

REPORT ON  
THE SURVEY OF  
**ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND  
IN ASSAM**



सत्यमेव जयते

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Jawahar Nagar : Guwahati-22*



**"Report on the survey of Alienation of tribal land in Assam"** Published by Directorate of Assam Institute of research for Tribals and Scheduled Castes Jawahar Nagar : Guwahati-22

Published by :  
**Director, A.I.R.T.Sc**

Report prepared by : Late Dr. B. N. Bordoloi  
Ex Director A.I.R.T.Sc

First Edition, 1999

Price : Rs.

Printed by :  
**Bahniman Printers**  
Guwahati-22.

## P R E F A C E

Alienation of Tribal Land in the country is one of the major problems and it has been identified as one of the important causes of tribal unrest in India. The Rural Development Department, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, convened a meeting of the Directors of the Tribal Research Institutes located in various States of India in Shastri Bhawan, New Delhi on 20th January 1987. The meeting was chaired by Sri K.B. Saxena, Joint Secretary (Land Reforms). Sri D. Bandopadhaya, Secretary, Rural Development Deptt., Government of India, inaugurated the meeting. The Secretary pointed out that there was a wide gap between the incidence of land alienation cases reported and the actual alienation cases.

In this meeting it was decided that the Tribal Research Institutes in the country would undertake a sample survey of the alienation of tribal land in their respective States within the quickest possible time and the expenditure to be incurred in this connection would be borne by the Government of India.

The Tribal Research Institute, Assam, had conducted the field survey in ten tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks, five tribal villages outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks, five tribal villages in the hill areas of Assam and five tribal villages affected by the installation of the Dhansiri Irrigation Project in Darrang District and the Jagiroad Paper Mill under the Hindusthan Paper Corporation of India in the Nagaon District, from June to August 1987, with a view to find out the extent of alienation of tribal land.

On 11th February 1988 the Joint Secretary (Land Reforms) had taken another meeting with the Directors of the Tribal Research Institutes where the draft reports submitted by various

Tribal Research Institutes were considered and reviewed. He also wanted some more information to be incorporated in the draft reports, including the abstracts of main findings in a tabular form. All these were furnished to the Rural Development Department accordingly. On 10th October, the Government of India, had requested the Director, Tribal Research Institute to submit thirty copies of the report along with the summaries of main findings and recommendations.

The present report is the outcome of what had been said in the earlier paragraphs.

The report was prepared during the tenure of Dr. B. N. Bordoloi who unfortunately expired in April, 1996. The fund for completion of this report was sanctioned by the Government in 1995-96. But the fund had to be kept in the revenue deposit as per instruction of the Finance Department. Fortunately, the fund has been released for publication of the report.

I hope the report will be received by the readers with great pleasure.

**R. Zaman**

*Director*

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## **REPORT ON THE SURVEY OF ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND IN ASSAM.**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Alienation of tribal land, like in the other states of India where tribal population constitutes a significant percentage, is one of the major problems faced by the tribal communities of Assam and it has been continuing from pre-independence days till today. However, that the then leaders of Assam were quite alive to the situations arising out of this problem would be known from the facts stated in the subsequent paras. Just after independence, the Congress Ministry in Assam headed by late Gopinath Bordoloi, had taken steps for the creation of Belts and Blocks for tribals and backward classes by amending the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 by adding chapter X in 1947. Sub-Section (II) of Section 160 of this Amendment Act empowers the State Government of Assam to adopt such measures as it deems fit for protection of those classes who on account of their primitive condition and lack of education or material advantage are incapable of looking after their welfare in so far as such welfare depends upon their having sufficient land for their maintenance. In accordance with the above section, Belts and Blocks numbering 37 for the protection of land of the tribals and other down-trodden classes were created in the State of Assam excluding the Sixth Schedule Areas.

### **GENESIS OF TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS**

Now let us examine why the Bordoloi Ministry had initiated steps for the creation of Tribal Belts and Blocks by amending the

Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 just after the attainment of independence in 1947. In fact the creation of Tribal Belts and Blocks had a direct relationship with the large scale immigration of people from Eastern Bengal (Present Bangladesh) specially from the Mymensing area. The invasion of land hungry Bengali immigrants, mostly Muslims, began sometime before 1911 and this is evident from the fact that in the Census Reports beginning from 1921 references to this event were made in so many emphatic words that not to speak of the political leaders but even the administrators in Assam had become alert.

From the Census Report 1921, we may quote Mr. Lloyd on this problem - "In 1911, few cultivators from Eastern Bengal had gone to Goalpara. In the last decade (1911-21) the movement had extended far up the valley, and the colonists now form an appreciable element in population of all the four lower and central districts. In Goalpara nearly 20% of the population is made up of these settlers. The next favorite district is Nagaon where they form about 14% of the whole population. In Kamrup waste lands are being taken up rapidly, specially in Barpeta Sub-division. In Darrang exploration and settlement by the colonists are in an earlier stage. They have not yet penetrated far from the banks of the Brahmaputra. Almost every train and steamer brings parties of these settlers and it seems likely that their march will extend further up the Brahmaputra valley from the river before long".

The 1913 Census Report reveals some starting figures so far as the immigration episode is concerned. In the Goalpara District in 1911, the total Bengali speaking population was 77,000 out of which Mymonsingh immigrants were 34,000 their percentage being slightly more than 44. In 1921 while Bengali speaking population in the district was 151,000, the number of Mymonsingh immigrants were 78,000, their percentage being 51. In 1931 while the total Bengali speaking population of Goalpara District was 1,70,000, the number of Mymonsingh

immigrants was 80,000, their percentage being 47.

In the Kamrup District the position had been much worsened. In this district in 1911 the number of immigrants was 1,000 only as against the total Bengali speaking population of 4,000, the percentage being 25. In 1921 the number of immigrants rose to 30,000 as against the total Bengali speaking population of 44,000, the percentage being round about 69. In 1931, the number of immigrant population rose to 91,000 as against the total Bengali speaking population 134,000, the percentage being round about 69. It is now seen that while the percentage of the immigrants remained more or less static during the decade 1921-31, their actual number had increased more than 300 times in the Kamrup district.

In the Darrang District in 1911 there were 1,000 Mymonsingh immigrants as against 7,000 Bengali speaking people, their percentage being slightly more than 14. In 1921 the number of Mymonsingh immigrants was found to be increased at a very alarming rate. Form 1,000 in 1911, their number rose to 12,000 as against 20,000 Bengali speaking people. The percentage of Mymonsingh immigrants to total Bengali speaking population of the district was found to be 60. In 1931 the number and percentage of Mymonsingh people were found to be increased rather at a very alarming rate. Out of 41,000 Bengali speaking people the number of Mymonsingh immigrants were found to be 30,000 and their percentage to the total Bengali speaking people was about 75.

In the Nagaon District also the number of Mymonsingh immigrants increased by leaps and bounds during the period from 1911 to 1931. Here in 1911 there were only 1,000 Mymonsingh immigrants as against 4,000 Bengali speaking people, the percentage being 25. In 1921 however, out of 58,000 Bengali speaking people, 52,000 or 89% were found to be Mymonsingh immigrants. In 1931 from 52,000 the figures rose to 108,000 as against 120,000 Bengali speaking people in the district, their percentage



being 90.

In the Sibsagar District there were no Mymonsingh immigrants during 1911, 1921 and 1931. In the Lakhimpur District although there were no sign of Mymonsingh immigrants in 1911 and 1921, some 2,000 were found in 1931 and their presence in this district was considered to be ominous by the then Superintendent of Census Operation Mr. C.S. Mullan, I. C. S.

Referring to the above figures Mr. Mullan quotes "Those are startling figures and illustrate the wonderful rapidity with which the lower districts are becoming colonies of Mymensingh". It was land which had attracted such huge number of immigrants from Mymonsingh. We may again quote Mr. Mullah on this point also. He states "Wheresoever the carcass, there will vultures gathered together. Where there is wasteland, thither flock the Mymonsinghis.

### **IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON TRIBAL LAND**

Immigration, whether internal or external, always leads to disequilibrium of various kinds on socio-political and economic life of the people. Our concern here, of course, would be the impact of such large scale immigration of Mymonsinghis on land problems allied to this with special reference to the tribals.

The immigrants at first occupied the char areas of the Brahmaputra which were virtually unoccupied. When the occupation of the Char areas, which were bound to be limited, were more or less exhausted, the immigrants started squatting in government reserves (V. G. R., P. G. R. and reserved forests) and even occupying land of the local people specially of the tribals. In those days most of the tribal people used to live on the strips between the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the sub-montane areas on the foot hills of Bhutan and the present Arunachal Pradesh.

The tribals in Assam generally did not like the presence of unknown people near their habitation and they found that vacant

lands adjacent to their villages were occupied by people which differed from them ethnically, linguistically and religiously, they abandoned their villages and went more inside towards the sub-montane. Sometimes their villages were forcibly occupied by the immigrants and consequently the tribals had to live their hearth and home. Sometimes frictions took place resulting in casualties on both sides. Eviction by the Government machinery had got its own problems. In the Census Report of 1931, the British administrator like Mr. J. H. Hutton admitted that the immigrants in their anxiety to get land, had at one time or another, caused a good deal of friction by squatting in Government reserves or occupying land of local people from which they could not be evicted without great difficulty.

The constant frictions between the immigrants and the local people over the occupation of land created not only law and order problems but many revenue problems also hitherto unanticipated.

### **LINE SYSTEM**

As the gravity of the problem of unauthorised occupation of land assumed serious nature, the British administrators devised a means and applied it into practice in the Nowgong District and the Barpeta Sub-Division of Kamrup District as early as 1920. According to this device a line was drawn on the village map taking into consideration of the people inhabiting the village and no occupation of land by the immigrants beyond that line was allowed. This was later on came to be known as the Line System. The Line-System was gradually used to cover the other Lower Assam districts also.

Under the Line-System villages were divided into three categories, namely, "Open villages", "closed villages" and "mixed villages". In the "Open villages" the immigrants might settle freely. In the "closed village" the immigrants would not be allowed to settle under any circumstances. In the "mixed villages" however,

the immigrants might settle on one side of the line drawn in the map.

The line system devised by the British administrators with so much good intentions could not, however, solve the problems of unauthorised occupation and encroachment of land by the immigrants. Even the closed villages were also found to have been encroached.

### LINE-SYSTEM COMMITTEE

To ease the situation and also to find out a solution of permanent nature to this vexed problem the Government of Assam constituted a Committee to review the working of the Line System. This committee, popularly known as the Line-System Committee, was headed by Mr. F.W. Hockenull as the Chairman. The other members of the Committee were Abdul Matin Choudhury, Syed Abdur Rouf, Sayidur Rahman, Rabi Chandra Kachari, Mahendra Nath Saikia, Sarbeswar Barua, Kameswar Das and A.G. Patton.

The Line-System Committee recommended that (1) instead of a line dividing the area of a village, a larger unit of restriction should be adopted such as a Mauza or a Block of Mauzas which were to be protected from encroachers and that (2) the colonization schemes should be continued, extended or introduced with a view to regulating settlement of land with immigrants and containing them in specified localities.

It was brought to the notice of the Line-System Committee that the tribal villages were the worst victims of unregulated encroachment of vacant land by the aggressive immigrants from Mymonsingh resulting in disappearance of many tribal villages. The tribal inhabitants moved further into sub-montane zone.

### 1939 RESOLUTION ON LINE-SYSTEM

In November 1939 the Congress-coalition Government in Assam headed by Late Gopinath Bordoloi adopted a resolution

on the Report of the Line-System Committee and for the first time the conception of tribal belts and blocks in their rudimentary forms was visualized. We may quote here the paragraph 4 of the Resolution :-

"A. The restrictions constituting the so-called Line-System which have been in existence in the province for over 10 years past were primarily intended against the unending flow of Bengal immigrant cultivators and took the form of constituting certain areas in which settlement of land with such immigrants was prohibited. Government agree with the Committee that in future the unit for such restriction or prohibition should, where possible, be larger. They consider that in the sub-montane areas it should be possible to constitute whole Mauzas or compact parts of Mauzas inhabited predominantly by backward and tribal classes into "prohibited areas". Elsewhere where the whole village or a larger compact area is predominantly peopled by backward or tribal classes, such village or areas may be constituted prohibited area. Within the prohibited areas as constituted, immigrant cultivators shall not be allowed land either by settlement or by transfer of annual pattas, and any immigrant as taking up land or by squatting shall be evicted."

The Bordoloi Ministry could not, however, materialize the Resolution since it had to resign when the quit India movement was launched. When the coalition ministry headed by Shri Muhammad Sadulla came into power in 1939, the land policy of Bordoloi Ministry was reversed. The Line-System Committee's Report was kept in cold storage. Sir Sadulla instead introduced a development scheme much against the will of the indigenous local people according to which all waste lands were to be divided into blocks and allotted to different communities including immigrants on payment of a premium of Rs. 5/- per Bigha. This policy had further aggravated the situations since many immigrants were given settlements even in the areas predominantly inhabited by tribals.

However, the Sadulla Ministry fell in the last month of the year 1941 and Sir Robert Reid, the Governor, took over the administration of Assam and Sir Reid immediately scrapped the "Development Scheme" of the Sadulla Ministry considering the fact that such a scheme would lead to clash of interests between the immigrants and the local people and the immigration problem itself posed as a danger to the internal life and habitats of the local people. The Governor further observed that in the sub-montane areas predominantly inhabited by people belonging to tribal and backward classes, apprehensions were entertained that the introduction of a foreign, advanced and pushing element, if permitted would spell disaster to the population.

The Governor also supported the Line-System and directed the Deputy Commissioners to observe it so that the immigrants could not squat indiscriminately all over the Province. The Governor also fully supported the findings of the Line-System Committee. Sir Reid, the Governor, observed that an immigrant was rather considered as an unwelcome neighbour. The tribal classes particularly viewed without favour the close approach of Eastern Bengal immigrants to their villages. In the interest of peace and good government the fresh settlements of immigrants must be kept in close proximity to their old settlements so that their presence in the tribal areas might be avoided.

As luck would have it, Sir Sadulla again came into power in August 1942 following his assurance of fullest co-operation to the British administration in the war effort. It was a Muslim League Ministry and it again raised the Pandora's Box. In the name of "Grow more food" campaign he encouraged fresh settlements of the immigrants even in the sub-montane areas inhabited specially by tribals. When the new policy of the Saadulla Ministry faced the rough weather and provoked great criticism throughout the Assam valley, the Saadulla Ministry was compelled to modify the land announced by it. In the meantime, the League Ministry failed and a Coalition Ministry again headed by

Sir Saadulla formed the Government in March 1945.

This Coalition Ministry completely superseded all previous resolutions on land settlement and restated its policy in clearer terms. This policy statement has four objects :-

(1) Planned settlement of waste land, (2) recognition of landless immigrants from other provinces who came to Assam before 1st January 1938 as being equally entitled with landless indigenous persons to waste-land settlement, (3) protection of tribal classes in areas predominantly occupied by them against aggressive elements which are apt to endanger the normal economic and social basis of village life and (4) maintenance of grassing and other reserves by evicting encroachers.

Here our concern is, of course, with point (3) of the objectives where the protection of tribal classes were thought of. Paragraph 6 of the Resolution of land policy runs as follows :-

#### PROTECTION OF TRIBAL CLASSES

At the same time as statistics are being compiled of area of cultivable waste, additional information will be collected of all villages in which the percentage of persons of the Tribal Classes (as defined in the Census Instructions 1940) exceeds 50 percent and of the areas in those village occupied by Tribals and others. These villages will be marked on maps, and when the enquiries have been completed, a Tribal Belt or Belts in the sub-montane areas will be notified, the boundaries being fixed with regard either to easily recognisable geographical features or following the boundaries of Mauzas. Within this area, a reservation which will not be less than the areas occupied by the Tribal people plus the stipulated reservation for general future expansion will be made for safeguarding the Tribals and others at present living there, and no further settlement will be made with others..... Provisions will also be made for creation of Tribal blocks side by side with the blocks of other communities in the Planned Settlement Areas where Tribal people have their



villages and homes."

For the purpose of demarcation of the areas inhabited mostly by the Tribals a special Officer was also appointed. Unfortunately or fortunately the Saadulla Ministry had to resign and the Assembly was dissolved for the ensuing general election. In that general election the Congress won by absolute majority and Lokapriya Gopinath Bordoloi formed the Ministry. The Ministry after assumption of the office initiated steps to constitute belts and blocks for the tribals and backward classes. The Special Officer, appointed earlier, physically went round the areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals and backward classes and prepared a guide-map by identifying the villages having population of tribal and backward classes 50% and above. The survey conducted by Shri Hem Borah, Special Officer appointed for this purpose revealed that the identified villages did not everywhere form a compact area. In order to keep the compactness and continuity of the proposed belts and blocks even non-tribal majority villages had also to be included. As such non-tribals living in the proposed belts and blocks on the date/dates of their creation were to be treated on the same footing with the tribals in regard to the future settlement of waste-land and transfer of patta land. But after the creation of belts and blocks none other than the tribals and other specified classes could get settlement of land within the tribal belts and blocks. Incorporating these provisions the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 was amended in 1947 by adding Chapter X to it.

This is the background of the creation of tribal belts and blocks in Assam and without having a fair knowledge of this background any attempt to understand and analyse the problem of alienation of land in Assam would be futile exercises only. It is now evident that large scale influx of immigrants from Eastern Bengal and their land-grabbing nature not only of Govt. land but land belonging to indigenous people of Assam including the tribals led to the creation of tribal belts and blocks.

## MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE CHAPTER X OF ASSAM LAND AND REVENUE REGULATION ACT 1886 AS AMENDED UP-TO-DATE

The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 was amended in 1947 in pursuance of the Resolution of the Provincial Congress Ministry headed by Lokapriya Gopinath Bordoloi by adding another chapter, that is Chapter X, with a view to protecting those classes who on account of their primitive condition and lack of education or material advantages are incapable of looking after their welfare in so far as much welfare depends upon their having sufficient land for their maintenance.

The main provisions of this Amendment Act of 1947 and subsequent amendments thereon are stated below :-

### 1. CONSTITUTION OF BELTS AND BLOCKS

Under the provision of Section 160 (1) of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947, constitution of compact areas in regions predominantly peopled by classes of people notified under Section 160 (2) of the above act (to be referred as Protected Classes henceforth) into Belts and Blocks. While belts were constituted with larger areas, the Blocks had smaller areas considering with boundaries of the Mauzas.

In accordance with the above section altogether 35 Belts and Blocks. 11 (eleven) Belts and 24 (twenty four) Blocks were created in Assam till 1964. In this connection it may be noted here that the Assam Land and Revenue Act 1947 simply refers the identified areas as 'Belts' and 'Blocks' only. However, as these Belts and Blocks were created primarily to safeguard the interest of the tribal classes on land, they later on came to be known as 'Tribal Belts and Blocks'.

A list of the Tribal Belts and Blocks originally created is given below district wise :-



District	Name of Tribal Belts/Blocks	Date of creation & Notification No.	Area in Bigha	
<b>Goalpara</b>				
(present districts of Goalpara, Dhubri and Kokrajhar)	1. Sidli Tribal Belt	RD 69/46/29 dtd. 30.8.48	4,61,509	
	2. Bijni Tribal Belt	RD 69/46/29 dtd. 30.8.48	3,02,545	
<b>Kamrup</b>				
(present districts of Kamrup, Nalbari & Barpeta)	3. South Kamrup (Choygaon) Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	3,02,352	
	4. South Kamrup (Guwahati) Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/172 dtd. 27.2.50	7,72,454	
	5. Tamulpur Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	4,62,637	
	6. Baska Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	3,71,512	
	7. Chapaguri Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	2,64,110	
	8. Kharija Bijni Tribal Block	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	27,542	
	9. Bajegaon Tribal Block	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	6,526	
	10. Gobardhan Tribal Block	RD. 74/46/161 dtd. 22.8.49	38,348	
	<b>Darrang</b>			
	(Present districts of Sonitpur and Darrang)	11. Gohpur Tribal Block	RD. 90/46/82 dtd. 2.12.50	5,666
12. Balipara Tribal Belt		TAD/REV/73/50/20/43 dtd. 13.3.51	19,36,000	
13. Teteli Bhangaguri Tribal Block		RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.7.48	10,117	
14. Kacharipara Tribal Block		RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.7.48	9,656	
15. Dalgaon Tribal Belt		RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.8.44	28,306	

16. Kalaigaon Tribal Belt	RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.7.48	11,16,336	
17. Tezial Tribal Block	RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.7.48	8,867	
18. Bhuiankhat Tribal Block	RD. 74/46/119 dtd. 12.7.48	9,299	
<b>Lakhimpur</b>			
(Present districts of Lakhimpur and Dibrugarh)	19. North Lakhimpur (Sub-mountane) Tribal Belt	RD. 92/46/34 dtd. 28.4.48	6,00,160
	20. Mirkongselek Jonai Tribal Belt	TAD/REV/73/50/43 dtd. 3.3.51	8,30,526
	21. North Lakhimpur (Reverine) Tribal Block	RD. 92/46/34 dtd. 28.4.48	4,93,680
	22. Abor Mishimi Tirap Tribal Belt	TAD/REV/73/50/43 dtd. 13.3.51	34,84,800
<b>Nagaon</b>			
23. Barkacharigaon Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/80 dtd. 19.9.50	22,090	
24. Amgurichang Phulguri Chang Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/294 dtd. 1.2.58	6,851	
25. Bordolong Longka-bheta Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/294 dtd. 1.2.50	52,176	
26. Bagariguri Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	25,759	
27. Amsoi Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	19,926	
28. Barpathar Tribal Block	RSD. 11/61/25 dtd. 6.4.64	Area not furnished in Notification	
29. Jamdari Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/313 dtd. 29.6.58	8,398	
30. Boranni Pathar Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/313 dtd. 29.6.58	21,451	
31. Bhalukjhari Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	2,466	
32. Changua Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	27,866	

33. Tetelie Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	37,750
34. Gebha Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	30,190
35. Phulguri Tribal Block	RD. 91/46/94 dtd. 17.11.50	28,071

Total 35 Belts & Block 11825842

These Belts and Blocks covers 3112 Nos. of villages with a total area of 1,1825,842 Bighas or 15,76778 Hectares. The total number of villages and the total area of the Tribal Belts and Blocks would be slightly more since the Notification creating Barpathar Tribal Block in the Nagaon district has not mentioned the area covered.

In order to facilitate the construction of the temporary capital of Assam at Dispur, the Government vide its Notification No. RSD. 26/64/PT/38, dated 30/7/69, had deconstituted an area of 1,29,202 Bighas from the total area of 7,72,454 Bighas under the South Kamrup (Guwahati) Tribal Belt. Hence the total area of the Tribal Belts and Blocks created upto 1964 would be 1,16,96,640 Bighas or 15,59,551 Hectares at present.

Subsequently 10 (ten) more Tribal Belts and Blocks (3 Belts and 7 Blocks) were created in Assam beginning from the year 1977. Their details are given below :-

District	Name of Tribal Belts/Blocks	Date of creation & Notification No.	Area in Bigha
Kokrajhar	1. Santhal Colony Tribal Block	RSD. 9/77/11 dtd. 24.8.77	57,930
	2. Ripu Tribal Belt	RSD. 5/82/43 dtd. 23.11.84	1,60,643
	3. Dotoma Tribal Belt	RSD. 2/82/10 dtd. 16.6.83	38,174
	4. Hatigaon Tribal Block	RSD. 12/81/13 dtd. 9.8.82	14,039

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Dhubri			
5. Parbat Juar Tribal Belt	RSD. 5/82/44 dtd. 23.11.84	3,23,187	
6. Balaghat Nayegaon Tribal Block	RSD. 1/83/15 dtd. 5.7.84	78,777	

Goalpara			
7. Bordamal Tribal Block	RSD. 14/81/12 dtd. 9.8.82	18,592	

Nagaon			
8. Kaki Tribal Block	RSD. 63/68/33 dtd. 6.12.78	4,988	
9. Kandura Tribal Block	RSD. 4/76/9 dtd. 12.4.79	10,346	
10. Batabarigaon Tribal Block	RSD. 14/81/13 dtd. 9.8.82	14,039	

Total 10 Belts and Blocks 7,20,715 Bighas  
Grand Total - 1,25,46,557

If we now add together the number of Tribal Belts and Blocks created upto the year 1964 and subsequently created the total number would come to 45 out of which 14 Nos. are Belts and the remaining 31 Nos. are Blocks. These Belts and Blocks cover an area of 1,25,46,557 Bighas or 16,72,873 Hectares and encompasses 3571 Nos. of villages as shown in the Table Below :-

**TABLE - I**  
**Present position of Tribal Belts and Blocks.**

Year	Belts	Blocks	Total area in Bighas	Total area in Hectares	Total No. of villages
Till 1964	11	24	1,18,25,842	15,76,778	3112
After 1964	3	7	7,20,715	96,095	459
	14	31	1,25,46,557	16,72,873	3571

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It has been mentioned earlier that an area of 1,29,202 Bighas out of 7,72,454 Bighas under the South Kamrup (Guwahati) Tribal Belts was deconstituted in order to facilitate the construction of the temporary capital at Dispur. Hence the total area under Tribal Belts and Blocks as it stands at present would be 1,25,76,557 Bighas - 1,29,202 Bighas = 1,24,47,355 Bighas or 16,59,647 Hectares.

## 2. PROTECTED CLASSES

As per section 160 (2) of the Amendment Act the State Govt. may by notification in the Official Gazettee specify the class of people whom it considers entitled to protection.

Accordingly the State Government vide its Notification No. RD. 2/47/43, dated 20.4.49 declared six classes of people as protected classes within the jurisdiction of Belts and Blocks and they are :-

- (1) Plains Tribals.
- (2) Hill Tribals.
- (3) Tea-garden Tribal.
- (4) Santhals.
- (5) Nepali Cultivator Graziers.
- (6) Scheduled Caste.

Government vide its notification No. RSD. 1/85/17 dtd. 29.4.85 had included the Koch-Rajbangshis of erstwhile Goalpara District (the present districts of Goaplara, Dhubri and Kokrajhar) as one of the Protected Classes under the purview of the Section 160 (1) of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886.

Another important development worth mentioning here is the fact that the Government vide its Notification No. RSD. 26/64/PT/15, dtd. 27.6.69 had excluded the Nepali Cultivator Graziers as one of the Protected Classes. However, it was later on clarified by the Govt. vide its Notification No. RSD. 12/80/5, dtd. 30th October 1980 that Nepali Cultivator Graziers who were within the jurisdiction of the Belts and Blocks prior to June 1969,

were to be treated in the same footing as other non-protected category residents from before constitution of the Belts and Blocks.

## 3. PROHIBITION ON ACQUISITION/POSSESSION/ TRANSFER.

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law, usages, contract or agreement, no person shall acquire or possess by transfer, exchange, lease, agreement or settlement any land in any areas constituted into belts and blocks in contravention of the provision of the Act.

The implied meaning of this is that transfer, exchange, lease etc. can take place within the Belts and Blocks only amongst the people belonging to the notified as protected classes.

The provision is, however, not applicable affecting any transfer by way of mortgage in favour of any nationalized bank or a registered co-operative society or such other financing institution as may be approved by the State Government.

The chapter X of Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 was again amended in 1981 and the amendment provides that :-

- (a) no landholder shall transfer his land in a belt or block to any person not belonging to a class of people notified under Section 160 or to any person who is not a permanent resident in the belt or block and that.
- (b) no such landholder shall transfer his land in a belt or block to any person who is a permanent resident in that belt or block or who does not belong to the notified or protected classes except with the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner.

