitch, break spell, reconcile spirits, etc.). When available (and affordable) health workers (both governmental and religious based) are consulted to threat the consequences of the identified illness.

Most of the villages have no health care center (except from the village tracts' main village) provided by the Government. In some villages such as in Ketkuwa, health workers from NGOs (for instance IRC), or religious missions, are present. In the visited villages, the most recurrent illness is malaria. "Seven out of ten villagers have Malaria," said Ma Koe Aung, 25 years old IRC trained auxiliary midwife in Ketkuwa. Another IRC health worker also has to deal with Malaria cases. They both have test-kits and medicines for Malaria provided by IRC. Yet villagers have mosquito nets provided by IRC. But they only use them during the rainy season. Still in Ketkuwa, for other serious cases except for Malaria, villagers see Ma Koe Aung, a more experienced health worker from Anglican Church. Although her parents live at Ketkuwa, her posting is not at Ketkuwa rather at Kha Ohn Wa village. So when she is not at the village, villagers go to government's Rural Health Center at Da Let May village.

Villagers said she can cure many diseases and they rely very much upon her for their health. Recently she cured two villagers, one who fell down from coconut tree and the other who fell down from a high tree. Union of fractured bones were taken care by a school teacher from Zin Baung Pyin who is famous for his traditional Khumi medicines. The Anglican health worker said she has also experienced some pneumonitis, meningitis, and Tuberculosis suspected cases. But most of the cases she experienced are diarrhea.

Villagers from lower Ketkuwa go to Rural Health Center (R.H.C.) of Da Let May for their illness. As there is no health worker at lower Ketkuwa, villagers from lower Ketkuwa have to go to upper Ketkuwa or Da Let May by boat. They choose Da Let May where there is one government appointed Health Assistant (H. A) at Da Let May R.H.C.

In both HYCW and HYCP, healers (formed by the mission) and shamans and health worker cohabit. While healers are religious leaders, shamans are not. However, they are devoted believers, either Christian or Buddhist. There are two health workers who completed health training courses from private section (they are not governmental ones). They sell medicines, both western and traditional herbs. Many people perform auto-medication. Bi government health worker is present in the village, but are stationed in the village tract a Da Let May, as well as in Meeza. The villagers also consult a nurse trained by UNDP in Hta Run Aing village. The government health worker comes to the village once a month, but she only gives oral medicines. For serious cases she systematically refers to Paletwa hospital but the trip to town is expensive so few villagers can afford it.

One traditional method to cure malaria is to scratch their skin with a condensed-milk container to “get the fever out”. Among illnesses, malaria is common, otherwise spirit possession is often considered as a main cause. In Khumi environment, spirit dwell with a lot of places. An inappropriate behavior in the *taung yar* – such as urinating under a tree – can cause a spirit’s anger, translated into illness, notably fevers. They thus consult with a spirit medium who will instruct them on how to appease the spirit. For example, in HYCW, a young man is said to be possessed by such spirit. A few years ago, he was attending school (ninth grade) in Paletwa. At the end of the summer holidays, back in his village, he didn’t want to go back to school and since then, is unable to speak to anybody. Later his father talked to the spirit medium who said that one of the forest’s female spirits fell in love with him. So the spirit didn’t want him to go back. The young man is now staying in his house (in HYCW), speaking to nobody.

The shaman in HYCW is Buddhist, and Christian in HYCP. Both of them believe in the existence of evil spirits. From the Buddhist point of view, every tree is inhabited by a spirit. They are not necessarily evil, especially if you don’t “touch” them [the tree]. According to this shaman, it regularly happens that a spirit wants something from the human which ends into a possession by the spirit in order to express his wish. Curing possession generally appeals to animal sacrifice, for example dog blood if the spirit is from a banyan tree, goat blood for a mountain’s spirit, pig blood for a river or creek’s spirit.

Villagers often rely on different specialists for the same illness. In HYCW, the village administrator’s father suffers throat problem. He uses western medicine prescribed by the government health worker but also went to see the spirit medium. The latter instructed him to leave his own house. Even if in older times he was a chief (angreng), now he is actually living in a simple hut.

There is one lady in Ketkuwa who suffers from mental sickness (the term used was “fool”). Some said she became mentally ill while she was bearing a child and heard that her husband got married to another woman in another village. Some said she became like that after watching the film "Passion of the Christ" (!). The Anglican health worker said she suffered from jaundice and anaemia after her child birth. She became to speak nonsense all the time. The Anglican health worker has to inject her some sedative drugs when she becomes uncontrollable (having a violent behavior). There is also in Ketkuwa one 9-years old mentally retarded child. A 17-years old girl who suffers from mental illness is not from the village but from Wet Ku Taung village. Her relatives at the village take care of her. These people are taken care by their families or relatives and no one at the village seem to see these mentally ill people a problem at all as they can bear them and treat them as usual. We made the same observations in HYC villages as people living with a handicap are generally treated as anyone else. If they cannot work in the *taung yar*, they are given some smaller works at home.

Depression is not expressed neither recognized as an illness. According to the health workers, there is no one who suffers from prolong depression although extreme poverty exist among the villagers. There are no suicide cases in the villages. However, health workers recognized that in some places, notably in HYC villages, alcoholism may be seen both as a cause and consequence of depression. For the same reason, selling alcohol in Ketkuwa is prohibited.

Finally, neither community leaders (village administrators, elders and angreng) nor interviewed women mentioned domestic and family violence. We neither witnessed such issue during our stays in the villages.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

- **Gender**

At first sight, the Khumi society appears heavily unbalanced regarding gender. The patrilineal structure of descents implies that after being married a woman will enter the lineage of his husband and so all the children from this union. Of course, male children will perpetuate the clan's name and female children will reinforce others' clan after marriage, so a male child is generally more wished than a female.

Accordingly, males have a greater role in decision-making at the village, clan/lineage levels and even at the household level.

Chiefs (angreng) are always men and it is inconceivable that a woman could take this role. The oldest male of the family decides for household related matters, especially when relationship with the "outside" is concerned⁶. During our visit, one striking example is that when arriving to a village, informal meetings took place where no women, ever, were present. They generally stand back in the contact between Khumi and outsiders. The man commonly stays at the front at the house (near the front-door) while the woman is sitting in the back.