## 4. PROHIBITION OF REGISTRATION OF DOCUMENTS EVIDENCING TRANSFER

The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 was amended again in 1964 and according to the provision

of this amendment no document evidencing any transaction for acquisition of possession of any land by way of transfer, exchange, lease, agreement or settlement shall be registered under the Indian Registration Act 1908 if it appears to the registering authority that the transaction has been effected in contravention of the provision of the Section 161 (2) of the Assam Land and Revenue Amendment Act 1947.

#### **5. BAR ON ACQUISITION OF RIGHT AND TITLE**

The Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 was again amended in 1981. It has provided that no person to whom any land is transferred in a belt or block in contravention of the provision of the Chapter X shall acquire any right or title in that land by any length of possession whether adverse or not.

#### **6. BAR OF JURISDICTION BY CIVIL COURT**

Section 167 of the Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1947 provides that no Civil Court shall have jurisdiction in any of the matters covered by Chapter X.

#### **7. POWER OF STATE GOVERNMENT TO EXCLUDE AREAS FROM BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

The State Government may direct that the provision of the chapter X shall cease to apply to any area or areas or portion of any area or areas within the belts and blocks.

#### **8. EXEMPTION FROM OPERATION OF CHAPTER X.**

The application of the provision of Chapter X shall have no affect on the following :-

(a) Land settled for special cultivation or purposes ancillary thereto, including grants made for tea cultivation.

(b) Lakhiraj, Nispikhiraj or special estates settled with non-cultivators for their maintenance, with land and estates and rights

and interests therein shall continue to be governed by the provisions of the other chapters than the Chapter X.

#### **9. MANNER OF DISPOSAL OF LAND WITHIN BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 also provides the manner of disposal of land within the Belts and Blocks:

(a) In the case of disposal and settlement of land, the first preference shall be given to the bonafide needs of the persons belonging to the notified or protected classes who are permanently residing in such area from before its constitution.

(c) Secondly the bonafide needs of the persons belonging to such classes who are temporarily residing in such area from before its constitution but who are settlement holders of land within the area on the date of constitution and who are likely to become permanent residents therein within a reasonable time.

(c) This clause provides that if the extent of cultivable land in the belt and block be large enough for settlement the bonafide needs of

(I) the persons belonging to other classes of people residing in the belts and blocks from the constitution of the belts and blocks.

(II) the persons belonging to the notified classes who are living elsewhere in the state outside the Belts and Blocks.

It has also been provided by Amendment Act 1981 that no settlement of land with the persons belonging to the classes of people mentioned in clause C shall be made except with the previous approval of the State Government.

#### **10. RIGHTS OF SETTLEMENT HOLDERS / LAND HOLDERS.**

(1) Under the provision of Section 164 of the Chapter X a settlement holder other than a landholder shall have no rights in

the lands held by him beyond such periods as are expressed in the settlement lease.

(2) A land holder shall have a right of use and occupation in the land held by him subject to any restrictions or modifications prescribed in rules made under the Chapter X.

### 11. EJECTION & EVICTION

The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 provides under Chapter X stringent measures for ejection and eviction for unauthorized and illegal occupation of land within the belts and blocks and such provisions under Section 165 are as follows :-

(1) In the case of unsettled land, any person who without valid authority has encroached upon or occupied it shall be liable to ejection forthwith.

(2) In the case of annually settled land persons other than settlement holders, members of their families and hired servants if found in occupation there, shall be liable to ejection. The settlement with settlement holder shall, unless terminated earlier for infringement of the conditions of the lease or for any section contrary to or inconsistent with the rights conferred on him by the lease, automatically terminates at the end of the period conveyed by the lease.

(3) In the case of periodically settled land persons who have entered into occupation without valid authority from the land holder or whose entry or occupation is or has come about in a manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Chapter X, shall be liable to eviction. Such eviction shall be preceded by service of notice requiring the occupants to vacate the land and remove all buildings and other constructions erected and crops raised within a period not exceeding one month from the date of receipt of notice.

### 12. RESTORATION OF LAND TO LAND HOLDER

In the Chapter X provisions have also been made for resto-

ration of land to the authorised land holder.

After the unauthorised persons have evacuated or have been evicted the Deputy Commissioner who is also the Collector may take the land under his own management or let it out for such a period as he thinks fit, but shall give the land holder a reasonable opportunity of undertaking in writing that he will do everything in his power to prevent unauthorized occupation by other persons in future and of agreeing in writing that if he fails to do so he will forfeit his rights and status of a landholder in respect of the land in question. If the Deputy Commissioner is satisfied with the written undertakings he shall accept them and restore the land to the land holder. In case of violation of any of the conditions of the agreement, the Deputy Commissioner may take back the land from the land holder and allow it for fresh settlement.

### 13. DELEGATION OF POWERS

The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947 empowers the Deputy Commissioners and Additional Deputy Commissioners, to exercise power under the Chapter X also. As per section 168 of the Chapter X, the State Government by Notification in the official Gazettee invest any Revenue Officers with the powers of the Deputy Commissioner under all or any of the provisions of the Chapter.

The Government vide its Notification No. RSS. 308/76/6, dated 24.9.76 has delegated the powers of the Deputy Commissioner to the Sub-divisional Officers and Sadar Subdivisional Officers.

### IMPLEMENTATION

In spite of the best efforts on the part of the State Government of Assam, the implementation of the provisions under Chapter X as amended up-to-date have not been strictly followed and as such implementation is found to be far from satisfactory. Illegal transfer of tribal land to ineligible persons through sale, mortgage, lease, etc. encroachment on ~~unsettled~~ Govt. land within



the belts and blocks have been continuing almost unchecked.

In order to intensify the implementation of the provisions of the Chapter X, the Government of Assam vide its Notification No. RSD. 36/79/84, dated 30th July 1983 had created 6 (six) posts of Additional Deputy Commissioner (Revenue) and subsequently 3 (three) more posts of Additional Deputy Commissioner (Revenue) were created making a total of 9 (nine). These Additional Deputy Commissioners (Revenue) have since been posted at the district headquarters of Guwahati, Goalpara, Tezpur, Nagaon, Dibrugarh, Mangaldoi, Barpeta, North Lakhimpur and Kokrajhar.

The above mentioned Notification also clearly specifies the duties that are to be performed by the Additional Deputy Commissioners (Revenue) and they are quoted below :-

(a) Vigilance in respect of total prevention of encroachment in tribal belts and blocks.

(b) Ejectment of all ineligible persons in tribal belts and blocks with a time bound programme and submission of quarterly progress reports thereon.

(c) Restoration of alienated land to the original Patta holders in tribal belts and blocks.

(d) Total prevention of transfer and alienation of land to ineligible persons.

(e) Restoration of alienated and transferred Patta land even if it was mutated.

(f) Preparation of two lists of genuine landless persons in each of the belts and blocks - one for the protected classes and another for the eligible non-protected classes for consideration of their cases for allotment/settlement of land.

(g) Maintenance of a separate register for flood and erosion affected people in tribal belts and blocks whose patta lands have been eroded away.

In order to help the 9 Additional Deputy Commissioners (Revenue) and also to strengthen the base of the Revenue De-

partment for effective implementation of the provisions under Chapter X, the Government of Assam had already created 19 (nineteen) posts of Sub Deputy Collectors in January 1985 and these Revenue Officers are posted one each at the following places - Kokrajhar, Goalpara, Dhubri, Gossaigaon, Guwahati, Rangia, Nalbari, Barpeta, Nagaon, Morigaon, Hojai, Tezpur, Mangaldoi, Udalguri, North Lakhimpur, Jonai, Biswanath Chariali, Sadiya and Tinsukia.

The above discussions clearly show the circumstances which led the then Congress Ministry of Assam to amend the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 in 1947 wherein another chapter which is popularly known as Chapter X was added. This Amendment Act led to the creation of Tribal Belts and Blocks with a view to protect the interest of the backward classes specially those of the tribal classes on land. Transfer, Mortgage, lease, etc, to non-protected classes under the provisions of the Chapter X have been totally prohibited. The above Act and the subsequent amendments have also provided the manner in which land within belts and blocks should be settled, the ejectment and eviction of encroachers, restoration of land to original land holders and many other things.

The appointment of 9 (nine) Additional Deputy Commissioners (Revenue) and 19 (nineteen) Sub Deputy Collectors (Revenue) exclusively for the purpose of looking after the implementation of the provisions of the Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947 is another important step in the recent years.

**SIXTH SCHEDULED AREAS OF ASSAM  
AND  
ACTS, LAWS, RULES AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS  
PROHIBITING ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND**

The Sixth Scheduled areas of present Assam are constituted only with two autonomous hill districts, namely, the Karbi

Anglong and the North Cachar Hills. Under the provision of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, the District Council in respect of all the areas within its jurisdiction has the power to make laws regarding the allotment, occupation, use or the setting apart of land other than a reserved forest for the purpose of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town, the management of any forest not being a reserved forest and the regulation of the practice of Jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation of the land laws and acts which are prevalent in the plains districts of Assam are not applicable in the Sixth Scheduled areas unless they are adopted by the district Councils. Secondly, the State Legislature cannot pass any laws in respect of land policies of the District Councils and similarly the State Government of Assam has also no powers to pass orders affecting the land policies of the District Councils.

#### **THE KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT COUNCIL**

In pursuance of the provisions under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India, the Mikir Hills (Land and Revenue) Act 1953 was passed by the Karbi Anglong District Council which has provided the District Council Authority with the recognition of rights over land, settlement and assessment of land and other ancillary matters.

#### **THE MIKIR HILLS DISTRICT (TRANSFER OR LAND) ACT 1959.**

The District Council has already taken some legislative measure to protect the interest of the tribal people on land. The Mikir Hills District (Transfer of Land) Act 1959 provided that no land under the jurisdiction of the District Council Authority shall be sold, mortgaged, leased, bartered, gifted or otherwise transferred to a non-tribal or by a non-tribal to another non-tribal except with the previous permission of the Executive Com-

mittee of the District Council. (Section 3 of the Act of 1959).

The Act also provides that for any refusal of transfer from a tribal to a non-tribal or from a non-tribal to another non-tribal, the reasons shall be recorded.

This Act also provides that rights already acquired by any person prior to the enforcement of this Act shall not be affected.

Under the provision of this Act the District Council Authority may evict a non-tribal if he is found to be in possession of any land otherwise that in accordance with the provision of this Act.

The Act, however, provides only monetary penalty for disobeying intentionally an order of requisition to vacate lands occupied illegally.

#### **LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY OF KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT COUNCIL**

It would be rather difficult to understand and appreciate the problems of transfer of tribal land in this district unless we have an idea of the land settlement policy formulated by the Karbi Anglong District Council.

Although the density of population is very low in the district (21 per sq. km. as per 1961 Census and 37 per sq. km. as per 1971 Census), nevertheless from the point of view of population growth this district had topped the list. While the percentage growth of population was 79.21 percent during the decade 1951-61, it was 68.28 percent during the decade 1961-71. Growth rate during 1971-81 cannot be ascertained as 1981 Census could not be conducted in Assam.

The abnormal growth of district population as shown in the above para is due to the influx of a large number of East Bengal refugees after the post independence period and also a continuous flow of Nepali immigrants. In order to protect the illiterate, ignorant and shy tribal people of the Karbi Anglong District against the onslaught of land hungry immigrants and also to safe-

guard their rights on land, the Karbi Anglong District Council has formulated a set of policies in respect of land settlement in the form of Executive Committee Resolutions. These policies are enumerated below :-

(1) In the matter of settlement of land in Karbi Anglong, the first preference shall be given to the bonafide scheduled tribes of the district.

(2) The second preference shall be given to the scheduled tribes coming from the other autonomous district, namely North Cachar Hills.

(3) No settlement of land shall be made with any non-tribal coming to the district after 15th August 1947 and all such non-tribals coming after the above date and occupying land without any authority shall be evicted forthwith.

(4) The District Council may, in special cases relating to the victims of unusual natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, etc, who are in occupation of land in the district, order settlement of land with the affected non-tribal people on recommendations from the Deputy Commissioner after due enquiry.

(5) Waste lands in the district which are suitable for wet paddy cultivation after proper reclamation are however reserved for the people belonging to the scheduled tribes of this district only.

### **ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND IN THE KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT - DEVICES**

Formal alienation of tribal land in the Karbi Anglong District is very few and far between since transfer, lease, mortgage, etc, of tribal land to non-tribal require the prior approval of the Executive Committee of the District Council to be legally effective. But in the plains area of the district specially within the jurisdiction of the Howraghat Tribal Development Block the incidence of temporary alienation of land from the tribals mainly

the Karbis to non-tribals mainly the East Bengal refugees who have been settling in this region since after the partition of India is too rampant. This has been affected through various methods and they are enumerated below :-

### **1. PAIKAS SYSTEM**

Under this system a tribal settlement holder takes an advance from a cultivator usually a non-tribal and in lieu of the advance taken he alienates his land temporarily to the non-tribal cultivator for a period of one year or two years. At the end of the specific period the non-tribal cultivator is required to vacate the occupied land. But in practice it does not happen since the tribal settlement holder takes another advance from the non-tribal cultivator even before the stipulated period comes to an end. Once a tribal enters into this vicious circle he can hardly get out of it and the alienation of cultivable land becomes perpetual. While the non-tribal cultivates the land held on Paikas and reaps the harvest the actual owner gets nothing but the advance received in cash which is in fact one eighth of the value of the produce obtained from the Paikas land.

It is true that successive years of cultivation do not confer any right to a non-tribal holding land under Paikas system. Nevertheless the actual owner becomes a more spectator while the non-tribal tills the land reaps the harvest year after year as if he were the actual owner of the land. This system has rendered many Karbi families paupers and their condition is worse than those of the landless people.

Under the provision of the Mikir Hills District (Transfer of Land) Act, 1959, Paikas cannot be considered illegal since hiring of tribal land by non-tribals has not been prohibited. It cannot be called 'mortgage' also since there is no question of paying back the cash advance taken from the Paikas holder at the end of the stipulated period. The unscrupulous non-tribals therefore, have been taking the full advantages in the loopholes of the pro-

visions of the land transfer act.

## 2. SUKTI BANDHAK

This system is found to be prevalent, although to a limited extent among the Karbis living in the plains areas of the Karbi Anglong district. Under this system land is generally given to a non-tribal for cultivation against the payment of a certain quantity of paddy to the settlement holder at a certain rate per annum per Bigha after executing a formal agreement to this effect. The term 'Sukti' means agreement and 'Bandhak' means mortgage literally. During the period of agreement the land owner shall have no right to cultivate his land or question its utility. The person who takes the tribal land under this system becomes the virtual owner of the land like the Paikas holder. The land will again be under the possession of the owner as soon as the period of agreement is over. Like Paikas, however, if a tribal land owner once enters into this system, he can hardly get out of it. Under the existing law this system cannot be called mortgage since the land owner is not required to pay back the paddy he has taken from the non-tribal Sukti Bandhak holder.

## 3. KHOI BANDHAK

Under this system a tribal settlement holder temporarily transfers his right of use and occupancy to a non-tribal for a minimum period of 5 years against the cash payment of a certain amount of money calculated at certain rate per Bigha per annum. The entire amount in cash shall have to be paid to the tribal settlement holder only once at the beginning. At the end of the period of agreement the land automatically comes back to the owner. But before the period of agreement comes to an end, the land owner again enters into another contract and thus his land is temporarily alienated again. Like Sukti Bandhak it cannot be called 'Mortgage' legally since in this case also the land owner needs not pay back the amount of money he has taken from the Khoi Bandhak holder. Fortunately these two systems, namely, Sukti

Bandhak and Khoi Bandhak are not so much rampant as that of Paikas system.

## 4. MENA

It has been mentioned earlier that in the Karbi Anglong district the density of population is quite low. As such there are unreclaimed virgin lands adjacent to the Karbi villages suitable for cultivation. Such lands in the possession of the Karbi families are given to non-tribals for reclamation and cultivation thereafter for a number of years varying from 3 to 5 years. In return the tribal land holder gets nothing except the reclaimed plots of land at the end of the period of agreement and this system prevalent among the Karbi families living in the plains portion of the Karbi Anglong District is called 'Mena'. The incidence of this system is, however, gradually declining because unreclaimed virgin land is decreasing at a faster rate due to increase in population growth.

The Adhiar or share-cropping system which is not as profitable as those four quoted above, is not at all favoured by the non-tribals. It is, therefore, more or less confined to the tribal families themselves.

The Karbi Anglong District Council has already initiated some steps to stop the practice of Paikas, Sukti Bandhak, Khoi Bandhak and Mena which are considered to be most harmful practices, since they lead to temporary alienation of tribal land and the temporary nature perpetuates making the Karbi families poorer and poorer as the days pass.

Now the Karbi Anglong District (Land Reforms) Act, 1979 provides that all kinds of encumbrances of land existing by way of paikas or mortgage shall be void upon coming into force of this Act.

This Act also provides that on coming into force of this Act if any amount is found due from the settlement holder out of the advance earlier made to him by the cultivator cultivating his land under current Paikas, mortgage, the cultivator cultivating his land under current Paikas, mortgage, the latter shall be allowed to



cultivate the land under the Adhi system at the rate of 3 to 5 maunds of paddy per Bigha (one third of an Acre) according to the yield of the land as may be assessed by the Assistant Revenue Officer. The value of the paddy thus fixed shall be adjusted towards repayment of the balance of advance. After full repayment of the advance the land shall stand released. After such release if the cultivator cultivating the land remains on the land he shall be evicted there from forthwith.

The Act also provides that if any settlement holder after release of his land from Paikas or mortgage again encumbers his land through Paikas or mortgage, the patta shall be evicted forthwith.

Of course, mortgages with financial institutions to secure agricultural loan are exempted from operation of this section.

#### **THE NORTH CACHAR HILLS DISTRICT COUNCIL**

In the North Cachar Hills District the non-tribal population constitutes slightly more than 30 percent and the density of population was 16 as per 1971 Census. The incidence of alienation of tribal land in this district, therefore, is quite low. The District Council authority of the North Cachar Hills has not enacted any law in regard to transfer of tribal land to non-tribals. The District Council has issued some executive instructions only in this respect vide Memo No. GA/REV/5/14/62/21, dated 6th July 1962. So far as land under periodic lease is concerned the tribal settlement holder cannot transfer his land to a non-tribal without prior permission of the District Council Authority. In according permission the District Council sees whether the person to whom the land is proposed to be transferred is a permanent resident in the district and secondly whether he has enough land in his possession already even if he is a permanent resident.

#### **LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY IN N. C. HILLS**

According to land settlement policy resolution of 1954, the

first preference goes to the indigenous local tribals in settlement of government land. The second preference is given to the permanent non-tribal residents of the district who are electors in the District Council constituencies. A tribal belonging to the same community but hailing from another village may also get settlement of land in the village provided the other people of the village where the person is proposed to be given settlement do not object and the person demonstrates his capability of cultivating land.

From the above it has now been seen that while in the Karbi Anglong District there are suitable laws for prohibition of transfer of land and a well-defined land settlement policy, in the North Cachar Hills except executive instructions and policy resolutions in respect of land settlement there has been no law prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals.

## CHAPTER - II

### TRIBAL SITUATIONS IN ASSAM - AN OVERVIEW

Assam is blended with hills and plains. There are 9 Scheduled Tribes in the plains areas and 14 Scheduled Tribes in the hill areas as shown below :-

#### Scheduled Tribes (plains)

1. Barmans in Cachar
2. Boro, Borokachari
3. Deori
4. Hojai
5. Kachari, Sonowal
6. Lalung
7. Mech
8. Miri
9. Rabha

#### Scheduled Tribes (Hills)

1. Chakma
2. Dimasa Kachari
3. Garo
4. Hajong
5. Hmar
6. Khasi, Jaintia, Synteng, Pnar, War, Bhoi, Lynggam.
7. Any Kuki Tribes (37 groups)

(i) Biате, Biete, (ii) Changsan, (iii) Chongloi, (iv) DOUNgel, (v) Gamlhou, (vi) Gangye, (vii) Guite, (viii) Haneg, (ix) Haekip, Haupt, (x) Haolao, (xi) Hengna, (xii) Hongshugh, (xiii) Hrangklogwal Rongkhol, (xiv) Khelma, (xv) Khawchung, (xvi) Khawathlang, Khothalong, (xvii) Jongbe, (xviii) Kholhou, (xix) Kipgen, (xx) Kuki, (xxi) Lengthang, (xxii) Lhengum, (xxiii)

Lhoujem, (xxiv) Lhouvun, (xxv) Lumpheng, (xxvi) Mangjel, (xxvii) Misao, (xxviii) Riang, (xxx) Selnam, (xxxi) Singson, (xxxii) Sitlhou, (xxxiii) Sukto, (xxxiv) Thado, (xxxv) Thomngneu, (xxxvi) Uibuh, (xxxvii) Vaiphei.

8. Lakhar
9. Man (Tai speaking)
10. Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes.
11. Mikir
12. Any Naga Tribes
13. Pawi
14. Syntheng

If we examine the list of Scheduled Tribes (Hills) closely we find that in serial No. 6, seven tribes are grouped together. Similarly in serial 7, thirty seven groups are enlisted together. Serial No. 12 also include two Naga Tribes. Thus the total number of tribes in Assam would come to 65, 9 in the plains areas and 57 in the hill areas. As per 1971 Census the Scheduled Tribes population of Assam was 16,07,035-13,44,413 in the plains and 2,62,622 in the hills. The percentage of tribal population to the total population of the state was 10.99-9.19% in the plains and 1.80% in the hills. Since no census could be undertaken in Assam in 1981 due to foreign national agitation, only estimated projected population of the scheduled tribes in 1981 could be furnished here assuming a growth rate of 36.09 percent during the decade 1971-81. At this rate the total scheduled tribes population in 1981 would be 22.02 lakhs, 18.29 lakhs in the plains and 3.73 lakhs in the hill areas. In this connection it would be worthwhile to mention that the tribes which are scheduled in the plains areas of Assam, are not enlisted as Scheduled Tribes in the hill areas and the tribes which are scheduled in the hill areas not enlisted as scheduled tribes in the plains areas of Assam. The percentage of literacy of the scheduled tribes in Assam as per

1971 census was 26.02 (34.62 males and 17.16 females) as against state percentage of 28.72 (37.19 males and 19.27 females). Numerically while the Bodo Kacharis are the largest group among the plains tribes, the Mikirs otherwise known as the Karbis, are the largest group among the hill tribal communities.

Each tribal community in Assam has its own customs, religion, language and way of life and as such each one has a distinct ethnic identity. Their pace of development also differs from region to region and even the level of development of the people of the same community inhabiting different regions of the state differs considerably.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the tribal communities of Assam. While in the hill areas shifting cultivation has been the practice, in the plains areas people do wet paddy cultivation. In the Jhums the people raise mixed crops. Along with paddy, vegetables are also grown. In the hill areas people do wet paddy cultivation also in the low lying lands between the two ridges and in the plains portion. Due to heavy pressure of population Jhum cycle has now been reduced to 4/5 years resulting in more destruction of hills forests. Many families in the hills have taken up maize, coffee and ginger cultivation also. Oranges and pineapples are also cultivated by them to a limited extent. In the plains area the tribal people cultivate mustard, pulse, jute and vegetable besides paddy.

Sericulture is an important cottage industry among the tribal communities of Assam. Handloom is a household industry. A tribal woman without the knowledge of spinning and weaving is unthinkable. Cattle are also reared by them. As they are traditionally not habituated in drinking milk, cows and she buffaloes are generally not milked. Nor this aspect has been commercially exploited fully inspite very high price of milk and milk products. Pigs and fowls are reared mainly for domestic consumption. Manufacturing of cane and bamboo articles is also one of the

important cottage industries of the tribal communities of Assam. Most of the families are poverty stricken and at the beginning of the Sixth Five Year Plan 80% of the families were considered to be below poverty line.

Most of the tribal communities are still having their traditional institutions like the village councils/panchayats, bachelors' dormitories, institutions of mutual help and co-operation, etc.

Rice is their staple food and rice beer is their favourite drink. In all traditional socio-religious festivals and family worships rice beer is a must.

It would not be out of place to mention here that in Assam there are altogether 524 forest villages and 47.11% of the inhabitants of the forest villages belongs to the tribal communities.

### CHAPTER - III

#### DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY

The design and methodology of the survey were finalized in the meeting of the Directors of the Tribal Research Institutes convened by the Rural Development Department, Ministry of Agriculture, Govt. of India, in the Krishi Bhawan in New Delhi on 29.1.87. The study was designed to be a very quick sample survey within a time frame of three months. The study was proposed to be conducted to find out the extent of alienation of tribal land to non-tribals in the light of the existing laws in different states for prohibition of transfer and restoration of transferred land illegally transferred to the actual owners, various consequences arising out of illegal transfer and alienation of tribal land and also to suggest corrective measures on the basis of the finding of the survey. Secondly the study was also designed to find out the extent of alienation of tribal land due to the installation of major and medium industrial and irrigational complexes and projects for mining operation leading to displacement of tribals.

Three sets of schedules - one for village survey, one for household survey and another for survey of alienation of tribal land due to installation of major and medium industrial and irrigation projects and projects for mining operations were designed by the Directors and discussed and finalized in the meeting referred to in the preceding para. It was also decided that all the tribal families in the selected villages should be brought under the purview of the survey and household schedules were to be canvassed by interviewing the head of each family through trained investigators specially recruited for this purpose and under the

proper supervision of the senior Officers of the Tribal Research Institutes.

It was decided that Assam T.R.I. should conduct survey in 25 tribal villages of the following categories :-

- (1) Villages within Tribal Belts and Blocks 10 Nos.
  - (2) Villages outside Tribal Belts and Blocks 5 Nos.
  - (3) Villages from the Hill Areas 5 Nos.
  - (4) Villages affected by installation of industrial and irrigation complexes and mining projects 5 Nos.
- Total - 25 Nos.

Villages within tribal belts and blocks are selected from the District Census Handbooks, 1971 with their census code numbers where the main consideration was the presence of some non-tribal families within and outside the tribal villages. This was done so because of the fact that in a village exclusively inhabited by tribals, the incidence of alienation of tribal land to non-tribals would hardly occur. Similarly villages outside tribal belts and blocks are also selected from the District Census Handbooks. These villages are brought under the purview of the survey because here also some non-tribal families are found to inhabit in and around the villages.

In selecting villages from the hill areas we have taken into consideration of the plains areas of the Karbi Anglong District only since the incidence of a alienation of tribal land in the hilly areas of the Karbi Anglong district is very very low. Similarly in the North Cachar Hills district where the plains areas suitable for wet-rice cultivation are very little, the incidence of alienation of tribal land is very insignificant.

It may be mentioned here that the tribal villages within tribal belts and blocks, outside tribal belts and blocks and in the hill areas are selected at random and we did not have any previous knowledges about the selected villages. It is expected that this would project a true picture of the situations obtaining in these



villages.

So far as the selections of tribal villages in respect of alienation of tribal land and consequent displacement caused by the installation of irrigational and industrial complexes are concerned,, we have not taken the help of the District Census Handbook of 1971 Census. In selecting the villages we have in the mind the Dhanshiri Irrigation Project, the largest flow irrigation project in Assam located in the Darrang District and the Jagiroad Paper Mills of the Hindusthan Paper Corporation located in the Nagaon District. Both the projects have been installed in the tribal areas and many tribal families had lost their land and were displaced. In this case we have selected three affected tribal villages of Dhansiri Irrigation Project and two affected tribal villages of Jagiroad Paper Mills and these villages were selected on the basis of the data provided by the civil administration as well as the authorities of the Dhansiri Irrigation Project and the Jagiroad Paper Mills.

It may also further be mentioned that in Assam we donot have big mining projects and as such the question of alienation of tribal land and the consequent displacement of tribal families on this account does not arise.

## CHAPTER - IV

### SURVEY OF VILLAGES WITHIN BELTS AND BLOCKS

The details of the 10 (ten) tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks surveyed by the Tribal Research Institute, Assam, to find out the extent of the incidence of alienation of land are given below in a tabular form.

**TABLE - I**  
**TABLE SHOWING THE DETAILS OF VILLAGES**  
**SURVEYED WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF**  
**TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS**

Sl. No.	Name of village	1971 Census Code No.	Name of District	Name of Tribal Belt/Block	Name of dev. Block
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Bogarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	6/5/24	Dibrugarh	Abor Misimi Tirap Tribal Belt.	Sadiya
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	6/3/24	Lakhimpur	Lakhimpur Sub- Montane Tribal Belt	Bordoloni
3.	Amloga Pathar	3/9/80	Sonitpur	Balipara Tribal Belt	Charduar
4.	Mahalipara	3/5/46	Darrang	Dalgaon Tribal Block	Dalgaon
5.	Tengazhar	2/9/150	Nalbari	Tamulpur Tribal Belt	Rangia
6.	Kumguri	1/3/49	Kokrajhar	Sidli Tribal Belt	Sidli-Sirang
7.	Rajadabari	1/1/157	Kokrajhar	Ripu Tribal Block	Kochugaon
8.	Gohalkona	2/12/200	Kamrup	South Kamrup (Choygaon Tribal Belt).	Boko
9.	Bangthai	4/5/273	Nagaon	Gobha Tribal Block	Mayang
10.	Balichora Doloni	4/7/41	Nagaon	Amsoi Tribal Block	Kapili

From the above table it is seen that out of the 10 (ten) villages within the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks, 6 (six) fall within tribal belts and 4 (four) fall within tribal blocks. These villages are located in 8 (eight) plains districts of the state and they fall within 10 (ten) Development Blocks.

### DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The demographic data of the surveyed villages are based on 1971 Census only since 1981 Census could not be conducted in Assam due to foreign nationals' agitation. However difference between the 1971 Census and the present population figures obtained from the survey and their percentage variations are shown in the next table.

The preceding table reveals some very interesting facts regarding the population structure in the surveyed villages. During the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987, the tribal population in the surveyed villages is found to have increased by 48 percent the aforesaid period in each village is, however, not uniform. In three villages scheduled tribes population is found to have grown fantastically. While in Balichora Doloni the growth rate is 114 percent, it is 135% in Amloga Pathar and in Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon, it is 149 percent. Again in Kunguri village the population is found to be reduced by 30% during the period from 1971 to 1987. The high percentage variation in the aforesaid four villages can be ascribed to migration mainly. In the three villages, namely Balichora Doloni, Amloga Pathar and Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon, besides the natural growth many tribal families from other areas have migrated to the villages and settled there. They however belong to the village groups.

In Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon against 149% growth of tribal population, the population belonging to other commu-

TABLE - 2

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION STRUCTURE IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	S/T Population		Percentage variation	S/C Population		Percentage variation	Muslims		Percentage variation	Others		Percentage variation
		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	105	261	+149	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	552	175	-68
2	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	711	975	+37	4	Nil	-100	Nil	Nil	-	12	8	-33
3	Amloga Pathar	390	916	+135	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	213	376	+72
4	Mahaliapara	447	651	+46	Nil	206	-	Nil	25	-	310	66	-79
5	Tengajhar	649	945	+46	Nil	120	-	Nil	Nil	-	1174	1964	+67
6	Kunguri	493	348	-30	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	140	289	+85
7	Rajadabari	324	362	+12	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	38	46	+21
8	Gohalkona	269	391	+45	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	642	712	+11
9	Bangthai	472	693	+47	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	29	40	+38
10	Balichora Doloni	252	539	+114	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	131	Nil	-100
	Total	4112	6081	+48	4	326			25		3246	3646	+12

nities is found to be reduced by 68% during the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987. The out migration of non-tribal population in such large scale has facilitated the in-migration of tribal population into this village.

In Amloga Pathar while the percentage variation in respect of the growth of the tribal population is found to be + 135, in case of non-tribal population it is found to be +72. Here also there has been in-migration of tribal population.

In Balichora Doloni as against 114% growth of tribal population during the period from 1971 all the non-tribal families were found to have left the village reducing the growth to -100%. The out-migration is mainly due to foreign national's agitation in the state.

So far as the scheduled caste population within the surveyed villages is concerned, a very interesting fact is observed. As per 1971 Census, there was no scheduled caste population in Mahaliapara villages. But the present survey reveals the existence of 206 scheduled caste population in the village while the population belonging to other communities has been reduced by - 79% during the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987. Similarly presence of 120 persons belonging to scheduled castes is observed in Tengajhar village while there was none during 1971 Census. Although as per 1971 Census there is no Muslim population in the surveyed villages, the present survey reveals the presence of 25 Muslims persons in the village Mahaliapara and it is a case of in-migration. This village is situated near a Muslim inhabited pocket, Dalgaon and those Muslim families migrated to the village Mahaliapara during the recent past.

So far the question of the growth of population belonging to other castes and communities is concerned in the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks within 16 years period from 1971 to 1987, it is observed that their growth rate is 12 percent or 0.75 percent per annum.

From this it can be seen that while the growth of population

in respect of tribal population in the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks during the 16 years' period from 1971 to 1987 is found to be + 48%, it is only + 12% in case of others. This shows that in the tribal villages under the purview of the survey the growth of non-tribal population has a diminishing trend.

### TRIBAL FAMILIES AND LANDLESS TRIBAL FAMILIES

In the following table the total number of tribal families their percentage to tribal families and total number of landless tribal families are indicated :-

TABLE - 3

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL NO. OF FAMILIES, TRIBAL FAMILIES AND NO. OF LANDLESS TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of families	Total No. of S/T families	Percentage	Total No. of landless S/T families	Percentage to total S/T families
1.	Borgorah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	70	42	60.00	3	7.14
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	117	117	100.00	11	9.40
3.	Amloga Pathar	143	96	67.13	1	1.04
4.	Mahaliapara	131	95	72.51	5	5.26
5.	Tengajhar	640	126	19.68	16	12.69
6.	Kumguri	96	56	58.33	2	3.57
7.	Rajadabari	53	53	100.00	Nil	-
8.	Gohalkona	164	70	42.68	6	8.51
9.	Bangthai	89	85	95.50	Nil	-
10.	Balichora Doloni	69	69	100.00	5	7.24
Total :-		1552	809	52.12	49	6.05

From the preceding table it is seen that out of 1552 Nos. of

families in the 10 villages within the tribal belts and blocks 809 Nos. or 52.12 percent of the families belong to the scheduled tribe communities. In computing the scheduled tribes families, the hill tribal families are not taken into account since the hill tribal communities are not scheduled in the plains districts of Assam. While the average number of families in the 10 surveyed villages is 155.2 the average number of scheduled tribe families 80.9. Among the 809 Nos. of scheduled tribe families only 49 Nos. or 6.05 percent are found to be landless. In two villages, of course, there are no landless families.

Out of the 49 landless tribal families 9 or 18.36 percent have been given about 8 acres of ceiling surplus land by the Govt. The concerned families have been in a position to get the possession of the allotted land.

### TYPE OF LAND

The following table shows the types of land in the surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks.

(Please refer to Table-4)

It is seen from the preceding table that the total land area under the possession of the families within the jurisdiction of the 10 (ten) tribal villages under the purview of the present survey located within the tribal belts and blocks is 5787 acres out of which 4768 acres or 82.39 percent are under cultivation. Only 381 acres or 6.58 percent of the total land is found to be covered by irrigation. This clearly shows that irrigation rather plays a very insignificant part in the surveyed tribal villages.

Fallow land accounts for 169 acres or 2.92 percent of the total land. This rather signifies the fact that land utilization in the surveyed villages is quite satisfactory. But whether land has been utilized scientifically to obtain the optimum production is, of course, another question.

Out of the 10 villages, only in one village land belonging to

TABLE - 4

TABLE SHOWS THE TYPES OF LAND IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (IN ACRES)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total land	under cultivation	P.C. to TOTAL	Irrigated land	P.C. to TOTAL	Fallow land	P.C. to TOTAL	Forest land		P.C. to TOTAL	Garden land	P.C. to TOTAL	Grazing land	P.C. to TOTAL	Others land	P.C. to TOTAL
									R.F.	P.F.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	566	520	91.87	Nil	-	25	4.41	Nil	Nil	-	11	1.94	Nil	-	10	1.76
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	571	429	75.13	Nil	-	8	1.40	Nil	Nil	-	6	1.05	Nil	-	128	22.41
3.	Amloga Pathar	229	223	97.37	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	6	2.62
4.	Mahaliapara	590	563	95.42	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	27	4.57
5.	Tengajhar	283	255	90.10	55	19.43	10	3.53	Nil	Nil	-	18	6.36	Nil	-	Nil	-
6.	Kumguri	197	167	84.77	Nil	-	30	15.22	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-
7.	Rajadabari	189	178	94.17	126	66.66	11	5.82	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-
8.	Gohalkona	684	509	74.41	Nil	3/4	42	6.14	50	Nil	730	83	12.13	Nil	-	127	18.56
9.	Bangthai	432	400	92.59	200	46.29	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	31	7.17	1	0.23
10.	Balichora Doloni	2046	1524	74.48	Nil	-	43	2.10	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	-	Nil	-	479	23.41
	TOTAL-	5787	4768	82.39	381	6.58	169	2.92	50		0.86	112	1.93	31	0.53	978	13.44



Reserved Forests is found to be within the boundary of the village. However the area constitutes only 0.86 percent of the total land area of 10 villages and 7.30 percent of the total land area of the concerned village.

Area of garden land within the 10 surveyed villages is found to be 112 acres which constitutes 1.93 percent of the total area. Grazing land, which is generally government land, is found to be 31 acres only and it is found in only one village. It constitutes 0.53 percent of the total land area of the 10 villages and 7817 percent of the land area of the concerned village.

Area of unspecified land is found to be 778 acres and it constitutes 13.44 percent of the total area of the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks.

### LAND SURVEY AND ISSUE OF PATTA

To understand the problems connected with land whether be that of use, occupation, inheritance, transfer, reformation and so on, land survey and settlement operation always get topmost priority. The position in this respect relating to the 10 surveyed tribal villages within the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks is as follows :-

1. Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon-  
Cadastral survey was done in this village during the year 1970-71 and the pattas were issued to the eligible persons after the completion of survey and records of rights.
2. Naharbari Mishing Gaon-  
Cadastral survey was done in this village during the year 1970-71 and the pattas were issued to the families in the same year after the completion of the land survey in all respects.
3. Amloga Pathar-  
Land survey in this village was also done during the year

1970-71 and the pattas were issued to the families in the same year.

#### 4. Mahalipara-

Land survey in this village was carried out as early as 1891-92 during British regime and the pattas were issued after the survey. The latest survey, however, was done in the year 1970-71.

#### 5. Tengajhar-

In this village land survey was carried out in the year 1960-61 and the pattas were issued to the persons after the completion of the survey in all respects.

#### 6. Kunguri-

The first land survey in this villages was done by the British Government as early as 1890-91 and pattas were issued thereafter. The last survey in this village was, however, done during 1960-61.

#### 7. Rajadabari-

Land survey in Rajadabari village was done during the year 1965-66 and the pattas were issued in the same year.

#### 8. Gohalkona-

Cadastral survey in this village was done during the year 1960-61 and pattas were also issued in the same year.

#### 9. Bangthai-

This village was surveyed by the British Government as early as 1890-91 and the pattas were also issued during the same year. The last survey, however, was done during 1965-66.

#### 10. Balichora Doloni-

Land survey in this village was carried out during the year 1963-64 and the pattas were issued to the concerned families after the completion of the survey works.

It is however seen that in all the ten villages under the purview of the present survey, land survey was done and pattas to

the concerned families were issued after the completion of the survey.

### EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

In the next table the extent of alienation of tribal land is shown. The table has been divided into two parts. In the first part extent of alienation of land caused by private individuals and financial institutions like banks is shown. In the second part the extent of alienation due to the acquisition for public purposes like setting up of industries, irrigational complexes, hydro-electric projects is shown.

In this connection it may be stated that acquisition of tribal land for mining operation is practically nil since the mines in Assam are not located in the tribal areas.

(Please refer to Table-5)

From the preceding table it is seen that 198.41 Acres of land of 10 surveyed tribal villages within the jurisdiction of Tribal Belts and Blocks have been alienated. Since the total land area of the aforesaid villages is estimated at 5787 Acres, the alienated land constitutes 3.42 percent of the total area.

Coming to the mode of alienation it is found that 'Sale' constitutes the highest percentage. Out of 198.41 Acres of alienated land 120.02 Acres or 60.49 percent are transferred through sale. 2.83 Acres or 1.42 percent of alienated land account for the forcible occupation by money lenders. 29.26 percent of the alienated land or 58.07 Acres are found to be alienated through mortgage. So far as the question of alienation of tribal land due to acquisition for public purposes is concerned, it is found that 17.50 Acres or 8.82 percent of total alienated land is acquired specially for irrigational canal, embankment, erection of Electricity Towers, construction of school building, etc.

The above table also reveals that out of the total alienated land 198.41 Acres, alienation caused by private individuals and bank accounts for 180.91 Acres or 91.17 of the total alienated land while 17.50 Acres or 8.82 percent of the total alienated

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In the table the causes of alienation are indicated with code marks

TABLE - 5

TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (IN ACRES)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Alienation caused by private Individuals/Banks							Alienation by acquisition				
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	9.31	Nil	Nil	0.50	Nil	Nil	Nil
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	0.33	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	5.00
3.	Amloga Pathar	2.33	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	7.63	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
4.	Mahaliapara	9.32	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	4.32	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5.	Tengajhar	59.27	Nil	2.33	Nil	Nil	5.32	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
6.	Kumguri	25.96	Nil	0.50	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
7.	Rajadabari	15.77	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
8.	Gohalkona	4.05	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	11.69	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9.	Bangthai	2.99	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	0.33	Nil	Nil	11.30	Nil	Nil	0.70
10.	Balichora Doloni	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	18.47	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
	TOTAL-	120.02	Nil	2.83	Nil	Nil	58.07			11.80			5.70

Alienation caused by private Individuals.

A-Sale  
A-Sale, B- Auction by Bank, C- Forcible occupation by money lender,  
D- Encroachment by corporation, E- Encroachment by non-tribals,  
F- Mortgage/Lease, G-Any other methods.

Alienation by Acquisition

H-Irrigation Dam, I- Canal/Embankment, J- Industry  
K- Housing Society, L- Any other schemes.

land is due to acquisition for public purposes.

Our survey also reveals that no land has been rendered uncultivable in the ten surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks due to pollution, etc, caused by industries.

### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

So far as the educational facilities in the 10 surveyed tribal villages within the belts and blocks are concerned it is found that there are altogether 14 Nos. of educational institution 2s, Nos. of High Schools, one M.E. School and 11 Nos. of L.P. Schools. Details of these institutions are given below in a tabular form indicating the total number of students, and the total number of scheduled tribe students sexwise availing the existing educational facilities.

(Please refer to Table-6)

From the table 6 it is seen that out of 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks only two villages have High Schools located within the boundaries of the villages. The total number of students on the roll in these two High Schools at the time of our survey is found to be 1461 out of which 839 (57.42%) are boys and 622 (42.57%) are girls. Out of the total students of 1461, the number of tribal students is found to be 563 and they constitute 38.53 percent of the total students. Out of 563 tribal students 358 (63.58%) are boys and 205 (36.41%) are girls. M.E. School is found to be one only within the 10 tribal villages. However, all the students studying in this school are found to be tribals. Out of 74 students 43 (58.10%) are boys and 31 (41.90%) are girls.

There are altogether 13 L.P. schools in the 10 surveyed villages. The total number of students in these schools is 1096 at the time of conducting the survey. Out of 1096 students 667 (60.85%) are boys and 429 (39.15%) are girls. Again out of 1096 students, 789 (71.98%) are found to be tribals. Out of 789 students (61.85%) or 488 students are boys and the remaining 38.15% or 299 are girls.

TABLE - 6

TABLE SHOWING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Types of schools																	
		Students in High Schools				Students in M.E./M.V Schools					Students in L.P. Schools								
		Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total	Boys	Girls
1.	Borgarah Deopani	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	240	150	90	200	130	70	
2.	Kalani Miri Gaon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	494	198	196	435	263	172	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4.	Amloga Pathar	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	43	31	74	43	31	343	201	142	287	167	120
5.	Mahaliapara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	25	15	40	25	15	
6.	Tengajhar	967	541	246	128	95	33	-	-	-	-	-	215	141	74	60	46	14	
7.	Kumguri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	42	33	39	27	12	
8.	Rajadabari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	91	48	43	91	48	43	
9.	Gohalkona	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
10.	Bangthai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	Balichora Doloni	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92	66	32	72	47	25	
	TOTAL-	1461	739	622	563	358	205	74	43	31	34	43	31	1096	687	429	789	488	299

From the above analysis one aspect becomes clear and that is the low percentage of tribal girls prosecuting studies at different levels. The percentage of girl students is found to be between 30 and 40. From this it appears that the tribal parents and guardians have not given sufficient importance towards girls' education.

### COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

In the next table communication facilities available in the 10 surveyed tribal villages within tribal belts and blocks are shown.-(Please refer to Table-7)

From the preceding table it is seen that while 5 villages have bus stations within the distance of 1½ to 5 kms. three villages have such a connection within the distance of 7 to 10 kms. One village is 11 kms. away from the bus station and the remaining one is 20 kms. away. From this analysis we may infer that 50% of the surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks are well connected with transport services.

So far as the railway communication is concerned it is not served that 5 villages are lying within 5 to 10 kms. distance from the nearest railway station. In case of the remaining 5 villages the distance between the villages and the nearest railway stations varies from 11 to 80 kms. Hence it can be said that only 50% of the surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks are connected with railway communication.

Coming to the road communication only 4 villages out of 10 are connected with all weather roads as well as fair weather roads, three villages are connected with weather roads only. It is rather very much interesting to find that three surveyed tribal villages neither have fair weather nor all weather road connections.

The position regarding postal communication is, however, quite satisfactory since 9 out of 10 villages have post offices in the villages. But the villages have neither telegraph offices nor

TABLE SHOWING COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Bus Station	Distance in Km.	Rly. Station	Distance in Km.	Connecting Roads		Post Office	Telegraph Office	Telephone	Nearest Town	Distance in Km.
						All weather	Fare Weather					
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	Chapakhowa	5 Km	Chaikhowa	30 Km	Yes	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Chapakhowa	5 Km
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	Gugamukh	10 Km	Gugamukh	10 Km	Nil	Nil	One	Nil	Nil	Lakhimpur	45 Km
3.	Amloga Pathar	Chengeli miri	1½Km	Balipara	13 Km	Nil	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Charduar	6 Km
4.	Mahaliapara	Rowta	8Km	Rowta Bagan	11 Km	Nil	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Rowta	8 Km
5.	Tengajhar	Gaudhichowk	2Km	Goreswar	10 Km	Nil	Nil	One	Nil	Nil	Goreswar	10 Km
6.	Kumguri	Kashkotra	1½Km	Basugaon	7 Km	Yes	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Kashkotra	½ Km
7.	Rajadabari	Gossaigaon	7Km	Gossaigaon	7 Km	Nil	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Gossaigaon	7 Km
8.	Gohalkona	Boko	11 Km	Guwahati	80 Km	Yes	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Boko	11 Km
9.	Bangthai	Jagiroad	5Km	Jagiroad	5 Km	Yes	Yes	One	Nil	Nil	Jagiroad	5 Km
10.	Balichora Doloni	Roha	20Km	Jagiroad	25 Km	Nil	Nil	No	Nil	Nil	Roha	20 Km



do they have telephone connections.

Distance from the villages to the nearest towns varies from 1½ kms. to 10 kms. in respect of 7 villages. The remaining three villages practically do not have towns nearby.

### VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Besides the voluntary organisations, some government and government sponsored institutions are generally found in the tribal villages of Assam. The existence of such institutions including the voluntary ones is shown in a tabular hereunder :-

(Please refer to Table-8)

Now from the above table it is seen that out of the 10 surveyed tribal villages within tribal belts and blocks, 5 villages do not have any voluntary organisations. In the remaining 5 villages there are institutions like libraries, youth clubs, villages societies, Mahila Samities, etc.

So far as the Govt. and Govt. sponsored institutions are concerned in 6 villages there are co-operative societies, in seven villages there are branches of banks and in 7 villages there are Panchayat Offices.

Except one village all the villages have medical institutions like dispensaries, sub-centres, etc. There are veterinary institutions in 7 villages out of the 10 surveyed tribal villages.

### VILLAGE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE

In the village affairs the village leadership plays a very important role. Each of the tribal villages surveyed within the tribal belts and blocks being a revenue one, has a village headman called Gaonburah who is appointed by the government. Although in the management of the village affairs he plays very important and significant role, nevertheless some new leaders have also appeared in the tribal village scene like the fairprice shop-keeper,

TABLE - 8

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Co-op Society	Bank	Panchayat	Medical Institution	Voluntary Institutions	Voluntary Organisations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	One	One	One	One	One	Nil
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	Nil	One	One	One	One	Nil
3.	Amloga Pathar	One	Nil	One	Under construction	Nil	Nil
4.	Mahaliapara	One	Nil	One	do	Nil	Two (Library)
5.	Tengajhar	Nil	One	One	One	One	One (Village Society)
6.	Kumguri	One	One	One	One	One	Two (Youth club and Mahila Samiti)
7.	Rajadabari	One	One	Nil	One	One	One (Mahila Samiti)
8.	Gohalkona	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9.	Bangthai	One	One	One	One	One	Two (Library and youth club)
10.	Balichora Doloni	Nil	One	Nil	One	One	Nil

panchayat chief, village level worker or Gram Sevak, village chowkidar, chief of the co-operative society, village Mahajan, village moneylender, etc. Now the presence of these leaders have changed the tribal scene since they also play a very important role specially in the economic field.

(Please refer to Table-9)

One important thing that is observed in the preceding table is the fact that in the tribal villages of Assam village chowkidars are more or less absent. Out of the 10 surveyed tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks it is found that only in three villages there are village chowkidars and all of them are tribals. The engagement of village chowkidars in these three villages by the villagers is a recent phenomenon.

Coming to the presence of fair-price shop-keeper, we find that in 7 villages there are no fair-price shops. In two villages there are 4 Fair Price Shops each having two. In the other village there is only one Fair-price shop out of 5 Fair-price shopkeepers 3 belong to scheduled tribe communities and 2 are non-tribals.

So far the question of Panchayat Chief concerned it may be stated that the traditional village council in each tribal village in Assam is still functioning. We cannot call these councils Panchayats in the true sense of the term since such traditional councils are at present headed by the village headmen appointed by the Government. Moreover the present Gram Panchayats which are constituted with elected members from several contiguous villages have rather stood as rivals snatching away not only the powers but also functions of the traditional village councils. In four surveyed tribal villages the elected chairmen of the Gram Panchayats are located and out of four only one is a tribal and the other three are non-tribals.

Coming to the presence of the village Level Workers or Gram Sevaks we find that the Head Quarters of 5 V. L. Ws. are located in 5 surveyed tribal villages. Out of 5 V. L. Ws., 3 are tribals and 2 are non-tribals.

In the next table the structure of village leadership in the 10 surveyed villages is shown :-

TABLE - 9

TABLE SHOWING THE VILLAGE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Fair price shop keeper		Panchayat Chief		V. L. P.		Village Chowkidar		Co-Operative Society Chief		Village Mahajan		Village Moneylender	
		S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T
1.	Borgarah Deopani	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	1
	Kalani Miri Gaon														
2.	Naharbari Mishing	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Gaon														
3.	Amloga Pathar	1	1	Nil	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil	1	Nil
4.	Mahaliapara	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil	1	Nil
5.	Tengajhar	1	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil
6.	Kumguri	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
7.	Rajadabari	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
8.	Gohalkona	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
9.	Bangthai	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
10	Balichora Doloni	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2
		3	2	1	3	3	2	3		3	4	5	1	3	3

So far as the question of leadership in the field of Co-operative societies is concerned, it may be mentioned here that in the plains district of Assam irrespective of the tribal and general areas, there are G.P.S.Ss. or Goan Panchayat level Co-operative Societies instead of LAMPs. Of course in the tribal villages there might be other types of co-operative societies also. However, it seen from preceding table that 7 co-operative society chiefs (Chairmen) are located in 7 surveyed villages out of 10. While 3 are found to be tribals, the remaining 4 are found to be non-tribals.

The village Mahajan plays a very important part in the socio-economic life of the tribal societies. Similar is the case of the village moneylender also. Very often in a tribal village the village Mahajan and the village moneylender are one and the same person. Our survey could locate 6 village Mahajans in 6 tribal villages out of which 5 are tribals and one is a non-tribal. This fact belies our general assumption that in the tribal areas the village Mahajans are mostly non-tribals. Moneylenders could be located in 5 villages and the number of moneylenders is found to be 6. In one village there are two moneylenders. Out of 6 moneylenders 3 are tribals and 3 are non-tribals. In three villages, of course, we find the presence of not only S/T Mahajan but a S/T moneylender also.

## CHAPTER - V.

In this chapter details of the data obtained by canvassing the household schedules in the tribal families of the ten villages within the tribal belts and blocks are furnished.

### VITAL STATISTICS

The following table shows the vital statistics like the tribewise distribution of scheduled tribe families, sexwise distribution of tribal population, marital status, etc.

In the column Nos. 4 to 9, the communities are shown with codes as follows :-

Mishing	- A
Mech	- B
Bodo Kachari	- C
Rabha	- D
Lalung	- E
Karbi	- F

(Please refer to Table-10)

From the preceding table it is seen that altogether there are 809 Nos. of scheduled tribe families in the surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks. Out of 809 families 240 Nos. or 29.66 percent belong to the Mishing (Miri) community, 15 Nos. or 1.85 percent belong to the Mech community, 384 Nos. or 49.46 percent belong to the Bodo-Kacharis, 16 Nos. or 1.97 percent belong to the Rabhas, 149 Nos. or 18.41 percent belong to the Lalung (Tiwa) community and 5 Nos. or 0.61 percent are Karbis (Mikir). Although the Karbis are not enlisted as a scheduled tribe in the plains areas of Assam, nevertheless they are enlisted as a scheduled tribe in the hill areas. Since under the provisions of the Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947, they are one of the protected classes within tribal belts and blocks. The five Karbi families found to inhabit in the

TABLE - 10

TABLE SHOWING THE VITAL STATISTICS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	Tribewise Distribution of S/T families						S/T population sexwise			Marital Status	
			A	B	C	D	E	F	Male	Female	Total	Married	Unmarried
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	42	42	-	-	-	-	-	113	148	261	103	158
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	117	117	-	-	-	-	-	486	489	975	306	669
3.	Amloga Pathar	96	81	15	-	-	-	-	473	443	916	336	580
4.	Mahaliapara	95	-	-	95	-	-	-	341	310	651	234	417
5.	Tengajhar	126	-	-	126	-	-	-	480	465	945	339	606
6.	Kumguri	56	-	-	54	2	-	-	180	168	348	124	224
7.	Rajadabari	53	-	-	53	-	-	-	176	186	362	110	252
8.	Gohalkona	70	-	-	56	14	-	-	214	177	391	150	241
9.	Bangthai	85	-	-	-	-	85	-	377	316	693	274	419
10.	Balichora Doloni	69	-	-	-	-	64	5	272	267	539	220	319
	Total-	809	240	15	384	16	149	5	3112	1969	6081	2196	3885

A- Mishing, B- Mech, C- Bodo Kachari, D- Rabha, E- Lalung, (Tiwa), F- Karbi.