Despite a lack of quantitative evidence, this social structure seems to bring unbalance in terms of access to education. Women hardly taking part into "outside" matters, it means that male children are preferably sent to school over female children. In the same way, men generally go to sell products on local markets. **As a consequence, more girls are "illiterate", meaning that they barely speak Arakanese (the commercial language) and much less Burmese.**

Women, while participating in agricultural works also, are generally in charge of domestic tasks, such as filling water, baby-sitting, cooking, etc. There is however no restriction for men to participate in domestic affairs – and much actually do so. For ritual, cooking is performed by men.

Besides this overall social structure, the development of daily life in a Khumi village appears nonetheless egalitarian. Men are babysitting the newborns, they actually participate in the management of the households. **Hence, within the traditional Khumi way of life, the division of labor is generally balanced between gender and access to food and resources is undifferentiated between males and females.**

To tone the previous remark down and try to answer an interrogation concerning a potential difference of treatment for male and female children – interrogation based on a difference observed when during the nutrition assessment: when asked if there is a gendered treatment, especially in taking care of and feeding the children, no Khumi would make a difference. Observing childhood in the villages doesn't either reveal any differentiation between male and female children (playing, feeding, participating to events). However, considering the patrilineal descent system, it induces most parents are willing to get a boy as the first child, and as many boys as possible. While it has not been expressed as such, we believe that, at least unconsciously, a family (particularly the father and mother's brother) will provide more care to boys (especially the first one in a family).

⁶ As explained by Lehman (1963: 173) about southern Chin societies, "men are at home in *kua* [the domesticated space, including slash and burn cultivation sites] and *ram* [the wild space]; women chiefly, if not solely, are at home in *khua*".

Finally whether it is relevant or not to try empowering women (decision making, autonomy) has to be based on evidences this gendered social structure represents a threat for them. We believe it may not be the case according to a “traditional” way of life (yet, this poses the question: when/where does the tradition end?). On the contrary, it could be an issue for women in a transitional process, e.g. towards more interactions with “outside” societies such as Rakhine people. Then, the fact that more girls are illiterate could be considered as a threat to their empowerment.

- **The clan (and lineage)**

According to what we described about the Khumi organization, clans and lineages still play an important role, even in daily life. On first matter, it determines possible and impossible marriages between two individuals.

Decision makers at the village levels, including elders consulted for conflicts and resolving all sort of issues commonly come from the main clan of the settlement. However, as underlined previously, these decisional positions are not inherited and have to be acknowledged by the villagers through wealth redistribution. **Hence local decision makers and influent individuals (angreng) can be considered as equitable intermediaries to undertake any kind of project.** Let’s remark for example that Christian missions surely understood this fact and often targeted angreng in the evangelization process (see Ketkuwa in Annex E).

The symbolic linked to lineages can even sometimes bypass actual facts, notably in a case of conflict. For example, we witnessed in HYCW a case where one Khumi protagonist beat another one. The one beaten offended the first one by qualifying him of “dog”. The one judged the day after was not the beating one but the offender, as the lineage associated to “dog” refers to a “low lineage”, the Leing Lawi clan, qualified as “sons of dog”. To follow on traditional laws, the village administrator and the elders solve most of conflicts within the village. Repayments are most often in terms of sacrificing an animal depending of the case’s seriousness. While we cannot pretend there are no conflicts in Khumi society, **the clan system is a guarantee of a great cohesiveness among the villagers. Undertaking community based projects shouldn’t encounter major issues** (and especially less than in many Burmese areas).

Finally, clans play also a role in the development of Khumi society. **Since 2000, main clans gather once a year (between April and May)** to decide on social affairs within their lineages (for example which kind of lineages they are allowed to marry or not), but also to collect and allocate some funds for meriting children in order to go to school. This movement is led by educated Khumi students and gather influent individuals from the villages concerned. **Focusing on such meetings to deliver key messages could facilitate their dissemination and acceptance among Khumi communities.**

- **The village’s unit**

Despite the differences between lineages and the presence of more powerful individuals, social status is not of prime importance in the daily life of Khumi communities. **It is quite important to understand the village as an effective unit being worked by as many subunits as households.** Slash and burn cultivation has to be understood this way as well. While the whole slash and burn area is a common property of the village, each parcel is worked by a single household. Extra work has to be paid in daily wages. There may be in older times some groups gathering few households and working

successively in each-other's parcels. But even before these groups were probably not common as two households living next to each other in the village are unlikely to have neighboring slash and burn cultivation parcels. As a matter of fact, we were not able to observe such groups anymore.

However, for rituals and events such as the arrival of a socio-anthropologist team (!), everybody is solicited by the village's headman. If there is a feast or a celebration at one's home, one from each family in the village come to work together. For example, during a memorial prayer service at upper Ketkuwa, guests from other villages were also invited. At least a person from each family in the village, both boys and girls, gathered together to help the host family. Host family, in remembrance of their late daughter, also donated a public rest house at the village entrance and everyone helped to construct it. Even Rakhine professional carpenter from Da Let May village who is one of their guests worked them for free. **People usually help each other, especially ill persons, persons having a handicap or too old to work, when it's needed.** As noted already, the rare households having no effective workforce can use abandoned slash and burn parcels for cultivating vegetable and other subsistence food.

Another important fact is that **the relationship between the Khumi society and their nature is totally integrated in the representation of a "domain", including the village, the cultivated hills slopes and surrounding environment.** This is even reinforced by ritual performances happening alternatively in the central place of the village, in the cultivated parcels and in the forest.

Yet, these domains are managed at the clan level, thus by the whole village. Therefore, geographical and ecological units can also be disintegrated by villages. **This idea supports the validity of undertaking projects on a village basis.**

- **Food security**

Crisis such the 2007-2010 bamboo blowing which caused the destruction of paddy fields and storages by the rats happen on a regular basis and may perturb the households food security for many years ahead. Yet, this kind of crisis were already known and observed more than half a century ago (see Lehman 1963: 50), so it is a recurring threat for Khumi communities, a threat that they're used to deal with also. The changing variable may be a certain demographic expansion leading to the segmentation of villages and a faster rotation for slash and burn cultivation. This results in lower productive grounds for paddy cultivation from which the Khumi should normally be able to recover the following years.

As a consequence, the main issue for Khumi families is that many of them fall short of paddy before the next harvest, sometimes for even half a year (for example during the bamboo crisis). In this case, they have to lend from others with 50% to 150% interest rate. This means they definitely will not have enough paddy grain to eat for the coming year as they have to pay back some of their paddy to those who lent to them. Indebtedness is quite spread among Khumi communities.

In Ketkuwa, UNDP founded a paddy bank where, at the start, all families in the village have to invest 5 'taungs' of paddy each. Families who are in rice shortage can lend from the **paddy bank** with an interest rate as low as 20 percent. While this bank seems to be effective (whether it is sustainable or not is beyond the scope of this study), such **solution has to be carefully scrutinized** in a society already in paddy deficit (especially on how to initiate the paddy bank). This has also to be relativized by the fact paddy is (almost) never used for income generation but for local consumption. **However, given the relatively high cohesion of Khumi villages, the principle may be successful.**

Other crops, such as sesame, or plants like “gamon” (*Kaempferia*) elephant foot yam and turmeric can represent an alternative source of food security by bringing some incomes (especially gamon which doesn’t suffer from the rats). However, even the gamon yields are reported to be lower and lower with the years, supporting the idea of shortening fallow periods impacting of the soils’ productivity.

The idea of **working on soil erosion by terracing or switching from shifting cultivation to permanent or semi-permanent farming systems may have drastic consequences of the whole Khumi social organizations**. As shown by San Thein (2012: 46-48), **introducing irrigated and non-irrigated terraces tends to provoke a differentiation of wealth**, this kind of farming systems profiting to wealthier people. At the contrary, in most Chin societies, and it is true for Khumi, shifting parcels are generally equally distributed among a village’s households.

Similarly, **communal work on the slash and burn parcels may be difficult to undertake**. It appeals to the conception of the domain as a common property but where the *taung yar* is a temporarily household managed area.

- **Nutrition**

As observed during this mission, Khumi’s diet is undiversified and shortages of rice imply long periods relying on bamboo shoots, yams and other products foraged in the forest. Many other beliefs considerably reduce the pregnant women and infants’ mothers’ diet.

Improving nutrition during these two stages should take into account the symbolic roots of such restrictions. Additional recommendations on important food consumption for the mother and the baby should be done within the cultural pattern of Khumi society.

Let’s also recall here the importance of breeding activities in ritual exchanges for adding proteins to the Khumi’s diet. Breeding animals (especially pigs and chicken) has a key role in all rituals and social events. **The impossibility to breed animals is the equivalent of being off the whole Khumi social system**.

- **Water, sanitation and hygiene**

Khumi are still largely unaware of basic hygiene principles: open defecation is widespread and hand washing is merely practiced with water only before eating. While diarrhoea has been identified as the second most widespread health problem (after malaria), the use of toilets – even when existing – is rare. We didn’t identify any cultural obstacle to the use of toilets rather than a habit of open defecation linked to their high mobility. Indeed, except for women with infants and old people villagers (and often the whole family) are most of the time in the *taung yar*. Besides, constructing two latrines (one in the village and one in the *taung yar*) wouldn’t make sense, in term of expense, labour and water supply given that a household will move the next year to another *taung yar*. In some bigger villages along the Kaladan River, like Ketkuwa, the community even prevent open defecation close to the creek from which they supply freshwater (and it seems prior to INGOs’ awareness trainings on WASH). However, pollution by livestock remains uneasily controllable given most animals are roaming free in the village. Khumi obviously prefer water from small creeks available only during monsoon. They accordingly link diarrhoea to the different quality of water

sources: the smaller the source the best is the quality, the bigger (for instance the Kaladan River) the worth, leading to diarrhoea.

Proper WASH trainings could easily improve their situation. Besides, we recommend **not to procure key locks alongside with latrines** (as many INGOs do) for the simple reason that when latrines are locked, it is already a justification to prefer defecating outside (especially by night).

- **Health and mental health**

According to villagers and health workers, malaria is by far the most problematic illness. The second one, diarrhoea, is totally seasonal, happening in the dry season when villagers rely on bigger rivers and streams to procure fresh water. Khumi largely practice auto-medication, even for malaria, they procure from groceries in bigger villages.

The main undermining factor in health for Khumi is the lack of human resources and proper medicines – few health workers are present in the villages. While Khumi still largely rely on traditional medicine (especially rituals linked to spirit possession), this doesn't represent an incompatibility with the application of western medicine.

Providing health services has to respect the representation of illness within Khumi's culture. That is the cause of any illness is to be found in the interaction with nature and the supernatural world, which causes can be treated with western medicine. **Avoiding looking down on such representation, and even integrating it in the curing process (for example by showing the patient first to a shaman or medium and then treating with medicines) should prove more efficient.**

Mental diseases are never, to our limited knowledge, referred as such. Possessions by spirits, causes found into an inappropriate diet when the mother was pregnant, etc., are believed to be the causes. People living with mental diseases are relatively well integrated into the society. They don't benefit from a special treatment or status, but continue their life within the household, performing the tasks they are able to.

- **Religion**

Since an important evangelization effort starting back around 50 years ago, it appeared that we should make some remarks here on its (potential) consequences on the Khumi society in these last years.

It is worth noticing that religious leaders (pastors) have no decision power among Khumi communities. They are more consulted for social matters and can only deliver "compassionate messages".

According to our observations, Christian missions most importantly bring some developments in terms of health, water and sanitation and education at the village level. Some manage to build water supply from distant sources. These missions allocate many midwives to the villages. Khumi pastors also act as teachers for the children. However, the multiplicity of confessions makes these developments uneven from one village (for example Anglican) to another (for example Baptist). Besides, midwives and teachers often lack material support (medicines, health infrastructures or schools).