Balichora Doloni Gaon have, therefore, been brought under the purview of the survey. The total number of population in the 809 surveyed tribal families is found to be 6081, the number of males is 3112 and the number of females is 2961. The number of males per 1000 males is, therefore, 951. So far as the marital status is concerned it is found that out of 6081 persons 2196 or 36.11 percent are found to be married.

#### AGE-GROUPS

The following table shows the age-groups of the tribal population of the ten surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks. (Please refer to Table-11)

From the preceding table it is seen that out of the total tribal population of 6081 in the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks 1129 Nos. or 18.56 percent are within the age group of 0 to 6 years; 1661 Nos. or 27.31 percent are found to be in the age group of 6 years to 15 years; 1100 persons or 18.08 percent are found to be in the age group of 15 years to 25 years, 1267 Nos. or 20.83 percent are in the group of 25 years to 40 years and 924 persons or 15.19 percent are found to be in the age group of 40 years and above.

The total number of persons 15 years and above who generally constitutes the working force comes to 3291 or 54.11 percent of the total population.

#### LITERACY AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

In the next two tables, that is, Table-12 and Table-13 the sexwise literacy percentage and the educational level of the tribal population in the surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks are shown.

(Please refer to Table-12 & 13)

From the table - 12 it can be seen that the percentage of literacy among 6081 Nos. of tribal population in the 10 surveyed

**TABLE - 11**

**TABLE SHOWING THE AGE GROUPS OF THE TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S.T. Population	Age Groups				
			0 to 6 Years	6 to 15 yrs.	15 yrs. to 25 yrs.	25 yrs. to 40 yrs.	40 yrs. and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	261	41	65	58	46	51
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	975	196	328	150	185	116
3.	Amloga Pathar	916	196	228	117	217	158
4.	Mahaliapara	651	122	145	132	148	104
5.	Tengajhar	945	212	229	168	188	148
6.	Kumguri	348	74	101	64	66	43
7.	Rajadabari	362	52	120	75	65	50
8.	Gohalkona	391	57	109	84	91	50
9.	Bangthai	693	86	191	146	156	114
10.	Balichora Doloni	539	93	145	106	105	90
		6081	1129	1661	1100	1267	924

**TABLE - 12**

**TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG THE TRIBAL POPULATION OF THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total S.T. Population	Total No. of Literacy	%	Total No. of of males	Total No. of male literacy	%	Total No. of female	Total No. of female literacy	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	261	92	35.24	113	50	44.24	148	42	28.37
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	975	384	39.38	486	226	46.50	489	158	32.31
3.	Amloga Pathar	916	264	28.82	473	161	34.03	443	103	23.25
4.	Mahaliapara	651	171	26.16	341	105	30.79	310	66	21.39
5.	Tengajhar	945	79	8.35	480	51	10.62	465	28	6.02
6.	Kumguri	348	79	22.70	180	47	26.11	168	32	19.04
7.	Rajadabari	362	108	29.83	176	63	35.79	186	45	24.19
8.	Gohalkona	391	164	41.94	214	108	50.46	177	56	31.63
9.	Bangthai	693	289	41.70	377	165	43.76	316	124	39.24
10.	Balichora Doloni	539	122	22.63	272	78	28.67	267	44	16.47
	Total-	6081	1752	28.81	3112	1054	33.86	2969	698	23.52



TABLE - 13

TABLE SHOWING THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Read upto Primary level			Primary Passed			Read upto High School level			H. S. L. C Passed			Higher Secondary/ P. U. Passed			Read upto degree level			Degree holder G/Te/M			Post Graduate degree holder			Illiterate			
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
1.	Borghah Deopani	14	14	28	1	-	1	26	27	59	6	1	7	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	60	64	124
2.	Kalani Miri Gaon	98	82	180	-	-	-	103	75	178	12	1	13	4	-	4	3	-	3	5	-	5	1	-	-	191	223	414	
3.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	78	55	133	8	2	10	70	46	116	5	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	208	244	442	
4.	Amloga Pathar	27	22	49	-	1	1	71	42	113	5	1	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	157	181	338	
5.	Mahalapara	18	11	29	7	7	14	21	10	31	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	347	333	680	
6.	Tengajhar	25	27	52	6	4	10	9	13	10	3	-	3	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96	93	189	
7.	Kumguri	22	16	38	-	-	-	29	26	56	6	2	8	5	1	8	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	112	197	
8.	Rajadabari	35	29	64	30	17	47	41	15	56	1	11	26	1	11	11	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	94	177	
9.	Gohalkona	53	51	104	24	32	56	38	35	73	28	5	88	5	15	18	1	9	8	9	8	1	1	1	1	137	182	319	
10.	Bangthai	35	28	63	18	5	23	20	11	31	2	-	2	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	156	186	342	
	Balichora Doloni	405	335	740	94	68	162	428	289	719	72	11	83	22	1	23	15	1	16	15	-	15	3	-	-	1520	1702	3222	
	Total	405	335	740	94	68	162	428	289	719	72	11	83	22	1	23	15	1	16	15	-	15	3	-	-	1520	1702	3222	

N. B. :- The total No. of illiterates of 3222 shown in this table does not include children in the age group 0-6 years numbering 1107 who are considered below school going age. Including them the total number of illiterates would come to 4329.

villages within the tribal belts and blocks is 28.81 only. As per 1971 Census the percentage of literacy among the plains tribal communities was, however, slightly higher than 20. Although from the data collected only from 10 tribal villages we cannot generalize the present level of literacy for the plains tribes in Assam, nevertheless, we can say that the present level of literacy has shown some improvement from 20% in 1971 to 28.81% in 1987. The percentage increase is, however, slow and not to the desired expectation.

This table also shows that while the percentage of literacy for males is 33.86, it is 23.52 for females about 10 percent less than that of males. From this it can be inferred that in the field of tribal education the female are yet to come forward and participate in greater number.

Glaring variations are, however, observed in the level of literacy in respect of individual villages. It is evident from Table-12 that in two villages, namely, Gohalkona and Bangthai, the percentage of literacy is found to be more than 41. But the village Tengajhar has the lowest percentage of literacy and that is 8.35 only. Again, the percentage of male literacy is found to vary from 10.62 to 50.46, while the percentage of female literacy is found to vary from 6.02 to 39.24 percent.

Another important factor that has emerged from the survey of 10 tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks is that the village where the percentage of literacy is the lowest, higher is the number of land alienation cases. Here we are referring to Tengajhar which has the second highest percentage of land alienation cases with the lowest level of literacy. It is of course, true that from a particular case, we cannot establish a universal co-relationship between the two. However the inherent truth in the statement cannot be denied also.

Now coming to the data on the level of education which are shown in details village wise in Table - 13, we find that out of 1752 literate persons only 740 Nos. or 42.23 percent are found

to have read upto primary level and their sexwise distribution is like this – male 54.72% (405 Nos.) and females – 45.18% (335 Nos.) 162 person or 9.24 percent are found to have passed primary schools and their sexwise distribution is as follows – male 58.02 percent (94 Nos.) and females – 41.98 percent (68 Nos.)

Number of persons read upto High School level is found to be quite high. Out of 1752 literate persons 716 Nos. or 40.86 percent are found to have fallen in this category and their sexwise distribution is like this – Male 59.78% (428 Nos.) and female 40.28% (288 Nos.). Number of persons who have passed High School Leaving Certificate Examination is found to be only 83 and they constitute 1.16 percent of the literates. Their sexwise distribution is as follows:-

Male 72 Nos. (86.74%) and female 11 Nos. (13.26%). Persons who have passed Higher Secondary and P. U. Examinations are found to be still lower. Only 23 persons or 1.31 percent of literates are found to be in this category and their sexwise distribution is also rather peculiar. Out of 23 only one is found to be female.

Coming to the aspect of higher education the survey reveals that only 16 persons or 0.91 percent are found to have read upto degree level. Interestingly out of 16, only one is found to be female. There are altogether 15 persons (0.91 percent) who have obtained degrees. They are all general degree holders and there has not been any female in this category.

3 persons or 0.17 percent are found to have post graduate degree. On this score also there is no female.

From the Table - 13 it is seen that in the field of higher education participation by tribal students is extremely low and in case of women it is practically nil.

### ANNUAL INCOME AND THEIR SOURCES

In the next table the annual income of the families from different sources are shown. In this connection it may be stated that

in the rural areas of Assam people are not at all habituated in keeping a record of their income and expenditure since nobody bothers about the maintenance of a family budget. Hence in calculating the annual income the value of goods produced and the services rendered at the current price is taken into account.

The table given hereunder has also shown the average annual income of the families and also per capita income of the scheduled tribes population in the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks.

(Please refer to Table-14)

It is now seen from the preceding table that 60.25 percent of the annual income is derived from land. Of course the percentage is found to vary from village to village. The percentage is found to vary from the minimum of 36.62 to the maximum of 73.65. Wherever there are sizeable earnings from employment or from wages, the percentage from land is found to be quite low. However, the high percentage of earning from land shows that the tribal people are mostly dependent on the primary sector.

The second highest source of income is from employment and it accounts for 15.10 percent of the total annual income of the surveyed families. Like land its percentage is also found to vary from village to village from a minimum of 3.56 to the maximum of 44.76. From this it becomes evident that the tribal people have become more and more employment oriented minded whether be that self-employment or employment in the public and private sectors.

The next principal source of income is found to be wage-earning and it accounts for 0.02 percent of the total annual income. Members of the landless and marginal land holders use to earn wages as agricultural labourers and as daily labourers under the Forest Department. Like the previous two sources, namely, land and employment, the percentage of this source is also found to vary from village to village. Such percentage variation is in



TABLE - 14  
TABLE SHOWING THE ANNUAL INCOME FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES OF THE SURVEYED FAMILIES

Sl. No.	Name of village	SOURCES OF INCOME (IN RS.)									Total S/T population	Percentage income (In Rs.)
		Land	Employment	Wages	Artisan work	Very. & A. H.	Any other	Total	Total No. of S/T families	Average income per families (In Rs.)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Borgharh Deopani Kalan Miri Gaon	201844.00 (62.49)	47900 (14.82)	13650.00 (3.36)	1800.00 (0.55)	36500.00 (11.30)	21300.00 (6.54)	322394.00	42	7690.33	261	1237.00
2.	Naharbari Mishring Gaon	924500.00 (71.04)	111300.00 (9.55)	9950.00 (0.71)	Nil	101400.00 (7.79)	1548.00 (11.88)	1301350.00	117	11122.65	975	1334.00
3.	Amloga Pathar	984700.00 (73.65)	4700.00 (3.56)	79600.00 (5.95)	Nil	180650.00 (13.51)	44300.00 (3.31)	1336950.00	96	13926.96	916	1459.00
4.	Mahallapara	305700.00 (56.72)	67200.00 (12.46)	116500.00 (21.61)	Nil	35900.00 (6.66)	13600.00 (2.52)	538900.00	95	5672.63	651	827.00
5.	Tengajhar	343400.00 (56.53)	79800.00 (13.60)	90000.00 (15.34)	Nil	4800.00 (0.81)	68700.00	586700.00	126	4656.34	945	620.00
6.	Kumguri	130900.00 (51.90)	2700.00 (11.06)	69850.00 (25.31)	100.00 (0.03)	15650.00 (6.20)	13800.00	252200.00	56	4503.57	348	724.00
7.	Rajadabari	215900.00 (56.97)	115420.00 (30.96)	33000.00 (6.70)	120.00 (0.03)	9550.00 (2.52)	4920.00 (1.29)	378910.00	53	7149.24	362	1046.00
8.	Gohalkora	217700.00 (36.62)	75200.00 (12.66)	143300.00 (24.31)	8600.00 (1.44)	53500.00 (9.00)	95500.00 (16.08)	593800.00	70	8482.85	391	1518.00
9.	Bangthai	364550.00 (38.87)	409260.00 (44.76)	47000.00 (5.14)	Nil	20050.00 (2.19)	73400.00 (6.02)	914260.00	85	10756.00	693	1319.00
10.	Balkhora Dolori	376000.00 (72.12)	37600.00 (7.12)	73800.00 (14.08)	3000.00 (0.57)	5900.00 (1.12)	25800.00 (4.92)	524100.00	69	7595.62	539	972.00
	Total-	4087194.00 (60.25)	1019280.00 (15.10)	670050.00 (9.92)	13620.00 (0.20)	463900.00 (6.87)	516120.00 (7.64)	6750164.00	809	8343.83	6081	1110.00

N.B. :- Per capita income is not worked out to the decimal. Figures in the brackets indicate percentages to total income.

between 0.71 to 25.31.

Earning from artisan works accounts for only 0.20 percent of the total annual income. It does not mean that the tribal people do not do any artisan works. In this connection it may be mentioned that in each tribal family the adult members manufacture specially cane and bamboo articles required for their day to day work as leisure time activities. The manufactured articles are, therefore, mainly meant for their domestic use leaving hardly anything for sale. It can be seen from the preceding table that out of 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks, 5 villages do not reflect any earnings from this source.

The income from another important source, that is, Animal Husbandry and Veterinary accounts for 6.87 percent of the total annual income. Besides cattle, each tribal family generally rear goats, pigs and birds. The latter are reared for domestic consumption and also to meet the needs of the socio-religious ceremonies. Pigs, goats, birds and eggs which are found to be in excess of domestic requirements are sold in the local weekly markets. The tribal people of Assam generally do not drink milk. Now-a-days, of course, many families, specially the educated ones, have started using milk and milking of cows and she-buffaloes for commercial purpose is gaining ground. Like the previous ones the percentage of this source of income is also found to vary from village to village varying in between the percentages of 0.81 to 13.51.

The income which could not be categorized are shown under the column 'Any Other' and it accounts for 7.64 percent of the total annual income of the surveyed tribal families.

The average income of a family from all sources comes to Rs. 8343.83. When we consider the individual villages we find that there is large scale variation in the average family income. The minimum average income is Rs. 4503.57 only while the maximum is found to be Rs. 13,926.56, about 3 times more than the minimum. This clearly indicates the vast difference of eco-



conomic conditions among the tribal villages of Assam.

Coming to the question of per capita income we find that it is Rs. 1110.00 at current price in the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks as against Rs. 2008.00 and Rs. 2354.00 in respect of state and National per capita income respectively at current price (1985-86 quick estimates). The variation of per capita income in respect of individual villages is found to be in between the minimum of Rs. 620.00 to minimum to the maximum of Rs. 1518.00

### FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE

Alienation of land has a great bearing on the economic conditions of the affected families. In the analysis of land alienation cases, incorporated in the subsequent part of this report it will be observed that the principal cause of alienation is the extreme poverty of the concerned families. In the next table an idea regarding the scheduled tribe families found below the poverty line as a result of our survey in the 10 tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks is given. The poverty line is computed at Rs. 6,400.00 per family per annum in pursuance of the national norm:-

TABLE - 15

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF TRIBAL FAMILIES FOUND BELOW POVERTY LINE IN THE TRIBAL VILLAGES SURVEYED WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	No. of S/T families below poverty line	Percentage to total families	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	42	24	57.14	
			70		

2.	Naharbari Mishing Goan	117	31	26.49
3.	Amloga Pathar	98	14	14.58
4.	Mahalipara	95	42	44.21
5.	Tengajhar	126	102	80.95
6.	Kumguri	56	45	80.35
7.	Rajadabari	53	39	73.58
8.	Gohalkona	70	24	34.28
9.	Bangthai Gaon	85	35	41.17
10.	Balichora Doloni	69	27	39.13
Total :-		809	383	47.34

From the above table it is seen that out of 809 surveyed tribal families 383 are found to be below poverty line, their percentage being 47.34 or say 47. In two villages the percentage of the families below poverty line is found to be as high as 80. In one village, namely, Amloga Pathar which has the highest income per family as well as the highest per capita income, the percentage of families below the poverty line is found to be the lowest (14.58). The two villages namely, Tengajhar and Kumguri, where the percentage of families below poverty line is found to be highest (more than 80) have not only the lowest average income per family, but have also the lowest per capita income.

### PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE

In the next table the pattern of expenditure among the tribal families of 10 villages surveyed within the tribal belts and blocks are shown. In computing the expenditure pattern, the major items of expenditure are only taken into account. The miscellaneous items which are not classified here are shown in the column (Others'.)

It has already been mentioned earlier that the tribal families are not in the habit of maintaining any family budget. Hence it is very difficult to collect precise data in regard to the expenses

made by the families on different items in a year. At the time of interviewing the respondents, the investigators had calculate the values of different items by repeatedly asking questions. As such estimated expenditure shown in different columns is an approximate one only.

(Please refer to Table-16)

It is seen from the preceding table that the average family expenditure as well as the per capita expenditure differ from village to village. The average family expenditure varies from the minimum of Rs. 4066.96 (Kumguri village) per annum to the maximum of Rs. 12887.50 (Amloga Pathar) per annum. Similarly, the per capita expenditure is also found to vary from the minimum of Rs. 654.45 to the maximum of Rs. 1483.32. The average annual expenditure and per capita expenditure for all the surveyed tribal families are Rs. 8483.55 and Rs. 1128.62 respectively.

From the above table it is seen that 61.11 percent of the total annual expenditure is incurred on food items. In computing the expenditure incurred on this score the value of home grown food stuff consumed is also taken into account. Higher percentage of expenditure on food items indicates the economic backwardness of the people.

Expenditure on clothing accounts for 8.26 percent of the total annual expenditure of the surveyed families.

It also includes the cost of home-woven clothes. It may be mentioned here that the tribal women of Assam are expert weavers. Every family has at least one loom. Most of the domestic requirements of cloths are met the family looms.

Housing accounts for 8.60 percent of total annual expenditure. Although the tribal houses are katcha in most cases, the structure is of permanent nature. Once constructed with bamboo, timber and thatch, it lasts about 15 to 20 years except the thatched roofs. As such only small recurring expenditure is essential in a year once the house is constructed.

TABLE - 16

TABLE SHOWING THE PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE AMONG THE TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS & BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE (IN RS.)										Average family expend	Per capita Expenditure	
		Food	Clothing	Housing	Health	Education	Rituals	Social functions	Litigation	House hold durable	Others			Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon.	162626.00 (51.93)	33750.00 (10.77)	44120.00 (14.08)	10385.00 (3.31)	15945.00 (5.09)	8040.00 (2.56)	5387.00 (1.71)	1970.00 (0.62)	12005.00 (3.83)	18950.00 (6.05)	313158.00	74568.14	1199.83
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	734050.00 (50.75)	136800.00 (9.45)	101020.00 (6.98)	110120.00 (7.81)	88250.00 (6.10)	64500.00 (4.45)	34000.00 (2.35)	3100.00 (0.21)	82400.00 (5.69)	92000.00 (6.36)	1446240.00	12361.02	1483.32
3.	Amloga Pathar	980000.00 (79.21)	60100.00 (4.85)	33020.00 (2.66)	22100.00 (1.78)	14450.00 (1.16)	50000.00 (4.04)	6630.00 (0.53)	-	10850.00 (0.87)	60050.00 (4.85)	237200.00	12887.50	1350.65
4.	Mahalspara	383880.00 (78.07)	23900.00 (4.73)	12200.00 (2.41)	7870.00 (1.55)	11580.00 (2.29)	21170.00 (4.19)	2990.00 (0.59)	-	5110.00 (1.01)	35920.00 (7.13)	504810.00	5311.68	775.13
5.	Tengajhar	391900.00 (48.76)	129000.00 (16.05)	83350.00 (10.37)	23455.00 (2.91)	20600.00 (2.58)	12000.00 (1.49)	11350.00 (1.41)	35000.00 (4.35)	48650.00 (6.05)	48400.00 (6.02)	80705.00	6378.61	850.48
6.	Kumguri	155490.00 (88.27)	11800.00 (5.18)	30050.00 (13.19)	3775.00 (1.76)	7850.00 (3.44)	1980.00 (0.86)	1980.00 (0.86)	50.00 (0.02)	5175.00 (2.27)	9600.00 (4.21)	227750.00	4066.96	654.45
7.	Rajadabari	187924.00 (56.44)	18000.00 (5.40)	74500.00 (22.37)	3575.00 (1.07)	324000.00 (9.73)	2170.00 (0.65)	2350.00 (0.70)	300.00 (0.09)	9050.00 (2.71)	2650.00 (0.79)	332919.00	6281.14	919.66
8.	Gohalkona	382550.00 (87.62)	43680.00 (7.74)	20300.00 (3.59)	15400.00 (2.72)	22600.00 (4.00)	11300.00 (2.00)	12900.00 (2.28)	2400.00 (0.42)	13010.00 (2.30)	41000.00 (7.26)	564140.00	8059.14	1442.81
9.	Bangthai	506575.00 (61.18)	47295.00 (5.71)	137225.00 (16.59)	11405.00 (1.37)	67200.00 (8.11)	5660.00 (0.68)	5625.00 (0.67)	-	18825.00 (2.27)	28165.00 (3.40)	827975.00	9740.88	1194.76
10.	Balichora Doloni	310300.00 (51.24)	63100.00 (10.42)	54600.00 (9.01)	39050.00 (6.44)	25200.00 (4.16)	14300.00 (2.36)	23400.00 (3.86)	5500.00 (0.90)	22650.00 (3.74)	47400.00 (7.82)	605500.00	8775.36	1123.37
	Total-	4194295.00 (61.11)	567425.00 (8.26)	590385.00 (8.60)	247135.00 (3.60)	306075.00 (4.45)	191120.00 (2.78)	106592.00 (1.55)	48320.00 (0.70)	22725.00 (3.31)	384125.00 (5.59)	6863197.00	8483.55	11288.62

N. B. :- Figures in brackets indicate percentages to total amount of expenditure.



While health accounts for 3.60 percent, education accounts for 4.45 percent of the total annual expenditure. Expenditure on education would have been much more had there been no pre and post-matric scholarships, supplying of free text books, uniforms, etc., upto secondary level, hostellers' fees, provision for book banks, etc. provided by the State Government of Assam. While performance of rituals accounts for 2.78 percent of the annual expenditure, social functions account for 1.55 percent of the total annual expenditure.

Another interesting fact that has been observed is very low amount of expenditure on litigation - only 0.70 percent of the total annual expenditure. This is due to the fact that in the tribal villages of Assam disputes of minor nature are settled by the village councils. People go to the law courts only in case of commission of serious offences.

Expenditure on durable household goods is found to be 3.31 percent of the total annual expenditure. 'Others' which refer to miscellaneous items of expenditure non-included in the specified categories account for 5.59 percent of the total annual expenditure.

Lastly it can be seen from the preceding table that the average annual expenditure per S/T family under the purview of the survey in the 10 villages within the tribal belts and blocks is estimated at Rs. 8483.55 and the per capita annual expenditure is estimated at Rs. 1128.62 at current price.

### COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

A comparative study of annual income and expenditure of the scheduled tribe families within the 10 tribal villages under the purview of our survey will give us an idea whether the family budgets are surplus or deficit in nature. This comparison is shown in the table given hereunder :-

(Please refer to Table-17)

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TABLE - 17

TABLE SHOWING THE AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AND PER CAPITA INCOME WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Average annual income, per family	Average annual Expenditure per family	Surplus Deficit	Per capita income	Per capita Expenditure	Surplus Deficit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	Rs. 7690.33	Rs. 7456.14	+Rs. 234.19	Rs. 1237.00	Rs. 1199.00	+Rs. 38.00
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	Rs. 11218.53	Rs. 12361.02	-Rs. 1142.49	Rs. 1334.00	Rs. 1483.00	-Rs. 149.00
3.	Amloga Pathar	Rs. 13926.56	Rs. 12887.50	+Rs. 1039.06	Rs. 1459.00	Rs. 1350.00	+Rs. 109.00
4.	Mahaliapara	Rs. 5672.63	Rs. 5311.68	+Rs. 360.95	Rs. 827.00	Rs. 775.00	+Rs. 52.00
5.	Tengajhar	Rs. 4656.34	Rs. 6378.61	-Rs. 1722.27	Rs. 620.00	Rs. 850.00	-Rs. 230.00
6.	Kumguri	Rs. 4503.57	Rs. 4066.96	+Rs. 436.61	Rs. 724.00	Rs. 654.00	+Rs. 70.00
7.	Rajadabari	Rs. 7149.24	Rs. 6281.14	+Rs. 868.10	Rs. 1046.00	Rs. 919.00	+Rs. 127.00
8.	Gohalkona	Rs. 8482.85	Rs. 8059.14	+Rs. 423.71	Rs. 1518.00	Rs. 1442.00	+Rs. 76.00
9.	Bangthai	Rs. 10756.00	Rs. 9740.88	+Rs. 1015.12	Rs. 1319.00	Rs. 1194.00	+Rs. 125.00
10.	Balichora Doloni	Rs. 7595.62	Rs. 8775.36	-Rs. 1179.74	Rs. 972.00	Rs. 1123.00	-Rs. 151.00
	Total-	Rs. 8343.83	Rs. 8483.55	-Rs. 139.72	Rs. 1110.00	Rs. 1128.00	-Rs. 18.00

N. B. :- In case of per capita income and expenditure decimals are not taken into account.

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From the preceding table it is seen that out of 10 villages 7 have surplus annual budgets, the average amounts varying between the minimum of Rs. 234.19 to maximum of Rs. 1039.06. The remaining three villages have deficit budgets. While in Naharbari Mishing Gaon the average annual deficit is Rs. 1142.49, in Tengajhar and in Balichora Doloni, it is Rs. 1722.27 and Rs. 1179.74 respectively. At the time of discussion in respect of the land alienation cases village-wise, an attempt will be made to see if there deficit budget villages have anything to do with alienation of land.

It is also seen from the above table that the average annual budget per family within the surveyed villages is found to be a deficit only, the deficit amount being Rs. 139.72. Similarly there is a gap of Rs. 18.00 between the per capita income and per capita expenditure. Per capita expenditure is found to be more than per capita income by Rs. 18.00.

Since the average tribal family under the purview of survey has a deficit budget and since the per capita income of the surveyed families is less than state as well as national per capita income at current price, we may infer that the 10 tribal villages surveyed within tribal belts and blocks are economically not well-off. Of course the degree of economic backwardness varies from village to village to considerable degree.