One negative effect of evangelization may be found in the way it affected a certain self-conception of Khumi society. For example, traditional values are sometimes turned into an un-civilized feature. While it cannot be solely imputed to evangelization, it certainly accelerated the process of

monetizing ritual exchanges, such as in marriage (bride-price). It even brought a foreign concept of “poverty” among Khumi, from which abortion is a consequence (see 4.5 Pregnancy and Childhood). While we couldn’t have a wide-enough picture of Khumi villages, in some places monetized power may progressively replace material one and thus affect the relationships between individual and village wealth, as well as the process of wealth redistribution.

This being said, despite being evangelized, Khumi still follow on most purpose their traditions. Even pastors make some “do-it-yourself”⁷ between traditional beliefs and Christianity (as any other part of the worlds). Hence the pastors are often turned into shamans, doing exorcisms and relying on more powerful traditional shamans when unable to “save” their “patient”.

One hypothesis, which needs to be confirmed, is that most of Khumi governmental staffs are of Buddhist confession while the majority of Khumi in Paletwa Township are of Christian confession. Whether it represents an issue or not could not be answered here.

6. References

ACF, 2013, *Nutrition survey of 6 to 59 month children from north area of Paletwa Township, Chin State, Republic of the Union of Myanmar*, Action Contre la Faim funded by the World Food Programme, 71 p.

Lehman, F.K., 1963, *The Structure of Chin society, A tribal people of Burma adapted to a non-Western civilization*, Urbana: University of Illinois, 245 p.

Löffler, Lorenz G., 1960, “Khumi/Khami Vokabulare Vorstudie zu einer sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung”, *Anthropos*, 55 (3/4), pp. 505-557.

Mary, André, 2000, *Le bricolage africain des héros chrétiens*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf (coll. « Sciences humaines et religion »), 224 p.

San Thein (U), 2012. *Study on the evolution of the farming systems and livelihoods dynamics in Northern Chin State*, GRET-LIFT, 93 p.

⁷ In reference to the « bricolage africain des dieux chrétiens » (Mary 2000).

Annex B: Key questions and issues

1. Spatial organization

1.1 Spatial organization of villages and resources (farm and non-farm)

- Map and locate the organisational patterns of local territories: how are these territories defined (village, slope, valley, mounts, cemetery, sacred places...), how are they named, what are the limits, are they permanent in time...?
- Identify main sources of livelihoods (farm and non-farm), access, prohibited (or taboo) areas and explore any link between spatial organization and cosmology

1.2 Village patterns, livelihood and cultural meanings

- Characterize (and map) village's organization in space: houses orientation, sacred places, limits between "civilized" (village and beyond?) and "wild" (uncultivated) spaces

1.3 Inter-HH spatial organization

- Identify possible groupings by kinship, clan, patri/matriarchal lineages...

1.4 Intra-HH spatial organization

- Main types of houses: delimitation of spaces and organization (hearth, worshipping places, "shower", places for defecation...)

2. Power, statuses and organizational structures

2.1 Statuses (local and traditional figures of authority)

- Who are the traditional figures of authority and their field of enforcement
- How is leadership acquired, transmitted, lose?
- On what depend statuses: lineages/clan, kinship alliances, material property, types of business, connections with State...?

2.2 Statuses (local and traditional figures of authority)

- How is organized access to resources: individual property, communal property, user groups..? Gender and livelihood activities?
- Who decide on use of resources: land use, hunting, collecting...
- During rituals, how are divided sacrificed animals? Who is in charge?
- Are there any forms of mutual aid, communal tasks: purpose (agricultural tasks, market supply, forest, water supply) and organization (lineages, gender, inter-villages)?

2.3 Statuses (local and traditional figures of authority)

3. Pregnancy and childhood

3.1 General facts around sexuality and pregnancy

- How is considered sexuality: before official alliance ("marriage"), discussed/not discussed, among women and among men, etc.
- What are the main occasions, events, to contract union?
- What are (if any) traditional methods of contraception?
- Birth calendar and representations (bad/auspicious months or seasons, beliefs and rituals linked with birth...)
- How pregnancy is acknowledged (any associated rituals, interpreted signs, beliefs) by the woman and the HH, then the community?
- Are there any abortion? Why?
- Are there any "unwanted" birth, and if so, how are they managed: by the HH, community, with whom?

3.2 *Pregnancy, post-natal associated restrictions*

- Are there any food restriction/special diet during pregnancy and in post-natal recovery?
- Are there any prohibited or, at the contrary, commended behaviour and activities (notably livelihoods) during pregnancy?

3.3 *Birth*

- What are the beliefs around birth, associated rituals?
- Who help labour, are there any traditional midwives?
- Is there any relevaille period (ex: the 45 days after birth for Burmese), how long? And how is celebrated the end of this period?

3.4 *Nursing*

- Who is in charge of the infant (besides mother)? Does it depend on gender, lineage, other...?
- How long does breast feeding last?
- What are beliefs associated with breast feeding
- When does infant start eating solid food? And what kind of food?
- Is there any gender-based differentiation in providing care/nursing infants? Why, how?

3.5 *Division of ages*

- Is life divided into stage (early age, childhood, adult)
- What is the status of new born in the society? At what age a baby becomes really part of the society? Is it marked by a ritual?

3.6 *Childhood*

- What the relationship between child (take into account gender) and HH, the child and village?
- Who are the main child's tutors (take into account gender): kinship ties, duties and responsibilities...

4. Nutrition

4.1 *Diet and cultural practices*

- What are daily rituals associated with food?
- How many meals a day?
- Are there (un)appropriated hours during the day for eating?
- What is the main diet, how does it link to cultural patterns?
- Is there any seasonal pattern in diet? Are there reasons beyond foods' availability?
- Is there any impure food, prohibited food, how does it affect the community (gender, status, etc.)?

4.2 *Food and status (power)*

- Are there any food associated with social status (i.e. foods only powerful people or at the contrary only "basic" people eat)?
- What are the main offerings when receiving guests, does it depend on their status?

4.3 *Rituals and sacrifices*

- Are there any rituals, or sacrifices, involving food?
- What are the main offering, how are they divided between participants?

4.4 *Vernacular classifications*

- How are differentiated plants and animals (ex: between civilized (breeding) and wild (hunting), or animated vs. inanimate)?
- What are the places and statuses of animals in the society? Their link with the HH, or with the village?

5. Water and hygiene

5.1 Water – geographical/mental representation and distribution

- Where does “come” water? (myth)
- How are classified water bodies (rivers, creeks, fresh, brackish, salted)?
- How is “ritually” managed access to water
- Is there mutual-aid for fresh (drinking) water procurement?

5.2 Wastes and excrements

- How/where are disposed wastes?
- Are there any toilets? Where are disposed the excrements (human and animals)?
- Are animals used to process wastes/excrements?

6. Health seeking behaviour / Mental health

6.1 Healers, shamans, health workers...

- What are the main types of acknowledge diseases/illness, how are they classified (surnatural origin, physic, psychologic, etc.)?
- Who are the existing traditional healers (shaman, herbalist, midwife, etc.)?
- Do the different types of diseases/illness refer to different health specialists?

6.2 Relationship to governmental health services (access, representation, ...)

- Are there any government health workers (and infrastructures) accessible to the community?
- Do community members consult these health workers? For what kind of disease? If not why?

6.3 Mental sickness (handicap, status)

- How is mental sickness perceived? Is it considered as an illness?
- What is the place of mentally sick people in the society, are they taken care of, how, by whom, etc.?
- What is their access to livelihood?

6.4 Depression – acceptance and resolution – derived effects (child care, livelihood)

- Is depression expressed and perceived? Is it considered as an illness?
- Is depression treated, how? What kind of effects can depression have on livelihoods?

Annex C: Main Khumi festivals

Given the profusion of Khumi ceremonies, we are able to give here only scattered information.

Basically, there are 13 kinds of festivals:

- Angreng Cheang Pawi

This is one of the most important in Khumi society regarding the acquisition of social status. In ancient days, this festival was hold from 3 to 10 days. It promotes the sponsor to the Angreng, chief, status. Depending on the number of animals he can sacrifice, the Angreng will get a more or less high status influencing on his power within the clan.

- Chang Tha La Pawi

This festival used to be hold once a year after the harvesting period. It is know as the “harvesting spirit festival”. It takes place between September and October.

- Ta-ai Cha Pawi

New Year festival, used to be hold in November.

- Sipam Lie Pawi
- Tamchang Lie Pawi
- Kaseaung Palyhm Pawi
- Teing Thai Palyhm Pawi
- Mawi Lu Kyp Nai
- Yhm Kang The Athun Nai
- Kano Pheu, Aryn Pathi Nai
- A Pon Pawi
- Lapreaung Pa-eaung Pawi

Every festival has to be organize in due time. Since evangelization, all of these are not anymore practiced by all the villages. However, the Khumi Culture Association (in Paletwa) is trying to promote these festivals as immaterial Khumi culture.

Annex D: Main Khumi clans and associated lineages

1. Khaung Chy - Anu
2. Apeaung - Uipho
3. Awun Seing - Dacom Khang
4. Stu - Rakha
5. Tyntleang
6. Lang Vo
7. Ke chy - Nem lau
8. Leing Lawi - Amlai
9. Paleang - Jawnchy
10. Vawisyhn - Cawi Kheing
11. Thangdy - Thang Lai
12. Temreing - Tetyh
13. Akie - Kajau
14. Khenla - Asang
15. Nisei - Reng Cha
16. Kheaung Tu - Kheawng Teng
17. Khum - Khang
18. Khaleing - Peung Keang

Kechy sub-lineages:

Nemlau, Nidyhm, Temtu, Lang Vo Chy, Pe Sen, Vawi Dai, Ji Neang Ony, Theaung Ta, Balan Chy, Nobai Sang.

Being sub-lineages, they can intermarry.

The Kechy main lineage however made some alliances with other lineages that they therefore cannot marry. These are: Taphein Taleing, Kha Mang, Patlai Chy, Tham Reing Chy, Sam Thang, Japang Yhm Phra, Samtu Chy, Seaungam Beaung Vawi, Smleing Miji, Vawi Deng, Jawn Chy, Seaung Ki Beu

Annex E: Ketkuwa and Hpa Yon Chaung villages: history, description, composition

E.1 Ketkuwa (Upper and Lower) village

KetKuWa village is situated at the eastern bank of the Kaladan River and is about 5 hours of motorboat drive from Paletwa Town.

The village is named after KetKu Stream which enters into Kaladan river near the village. Ket means “tiger” and Ku means “cross”. So Ketku is the stream that a tiger crossed in ancient time. This related to the myth of origin of this village.

Once upon a time when people can speak to animals and after the flood, there was a widower family. The father in order to search for food for his children had become a tiger. The father tiger went into the jungle and brought meats for his children. But the children were afraid of the tiger and they did not dare to give the pill for the tiger in order to become man. Although the father tiger used to bring animals to his children, one time he brought a human leg. So the children cursed him, to be and die like a white mole. Then the tiger went away and never saw them again. It was near Toke Kyay Wa village where the tiger came out, then crossed the Ketku stream and went into the Da Let May stream. Da Let May means (in Burmese) 'forgetting one's own children.'

The village is divided into two parts: Upper Ketkuwa and Lower Ketkuwa, divided by the KetKu Stream. Both villages are under the administration of Da Let May Village Tract.

The village was established since 150 years ago by the brothers U Lane Mor and U Lun Hta. It was earlier than Ah Daung Wa village and almost the same time as Pha Yone Chaung Wa village. In that time the village was only one village, now Upper Ketkuwa. Lower Ketkuwa is the result on a more recent extension of the village, probably in the 1970s. Lower Ketkuwa was extended due to the fact that there were a lack of horticultural cultivation sites in Upper Ketkuwa. Although the village has two parts, it is only one village for official administration. People from one part of the village have to go to the other part of the village by boat during the rainy season where foot-lane is only available in summer and winter time.

Neighboring villages are Ah Daung Wa village at the North and Da let May village at the South where East and West has no neighboring villages rather the Kaladan river and Kingkhar Mount at the west and Daung Ma Lain Mount, Parker Mount, and Sar Mount are at the east. So for their slash and burn cultivation sites the villagers can choose and extend as much as they want to the East as the bordering village at the East is about 9 miles or three hours walk away. But there are limited spaces at the North and South as the bordering villages of Ah Daung Wa at the North and Da Let May at the South are not so far.