### CATEGORIES OF LAND

In the next table data on different categories of land in the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks are shown:-  
(Please refer to Table-18)

It is seen from the above table that in the 10 villages under the purview of this survey and in the possession of 809 tribal families the total land area of different categories is found to be 4424.47 Acres and the average land holding per scheduled tribe family would be 5.46 Acres. Out of 809 families 49 are found to

TABLE - 18

TABLE SHOWING THE CATEGORIES OF LAND UNDER THE POSSESSION OF TRIBAL FAMILIES IN TEN SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (In Acres)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Dry Land	Wet Land	Jhum Land	Homestead Land	Garden Land	Fellow Land	Total Land	Total No. of S/T families	Average land holding per families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	121.38 (40.84)	146.00 (49.13)	Nil	11.94 (4.01)	9.24 (3.10)	8.61 (2.89)	291.17	42	7.07
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	99.20 (14.33)	479.62 (72.40)	Nil	49.54 (7.20)	10.44 (1.51)	30.53 (4.44)	687.33	117	5.87
3.	Amloga Pathar	29.49 (2.74)	938.53 (87.31)	Nil	87.69 (8.15)	19.12 (1.77)	Nil	1074.83	96	11.19
4.	Mahaliapara	14.47 (3.41)	348.47 (82.34)	Nil	41.96 (9.91)	18.29 (4.32)	Nil	423.19	95	4.45
5.	Tengajhar	78.65 (17.31)	258.86 (59.98)	Nil	78.36 (17.25)	27.39 (6.02)	11.00 (2.42)	454.26	126	3.60



be landless and as such average land holding for the land holding S/T families would be 5.82 Acres.

It is also further seen that wet-land where the paddy cultivation is done by the tribal cultivators constitute 72.05 percent of the total land under the possession of the tribal families. Dry-land consisting mainly of bamboo groves, land suitable for raising bamboo groves, horticultural plants, etc, constitutes 12.20 percent of the total land. Homestead land constitutes 11.48 percent of the total area of land under the possession of the tribal families. A part of the homestead land is used by every family as a kitchen garden and also for raising betel nut trees and plants. Garden land is found to be quite normal and it accounts for only 2.74 of the total land. Fallow land is also found to be quite insignificant since it constitutes only 1.55 percent of the total landholding. It means lands under the possession of the tribal families have been utilized almost to the possible extent.

Since all the 10 surveyed villages fall within the plains areas of Assam, land under Jhum or shifting cultivation is conspicuous by its absence.

It may, however, be mentioned that in the surveyed villages the different categories of land vary considerably. As for example in three villages fallow land is completely absent. Similarly in two villages garden land is completely absent.

Another clarification is also added here. The area of fallow land shown in the Table - 4 does not tally with the area of fallow land shown in the preceding table because of the fact that while in the Table-4 land within the villages belonging to tribals as well as non-tribals is shown in the preceding table land belonging only to tribal families of 10 villages is shown.

### PATTERN OF LAND HOLDING

It determining land alienation, the size of the landholding has some relevance. It is very much important in case of alien-

Sl. No.	Name of village	Dry Land	Wet Land	Jhum Land	Homestead Land	Garden Land	Fallow Land	Total land	Total No. of S/T families	Average land holding per families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
6.	Kumguri	8.32 (4.26)	135.97 (69.62)	Nil	50.98 (26.10)	Nil	Nil	195.28	56	3.48
7.	Rajadabari	11.51 (4.94)	156.10 (67.01)	Nil	63.82 (27.39)	Nil	1.50 (0.64)	232.93	53	4.39
8.	Gohalkona	77.29 (25.80)	125.27 (41.83)	Nil	68.91 (23.01)	18.17 (6.06)	9.82 (3.27)	299.46	70	4.27
9.	Bangthai	58.78 (12.84)	354.09 (77.37)	Nil	32.14 (7.02)	8.02 (1.75)	4.60 (1.00)	457.63	85	5.38
10.	Balichora Doloni	38.81 (12.82)	227.14 (75.03)	Nil	23.09 (7.62)	11.00 (3.63)	2.67 (0.88)	302.62	69	4.38
	Total-	537.91 (12.20)	3188.05 (72.05)		508.34 (11.48)	121.67 (2.74)	68.73 (1.55)	4424.47	809	5.46

N. B. :- Figures in brackets indicate percentage to total land.



other socio-economic conditions and constraints prevailing in the villages.

### EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

In the next table the incidence of alienation of tribal land in the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks are shown village-wise : In formulating this table we have taken into account the area and the type of alienated land, the year of alienation, form of alienation such as sale, mortgage, lease, encroachment, acquisition for public purposes, etc, and the amount realised for such alienation. So far as the agency to whom the land was alienated we are showing the tribals and non-tribals separately. In this connection it may be stated that alienation of tribal land to scheduled tribes plains and hills and also to the scheduled caste is not illegal in accordance with the provision under Chapter X of Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947 as amended up-to-date. Lastly we are also showing in this table the purposes for which lands are alienated. In this connection, however, it may be pointed out that sometimes information in regard to the amount realised due to alienation in case of sale, mortgage, lease, etc, are not forthcoming. The landholder has either forgotten the amount he had received or internationally he has refused to keep quiet. Hence it has not been possible on our part to provide information regarding the amounts realised in respect of all the cases. So far as the purposes for which lands have been alienated, it may be stated that sometimes the respondent himself appears to be quiet ignorant of the purpose for which land was alienated. In the last column of the table we have recorded the negative statement of the respondent.

(Please refer to Table-20-A)

From the above tables (from Table 20(A) to Table 20(J)) we can have a fair idea regarding the incidence of alienation of tribal land in the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks. Coming to the case of Borgarah Deopani Kalani Muri Gaon

Sl. No.	Name of village	Categories of landholding families									
		Landless	Less than one Acres	1 Acres to less than 2 Acres	2 Acres to less than 3 Acres	3 Acres to less than 5 Acres	5 Acres to less than 7 Acres	7 Acres to less than 10 Acres	10 Acres and above	Total families S/T	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
6.	Kumguri	2 (3.57)	14 (25.00)	15 (26.78)	2 (3.57)	6 (10.71)	4 (7.14)	6 (10.71)	7 (12.50)	56	
7.	Rajadabari	Nil	17 (32.07)	8 (15.09)	7 (13.20)	8 (15.09)	3 (5.66)	3 (5.66)	7 (13.20)	53	
8.	Gohalkona	6 (8.51)	2 (2.85)	8 (11.42)	7 (10.00)	19 (27.14)	19 (27.14)	3 (4.28)	6 (8.57)	70	
9.	Bairgithai	Nil	8 (9.41)	7 (8.23)	11 (12.94)	20 (23.52)	14 (16.47)	14 (16.47)	11 (12.94)	85	
10.	Balichojra Doloni	5 (7.24)	3 (4.34)	4 (5.79)	12 (17.39)	18 (26.08)	14 (20.28)	8 (11.59)	5 (7.24)	60	
	Total-	49 (6.05)	97 (11.99)	78 (9.64)	95 (11.74)	165 (20.39)	127 (15.69)	85 (10.50)	113 (13.96)	809	

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets indicate percentage to total land.

**TABLE - 20 (A)**  
**EXTENT OF ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND (VILLAGEWISE) IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS**  
 Name of the village - Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon

84

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Shri Ratul Miri	Mishing	3.00	Wet land	1987	Mortgage	Rs. 20,000.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	Socio-religious rituals
2.	" Tame Miri	"	1.00	"	1984	-do-	Rs. 6,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
3.	" Nambar Morwi	"	1.66	"	1985	-do-	Rs. 6,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Consumption
4.	" Ukram Narah	"	1.66	"	1976	-do-	Amount not known	*	-do-	-	-	-	Not known
5.	" Kabul Morang	"	1.66	"	1979	-do-	Rs. 4,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Consumption
6.	" Amol Morang	"	0.33	"	1986	-do-	Rs. 2,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Education
7.	" Hanla Ram Miri	"	0.50	Dry land	1985	Acquisition	Rs. 2,500.00	-	-	-	-	Govt. of Assam	Public purposes
Total -			9.81				Rs. 40,500.00						

**TABLE - 20 (B)**  
 Name of village - Naharbari Gaon

1.	Shri Dimbaswar Pegu	Mishing	0.33	Dry land	1987	Sale	Rs. 1,700.00	-	-	-	-	-	Consumption
2.	" Judraswar Miri	-do-	1.00	Wet land	1984	Mortgage	Rs. 3,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
3.	" Kuladhar Madan	-do-	5.00	Dry land	1970	Sale	Rs. 7,000.00	-	-	-	-	Naharbari H.E.	Public purposes
Total-			6.33				Rs. 11,700.00						

N.B. :- \* This sign indicates a positive case.

**TABLE - 20 (C)**  
 Name of the village Amloga Pathar

85

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Shri Shika Kachari	Bodo Kachari	1.66	Dry land	1975	Mortgage	Against a bull	*	Hindu Nepali	-	-	-	For cultivation
2.	Shri Bathu Boro	"	1.00	-do-	1975	Sale	Rs. 4,00.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Consumption
3.	Shri Bhumidhar Boro	"	1.00	-do-	1975	Mortgage	Rs. 300.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Purchase of buffalo
4.	Shri Lakhiram Kachari	"	1.33	Wet land	1984	Sale	Rs. 2,500.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	to purchase cattle
5.	Shri Damo Kachari	"	1.00	Dry land	1975	Mortgage	Rs. 300.00	*	Hindu Nepali	-	-	-	to purchase a bull
6.	Shri Paniram Boro	"	0.66	Wet land	1987	Mortgage	Rs. 900.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	to purchase cattle
7.	Shri Jowal Basumatary	"	2.65	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 15,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Medical treatment
Total -			9.98				Rs. 21,400.00						

**TABLE - 20 (D)**  
 Name of the village - Mahaliapara

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Shri Rati Ram Basumatary	Bodo Kachari	2.66	Wet land	1978	Mortgage	Rs. 4000.00	*	Hindu Bengali	-	-	-	Medical Treatment
2.	Shri Upen Daimary	-do-	2.00	-do-	1975	Sale	Rs. 2000.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	-do-
3.	Shri Tupasing Basumatary	-do-	1.66	-do-	1974	Mortgage	Rs. 5000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To Purchase land belonging to older brother
4.	Shri Nareswar Daimary	-do-	2.66	-do-	1970	Sale	Rs. 4800.00	*	Hindu Bengali	-	-	-	Consumption
5.	Shri Guaram Daimary	-do-	4.66	-do-	1966	Sale	Rs. 7000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	to repay loan
Total -			13.64				Rs. 22,800.00						



TABLE - 20 (E)  
Name of the village - Tengajhar

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Smti Rupbala Boro	Bodo Kachari	0.33	Dry land	1985	Mortgage	Rs. 3000.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	Consumption
2.	Shri Gobha Boro	-do-	0.66	Wet land	1977	Sale	Rs. 8000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
3.	" Bubul Boro	-do-	3.00	Home-stead land	1978	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
4.	" Uni Boro	-do-	0.83	-do-	1973	-do-	Rs. 4000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	to overcome financial difficulties
5.	" Aga Boro	-do-	3.00	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	3	-do-	-	-	-	due to forceful occupation
6.	" Rania Boro	-do-	0.66	-do-	1973	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	not responded
7.	" Phubia Boro	-do-	1.66	-do-	1975	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
8.	" Rajan Tutia	-do-	0.50	-do-	1982	-do-	Rs. 4000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
9.	" Debram Boro	-do-	2.33	-do-	1977	Sale	Rs. 7000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
10.	" Dhaku Boro	-do-	4.00	-do-	1974	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
11.	" Dbaniram Boro	-do-	1.66	Dry land	1983	Mortgage	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	consumption
12.	" Thagram Boro	-do-	0.53	-do-	1981	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
13.	" Randa Boro	-do-	8.00	Home-stead land	1979	Sale	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	to meet domestic need
14.	" Soniram Boro	-do-	0.66	Dry land	1987	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
15.	" Baturam Boro	-do-	1.33	Wet land	1977	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Extreme poverty
16.	" Bangshi Boro	-do-	13.00	-do-	1975	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
17.	" Ratan Boro	-do-	2.33	-do-	1980	Encroachment	Rs. 2100.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-

TABLE - 20 (E) Contd.

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
18.	Shri Haliram Boro	Bodo Kachari	2.33	Wet land	1977	Sale	Rs. 10000.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	Domestic Consumption
19.	Shri Puspa Boro	-do-	3.00	-do-	1977	-do-	Rs. 1500.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Extreme poverty
20.	Sri Golok Boro	-do-	2.00	-do-	1982	Mortgage	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	to meet domestic need
21.	Sri Patiram Boro	-do-	2.00	-do-	1979	-do-	Rs. 6000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
22.	Sri Pangta Boro	-do-	0.33	-do-	1978	Sale	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
23.	Sri Padda Boro	-do-	1.00	Dry land	1977	Mortgage	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
24.	Sri Sonaram Boro	-do-	1.66	Wet land	1978	Sale	Rs. 1000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
25.	Sri Banghidhar Boro	-do-	2.00	-do-	1975	-do-	Rs. 6000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Extreme poverty
26.	Sri Adapura Boro	-do-	1.50	-do-	1977	-do-	Rs. 5000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
27.	Sri Thuntra Boro	-do-	2.66	-do-	1975	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
28.	Sri Howpat Kachari	-do-	1.32	-do-	1977	Sale	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
29.	Sri Dhani Boro	-do-	0.99	-do-	1977	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
30.	Sri Arga Boro	-do-	0.33	-do-	1978	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
31.	Sri Kalendra Boro	-do-	0.99	-do-	1975	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
32.	Sri Haatha Boro	-do-	0.33	-do-	1985	Mortgage	Rs. 2000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
Total-			66.92				Rs. 2,06,000.00						

TABLE - 20 (F)

Name of the village - Kumguri

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Sri Kanta Ram Basumatary	Bodo Kachari	0.50	Dry land	1964-65	Encroachment	-	.	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	-
2.	Sri Shohen Mushahary	-do-	2.00	Home-stead land	1960	Sale	Rs. 1,800.00	.	-do-	-	-	-	Not known
3.	Sri Someswar Basumatary	-do-	3.30	Wet land	1964-65	-do-	Rs. not known	.	Hindu (Bengali)	-	-	-	-
4.	Sri Barendra Basumatary	-do-	8.66	Wet land	1965	-do-	Rs. 7,800.00	.	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	-
5.	Sri Bhaben Mushahary	-do-	4.89	-do-	1964-65	-do-	Rs. 4,500.00	.	-do-	-	-	-	-
6.	Sri Gopal Basumatary	-do-	1.33	-do-	1962-63	-do-	Rs. 1,800.00	.	do-	-	-	-	-
7.	Sri Tizen Mushahary	-do-	1.10	-do-	1954-55	-do-	Rs. 1,100.00	.	Muslim	-	-	-	-
8.	Sri Muru Basumatary	-do-	4.66	-do-	1965-66	-do-	Not known	.	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	-
Total-			28.44				Rs. 17,000.00						

TABLE - 20 (G)

Name of the village - Rajadabari

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Sri Momin Narzary	Bodo Kachari	3.66	Wet land Home-stead land	1981-82	Sale		.	Hindu Bengali	-	-	-	Poverty
2.	Sri Rajen Basumatary	-do-	3.00	Wet land	1977	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
3.	Sri Rabati Kr. Basumatary	-do-	1.00	-do-	1978-79	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
4.	Sri Deb Narayan Basumatary	-do-	1.05	-do-	1981-82	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
5.	Sri Birendra Narzary	-do-	1.40	-do-	1981-82	Sale	Rs. 1,000.00	.	-do-	-	-	-	do-
6.	Sri Purendra Narzary	-do-	2.50	-do-	1981-82	Sale		.	do-	-	-	-	-do-
7.	Sri Gobinda Narzary	-do-	1.00	-do-	1981-82	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
8.	Sri Upendra Nath Narzary	-do-	1.00	-do-	1975	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
9.	Sri Lakhiram Basumatary	-do-	1.16	Dry land 0.83 Acres & Wet land 0.33 Acres	1979	Sale		.	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
Total-			15.77				Rs. 1,000.00						

TABLE - 20 (H)  
Name of the village - Gohalkona

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Sri Prabhat Boro	Bodo Kachari	0.45	Wet land	1985	Mortgage	Rs. 2,500.00	-	-	-	-	Garo youth society	Poverty
2.	Sri Argha Boro	-do-	1.00	Dry land	1985	-do-	Rs. 2,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	Per buy a bul
3.	Sri Surendra Boro	-do-	0.95	Wet land	1988	-do-	Rs. 700.00	-	-	-	-	-	Purchase food stuff
4.	Sri Kamala Kanta Boro	-do-	0.75	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 4,500.00	-	-	-	-	-	Medical treatment
5.	Sri Susil Boro	-do-	1.10	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 3,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
6.	Sri Nandeswar Boro	-do-	0.36	-do-	1984	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Sri harakanta Boro	-do-	0.70	-do-	1982	Sale	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Sri Kalendra Rabha	Rabha	1.00	-do-	1984-85	Mortgage	Rs. 2,600.00	-	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	Purchase food stuff
9.	Sri Kabi Kanta Boro	Bodo-Kachari	0.34	Dry land	1980	Lease	Rs. 500.00	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
10.	Sri Kuja Ram Boro	-do-	1.10	Wet land	1980	Sale	-	-	-	-	-	-	Compelled by lesser
11.	Sri Dina Ram Boro	-do-	1.25	-do-	1982-88	Sale	Rs. 4,200.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Sri Suren Kachari	-do-	1.00	Wet land	1987	Mortgage	Rs. 3,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	To file a case against forest Deptt.
13.	Sri Ram Ch. Rabha	Rabha	0.33	-do-	1979	Sale	Rs. 5,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	Poverty
			2.75	-do-	1980	Mortgage	Rs. 15,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	Poverty
14.	Sri Milan Boro	Bodo-Kachari	1.00	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 5,000.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
15.	Sri Nareswar Rabha	Rabha	1.00	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 1,600.00	-	-	-	-	Garo youth society	Purchase of food stuff.
16.	Sri Dhajen Boro	Boro-Kachari	0.67	Dry land	1980	Sale	Rs. 400.00	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
			15.74				Rs. 50,600.00						-do-

TABLE - 20 (I)  
Name of the village - Tengajhar

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Sri Keshab Deori	Lalung	0.34	Wet land		Acquisition	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	-	Govt of Assam	Embankment & Canal
2.	Sri Chandra Mohan Kakaty	-do-	3.00	Dry land & Wet land		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Irrigational canal
3.	Sri Dasarath Deori	-do-	0.05	Wet land		-do-	Rs. 200.00	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
4.	Sri Joychand Deori	-do-	0.13	-do-	1938	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	embankment
5.	Sri Rangai Deori	-do-	0.68	Home-stead land		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-
6.	Sri Hari Kanta Pator	-do-	1.18	-do-	1976-77 & 1980-81	Sale	Rs. 9,000.00	(2)	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	Extreme poverty
7.	Sri Katalu Bordoloi	-do-	0.68	Dry land		Acquisition	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Embankment
8.	Sri Haren Kakaty	-do-	0.16	Wet land		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Irrigational canal
9.	Sri Deba Kanta Bordoloi	-do-	0.07	-do-		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
10.	Sri Adiham Das	-do-	0.01	-do-		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
11.	Sri Bega Deori	-do-	0.89	0.66 Wet land 0.33 Dry land	1956- 1976-77	-do-	Rs. 2,500.00	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
12.	Sri Gunam Deori	-do-	1.33	1.00 Wet land 0.33 H. Stead	1974-75 1974	Sale	Rs. 3,000.00	2	Caste Hindu	-	-	-do-	Embankment
13.	Sri Padam Ch. Bordoloi	-do-	0.27	Home-stead land	1974-75	Acquisition	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
14.	Smt. Ahini Knowar	-do-	0.50	Wet land	1974-75	Sale	Rs. 1,500.00	-	-	-	-	-	Poverty
15.	Sri Nomal Deori	-do-	0.33	Dry land	1974-75	Acquisition	-	-	-	-	-	-	Embankment
16.	Smti. Rani Kakaty	-do-	0.83	Dry land & Home-stead land		-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Embankment & PHE Pipe laying
17.	Sri Rongai Lalung	-do-	0.13	Home-stead land	1974	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Embankment



TABLE - 20 (I)  
Name of the village - Tengajhar

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency	
										P	H		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
18.	Sri Nagen Deori	Lalung	0.66	Wet land + Garden land	1974	Acquisition	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	-	Govt of Assam	Irrigational Canal+Embankment
19.	Sri Rajani Konwar	-do-	0.06	Wet land	1974	-do-	Rs. 300.00	-	-	-	-	-do-	Irrigational canal
20.	Sri Suren Das	-do-	0.67	Dry land	1956	-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Embankment
21.	Sri Fedo Doloi	-do-	0.31	-do-	1956	-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
22.	Sri Shalbar Deori	-do-	0.39	Wet land	1956	Acquisition	-	-	-	-	-	A.S.E.B	Erection of Electric Power
23.	Sri Radhakanta Kakaty	-do-	0.13	Home-stand land	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	Govt of Assam	Embankment
24.	Sri Sahimala Deori	-do-	0.20	-do-	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
25.	Smti. Raneswar Deori	-do-	0.13	Home-stand land	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
26.	Sri Athphula Doloi	-do-	0.06	-do-	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
27.	Smti. Aghani Doloi	-do-	0.31	-do-	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
28.	Sri Kuja Deori	-do-	0.33	Wet land	1974	Mortgage	Rs. 100.00	&	Caste Hindu	-	-	-do-	Consumption
29.	Sri Suresh Deori	-do-	0.33	Dry land	1956	Acquisition	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	Embankment
30.	Sri Umesh Ch. Doloi	-do-	0.13	Wet land	1956	-do-	Rs. 150.00	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
31.	Sri Gahan Ch. Kakaty	-do-	0.31	-do-	1956	-do-	Rs. 900.00	-	-	-	-	A.S.E.B	Electric Tower
32.	Sri Bhabendra Nath Kakaty	-do-	0.264	-do-	1956	-do-	Rs. 300.00	-	-	-	-	Govt of Assam	Embankment
33.	Sri Mohan Ch. Kakaty	-do-	0.495	Dry land	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
34.	Sri Subhas Doloi	-do-	0.132	Home-stand land	1956	-do-	-	-	-	-	-	-do-	-do-
			??				Rs. ??						

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TABLE - 20 (J)  
Name of the village - Balichora Doloni

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation	
								N/T	Caste & community	Tribal		Other Agency		
										P	H			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1.	Sri Kaliman Konwar	Lalung	1.50 3.00	Wet land -do-	1974 1986	Mortgage -do-	1,000.00 3,000.00	*	Caste Hindu	-	-	-	-	To meet house hold expenditure To purchase bullock
2.	Sri Gamthal Hatri	-do-	2.00	-do-	1981	-do-	Rs. 5,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Consumption	
3.	Sri Ghana Bordoloi	-do-	0.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 300.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Medical Treatment	
4.	Sri Lonthal Knowar	-do-	0.33	-do-	1980	-do-	Rs. 2,000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-	
5.	Sri Gangadhar Bordoloi	-do-	0.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 300.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Domestic needs	
6.	Smti. Rangmal Pator	-do-	1.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 2,800.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Consumptions	
7.	Smti. Gunumai Deharaja	-do-	1.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 3,100.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-	
8.	Sri Khubang Pator	-do-	2.33	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 1,300.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-	
9.	Sri Nanol Pator	-do-	1.66	-do-	1982	-do-	Rs. 2,700.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	do-	
10.	Smti. Karay Togbi	-do-	1.00	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 300.00	*	do-	-	-	-	-do-	
11.	Smti. Madhupi Bangthal	-do-	3.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 3,200.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Financial problems.	
	Total-		18.47				Rs. 25,000.00							

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(Table 20(B) we find that 9.81 Acres of land were alienated during the years 1976 to 1987 from seven tribal families. While in six cases lands were alienated to non-tribals, in the remaining case land was acquired by the Government for which due compensation was paid as per government valuation. In one case information in respect of the amount received by the tribal family for alienation of 1.66 acres of wet land could not be gathered. It is also observed that while two families had alienated some land to meet the expenses connected with the performance of socio-religious rituals, two families did so to meet the consumption needs. In one case only, land was found to be alienated to meet the expenses of education of the children in the family.

Naharbari Mishing Gaon (Table - 20 (C) has the minimum land alienation cases. Only three families are found to have alienated land in this village. However, it is rather interesting to note that in this village two families have alienated their land to two tribals and this is not illegal as per provisions of the Chapter X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947. The people of Naharbari purchased 5 acres of dry land from a tribal family of this village for the purpose of construction of the Naharbari High School in 1970.

There are eight land alienation cases in Amloga Pathar (Table 20(C) involving an area of 9.96 Acres. In all cases lands were alienated by the concerned families to non-tribals. In two cases land are found to have been alienated to meet the consumption needs of the families. In five cases alienation is primarily meant for funding agricultural production operation. In the remaining case the land has been alienated to meet the cost of medical treatment of the family members.

In the village Mahaliapara (Table-20(D) the number of land alienation cases is found to be quite low - only 5 cases. Like Amloga Pathar, in this village also lands were alienated to non-tribals. While in two cases lands are found to have been alienated to meet the cost of medical treatment of the members, in

one case the purpose is found to be consumption needs. It is also very interesting to find that a family mortgaged 1.66 Acres of his wet land to raise money for the purpose of purchasing land belonging to his elder brother. In the last case the tribal family had to sell land to raise money for repaying his old debt.

The incidence of land alienation in the Tengajhar village (Table - 20(E) is too high. Out of 126 tribal families, 32 are found to have alienated their land. Another interesting factor that is revealed by Table 20 (E) that in all 32 cases lands have been alienated to non-tribals. While in two cases the reasons for alienation could not be obtained, in two cases it was found that lands belonging to tribals have been occupied forcefully by non-tribals. In the remaining cases, lands were found to have been alienated to meet the domestic needs of the families arising out of extreme poverty.

Coming to the village Kunguri (Table-20(F) we find that incidence of land alienation in this village is neither high nor low - out of 56 tribal families there are 8 effected families. It is observed that in all the cases lands were alienated from tribals to non-tribals (7 Hindus and 1 Muslim). There is one case of encroachment also. No information, however could be gathered, in regard to the purposes for which lands were alienated by the effected tribal families.

In Table 20(H) the actual position obtaining in the village Gohalkona is shown. This village is situated in the Guwahati Sub-division of the Kamrup district just on the border of Meghalaya. This village is inhabited by the people belonging to the tribal communities of Bodo-Kachari, Rabha and Garo. The Garos are, however, not scheduled in the plains districts of Assam. But they are a protected class within the tribal belts and blocks and transfer of land by a scheduled tribe to a Garo is not illegal as per provisions of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947. Here it is seen out of 16 land alienation cases, only in respect of one, land was alienated to a non-tribal.



In 3 cases lands were alienated to the individual Garo families and in two cases lands were mortgaged to the Garo Youth Societies. So far the reasons for alienation are concerned we find that only in two cases, alienation is meant for productive purposes. In one case alienation has been resorted to with a view to meeting the cost of medical treatment of the family members. Another interesting fact that has come to light from this table is the fact that in one case the family had sold its 1825 Acres of land with a view to filing a case against the Forest Department.

The village Bengthai (Table - 20(I)) has its own tale to tell. This village has the highest number and the highest percentage of land alienation cases. Out of 85 tribal families, land alienated families are found to be 34, the percentage to total being 40. Out of 34 cases, however, 5 families are found to have alienated land to non-tribals. In case of remaining 29 cases lands were acquired by the Government agencies for public purposes like construction of embankment as flood protection measures, digging of irrigational canals, erection of transmission towers by the Assam State Electricity Board, etc. Unfortunately out of 29 cases of alienation of land due to acquisition only in respect of 8 cases compensation has been paid to the effected families. So far as the remaining 21 cases are concerned the respondents expressed their ignorance regarding the admissibility of compensation for the land acquired from them for public purposes.