There is one community forest owned by the village at the East side of lower Ketkuwa.

India-Myanmar highway will pass very near both parts of the village. It will literally pass through upper Ketkuwa as is only a hundred yards away from Roman Catholic Church of the village. The project will be finished around 2015.

About half the villagers are Anglicans and the other half is Roman Catholic. There is only one Buddhist in the village. It was not very long ago that half of the village were Buddhists. It was U Thin Chy Aung, father of present village tract administrator and one of the wealthiest men (angreng) in the region was in prison for a short period of time as he was regarded as drug lord. During his imprisonment, Roman Catholic priests took care of him. So soon after he was out of the prison, he

called and discussed with his relatives and they all became Roman Catholics. It was around the year 2000. Present day Roman Catholic Church in the village was donated by him.

According to the official list, there are 60 households and 63 families in the village. But according to our observations, the village has altogether 65 houses where 41 houses at upper Ketkuwa and 24 houses at lower Ketkuwa (see maps below).

For new comers who want to live at Ketkuwa village must have recommendation letter from previous village tract administrator and are not allowed to transfer again within three years. Those new comers who want to move again from Ketkuwa village within three years must pay a mother-pig to the village as a fine.

The village count 4 people over 80 years old, 6 people of over 70, and 17 persons of over 60 years old. At every New Year day, at 1st January, all the villagers gather together to honor them where these elders give admonitory speeches to the villagers. Rice gruel is fed to everyone.

Official list of Ketkuwa at 5th October, 2013			
60 Households		63 families	
	Male	Female	Total
18 years and above	92	100	192
under 18 years	69	70	139
Total	161	170	331
12 Years and above	113	123	236
under 12 years	48	47	95
Total	161	170	331

There is one primary school at upper Ketkuwa where children from both parts of the village come to attend. Lower Ketkuwa also has its own informal/private primary school for small children where small children from lower Ketkuwa cannot go to upper Ketkuwa during the rainy season. Villagers hire a teacher for this school whose work is compensated by paddy.

Basic Education Primary School of upper Ketkuwa has three staffs: one headmistress, one assistant teacher and one general worker where all three teach. Daw Hwet Soe, headmistress, teaches KG and 4th grade. Daw Mahn Loon, assistant teacher, teaches 2nd and 3rd grades. U Htun Hla, general worker teaches 1st grade. There are altogether 53 children in school where 11 children are in KG, 13 children in 1st grade, 9 in 2nd grade, 8 in 3rd grade, and 12 in 4th grade. Those teachers who take care of two classes teach simultaneously and there is no partition between the classes.

Livelihood Committee formed by UNDP has regular gathering and meeting at treasurer's house. This committee oversees the agricultural and livestock farming issues and lends money to its members with very low interest rate that of 2 %. 'Kantkaw' at lower Ketkuwa and 'NgweSinkyal' at upper Ketkuwa are the microfinance groups that collect money from their members and lend money to them. Another group is 'Mothers group' formed by IRC to take care of mothers and children. IRC provides fund to this Mother group for long-term family planning issues and abortion and miscarriage issues.

Most of the village/public meetings, especially those that people from both parts of the village have to attend, are held at the public rest-house in the upper Ketkuwa. Some meetings are held at the iron bedstead that is at the center of the village or beside the house of village tract administrator.

According to my observation, at many formal gatherings like church worship and meeting with IRC project manager, men and women sit separately only with a few exception like one or two elder women sit at the side of men.