In Balichora Doloni (Table - 20(J)) also there are sufficient number of land alienated cases. Out of 69 families, 11 are found to have alienated their lands. Interesting all these cases are mortgaged ones and the lands are alienated to non-tribals. Only in one case land is found to have been alienated for productive purpose. In another case it is meant for meeting the cost of medical treatment of the family members. So far as the remaining 9 cases are concerned it is found that lands have been alienated simply to obtain money for meeting the consumption needs of the family.

## DETAIL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION CASE

On the basis of the previous tables from 20 (A) to 20 (J) a detail analysis of the land alienation cases is presented in the next table. From this table the extent of land alienation, type and nature of alienation and allied and relevant matters would emerge.

(Please refer to Table-21)

From the Table 21 it is now seen that out of 809 scheduled tribe families 133 Nos. are found to have alienated land and their percentage would come to 16.44. Out of these families 84 families have alienated land to the non-tribals and it is quite illegal since it contravenes the provisions of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947. It is, therefore, alienation of tribal land in the true sense of the term. In terms of percentage these families would constitute 10.38% of the total S/T families.

From this table it is also seen that 15 tribal families had alienated their land to tribals (hills and plains) and according to the provisions of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947, the plains tribals as well as the hill tribals are protected classes and as such alienation of land from a tribal to another tribal is not illegal. In the last column of the table that is column No. 13, mention has been made of three cases. In one case the land was alienated by the owner to the villagers for the construction of a high school. Since all the families of this village (Naharbari) are tribals, alienation in this case is also not illegal. In the remaining two cases lands were alienation to the Garo Youth Society. Since the Garos, being a hill tribe, is a protected class under the provision of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act, 1947, this type of alienation is also not illegal. Hence we may add these three cases to 15 and thereby arriving at a total of 18 so far alienation of land 'by tribals to tribals' is concerned and in terms of percentage it would come to 2.22.

This table also reveals that in respect of 31 families lands

**TABLE - 21**  
**TABLE SHOWING THE DETAIL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION IN 10**  
**VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of families S/T families	Total No. of families alienated	Percentage of total families to be alienated	Total land holdings of land alienated families prior to alienation (In Acres)	Area of land alienated (In Acres)	Percentage of total land holdings of land alienated family	Total land holdings of land alienated families after alienation (In Acres)	To whom alienated			
									N/T	T	Govt.	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	42	7	16.66	98.14	9.81	9.99	88.33	6	-	1	-
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	117	3	2.56	28.66	6.33	23.74	22.33	-	2	-	-
3.	Amloga Pathar	96	8	8.33	81.29	9.96	12.25	71.33	8	-	-	1
4.	Mahaliapara	95	5	5.26	32.96	13.64	41.38	19.32	5	-	-	-
5.	Terigajhar	126	32	25.39	178.92	66.92	37.40	112.00	22	-	-	-
6.	Kumguri	56	8	14.28	63.97	26.44	41.33	37.53	8	-	-	-
7.	Rajadabari	53	9	16.98	51.50	15.57	30.62	35.77	9	-	-	-
8.	Gohalkona	70	16	22.85	101.56	15.74	15.49	85.82	1	13	-	2
9.	Bangthai Gaon	85	34	40.00	225.64	15.53	6.88	210.11	4	-	30	-
10	Balichora Doloni	69	11	15.94	75.80	18.47	24.36	57.33	11	-	-	-
	<b>Total-</b>	<b>809</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>16.44</b>	<b>938.44</b>	<b>198.61</b>	<b>25.94</b>	<b>739.83</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>

are found to have acquired by government agencies for public purposes. The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 empowers the state government to acquire land whenever considered essential within the tribal belts and blocks and as such acquisition is also not illegal. These 31 families constitute 3.83 percent of the total S/T families of 10 surveyed villages.

The total landholding of the land alienated tribal families is found to be 938.44 Acres prior to alienation. Out of the above area 198.61 Acres of land are found to have been alienated and they constitute 25.94 percent of the total landholding of the alienated families. Thus the total landholdings under the possession of the land alienated families after alienation would come to 739.83 Acres.

It has already been stated that altogether 84 families have alienated land to non-tribals either by way of sale or by mortgage. Out of a total of 198.61 Acres of alienated area, 164.83 Acres are alienated to non-tribals. In other words we can say that 82.99 percent of alienated land has gone to the non-tribals in contravention of the provisions of the existing law.

19.07 Acres of land that is to say 9.60 percent of alienated land, had gone to the tribals from tribals. An area of 14.71 Acres of land is found to have been acquired by Government agencies and this area constitutes 7.40 percent of the alienated land.

Processed data given hereunder show the types of alienation in 10 villages within the tribal belts and blocks :-

#### FORM OF ALIENATION

Total No. of land Alienated cases	Sale	Mortgage/Lease	Encroachment	Acquisition
133	58 (43.60)	42 (31.57)	2 (1.50)	31 (23.30)

It is now seen that out of 133 land alienation cases 43.60 percent or 58 cases are related to sale. Out of 198.61 Acres of alienated land 122.75 Acres (61.80%) are disposed of by sale,

while 58.32 Acres (29.36%) are alienated through mortgage. There are only two cases of encroachment and the total land involved is found to be 2.83 Acres (1.42%) which may be considered to be nominal but having the seed of danger inherent in it which may grow into a poisonous plant if protective steps are not taken to destroy it. Acquisition for government purposes accounts for only 14.71 Acres of land which constitute 7.40 per cent of the total alienated land in 10 tribal villages surveyed within tribal belts and blocks. Out of 133 cases, 31 are found to be cases of acquisition and they constitute 23.30 percent of the total cases.

#### **AWARENESS OF LEGISLATION PROHIBITING TRANSFER OF TRIBAL LAND.**

In the 10 villages within the tribal belts and blocks surveyed to find out the extent of alienation of tribal land 809 Nos. of families expressed their ignorance about the existence of any legislation prohibiting transfer of tribal land to non-tribals. Out of 809 families only 5 of them are found to have some remote idea regarding the existence of such a law. Therefore the affected families had no any hesitation in transferring their land to non-tribals.

We have also found that 5 families out of 809 had sufficient courage to approach the revenue officials for restoration of their land. In the village Tangajhar we have come across 3 such cases. Sri Bangshidhar Boro sold 2 (two) Acres of his wet land in the year 1975 to one non-tribal for a sum of Rs. 6,000.00 due to his extreme poverty. He filed a case against the transfer and ultimately he could get the possession of his alienated land spending a sum of Rs. 3,000.00 for litigation and it took 3 years to do this.

Shri Babul Boro of the same village had sold 3 Acres of his homestead land to a non-tribal in the year 1978 for a sum of Rs. 1,000.00. He also filed a case against this illegal transfer and

spending 5 years in litigation he could get the possession of his alienated land. Unfortunately he was not in a position to tell us the exact amount he had spent during the period of litigation.

Shri Ratan Boro's 2.33 Acres of wet land suitable for paddy cultivation has been under encroachment since the year 1980. Although he has filed a case against the encroacher, the case has not been settled and for the last 6 years it has been continuing.

Shri Gobinda Narzari of village Rajadabari had sold 1 Acre of his land during 1981-82 to a non-tribal. He however, did not tell our field Investigator the exact amount he had received for selling his land. He had also filed a case against the non-tribal and fortunately within a period of 3 years he could get possession of the alienated land. But at the same time he had to spend a sum of Rs. 6,000.00 during the 3 years period of litigation.

Shri Bhumidhar Boro of the village Amloga Pathar had mortgaged 1 Acre of his dry land to a non-tribal in the year 1975 for a petty sum of Rs. 300.00 for the purpose of purchasing a buffalo required for cultivation of his own land. During this year itself he filed a case against the non-tribal but at the same time the non-tribal also had filed a case against him. Till the time of our survey Shri Boro had to spend Rs. 600.00 for litigation. It has been reported by our Investigator that now the Government have taken over the possession of land but a final decision in regard to restoration is yet to be taken by the Government.

From this it appears that although the tribal people living within the tribal belts and blocks had very little idea regarding the existence of legislation prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals, gradually it appears that some people in some areas have become aware of such types of legislation and it is really a good sign.

#### **INDEBTEDNESS**

Indebtedness in the tribal society is rather a chronic disease. Indebtedness and alienation of land are so interlinked that one cannot be thought of without the other.

In the next table data in regard to the indebtedness of the tribal families surveyed in 10 villages within tribal belts and blocks are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-22)

From the preceding table it is seen that out of 809 tribal families in the 10 villages within tribal belts and blocks 354 families or 43.75 percent are found to be indebted. Reference period for this purpose has been the last ten years. Loans have been taken in cash and in kind. The total amount of loan in cash is found to be Rs. 7,92,830.00 and that of kind is found to be Rs. 306.69 quintols of paddy. The average amount of cash loan per indebted family is found to be Rs. 2,239.63 and the average amount of loan in kind per indebted family comes to 86 kg. of paddy.

It is also seen that out of 345 indebted families 88 or 24.85 had borrowed an amount of Rs. 2,07,000.00 from non-tribal Mahajans/money lender. The average amount of debt per family taking cash loan from non-tribals is Rs. 2,352.27. It can also be seen that 27 families out of 354 or 7.62 percent had borrowed 196.43 quintols of paddy from non-tribal Mahajans and the average loan of paddy per indebted family comes to 7.27 quintols.

An amount of Rs. 1,63,870.00 is found to have been borrowed by 115 families from tribals and their percentage to total indebted families is 32.48. Average amount of loan taken from tribals by a family, therefore, comes to Rs. 1424.95. It is also found that 22 tribal families or 6.21 percent of the indebted families have borrowed 110.26 quintols of paddy from tribals and the average amount of loan in kind comes to 5.01 quintols of paddy.

The highest amount of loan however, comes from the financial institutions like banks, co-operative societies, etc, through credit link-up schemes like D. R. D. A., Assam Plains Tribes Development Corporation etc, 97 No. of tribal families or 27.40 percent of the indebted families have availed of those opportuni-

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TABLE - 22

TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF INDEBTEDNESS AMONG THE SCHEDULED TRIBE FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS & BLOCKS (Kind - Quintol of paddy)

Sr. #	Name of village	Total No. of indebted families	Amount of debt		Sources of debt				Institutions (Amount)	Repayment				Institution
			Cash (In Rs.)	Kind	Non-Tribal		Tribal			Non-Tribal		Repayment		
					Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind		Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	
1	Borgharh Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	42	144200.00	Nil	93000.00 (25)	Nil	17800.00 (5)	Nil	33400.00 (12)	18100.00	Nil	1700.00	Nil	9687.00
2	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	54	116000.00	Nil	38400.00 (9)	Nil	65000.00 (41)	Nil	12600.00 (4)	Nil	Nil	10500.00	Nil	1500.00
3	Amloga Pathar	35	42400.00	112.11	3400.00 (3)	74	19100.00 (13)	38.11 (7)	19900.00 (11)	1000.00	Nil	8260.00	45.14	14920.00
4	Mahaliapara	54	65110.00	89.17	13000.00 (11)	29.97 (11)	17050.00 (11)	59.2 (11)	35060.00 (4)	4300.00	25.9	7125.00	49.95	800.00
5	Tengajhar	66	106900.00	Nil	2900.00 (4)	Nil	21800.00 (23)	Nil	82200.00 (36)	2900.00	Nil	1000.00	Nil	450.00
6	Kumguri	6	9300.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	9300.00 (16)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1720.00
7	Rajadabari	15	37475.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	37475.00 (15)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1300.00
8	Gohalkona	13	38800.00	Nil	19800.00 (5)	Nil	10400.00 (4)	Nil	8600.00 (4)	Nil	Nil	4000.00	Nil	Nil
9	Bangthai	37	156370.00	19.61	13200.00 (8)	6.66 (2)	12720.00 (16)	12.95 (8)	130450.00 (11)	2400.00	Nil	1800.00	8.80	9992.00
10	Baichora Doloni	32	76275.00	85.8	23300.00 (23)	85.8 (13)	Nil	Nil	52975.00 (9)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	14700.00
	Total-	354	792830.00	306.69 (49)	207000.00 (68)	196.43 (27)	163870.00 (115)	110.26 (22)	421860.00 (97)	28700.00	25.9	34385.00	103.89	55048.00

N. B. - Figures in brackets show the number of families involved in borrowing.

ties and the total amount of such loans comes to Rs. 4,21,960.00. The average loan per family availing such opportunities comes to Rs. 4350.10 and compared to loans taken from non-tribals and tribals this figure is quite high. Another important thing that has to be mentioned here is that while borrowing from non-tribals as well as from the tribals is primarily meant for consumption purposes, the institutional loans are meant for productive purpose only. Such loans are linked up with the financial institutions help the tribal families below poverty line so that they might be in a position to increase their monetary income which would ultimately enable to bring them above the poverty line. We may, therefore, consider those types of indebtedness from the point of view of poverty alleviation programmes. If we just forget these 97 tribal families availing institutional loans for their economic upliftment through productive means the total No. of indebted families in the ten tribal villages within the tribal belts and blocks would come to 257 and their percentage to total tribal families would be 31.76 and the average debt each would come to (Rs. 7,92,830.00 - Rs. 4,21,960.00) ÷ 257 = Rs. 1443.07.

Coming to the question of repayment, we find a very deplorable state of affairs, Out of a total amount of Rs. 207000.00 borrowed from non-tribals only an amount of Rs. 28,700.00 has so far been paid and this amount constitutes only 13.86. Similarly out of 196.43 quintols of paddy borrowed from non-tribals only 25.9 quintols or 13.18 percent have been repaid.

Out of an amount of Rs. 1,63,870.00 borrowed by 15 families from tribals, only an amount of Rs. 34,385.00 has been repaid till the time of our survey. The repaid amount constitutes 20.98 percent of the total amount of loan in cash. The repayment position in case of loan in kind appears to be much better. Out of 110.26 quintols of paddy, 103.89 quintols or 94.22 percent have already been repaid to the tribal Mahajans.

So far institutional loan is concerned, the amount repaid is found to be Rs. 55,049.00 only and this constitutes only 13.04

percent of the total amount of loan.

It is now seen that the repayment position in respect of loans taken in cash and kind from the tribals and the loans taken from the financial institutions is not at all satisfactory. Poverty of the families stand in their way. Repayment in case of loans taken from tribals appears to be better.

In the next table further analysis of indebtedness is shown:-

(Please refer to Table-23)

From the preceding table that is Table - 23 it can be seen that the percentages of indebted families vary from village to village. It is very interesting to find that all the 42 tribal families in the village Bargarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon are indebted. The village Kunguri has the lowest percentage (10.71) of indebted families.

In Bangthai Gaon amount of debt per indebted family is found to be Rs. 4226.62 which is the highest among all the surveyed villages while Amloga Pathar has the lowest amount of debt per indebted families. Loans in kind is found to be prevalent only in 4 villages out of 10. While loan in kind is found to be the lowest in Bangthai Gaon, it is found to be highest in Amloga Pathar.

### CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

Coming the aspect of cases of indebtedness we find that in all the cases of institutional loans, primary object is to take up some schemes such as piggery, improved cow, purchase of bullocks and so on with a view to increasing family income.

But in case of loans either from the tribals or from non-tribals, consumption is the main reason. There are, of course, a few cases of medical treatment, education of children, etc. So far as the loans in kind are concerned, the primary objective is to meet the immediate need of food stuff. Thus it is poverty which is in ultimate analysis is the prime cause of indebtedness.

TABLE - 23

TABLE SHOWING THE DETAIL ANALYSIS OF INDEBTEDNESS AMONG THE TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S.T. Families	Total No. of indebted Families	Percentage	Total Amount to Debt		Debt per indebted family	
					Cash (In Rs.)	Kind Paddy	Cash (In Rs.)	Kind Paddy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Borgarah Deopani Kalani Miri Gaon	42	142	100.00	144200.00	-	3433.33	-
2.	Naharbari Mishing Gaon	117	54	46.15	116000.00	-	2148.14	-
3.	Amloga Pathar	96	35	36.45	42400.00	112.11 Q	1211.42	3.20
4.	Mahaliapara	95	54	56.84	65110.00	-	1205.74	1.65
5.	Tengajhar	126	66	52.38	106900.00	-	1619.69	-
6.	Kumguri	56	6	10.71	9300.00	-	1550.00	-
7.	Rajadabari	53	15	28.30	37475.00	-	2498.33	-
8.	Gohalkona	70	13	15.29	38800.00	-	2984.61	-
9.	Bangthai	85	37	43.52	156370.00	19.61 Q	4226.62	0.53
10.	Balichora Doloni	69	32	46.37	76275.00	58.8 Q	2383.59	2.03
	Total-	809	354	43.75	792830.00	306.69 Q		

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CHAPTER VI  
SURVEY OF VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL  
BELTS AND BLOCKS

It has already been mentioned that in order to determine the extent of alienation of tribal land, 5 villages outside the tribal belts and blocks were also surveyed since these villages donot fall under Chapter -X of Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 as amended up-to-date. In other words there are no laws to prevent alienation of tribal land in the vil- lages which are outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks.

These 5 villages are selected from four plains districts of Assam, namely, Golaghat, Jorhat, Sibsagar and Dibrugarh and these districts donot have any tribal belts or blocks. The details of the surveyed villages with Census Code numbers are furnished in the next table.

TABLE - 24

TABLE SHOWING THE DETAILS OF TRIBAL  
VILLAGES SURVEYED OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS

Sl. No.	Name of village	1971 Census Code No.	Name of District	Name of Development Block
1.	Panka	5/3/58	Golaghat	Sarupathar
2.	Goramor Phutuki	5/5/47	Jorhat	Majuli
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	5/5/62	Jorhat	N.W. Dhekor
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	5/11/113	Sibsagar	Dimow
5.	Bordhadum	6/9/50	Dibrugarh	Kakopathar

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### DEMOCRATIC CHARACTERISTICS

It has already been mentioned that in Assam 1981 Census could not be conducted due to foreign nationals' agitation and as such our demographic data are based on 1971 Census only. However percentage variations of populations between 1971 Census and present survey are shown in the next table.

(Please refer to Table-25)

The above table indicates certain peculiar characteristics regarding the population structure in the surveyed villages outside the Tribal Belts and Blocks. During the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987 the population variation is phenomenal in case of Upper Deori Gaon, 102.95% where as the variation is minimal in the case of Garamur Phutuki, 7.75%. The overall variation of the five surveyed villages is 36.94%. The annual growth rate being 2.30%. The growth rates in Panka, Balama Miri Gaon and Bordhadum are 59.54%, 27.08% and 35.68 percent respectively. The reason for the high percentage growth in Panka and Upper Deori Gaon is immigration of tribal families. The Upper Deori Gaon village is badly affected by the recurring floods of the river Brahmaputra and it is the general tendency of the villagers to shift to other places inhabited by Deoris. It is probable that most of the shifted Deori families returned back to the original place during the intervening period between 1971-87 when condition become unbearable in the new places. Some situation prevails in the case of Panka also.

As regards non tribals of these villages only one village i.e. Bordhadum shown an increase of growth rate. From 36 persons in 1971 the population of non tribals i.e. others increased to only 52 having variation of 44.44%. On the other hand the Garamur Phutuki village shows a decreasing trend. From 635 Nos. in 1971 the figure came down to 435 with a population variation of -31.49%. Rest of these numbers of villages viz. Panka, Upper Deori and Balama Miri Gaon have no 'other' category population in 1987 where as per 1971 Census these villages had 'other' cat-

TABLE - 25

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE THE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Scheduled Tribes		Percent- age Variation	Scheduled Caste		Percent- age Variation	Muslims		Percent- age Variation	Other		Percent- age Variation
		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Panka	398	635	59.54	12	-	-	-	-	-	247	-	-
2.	Garamur Phutuki	817	864	7.75	-	-	-	-	-	-	635	435	31.49
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	338	680	101.18	7	-	-	-	-	-	122	-	-
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	469	596	27.08	16	-	-	-	-	-	117	-	-
5.	Bordhadum	468	635	35.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	52	+44.44
	Total-	2490	3410	86.94	35						1157	487	

egory population of 247, 122 and 117 respectively. The person for disappearance of 'others' in the said three villages is due to tribals' consciousness to occupy 'their' lands. It may be mentioned here that the tribal people in most cases till recently were liberal towards non-tribals so far as occupation of waste land in their areas was concerned. But of late land problem in the tribal areas became acute due to increase of population and the tribals have practically no land to spare. The decrease of 'others' in Garamur Phutuki also may be ascribed to this factor. The increase in Bordhadum is natural and these people are there with the Sonowal Kacharis since a long time.

### TRIBAL FAMILIES AND LANDLESS TRIBAL FAMILIES

In the next table the total number of families, total number of tribal families and the total number of landless tribal families are shown village wise:-

(Please refer to Table-26)

The above table shows the position of landless families among the scheduled tribe families. There are 7 (6.93%) S/T families in Panka village who are landless. The number of landless S/T families in Garamur Phutuki village is 6 (5.04%). The position is quite better among the Deoris of Upper Deori village where only one (1.85%) S/T families is found to be landless. The percentage of landless in Balama Miri Gaon is sufficiently high i.e. 18.05% and as many as 13 Nos. of S/T families of 72 S/T families are landless. It may be mentioned that these Mishing families were rehabilitated in this present village and naturally due to increase of population, problem of land becomes acute. In the village Bordhadum 2 landless families out of 80 S/T families are found. This table also shown that out of 489 Nos. of families residing within the surveyed villages 426 or 87.11% of the families belong to S/T communities. It is disheartening to

TABLE - 26

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES, TRIBAL FAMILIES AND NUMBER OF LANDLESS TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE THE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of families	Total No. of S/T families	Percentage	Total No. of Landless S/T families	Percentage to total S/T families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Panka	101	101	100%	7	6.93
2.	Garamur Phutuki	173	119	68.78%	6	5.04
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	54	54	100%	1	1.85
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	72	72	100%	13	18.05
5.	Bordhadum	89	80	89.88%	2	2.50
	Total-	489	426	87.11	29	6.80

note that as many as 29 Nos. of S/T families out of 426 Nos. have no land although land is the only means of livelihood of the S/T families.

### TYPES OF LAND AND LAND USE PATTERN

In the next table types of land in the five surveyed tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks and their utilization are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-27)

It is seen from the above table that in the five villages lying outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks, the total land area is 2519.99 Acres. Out of this area 1781.15 Acres or 70.68 percent of the total land area are found to be under cultivation. 1.51 percent or 38.29 Acres only have the irrigation facilities and these facilities are available in respect of one village only. 157.56 Acres which constitute 6.26 percent of the total land area are found to be left unused (fallow land). There are neither reserved forests nor protected forests within the jurisdiction of these villages. Garden land accounts for 6.88 percent of the total land area which is equivalent to 173.50 Acres. An area of 95.54 Acres (2.20% of total land area) is found to be grazing land grazing land, like the irrigated land, is found in one village only. There are 306.96 Acres of land (12.18%) of total land area) which donot fall under the specified categories.

The land use pattern also varies from village to village. The table given above indicates that land use in Upper Deori Goan and Bordhadum village is 66.30% and 46.69% respectively. Out of a total 892.90 Acres of land in Upper Deori Gaon only 592 acres have been brought under cultivation. Similarly out of 380.89 Acres of land in Bordhadum 177.85 acres are covered by cultivation. In Panka village 462 acres i.e. 85.70% out of the total land of 538 acres are brought under cultivation. Similarly 79.32% and 72.95% of the total lands of Garmer Phutuki and Balama

TABLE - 27

TABLE SHOWING THE TYPES OF LAND IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE THE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (IN ACRES)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total land	Under cultivation	P. C to total	Irrigated land	P. C to total	Fallow land	P. C to total	P. C to total	Garden land	P. C to total	Grazing land	P. C to total	Other land	P. C to total		
																R. F.	P. F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1.	Panka	538.00	462.00	85.70	Nil	Nil	20.00	0.03	Nil	Nil	Nil	13.00	2.41	Nil	-	43.00	7.90
2.	Garamur Phutuki	512.20	406.30	79.32	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	52.60	10.26	10.26	Nil	-	53.30	10.40
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	892.90	592.00	66.30	Nil	Nil	95.00	0.63	Nil	Nil	107.90	12.08	12.08	Nil	-	98.00	10.97
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	196.00	143.00	72.95	Nil	Nil	40.00	20.4	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	-	13.00	6.63
5.	Bordhadum	380.89	177.85	46.69	38.29	10.05	2.56	0.67	Nil	0.99	0.25	55.54	0.25	14.54	105.66	27.74	12.18
	Total-	2519.99	1781.15	70.68	38.29	1.51	157.56	6.25	Nil	173.50	6.88	55.54	6.88	2.20	306.96		

Miri Gaon have been brought under cultivation respectively. The reason for low utilization of land in Bodeori Gaon is the low lying and marshy character of the land while an opposite trend is noticed in Bordhadum village here the lands are high in most cases and economic utilisation is not possible.

Except Bordhadum village rest of the villages donot have irrigation facilities. In this village 38829 acres of land are covered by irrigation facilities. It shows that irrigation has not made an inroad in the rural areas of Assam.

Fallow land is more in Deori Gaon where as many as 95 acres out of the total land remain fallow the percentage being 10.63. In Panka village the acreage of fallow land is very nominal i.e. 20 acres or 0.03%. The Bordhadum village too has only 2.56 acres or 0.67% of fallow land. While the percentage of fallow land of Balama Miri Gaon is 20.4.

#### EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

In the next table the extent of alienation of tribal land in the five tribal villages falling outside tribal belts and blocks is shown. The table is divided into two parts. While in Part-I the alienation of tribal land affected by private individuals, banks, etc. are shown. In the Part-II, alienation by Government agencies through acquisition for public purposes is reflected. Mining operation in the plains tribal areas is virtually nil and therefore the question of alienation of tribal land due to this factor does not arise.

(Please refer to Table-28)

An effort has made to collect information regarding alienation caused by private industries/banks and alienation due to acquisition in the said five S/T villages which are shown in table above. In the former category data on seven heads were collected. These seven heads are A-Sale, B-auction by bank, C-forcible occupation by money lender, D - encroachment by contractors, E - encroachment by non tribals, F - mortgage / lease,

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TABLE - 28

TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (In Acres)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Alienation caused by Private Individuals/Banks											
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Panka	3.9	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	15.88	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
2.	Garamur Phutuki	1.33	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	5.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	15.04	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
5.	Bordhadum	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1.35						
	Total-	5.23	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	37.27	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

#### Alienation caused by private individuals/banks

A-Sale, B-Auction by Bank, C-Forcible occupation by money lender, D-Encroachment by contractors, E-Encroachment by non-tribals, F-Mortgage/Lease, G-Any other methods.

#### Alienation by Acquisition

H-Irrigation Dam, I-Canal, J-Industry, K-Housing Society, L-any other scheme.

G - any other methods. Thus under the head A the Panka village transferred 3.9 acres of land while Garmur Phutuki transacted only 1.99 acres of land. The figures under the head B for all the five villages are nil. Same is the case under heads C, D and E. Except Balama Miri Gaon all the four villages either mortgaged or leased land. It was found that villagers of Panka village mortgaged 15.58 acres. The Garamur Phutuki Gaon had 5 acres of land under mortgage, Upper Deori Gaon villagers mortgaged 15.04 acres of land while the Bordhadum villagers mortgaged 1.35 acres. Mortgage was done to meet expenditure of marriage, death ceremonies and other socio-religious occasion. Mortgage of land is resorted to even to meet the day to day expenditures.