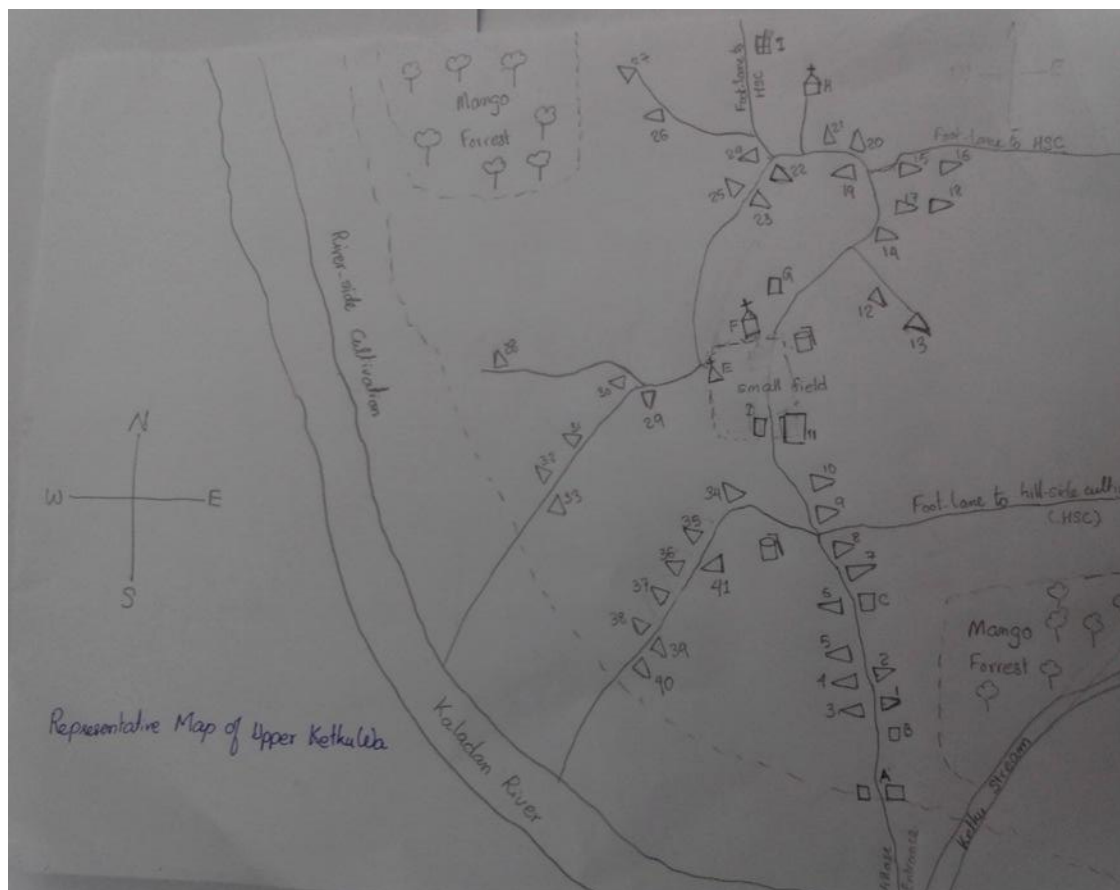
Clans and Family Groups of Ketkuwa

Upper KetkuWa

No.	Lineage	Clan	Households
1	Sengla	Lang Vo	12
2	Raiki Chy	Lang Vo	5
3	Pa Leang	Pa Leang	2
4	Men Chy	Khaung Chy - Anu	1
5	Beu Lai	Leing Lawi - Amlai	1
6	Thie Tlyp	Khaung Chy - Anu	3
7	Amkai	Tyntleang	1
8	Ka Ra Mo/Rakhine	Rakhine	1
9	Samtu Chy	Paleang-Jawnychy	2
10	Pait Chin		2
11	Patlai Chy	Lang Vo	1
12	Sa Teh Chy	Khenla- Asang	2
13	Pa Nie	Khaung Chy-Anu	1
14	Ke Chy	Kechy-Nemlau	1
15	Temtu	Kechy-Nemlau	1
16	Ha Kha Chin		1
17	Aima	Vawisyhn-Vawikheing	1

Lower KetkuWa

No.	Lineage	Clan	Households
1	Sa Teh Chy	Khenla-Asang	14
2	Paleang	Paleang	3
3	Amlai	Leing Lawi-Amlai	2
4	Nidyhm	Kechy-Namlau	3
5	MaTuPi Chin		2

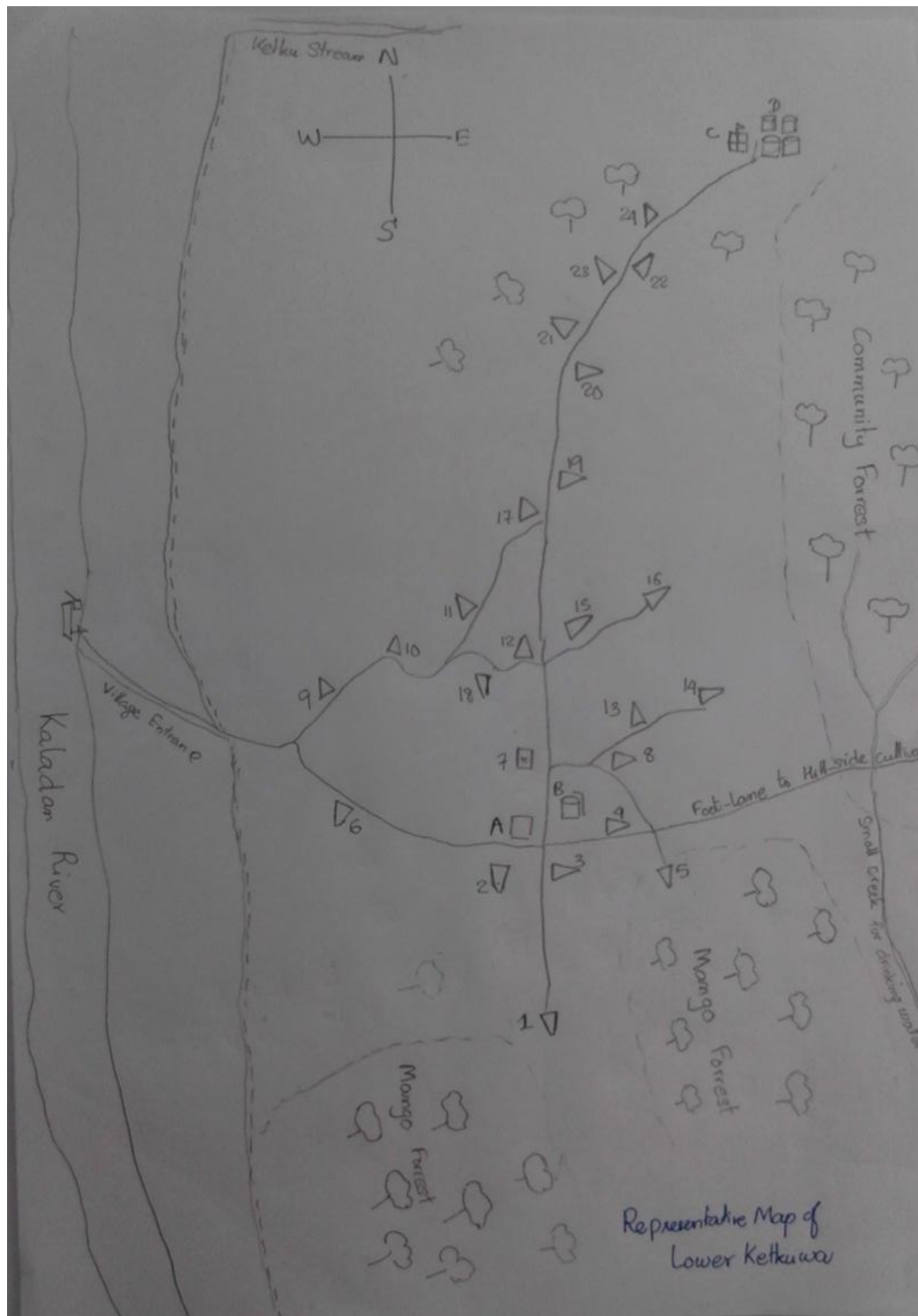


Map (1) - Representative map of Upper Ketkuwa

1. U Kan Kyaw (1) (Ke Chy family group)
2. U Aung Nang Soon (Pa Leang family group)
3. U Aung Myin Soe (Temtü family group)
4. U Ang Hout (Men Chy family group)
5. U Hla Win (Sengla family group) - Former Chairman of Township Party Unit of Burma Socialist Programme Party, Paletwa Township and husband of Daw Nang Hwet - Headmistress of Basic Education Primary School
6. Daw Htun ket (Sengla family group)
7. U Aung Nwet (Sengla family group) father of Ma Koe Bae - IRC Health worker
8. U Shwe Aung (1) (Beu Lai family group)
9. U Shwe Aung (2) (Sengla family group)
10. U Kyaw Naing (Sengla family group) - motorboat owner
11. U Than Htun - Village Tract Administrator (Sengla family group)
12. U Hwet Htun (Raiki Chy family group)
13. U Aung Site (Pa Nie family group)
14. Daw Kyar Ngite (Patlai Chy family group)
15. U Naw E (Thie Tlyp family group)
16. U Min Swe (Sengla family group)
17. U Htoo Htet (Sa Teh Chy family group)
18. U Htoo Htet- same owner as no. 17
19. U Kam Ma Htin (Sengla family group) - Anglican Assistant Pastor

20. U Htun Hla (Sa Teh Chy family group) - general worker of Basic Education Primary School who also teaches at the school
21. U Thar Zan Oo (Sengla family group)
22. U Ram Hnin (Ha Kha Chin) - Roman Catholic Religious Leader
23. Daw Phone Aung (Patlai Chy family group)
24. U Htun Aung (2) @ U Aik Htun (Hunter) (Raiki Chy family group)
25. U Pyi Pyaing (Patlai Chy family group)
26. U Htun Pa (Pait Chin)
27. U Pyi Htun (Pait Chin)
28. U Hwet Naint (Samtu Chy family group)
29. Daw Ei Tri (Raiki Chy family group)
30. U Htun Aung (1) (Raiki Chy family group)
31. U Kan Gyi (Sengla family group)
32. U Ra Li (Raiki Chy family group)
33. U Kar Rein (Samtu Chy family group)
34. U Aung Than (Sengla family group)
35. UAung Kyaw (Amkai family group)
36. U Pyo Aung (Aima family group) - husband of Daw Mahn Loon - Assistant teacher of Basic Education Primary School
37. U Oo Thar (Rakhine)
38. U Aung Swae (Thie Tlyp family group)
39. U Kyaw Hla Aung (Thie Tlyp family group)
40. U Aung Soe Lin (Raiki Chy family group)
41. U Aung Hlaing (Sengla family group)

- A. Public resthouse
- B. Village Generator (only use in special occasions)
- C. Village resthouse for social gathering
- D. Iron bedstead for social gathering
- E. Roman Catholic religious building used as Village Preschool (starting from 2013)
- F. Roman Catholic Church
- G. Paddy Bank formed by UNDP
- H. Anglican Church
- I. Basic Education Primary School



Map (2) - Representative Map of Lower Ketkuwa

1. Daw Aung Htin (Sa Teh Chy family group)
2. U Dat Pi (Sa Teh Chy family group)
3. U Aung Ngor (Sa Teh Chy family group) - Owner of Small-scale Rice Mill and former Village administrator from 1999-2007
4. U Aung Hla Sein (Sa Teh Chy family group)
5. U Kyaw Myint Aung (Sa Teh Chy family group)
6. U Ron Tin (Sa Teh Chy family group)

7. U Htun Lone (Sa Teh Chy family group) - Village Administrator of Lower Ketkuwa since 2012
8. U Ma Roe (Paleang family group)
9. U Ar Htet (Sa Teh Chy family group)
10. U Aung Mya Tun (Sa Teh Chy family group)
11. U Hwet Kein (Amlai family group)
12. U Sein Htun (Nidyhm family group) - former village administrator from 2007- 2011
13. U Aung Htun- motorboat owner (Sa Teh Chy family group)
14. U Zan Kyaw Hein (Nidyhm family group)
15. U Saw Htun (Amlai family group)
16. U Kyaw Naing Oo (MaTuPi Chin)
17. U Pyi Aung (Paleang family group)
18. U Yan Aung (MaTuPi Chin)
19. U Tote Ta Li (Sa Teh Chy family group)
20. U Lone Htin (Sa Teh Chy family group)
21. U Lone Pa- motorboat owner (Sa Teh Chy family group)
22. U Lin Ta Let- motorboat owner (Sa Teh Chy family group)
23. U Let Khaing (Paleang family group)
24. U Aung Pyi (Nidyhm family group)

- A. Public resthouse
- B. Concrete Water tank (not in use)
- C. Village Primary School for rainy season
- D. Four Concrete water tanks (not in use)

E.2 Hpa Yon Chaung Wa and Hpa Yon CHaung Phyar villages

Hpa Yon CHaung Wa and Hpa Yon CHaung Phyar are in the same village tract of Zin Baung Pyin. The dominant family group is Ke Chy. At the origin, the village was divided into three places. HYCW, middle HYCW and HYCP. Middle HYCW is the first settlement. Later, people came and extended the village to the two other parts.

According to the villagers, Kechy's forefather was originating from Central Myanmar that they left because of the Burmese-Mon war. They thus believe that they descend from Mon people, even showing as a proof the weapons brought by their forefather. After crossing Western Rakhine Yoma mountain range, they first settled in Tin Ma village (situated in the south, in Kyauk Taw Township). They then moved to Paletwa and spread in the region. Before establishing in HYCW, they built Toke Kyay Wa, then some moved to the present village.

HYCW and HYCP are situated along the Hpa Yon Chaung Creek. HYCW is situated between Hpa Yon Chuang Creek and Pa Daung Creek. There are 63 households in the village.

The main clan in the village is Kechy.

No.	Lineage	Households
1	Kechy	18
2	Phawi Lang	4
3	Leing Lawi	3
4	Others	3

Annex F: Khumi calendar

The year 2013 is the year 2581 for Khumi. Khumi months have the same number of days as English month, only the names are different.

Roman calendar	Khumi calendar	Main activities
December	Lilu	1 st month of Khumi calendar. Gamon is planted. Clearing land.
January	Taram	Clearing land.
February	Dito	Clearing land
March	Dipui	Burn. Sowing paddy.
April	Parau	
May	Samau	
June	Pauhu	Weeding
July	Parai	Weeding
August	Kau	Weeding
September	Kapho	Sesame. Gamon.
October	Kip	Sesame. Gamon. Harvesting rice.
November	Tlang Ngawi	Month for honoring the dead.