Information regarding alienation by acquisition were collected under five heads viz - H - Irrigation dam, I-Canal, J - Industry, K- Housing Society, L - Any other scheme and we found no cases of alienation by acquisition in any of the villages. Details of the alienation case stated above are incorporated in this report in appropriate places. Our survey has also revealed that no land in the five tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks has been rendered uncultivable due to pollution caused by industries, mining operations, etc.

### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Coming to the question of the availability of educational facilities in the five tribal villages outside the tribal belts and blocks, it is found that there are altogether 8 Nos. of educational institutions - 2 Nos. High Schools and 6 Nos. of L.P. Schools in these villages. There are neither M.E. nor M.V. Schools in these villages. The details of the educational facilities such as no of students, no of S/T students, etc. are shown in the next table.  
(Please refer to Table-29)

It is seen from the preceding table that out of five villages only in two villages, namely, Garamur Phutuki and Balama Miri

TABLE - 29

TABLE SHOWING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	TYPE OF SCHOOLS																	
		Students in High School						Students in M. E./M.V.						S.T Students in L.P. Schools					
		Total	Boys	Girls	S.T. Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S.T. Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S.T. Total	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	Panka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	162	80	82	160	79	81
2.	Garamur Phutuki	-	-	-	833	453	380	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	159	81	78
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	115	51	64	115	51	64
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	674	359	315	452	261	191	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Bordhadum	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	33	28	61	33	28
	Total-	674	359	315	1285	714	571	-	-	-	-	-	-	338	164	174	495	244	251



Gaon, there are two High Schools. In the former all the students on the roll numbering 833 out of which 453 are boys and 380 are girls, are found to be tribals. In the High School located at Balama Miri Gaon the total number of students on the roll at the time of our survey is 674 out of which 452 (67.06%) are tribal students. Out of 452 tribal students 261 are boys and 191 are girls. In the two High Schools the total number of tribal students is found to be 1285 out of which 714 are boys and 571 are girls, their percentages being 55.56 and 44.44 respectively. The participation of girls in the secondary education appears to be quite encouraging.

No M.V. or M.E. School is found to be located in any of the five villages under the purview of the survey.

Coming to the primary educational institutions we find that there are two L.P. Schools in the village. Panka having 162 Nos. of pupils in total out of which 160 are found to be tribal. Out of 160 tribal students 79 are boys and 81 are girls.

In Garmur Phutuki also there are two L.P. Schools and all the pupils are found to be tribal. Out of 159 pupils, 81 are boys and 78 are girls.

Similarly in the village Upper Deori also all the 115 pupils are tribals. Number of boys and girls is 51 and 64 respectively. In Balama Miri Gaon there is no L.P. School located within the jurisdiction of the village.

In the Bordhadum village also all the 61 pupils reading the village school are found to be tribals. Out of 61, the number of boys is 33 and that of girls is 28.

It is now seen that in the 6 L.P. Schools the total number of scheduled tribe students is 495 out of which 244 are boys and 251 are girls, their percentages being 49.29 and 49.71 respectively. Higher percentage of tribal girls participating at primary education level belies our general observation that the guardians and parents belonging to the tribal communities do not pay sufficient attention towards girls education.

## COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

In the next table different types of surface communication facilities available in the five surveyed tribal villages out-side tribal belts and blocks are indicated :-

(Please refer to Table-30)

It is seen from the above table that Upper Deori Gaon and Balama Miri Gaon have the Bus Stations at a distance of 14 Kms. each. Garamur Phutuki, however, gets bus facilities at a distance of 1 K.M. from the village. The distance of the Panka village to the nearest Bus station i.e. Kanaighat is 3 Km. While the Dhala Bus station is situated at a distance of 5 Kms. from the Bordhadum village.

As regards railway communication the Bordhadum village is conveniently situated. The distance of the village to the Dangari Railway Station is only 2 Kms. The Garamur Phutuki village is situated at a distance of 60 kms. from the Jorhat Railway station. For Upper Deori and Balama Miri Gaon the nearest railway station is Jorhat situated at a distance of 14 Kms. from each village. The villagers of Panka village have to come to Golaghat Railway station at a distance of 26 Kms.

Except Balama Miri Gaon, rest of the villages are connected by all weather roads. There is not even a fair weather road in Balama Miri Gaon.

There are post offices only in Garamur Phutuki, and Balama Miri Gaon. The other three villages namely, Panka, Upper Deori and Bordhadum have no post offices.

No telegraph and telephone facilities are available in any of these villages.

Golaghat town situated a distance of 26 Kms. from the village provides the villagers of Panka village with the necessary facilities. Garamur, a growth centre is situated at a distance of one kilometer from the Garamur Phutuki village. The distance

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TABLE SHOWING THE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Bus station	Distance in K. M.	Railway station	Distance in K. M.	Connecting Road		Post Office	Tele-graph Office	Tele-phone	Nearest Town	Distance in K. M.
						All weather	Fair weather					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Panka	Kanaighat	3	Golaghat	26	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Golaghat	26
2.	Garmur Phutuki	Garmur	1	Jorhat	60	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Garmoh	1
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	Jorhat	14	Jorhat	14	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Jorhat	14
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	Sibsagar	14	Sibsagar	14	No	No	Yes	No	No	Sibsagar	14
5.	Bordhadum	Dhala	5	Dangri	2	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Doom-Dooma	16

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of Upper Deori village to Jorhat town is 14 Kms. and the villagers have to come to Jorhat town for various kinds of transactions. Similarly Sibsagar town situated at a distance of 14 kms. from the Balama Miri Gaon caters to the needs of the villagers. The people of Bordhadum village have to come to the Doomdooma town situated at a distance of 16 kms. for their transaction.

**VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS**

Besides voluntary organisations, some tribal villages use to have some government and govt. sponsored institutions and organisations catering to the needs of the people. The existence of such organisations and institutions in the five tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks is shown below in a tabular form:-

TABLE - 31

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS & BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Co-op society	Bank	Panchayat	Medical Insts.	Veterinary Insts.	Voluntary Organisations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Panka	No	No	No	No	No	No
2.	Garmur Phutuki	No	No	Yes(One)	No	No	No
3.	Upper Deori	No	No	No	No	No	No
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	No	Yes(One)	Yes(One)	Yes(One)	No	No
5.	Bordhadum	No	No	No	No	No	No

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There is no co-operative society in any of the villages. Except Balma Miri Gaon, other four villages have no branch of any bank.

Garamur Phutuki and Balma Miri Gaon have Panchayat offices located within the villages, while Panka, Upper Deori and Bordhadum have no Panchayat offices within the village boundaries.

Except Balama Miri Gaon, rest of the villages have no medical institutions.

Veterinary facilities are conspicuous by their absence in any of these villages.

Except Bordhadum other four villages donot have any voluntary organisation. There is a Village Defence Party in Bordhadum village which is in charge of maintaining peace and order in the village.

### VILLAGE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE

Village leadership always plays a very important role in the village affairs. Besides the traditional village headman called Gaonburah, there are some new leaders also in the tribal villages of Assam in the persons of the fair-price shopkeeper, Panchayat President / Member, chairman of the village co-operative society, village Mahajan, V.L.W. village moneylender, etc. Emergence of such leadership at the village level has very far reaching effects specially on the socio-economic front.

In the next table an idea of the presence of such leaders in the five surveyed tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks is given :-

(Please refer to Table-32)

From the preceding table it is seen that out of five tribal villages under the purview of our survey, only one village, namely, Garamur Phutuki, has a fair-price shop and the shop-keeper belongs to scheduled tribe. Similarly, except the aforesaid village,

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TABLE - 32

TABLE SHOWING THE VILLAGE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Fair price Shopkeeper		Panchayat Chief		V. L. W.		Village Chowkidar		Co-operative Society		Village Mahajan		Village Money lender	
		S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.	Panka	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
2.	Garamur Phutuki	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
5.	Bordhadum	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No

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the other four villages do not have Panchayat Chiefs. The panchayat chief in the village Garamur Phutuki is also a tribal.

It is also seen that no village level worker, meaning Gram Sevak, is located in these villages.

While discussing the presence of village Chowkider in the tribal villages of Assam in respect of the villages surveyed within the tribal belts and blocks, it has been pointed out that in the rural areas of Assam including the tribal areas, there has not been any system of keeping village watchman or village Chowkidars. That is why the village Chowkidars in the five tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks are conspicuous by their absence.

Coming to the question of the presence of village co-operative society chief, it is observed that none of the five surveyed tribal villages has any village co-operative society chief.

The village Mahajan and the village moneylender occupy a very important place in the leadership structure in the tribal villages. They not only advance or lend money but also act as friends, philosophers and guides very often. Circumstances compel many tribal families to be dependent on them. Fortunately in the five surveyed villages outside the tribal belts and blocks there are neither village Mahajans nor village moneylenders except in Garamur Phutuki where one scheduled tribe village Mahajan and one scheduled tribe village moneylender are located.

## CHAPTER - VII

In this chapter details of information and data collected by canvassing the village schedules in all the tribal families of the five selected villages outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks and which are not covered by the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Amendment Act 1947 are presented with suitable analysis.

### VITAL STATISTICS

This part of the survey covers four plains tribal communities of Assam, namely, Thengal Kacharis, Mishings, Deoris and the Sonowal Kacharies.

In the next table, that is in Table 33, tribewise vital statistics of the surveyed families are presented. In the columns 4 to 7 of this table the tribal communities are shown with the following codes for our convenience :-

- A - Stands for the Thengal Kacharis,
- B - Stands for the Mishings,
- C - Stands for the Deoris.
- D - Stands for the Sonowal Kacharis.

(Please refer to Table-33)

From the preceding table it is obvious that the five villages have altogether 426 Nos. of scheduled tribe families. Out of 426 Nos. 101 families belong to the Thengal Kacharis, their percentage being 23.70. 191 Nos. of families are Mishing and their percentage to the total number of families is 44.83. There are 54 Deori families and they constitute 12.67 percent of the total surveyed S/T families. 80 Nos. of surveyed families are found to be Sonowal Kacharis and they constitute 18.77 of the total surveyed S/T families.

The total population of these 426 families under the purview of the survey in the 5 villages outside tribal belts and blocks

**TABLE - 33**

**TABLE SHOWING THE VITAL STATISTICS OF S/T POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No of S/T families	Tribewise distribution					S/T Population sexwise			Marital Status	
			A	B	C	D	E	Male	Female	Total	Married	Unmarried
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Panka	101	635	-	-	-	-	338	297	635	211	424
2.	Garamur Phutuki	119	-	864	-	-	-	457	407	864	282	582
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	54	-	-	680	-	-	331	349	680	217	463
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	72	-	596	-	-	-	316	280	596	200	396
5.	Bordhadum	80	-	-	-	635	-	345	290	635	235	400
	Total-	426	635	1460	680	635	-	1787	1623	3410	1145	2265

N. B. :- A-Thengal Kachari, B-Mishing, C-Deori, D-Sonowal Kachari.

comes to 3410 and thus the average number of members in a family would be 8. Out of 3410 persons, 1787 Nos. are males and 1623 Nos. are females. Number of females per 1000 males is, therefore, 908. Again out of 3410, the number of married persons is 1145 and in terms of percentage it comes to 33.57.

#### AGE GROUPS

In the next table the age groups of tribal population in the surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-34)

From the preceding table it is seen that out of a total S/T population of 3410 in the five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks 484 are within the age group 0 to less than 6 years and they constitute 14.19 percent of the total population. 946 persons are found to be in the age group of 6 years to less than 15 years and in terms of percentage to total population it comes to 27.74.

In the age group 15 years to less than 25 years 732 persons are found and they constitute 21.46 percent of the total population. There are 707 persons in the age group of 25 years to less than 40 years and in terms of percentage it comes to 20.73. In the last group, that is, 40 years and above, 541 persons are found and they constitute 15.86 percent of the total population.

In the tribal areas people from the age of 15 and above generally constitute the working force. Out of 3410 persons, 1980 are found to be 15 years and above and hence we may say that in the five S/T villages outside tribal belts and blocks 58.06 percent constitutes the working force participating in the economic activities.

#### PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

In the next two tables, that is Table-35 and Table - 36 the percentage of literacy and the level of education among the S/T



TABLE - 34

TABLE SHOWING THE AGE GROUPS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE THE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/Tfamilies	AGE GROUPS				
			0 to less than 6 years	6 years to less than 15 years	15 years to less than 25 years	25 years to less than 40 years	40 years and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Panka	635	49	176	173	129	108
2.	Garamur Phutuki	864	162	273	134	175	120
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	680	84	204	127	151	114
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	596	118	150	128	106	94
5.	Bordhadum	635	71	143	170	146	105
	Total-	3410	484	946	732	707	541

population of the 5 surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks are given :-

(Please refer to Table-35 & 36)

From the table 35 it is seen that out of a total population of 3410 persons numbering 1610 are found to be literates and in terms of percentage it is 47.21 Since as per 1971 Census the percentage of literacy among the plains tribes population was slightly more than 20, the percentage of literacy obtained from the present survey appears to be quite satisfactory. The village wise percentage of literacy, of course, varies considerably. In the village Panka inhabited by the Thengal Kacharis the percentage of literacy is found to be as high as 72.91. It is a fact that the Thengal Kacharis of the Jorhat and Golaghat sub-divisions are educationally very much advanced. In Garamur Phutuki which is a very low figure indeed. Since this village is situated in a remote corner of Majuli, the largest river island in the world, the entire subdivision is educationally backward. In Balama Miri Gaon which is also inhabited by the Mishings, the percentage of literacy is found to be 30.20. In the village Bordhadum, inhabited by the Sonowal Kacharis, the percentage of literacy is found to be 68.50. The village Upper Deori which is inhabited by the Deoris the percentage of literacy is found to be 61.32.

In this connection it may be mentioned that as per 1971 Census the percentage of literacy among the Kacharis including the Sonowal was 27.33. For the Deoris it was 27.72 and for the Miris (Mishing) it was only 18.20 as against the state percentage of literacy of 28.72. It, therefore, appears that except the Mishings (Miris), the percentage of literacy among the other tribal communities under the purview of the survey is quite satisfactory.

From table 35 it can further be seen that the percentage of literacy among the females is 42.14 which is really high. In Garamur Phutuki and in Balama Miri Gaon where the people belonging to the Miri (Mishing) community live the percentages of female literacy are found to be 8.84 and 28.57 respectively.

TABLE - 35

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total S/T Population	Total No. of literates	Percentage	Total No. of male	Total No. of male literates	Percentage	Total No. of female	Total No. of female literates	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Panka	635	463	72.91	338	275	81.36	297	188	63.29
2.	Garamur Phutuki	864	115	13.31	457	79	17.21	407	36	8.84
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	680	417	61.32	331	219	66.16	349	198	56.73
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	596	180	30.20	316	100	31.64	280	80	28.57
5.	Bordhadum	635	435	68.50	345	253	73.33	290	182	62.75
	Total-	3410	1610	47.21	1987	926	46.60	1623	684	42.14

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TABLE - 36

TABLE SHOWING THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF THE TRIBAL PEOPLE IN THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Read upto Primary level			Primary Passed			Read upto High School level			H. S. L. C Passed			Higher Secondary/ P. U. Passed			Read upto degree level			Degree holder G/Tec/M			Post Graduate degree holder			Illiterate			
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
1.	Panka	62	54	116	93	54	147	79	71	150	24	7	31	13	2	15	1	0	1	3	0	3	-	-	-	37	88	125	
2.	Garamur Phutuki	22	9	31	20	13	33	21	11	32	16	3	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	280	303	583
3.	Upper Deori	57	47	104	3	-	3	106	118	224	30	27	57	10	5	15	1	1	2	12	-	12	-	-	-	76	112	188	
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	45	57	102	15	8	23	34	14	48	3	1	4	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	140	154	294	
5.	Bordhadum	36	44	80	65	40	105	99	87	186	41	8	49	4	1	5	-	-	-	8	2	10	-	-	-	46	92	138	
	Total-	222	211	433	196	115	311	339	301	640	114	46	160	30	8	38	2	1	3	23	2	25	-	-	-	579	749	1328	

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N. B. :- In Upper Deori Gaon there are two medical graduates.

Percentage specially that of Garamur Phutuki is too low and it now appears that in respect of female education the Mishings are lagging far behind.

Coming to the question of level of education we find from the Table - 35 that out of 1610 literate persons in the five villages, number of persons read upto primary level is found to be 443, their percentage to total number of literates being - 27.51. Out of 443 the number of males is 222 (51.27%) and the number of females is 211 (48.75%).

The number of persons who are primary passed is found to be 311 and their percentage to total number of literates is 19.31. Out of 311, the number of males is 196 (63.02%) and the number of females is 115 (36.98%).

Those who have read upto high school level, their number is found to be the highest. Out of 1610 Nos. of literate persons, 640 Nos. are found to belong to this category and in terms of percentage to the total member of literates it is 39.75. Out of 640, the number of males is 339 (52.96%) and the number of females is 301 (47.04%).

The number of high school passed persons is 160 and their percentage to total number of literates is 9.93 only. Out of 160, there are 114 males (71.25%) and there are 46 females (28.75%). The number of Higher Secondary school passed persons are still lower, only 38 persons out of 1610 literate persons and their percentage to total number of literates is 2.36. There are 30 males (78.94%) and 8 females (21.06%) in this category.

There are only 3 persons (0.18%) of the total number of literates) who are found to have read upto degree level and out of 3, there are two males and one female.

25 persons or 1.55% to the total number of literates in these five villages are found to be degree holders. While there are two medical graduates, the remaining 23 are general graduates, out of 25 there are two female graduates (8%). There are no post

graduate degree holders in these five villages.

From the analysis of the Table 36 it is now obvious that higher is the level of education, lesser is the number of female participants.

### ANNUAL INCOME

In the Table 37 (next table) annual income of the tribal families of five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks derived from various sources is shown :-

(Please refer to Table-37)

From Table 37 it is seen that the total annual income of the scheduled tribe families in the five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks is Rs. 56,26,928.00 and the average annual income of a family, therefore, comes to Rs. 13,208.75 and the per capita annual incomes to Rs. 1650.12. The average annual income appears to be sufficiently high and it is due to the fact that the villages Upper Deori and Bordhadum have families with very high income. The village Upper Deori is situated about 14 Kms. away from Jorhat town. The people have enough fertile cultivable land on the bank of the Brahmaputra. Their earning from land accounts for 46.20 percent of the total annual income. Since the village is situated only a few kilometers away from an urban area many educated persons of this village have been employed in various offices in the town and the local schools. There are a good number of contractors and self-employed people as well. The income from employment avenues, therefore, is also quite high and it accounts for 33.47 percent of the total annual income.

Similarly the families of the village Bordhadum have also reasonably high annual income because of two factors - bumper crop from fertile lands on the banks of the Brahmaputra and employment of the educated persons in Govt. and private offices and self employment. In this village also it is observed that while 41.40 percent of the annual income is derived from land, 36.47

TABLE - 37

TABLE SHOWING THE ANNUAL INCOME FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES OF THE SURVEYED TRIBAL FAMILIES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Sources of Income							Total No. of S/T families	Average income per families	per capita income
		Land	Employment	Wages	Artisan work	Vety. & A. H.	Any Other	Total			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Panka	3,27,148.00	1,21,540.00	1,94,740.00	-	88,900.00	3,31,680.00	10,82,008.00	101	10,514.83.	1672.45
2.	Garamur Phutuki	4,22,870.00	74,800.00	17,500.00	600.00	13,900.00	52,050.00	5,81,720.00	119	4,259.83	588.71
3.	Upper Doori	8,18,500.00	5,93,000.00	87,700.00	-	94,600.00	1,77,800.00	17,71,600.00	54	32,807.40	2605.29
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	2,56,500.00	2,03,200.00	1,95,200.00	-	53,500.00	45,700.00	7,54,100.00	72	10,473.61	1265.28
5.	Bordhadum	6,03,500.00	5,31,600.00	61,800.00	-	59,800.00	2,00,800.00	14,57,500.00	80	18,218.75	2295.27
	Total-	24,28,518.00	15,24,140.00	5,56,940.00	600.00	3,08,700.00	8,08,030.00	56,26,928.00	426	13,208.75	1650.12

percent of the annual income is derived from employment.

So far as the village Garamur Phutuki is concerned it is found that this village has not only the lowest average annual income but has the lowest per capita annual income also. The land is the principal source of their family income and the income derived from it accounts for 72.69 percent of the total annual income. Earning from employment is not at all satisfactory and it accounts for 12.85 percent only. The very location of the village and the topography are responsible for it. Production from the land is not assured since the village is situated in a flood-prone area of the Brahmaputra. Not a year passes without causing damage to the standing crops by flood. Because of low percentage of literacy the people have very low employment opportunities resulting in low income.

From artisan works, the income is practically nil since bamboo and cane products and home-woven cloths are primarily meant for domestic use leaving little for marketing purpose.

Income from wage-earning accounts for 9.89 percent of the total annual income of the families. In this case, however, Balama Miri Gaon is found to have topped the list followed by Panka. In Balama Miri Gaon 25.88 percent of the total income of the families comes from wage-earning. In Panka 18.33 percent income is ascribed to wage-earning.

Earning of the tribal families from Veterinary and Animal Husbandry is quite low and it accounts for 5.48 percent of the total annual family income. It has earlier been mentioned that the tribal people in Assam generally do not drink milk and milking of cows and she-buffaloes for commercial purpose has yet to make a headway among them. Pigs and birds found surplus to their domestic requirements are only sold in the local markets.

In collecting field data our Investigators had to face innumerable difficulties since the tribal people are not in the habit of keeping any family budgets. As such our field Investigators had to find out, except in case of employment, the total income by

calculating the value of the products at current price.

Although in four villages out of five, economic conditions of the people are found to be better than the 10 villages within tribal belts and blocks, nevertheless, the per capita annual income of the five villages is found to be lower than the state and national per capita income which are Rs. 2008.00 and Rs. 2354.00 respectively at current price (1985-86 quick estimates).

### FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE

In the ultimate analysis it is poverty which is responsible for alienation of tribal land whether be it of temporary nature or permanent nature. Although various steps have been taken by the Government through tribal Sub-plan and D. R. D. A to identify the families below poverty line and to help them to come above this line with measures of development, nevertheless, poverty can hardly be eradicated and as such many tribal families are still living below the poverty line. In the next table we are showing the number of tribal families in the five villages located outside tribal belts and blocks who are still found to be below poverty line :-

TABLE - 38

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF FAMILIES FOUND BELOW THE POVERTY LINE IN FIVE VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	No. of S/T families below poverty line	Percentage to total families
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Panka	101	15	14.85
2.	Gramur Phutuki	119	99	83.19

3.	Upper Deori	54	Nil	
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	72	3	4.16
5.	Bordhadum	80	15	18.75
Total :-		426	132	30.98 or say 31.00

From the above table it is seen that out of 426 families 132 are found to be below poverty line. In computing the poverty line, the annual income of a family is computed at Rs. 6,400.00 as per guidelines of the Planning Commission.

From the Table - 38 it is seen that 31 percent of the families under the perview of the survey is found to be below poverty line. The position of the tribal families in this respect is found to be much better that of the families within tribal belts and blocks where the number of families found below the poverty line is 47.34. Another interesting fact that comes to light is that in the village Upper Deori not a single family is found to be below the poverty line whereas in the village Garamur Phutuki 83.19 percent of the families is found to be below the poverty line. These are very constrasting facts and they rather show that our development efforts specially those meant for alleviation of poverty are yet to reach the target groups.

In the village Balama Miri Gaon the percentage of families found below poverty line is quite negligible. In Panka, however, percentage is somewhat high although not startling.

### PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE

In the next table the pattern of expenditure among the tribal families of the five villages located outside the tribal belts and blocks is shown. In the last two columns of the table, the average annual expenditure per family and the per capita annual expenditure are also reflected. This will help us in finding out whether the families have a deficit budget or they have a surplus budget enabling them to save something for the rainy days. The



figures in the brackets show the percentages of expenditure to total amounts of expenditure on different items.

(Please refer to Table-39)

It is seen from the preceding table that 60.29 percent of the total expenditure is spent on food stuff. Higher percentage of expenditure on food stuff is an indicator of economic backwardness. Expenditure on clothing accounts for 6.92 percent of the total. It has been explained earlier that the tribal women in Assam are expert weavers and most of the domestic requirements of cloths are met from the family looms. Moreover home woven products last longer than the mill-made ones. Hence recurring cost is also negligible.

7.17 percent of the total expenditure is meant for housing. Here also the families have very negligible recurring cost since houses once construct last for 10 to 15 years unless they are damaged by natural calamities like floods, storms, etc. Only 3.56 percent of total expenditure is found to have spent on behalf or medical treatment. The percentage appears to be low since all the villages are now covered by health institutions when medical treatment is offered free of cost. The expenditure on education is 6.04 percent of the total expenditure. In the village Garamur Phutuki having the lowest percentage of literacy among the four villages, only 1.89 percent of the total expenditure accounts for the observance of religious rituals is 1.43 percent of the total expenditure and it also appears to be quite low. The main reason behind it is the community life of the people. In the performance of the rituals the villagers help each other and as such a family performing the religious rituals is not required to share the burden alone. Similarly social functions also donot give financial and economic pressure on the concerned family since the entire community offers a helping hand. Expenditure on litigation is almost nil. Except Balama Miri Gaon the others have very little amounts of expenditure incurred on this score. Expenditure on

TABLE - 39  
TABLE SHOWING THE PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE AMONG THE TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS & BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE (IN RS.)													Average family expenditure	Per capita Expenditure
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1.	Penika	70884.00 (59.05)	82300.00 (6.85)	85000.00 (7.08)	67500.00 (5.80)	64000.00 (5.33)	19000.00 (1.59)	19000.00 (1.58)	8200.00 (1.47)	200.00 (0.09)	300.00 (0.02)	32550.00 (2.71)	122100.00 (10.17)	12200490/-	11891.19	1891.48
2.	Garamur Phutuki	364000.00 (65.56)	34550.00 (6.22)	50000.00 (9.00)	18150.00 (3.26)	10500.00 (1.89)	7755.00 (1.39)	8200.00 (1.47)	200.00 (0.09)	200.00 (0.09)	200.00 (0.09)	35100.00 (6.32)	26700.00 (4.80)	555155/-	4665.16	642.54
	Upper Doori	860400.00 (61.96)	89100.00 (6.20)	93100.00 (6.55)	26700.00 (2.02)	110100.00 (7.74)	19160.00 (1.34)	23160.00 (1.63)	23160.00 (1.63)	-	-	57800.00 (4.06)	120200.00 (8.46)	1420710/-	26309.44	2089.27
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	363900.00 (42.56)	120900.00 (14.12)	108340.00 (12.67)	45485.00 (5.31)	51800.00 (6.03)	12200.00 (1.42)	15300.00 (1.09)	11900.00 (1.39)	11900.00 (1.39)	11900.00 (1.39)	38800.00 (4.51)	86900.00 (10.16)	855025/-	11875.34	1434.60
5.	Bordhastum	775300.00 (70.06)	28200.00 (7.21)	31600.00 (2.87)	23200.00 (2.11)	74100.00 (6.74)	15400.00 (1.40)	20200.00 (1.83)	20200.00 (1.83)	2300.00 (0.20)	2300.00 (0.20)	31400.00 (2.86)	95200.00 (8.67)	1097900/-	13723.75	1728.97
	Total-	3092540.00 (60.29)	354950.00 (6.92)	369040.00 (7.17)	182835.00 (3.56)	310300.00 (6.04)	73515.00 (1.43)	85960.00 (1.67)	85960.00 (1.67)	14700.00 (0.28)	14700.00 (0.28)	195450.00 (3.81)	451100.00 (8.79)	5129280/-	12040.56	1504.18

N. B. :- Figures in brackets show the percentages to total expenditure.

figures in the brackets show the percentages of expenditure to total amounts of expenditure on different items.

(Please refer to Table-39)

It is seen from the preceding table that 60.29 percent of the total expenditure is spent on food stuff. Higher percentage of expenditure on food stuff is an indicator of economic backwardness. Expenditure on clothing accounts for 6.92 percent of the total. It has been explained earlier that the tribal women in Assam are expert weavers and most of the domestic requirements of cloths are met from the family looms. Moreover home woven products last longer than the mill-made ones. Hence recurring cost is also negligible.

7.17 percent of the total expenditure is meant for housing. Here also the families have very negligible recurring cost since houses once construct last for 10 to 15 years unless they are damaged by natural calamities like floods, storms, etc. Only 3.56 percent of total expenditure is found to have spent on behalf or medical treatment. The percentage appears to be low since all the villages are now covered by health institutions when medical treatment is offered free of cost. The expenditure on education is 6.04 percent of the total expenditure. In the village Garamur Phutuki having the lowest percentage of literacy among the four villages, only 1.89 percent of the total expenditure accounts for education. It is indeed a sorry state of affairs. Expenditure for the observance of religious rituals is 1.43 percent of the total expenditure and it also appears to be quite low. The main reason behind it is the community life of the people. In the performance of the rituals the villagers help each other and as such a family performing the religious rituals is not required to share the burden alone. Similarly social functions also donot give financial and economic pressure on the concerned family since the entire community offers a helping hand. Expenditure on litigation is almost nil. Except Balama Miri Gaon the others have very little amounts of expenditure incurred on this score. Expenditure on

TABLE - 39  
TABLE SHOWING THE PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE AMONG THE TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS & BLOCKS

Sl. No.	Name of village	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE (IN RS.)													Average family expenditure	Per capita Expenditure
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
1.	Panka	70894.00 (69.05)	82300.00 (6.85)	85000.00 (7.08)	67300.00 (5.60)	64000.00 (5.33)	19000.00 (1.58)	19000.00 (1.58)	300.00 (0.02)	32550.00 (2.71)	122100.00 (10.17)	12200490/-	11891.19	1891.48		
2.	Garamur Phutuki	364000.00 (65.56)	34650.00 (8.22)	50000.00 (9.00)	18150.00 (3.26)	10500.00 (1.89)	7755.00 (1.39)	8200.00 (1.47)	200.00 (0.03)	35100.00 (6.32)	26700.00 (4.80)	555155/-	4665.16	642.54		
	Upper Deori	890400.00 (61.86)	89100.00 (8.20)	93100.00 (8.55)	28700.00 (2.02)	110100.00 (7.74)	19160.00 (1.34)	23160.00 (1.63)	-	57800.00 (4.06)	120200.00 (8.46)	1420710/-	26309.44	2089.27		
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	363900.00 (42.56)	120800.00 (14.12)	108340.00 (12.67)	45485.00 (5.31)	51600.00 (6.03)	12200.00 (1.42)	15300.00 (1.09)	11900.00 (1.38)	38600.00 (4.51)	86900.00 (10.16)	855025/-	11875.34	1434.60		
5.	Borthadum	775300.00 (70.06)	29200.00 (7.21)	31600.00 (2.87)	23200.00 (2.11)	74100.00 (6.74)	15400.00 (1.40)	20200.00 (1.83)	2300.00 (0.20)	31400.00 (2.86)	95200.00 (8.67)	1087900/-	13723.75	1728.97		
	Total	3092540.00 (60.29)	354950.00 (6.92)	368040.00 (7.17)	182835.00 (3.56)	310300.00 (6.04)	73515.00 (1.43)	85860.00 (1.67)	14700.00 (0.28)	195450.00 (3.81)	451100.00 (8.79)	5129280/-	12040.56	1504.18		

N. B. :- Figures in brackets show the percentages to total expenditure.

household durable goods is slightly high but not of an alarming nature. The unaccounted expenditure is worked out to be 8.79 percent of the total expenditure.

From this table it can be seen that the average expenditure per family comes to Rs. 12040.56 and per capita expenditure comes to Rs. 1504.18. While Upper Deori has the highest average family expenditure the lowest per capita annual expenditure - about four times less than those of Upper Deori. All those point out to the extreme poverty of the tribal families living in the flood-prone village Garamur Phutuki.

### COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

In the next table we propose to make a comparative study of average annual income and expenditure of the surveyed S/T families outside tribal belts and blocks with a view to finding out the nature of the family budgets.

(Please refer to Table-40)

From the Table-40 it is seen that the average annual income of a tribal family from all sources is Rs. 13,203.75 which is seemed to be reasonably high. This is because of very high average income of the families inhabiting the village Upper Deori. The average expenditure of a tribal family as per survey data is found to be Rs. 12,040.56 and therefore an average family has a surplus budget Rs. 1,168.19 per annum.

From the preceding table it is also seen that out of five villages only two villages, namely, Upper Deori and Bardhadum has average annual surplus budgets and the remaining three have deficit budgets only.

Coming to the per capita income and expenditure also we find that although per capita surplus is found to be Rs. 145.94, nevertheless, the three villages, namely, Panka, Garamur Phutuki and Balama Miri Gaon do not have any per capita surplus. Sav-

TABLE - 40

TABLE SHOWING THE AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE AND PER CAPITA INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF S/T FAMILIES IN 5 SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS (In Rs.)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Average annual income, per family	Average annual Expenditure per family	Surplus (+) Deficit (-)	Per capita income	Surplus (+) Deficit (-)	Remarks
		3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Panka	10514.93	11891.19	(-) 1376.26	1672.45	1891.48	(-) 219.93
2	Garamur Phutuki	4259.83	4665.16	(-) 405.33	586.71	642.54	(-) 55.83
3	Upper Deori Gaon	32807.40	26309.44	(+) 6497.96	2605.29	2089.27	(+) 516.02
4	Balama Miri Gaon	10473.61	11875.34	(-) 1401.73	1265.26	1434.60	(-) 169.34
5	Bardhadum	18218.75	13723.75	(+) 4495.00	2295.27	1728.97	(+) 566.30
	Total-	13208.75	12040.56	(+) 1168.19	1650.12	1504.18	(+) 145.94

ings in these three villages, therefore, would likely to be nil except in case of the few well-to-do families. Capital formation and creation of income generating assets of permanent nature can hardly take place.

### CATEGORIES OF LAND

In the next table, that is Table-41, different categories of land under the possession of the tribal families within the five villages surveyed outside belts and blocks are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-41)

From the preceding table (Table - 41) it is seen that the total land under the possession of 426 S/T families under the purview of the survey is 2078.89 acres and as such the average landholding per family comes to 4.88 Acres. Landholding patterns are of course not uniform in all the five surveyed villages. While in the Upper Deori village average landholding per family is 10.28 acres, it is only 2.66 Acres in Balama Miri Gaon.

It can also be seen from the table that dry land accounts for 29.12% of the total landholdings while wet-land where paddy cultivation is done accounts for 51.75 percent of the total landholdings. Since all the five villages are situated in the plains areas, the question of having Jhum land under their possession does not arise.

Homestead land accounts for 10.63 percent of the total land. Garden land under the possession of the tribal families is found to be quite low and it accounts for 4.51 percent of the total land holdings only. It may be mentioned here that the tribal people of Assam generally donot raise gardens separately. In the homestead land itself they use to have their small horticultural gardens, and other fruit trees like betel nuts, plantains, jackfruits, guava, mango, etc.

Land left fallow is also found to be of smaller percentage and it accounts for 2.63 percent of the total land holdings. In the village Garamur Phutuki fallow land is practically nil. Very low percentage of fallow land shows that the tribal people in the five

TABLE - 41

TABLE SHOWING THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF LAND UNDER THE POSSESSION OF THE TRIBAL FAMILIES OF FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Dry Land.	Wet Land	Jhum Land	Homestead Land	Garden Land	Fellow Land	Total Land	Total No. of S/T families	Average land holding per families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Panka	195.87 (33.28)	329.27 (55.94)	Nil	44.06 (7.48)	9.99 (1.69)	9.32 (1.58)	588.51	101	5.82
2.	Garamur Phutuki	144.32 (29.57)	248.00 (51.02)	Nil	51.63 (10.57)	41.07 (8.41)	2.00 (0.40)	488.01	119	4.10
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	175.40 (31.59)	288.85 (52.02)	Nil	24.16 (4.35)	37.18 (6.69)	29.63 (5.33)	555.22	54	10.20
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	11.33 (5.90)	96.57 (50.37)	Nil	44.16 (23.03)	0.67 (0.34)	38.99 (20.33)	191.72	72	2.66
5.	Bordhadum	78.46 (31.96)	112.24 (45.73)	Nil	47.07 (19.17)	4.99 (2.03)	2.67 (1.08)	245.43	80	3.06
	Total-	605.38 (29.12)	1075.92 (51.75)	Nil	221.08 (10.63)	93.90 (4.51)	82.61 (2.63)	2078.89	426	4.88

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets indicate percentages.

villages have been utilizing almost all the land under their possession.

### LANDHOLDING PATTERN

In the next table landholding pattern among the scheduled tribe families under the purview of the survey outside the tribal belts and blocks is shown. From this table we can have an idea of the number of landless families, marginal farmers, small farmers, etc.

(Please refer to Table-42)

From Table - 42 we can have a clear idea regarding the pattern of landholding among the S/T families under the purview of the survey in the five villages located outside tribal belts and blocks.

Out of 246 S/T families 29 families or 6.80% of the total families are found to be landless. While Balama Miri Gaon has the highest number of landless families (13 Nos.), the village Upper Deori has the lowest number of landless families - only one.

Families having landless than an acre is found to be 7 only and they constitute 1.64 percent of the total S/T families. Highest number of families are, however, found in the category of landholders having land 3 acres to less than 5 acres and these families constitute 19.95 percent of the total families.

Equal number of families (73 in each case) are found to have in the two categories of landholders, namely '2 acres to less than 3 acres' and '5 acres to less than 7 acres'. 72 Nos. of families or 16.90 percent of the S/T families are found to be landholder category 'one acre to less than 2 acres'. 33 families have land between 7 acres and less than 10 Acres. Those who have land more than 10 acres are found to be 54 (12.67) in number.

### EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

In the five villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks land alienation case are identified and recorded. It is found that

TABLE - 42

TABLE SHOWING THE LAND HOLDING PATTERN OF TRIBAL FAMILIES UNDER THE PURVIEW OF SURVEY IN FIVE VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Landless	Less than one Acre	1 Acre to less than 2 Acres	2 Acres to less than 3 Acres	3 Acres to less than 5 Acres	5 Acres to less than 7 Acres	7 Acres to less than 10 Acres	10 Acres and above	Total families (S/T)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Panka	7 (6.93)	Nil	7 (6.93)	13 (12.87)	30 (29.70)	17 (16.83)	13 (12.87)	14 (13.86)	101
2.	Garamur Phutuki	6 (5.04)	2 (1.68)	10 (8.40)	23 (19.32)	23 (19.32)	34 (28.57)	11 (9.24)	10 (8.40)	129
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	1 (1.85)	Nil	1 (1.85)	6 (11.11)	7 (12.96)	10 (18.51)	4 (7.40)	25 (46.29)	54
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	13 (18.05)	3 (4.16)	23 (31.94)	17 (23.61)	10 (13.88)	4 (5.55)	Nil	2 (2.77)	72
5.	Bordhadum	2 (2.5)	2 (2.5)	31 (38.75)	14 (17.5)	15 (18.75)	8 (10.00)	5 (6.25)	3 (3.75)	80
	Total-	29 (6.80)	7 (1.64)	72 (16.90)	73 (17.13)	85 (19.95)	73 (17.19)	33 (7.74)	54 (12.67)	426

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets show the percentages to the total No. of landholders.



in the village Balama Miri Gaon there has not been any land alienation case.

In the next table the extent of alienation of tribal land in the four villages is shown villagewise. Whether land has been alienated to non-tribals, tribals or other agencies is shown separately showing the purposes of such alienation. In this connection it may be mentioned that while our field investigators sometimes found it difficult to elicit answers from the land alienated families within tribal belts and blocks and great deal of persuasions were essential to get the correct information in the case of tribal families outside tribal belts and blocks, the information came spontaneously.

(Please refer to Table-43 A,B,C,D)

It is now seen from Table -43 (A) that out of 101 S/T families in the village Panka, 21 families or 20.79 Percent of the families are found to have alienated 10.04 Acres of their land to non tribals. Out of 21 non tribals, 17 are found to be people belonging to scheduled castes originally migrated from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) after partition. Out of the remaining 4, two are found to be ex-tea garden labourers ; one is a Marowary mahajan and the last one is an Assamese belonging to More Other Backward Classes, community . There are three cases of sale and the remaining cases are mortgage ones. There are, therefore, three cases of permanent alienation and 18 cases of temporary alienation which are likely to continue indefinitely or likely to be permanent in due course.

In the village Garamur Phutki the land alienation cases are found to be nominal. Out of 119 S/T families under the purview of our survey, only 4 families of 3.36% of the total families have alienated their 6.33 Acres of land to 5 non-tribals. (In case of one family two different plots were mortgaged to two non tribals and hence the number comes to 5). All the five non-tribals to whom land has been alienated are caste Hindus of the same locality. Out of four land alienation cases, three are found to be

Name of the village - Panka

TABLE - 43 (A)

EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated land in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realized	In whom alienated			Purpose of Alienation	
								W/T	Community	Tribal		Other Agency
1	Sri Padmaswar Saikia	Thengal Marbari	.95	Wet land	1984	Mortgage	Rs. 1500.00	9	10	11	12	13
2	" Meri Ram Tamuli	-do-	.95	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 500.00	.	S/C	.	.	Medical treatment
3	" Pusepa Thengal	-do-	.70	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
4	" Sona Hazarika	-do-	2.50	-do-	1985	Sale	Rs. 2000.00	.	M.O.B.C	.	.	to purchase cattle
5	" Dimbewar Thengal	-do-	.70	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 800.00	.	S/C	.	.	Medical treatment
6	" Bijo Borah	-do-	1.62	-do-	1986	Mortgage	Rs. 800.00	(?)	S/C	.	.	to perform death community
7	" Namuram Hazarika	-do-	1.05	-do-	1986-87	-do-	Rs. 8700.00	(?)	S/C	.	.	Food stuff
8	" Rameswar Hazarika	-do-	1.30	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 2500.00	.	O.B.C.	.	.	To purchase cattle and food stuff
9	" Bali Saikia	-do-	0.95	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 700.00	.	S/C	.	.	To purchase cattle
10	" Ganakanta Saikia	-do-	0.70	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	.	S/C	.	.	To purchase food stuff
11	" Phatik Ch. Saikia	-do-	0.34	Dry land	1987	-do-	Rs. 500.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
12	" Majung Saikia	-do-	0.70	Wet land	1983	Mortgage	Rs. 1000.00	.	Ex-tea garden labour	.	.	-do-
13	" Bharat Thengal	-do-	0.70	Wet land	1986	Sale	Rs. 2000.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
14	" Kalshinath Hazarika	-do-	0.95	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
15	" Hunaram Hazarika	-do-	0.70	Wet land	1983	Mortgage	Rs. 500.00	.	Marwari	.	.	-do-
16	" Lakshidhar Hazarika	-do-	0.33	Dry land	1987	-do-	Rs. 500.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
17	" Gobin Hazarika	-do-	0.95	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	(?)	S/C	.	.	For education
18	" Kusharam Hazarika	-do-	0.70	Wet land	1988	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	.	S/C	.	.	To purchase food stuff
19	" Bhadrswari Hazarika	-do-	1.30	Dry land	1987	-do-	Rs. 2200.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
20	" Bangadhar Borah	-do-	0.53	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 500.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
21	" Pahadhar Hazarika	-do-	0.53	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 800.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
			0.73	Wet land	1988	-do-	Rs. 1100.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
			0.35	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 600.00	.	Ex-tea garden labour	.	.	-do-
			0.70	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 600.00	.	S/C	.	.	-do-
		Total-	19.78				Rs. 40400.00					

TABLE - 43 (B)

Name of the village - Garamur Phutki

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated land in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated				
								N/T	Community	Tribe	Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Sri Kamaleswar Pegu	Mishing	1.33	Wet land	1974	Sale	Rs. 10000.00	.	Caste Hindu	-	-	To purchase agricultural implements
2.	" Lusator Gam	-do-	3.00	-do-	1974	Mortgage	Rs. 10000.00	(2)	Hindu-Bengali	-	-	-do-
3.	" Bairam Gam	-do-	1.00	-do-	1981	-do-	Rs. 8000.00	.	Caste Hindu	-	-	-do-
4.	" Lakhidhar Gam	-do-	1.00	-do-	1974	-do-	Rs. 10000.00	.	-do-	-	-	To meet household expenses
	Total-		6.33				Rs. 38,000.00					

TABLE - 43 (C)

Name of the village - Upper Deori

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated land in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated				
								N/T	Community	Tribe	Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Monoj Deori	Deori	0.95	Wet land	1984	Mortgage	Rs. 1000.00	.	S/C	-	-	Economic crisis
2.	" Dibakar Deori	-do-	1.90	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 7000.00	.	M.O.B.C.	-	-	Medical treatment
3.	" Surya Kr. Deori	-do-	0.95	-do-	1996	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	.	S/C	-	-	To perform death ceremony
4.	" Rajani Deori	-do-	2.75	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 5000.00	.	O.B.C.	-	-	To meet household Expenditure
5.	" Chandradhar Deori	-do-	0.68	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 4000.00	.	S/C	-	-	To purchase food stuff
6.	" Nilamani Deori	-do-	1.95	-do-	1982	-do-	Rs. 7000.00	.	O.B.C.	-	-	Construction of residential house
7.	" Pabin Deori	-do-	0.95	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1500.00	.	-	.	.	To purchase food stuff
8.	" Tapera Deori	-do-	0.95	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	.	S/C	-	-	-do-
9.	" Nilaram Deori	-do-	0.45	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	.	S/C	-	-	Bad economic condition
10.	" Mukison Deori	-do-	1.90	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 6000.00	.	M.O.B.C.	-	-	To perform sradha ceremony
11.	" Bijana Deori	-do-	0.36	-do-	1981	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	.	-DO-	-	-	To celebrate marriage ceremony
12.	" Tihni Deori	-do-	1.25	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 4000.00	.	O.B.C.	-	-	To perform sradha ceremony
	Total-		15.04				Rs. 56,000.00					

TABLE - 43 (D)

Name of the village - Bordhadum

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Tribe	Area Alienated land in Acres	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	To whom alienated				
								N/T	Community	Tribe	Other Agency	Purpose of Alienation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	SriPurna Kanta Sonowal	Sonowal	1.35	Wet land	1981	Mortgage	Rs. 1500.00	-	-	(2)	-	For medical treatment
	Total-		1.35				Rs. 1,500.00					

mortgage cases and the remaining one is a case of sale. Thus alienation of permanent nature is found to be one only.

It has already been mentioned that in the village Balama Miri Gaon, there has not been any land alienation cases either to tribals or to non-tribals. And it is indeed a rare case for which the people of the village should get some sort of reward as an incentive.

The village Upper Deori which is a very advanced village economically as well as educationally has however, a sad tale to tell. The richest village among the survived S/T villages has the highest percentage of land alienated families. Out of 54 families 12 or 22.22 percent are land alienated ones. Out of 12 persons to whom land has been alienated, 11 non-tribals and one is a tribals from the same locality. Out of 11 non-tribals, 5 persons belong to scheduled castes and 6 belong to O.B.C and M.O.B.C. All the 12 cases are, however, mortgage cases signifying temporary alienation only. The total land alienated is found to be 15.04.

The village Bordhadom is rather better placed in this respect. Out of 80 S/T families under the purview of the survey only one family (1.25%) is found to have alienated its 1.35 acres of land to 2 (two) tribals of the same village and it is a mortgage case only.

We therefore, find that out of 426 tribal families in the five tribal villages surveyed outside belts and blocks, altogether 38 families or 8.92 percent are found to be land alienated families and this percentage figure is almost half of that of land alienated families of the surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks. Out of 38 cases of land alienation of permanent nature are four only and they constitute 10.52 percent of the total land alienated cases.

In 38 land alienated cases the number of persons to whom land has been alienated is worked out to be 45 out of which 42 are non-tribals and 3 are tribals, their percentages being 93.33 and 6.67 respectively.

The total area of alienated land comes to 42.48 Acre consti-

tuting 2.04 percent of the landholdings under the possession of 426 families.

#### DETAIL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION CASES

In the next table a detail analysis of land alienation cases affecting the tribal families of the five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks based on the Tables 43(A) to 43 (D) is given.

It may however be mentioned here that since there are no cases of alienation of tribal land in the villages caused either by Government, semi government or other agencies, this aspect has not been reflected in the table.

Secondly unlike the surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks, the practice of borrowing in kind (in terms of paddy) is totally absent in those five villages. As such borrowing in kind has been totally omitted from the Tables 43 (A) to 43 (D).

(Please refer to Table-44)

Another interesting fact that has come to light is that out of 38 cases of land alienation in the five villages in 37 cases land has been alienated to non-tribals.

Thus our ultimate analysis is like this :-

In the five villages surveyed outside the tribal belts and blocks 8.92 percent (38 Nos.) of the tribal families is found to have alienated their land totalling 42.50 Acres, the area of alienated land per family would be 1.11 Acres. Area of alienated land constitutes 12.15 percent of the total landholdings of the land alienated families.

Acquisition of land for public purposes is nil. Almost in all cases land has been alienated to non-tribals. Out of 38 cases of land alienation, 34 cases are mortgage cases and only 4 cases are 'sold out' ones. In Balama Miri Gaon there has not been any land alienation cases even though the percentage of literacy is not as high as those of Panka, Upper Deori and Bordhadum.

**TABLE - 44**

**TABLE SHOWING THE DETAIL ANNALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION CASES IN THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	Total No. of land alienated families	Percentage of 4 to 3	Total land holdings of land alienated families prior to alienation (In Acres)	Area of alienated land (In Acr)	Percentage of 7 to 6	Total land holdings of land alienated families after alienation (In Acres)	To whom alienated	
									N/T	Tribal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Panka	101	21	20.79	126.10	19.78	15.68	106.32	21	-
2.	Garamur Phutuki	119	4	3.36	32.65	6.33	19.38	26.32	4	-
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	54	12	22.22	181.44	15.04	8.28	166.40	12	-
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	72	Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Bordhadum	80	1	1.29	9.35	1.35	14.43	8.00	-	2
		426	38	8.92	349.54	42.50	12.15	307.04	37	2

\* Two tribals purchased land from the same tribal family on two occasions.

### CASES OF ALIENATION

There are various causes of alienation of tribal land. From an analysis of the reasons for which land has been alienated, we find that out of 38 families, 16 or 42.10 percent are stated to have alienated their land to purchase food stuff to meet the family needs.

5 families or 13.15% have alienated some portions of their land with a view to meeting the needs of the medical treatment of the ailing family members.

Again 5 families or 13.15% are found to have alienated their land to perform the death ceremony of the deceased since the performance of the death ceremony is a must for every tribal society and lavish spending increases the status of the concerned families in the eyes of the society.

Only one family has alienated land for construction of residential house while another family has done so to meet the expenses of higher study of its ward.

Two families are found to have alienated land to obtain cash money for marriage.

The remaining 8 families or 21.05 percent of the families have alienated land to obtain cash money for productive purposes like purchasing of cattle for ploughing, agricultural implements, etc.

### SOCIAL AWARENESS REGARDING PROHIBITION OF ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND

It has been mentioned on earlier occasions that these five villages being outside the tribal belts and blocks do not come under the provisions of the Chapter-X of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act. As such transfer and alienation of tribal land to non-tribals in these villages are not illegal. A tribal can sell, mortgage and lease out his land to any one according to his

sweet will.

The question, therefore, regarding social awareness of prohibition of transfer and alienation of tribal land, whether be it of permanent or temporary nature, to non-tribal or to any other else is not relevant so far as these five villages outside tribal belts and blocks are concerned.

### INDEBTEDNESS

Indebtedness among the tribal people of Assam is a recognised fact. Hardly a tribal village can be identified without debt. Indebtedness and alienation of land are two sides of the same coin in fact. When a tribal family fails to get out of indebtedness, it disposes of its land under possession either temporarily through mortgage, lease, etc. or permanently through sale. In addition to the loans taken from the village Mahajans both tribals and non-tribals, tribal families are also found to have taken loans from financial institutions like banks, co-operative societies, etc. I.R. D. A. linked up loans from banks for income generating schemes are also making an inroad in the tribal villages and it is rather a good sign. Direct loans from financial institutions and indirect bank loans through D.R.D.A have rather become favourite with the tribal people as would be evident from the next table.

In the next table that is, Table-45, the incidence of indebtedness among S/T families of 5 villages outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks is shown :-

(Please refer to Table-45)

The preceding Table (Table - 45) reveals some interesting facts regarding tribal indebtedness in the five tribal villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks.

Now let us discuss these facts villagewise. In the village Panka, out of 101 tribal families 88 Nos. or 87.12% are found to be indebted. The total amount of debt being Rs. 567435.00 average debt per indebted family comes to Rs. 6448.12 and this is

TABLE - 45

TABLE SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF INDEBTEDNESS AMONG THE SCHEDULED TRIBE FAMILIES OF THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES OUTSIDE TRIBAL BELTS AND BLOCKS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total amount of debt (in Rs.)	Total in-debted families	Amount in Rs. borrowed from						Amount repaid to		
				N/T	Tribal	Bank/ Financial Institutions	Co-op Society	D.R.D.A	Housing Board	M/T	Tribal	Institutions
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Panka	567435.00	88	245335.00 (75)	Nil	285100.00 (6)	Nil	12000.00 (2)	25000.00 (5)	25400.00	-	105000.00
2.	Garamur Phutuki	11000.00	3	Nil	Nil	2000.00 (1)	Nil	9000.00 (2)	-	-	-	-
3.	Upper Deori Gaon	159650.00	26	Nil	Nil	13100.00 (4)	5000.00 (1)	141550.00 (21)	-	-	-	7800.00
4.	Balama Miri Gaon	117100.00	38	Nil	Nil	-	-	117100.00 (38)	-	-	-	5400.00
5.	Bordhadum	13650.00	6	Nil	150.00	-	-	13500.00 (5)	-	-	-	6200.00
		868835.00	161	245335.00 (75)	150.00 (1)	300200.00 (11)	5000.00 (1)	293150.00 (66)	25000.00 (5)	25400.00	Nil	124400.00

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets show the numbers of indebted families in each category.

really a very high figure indeed. But if we look at the table closely, the loans taken from the non-tribal Mahajans comes to Rs. 2,45,335.00 and since this amount was borrowed by 75 tribal families the average debt per indebted family comes to Rs. 3271.33 and it is almost half of Rs. 6448.12 shown earlier. The residual amount of the loan amounting to Rs. 3,22,100.00 was borrowed by 13 families from institutions, like Banks, Housing Board, D. R. D. A., etc. It is also found that one family has purchased a tractor with bank loan. Loan taken from tribals is found to be nil. Whatever might be the case, we may conclude that the actual indebtedness in the real sense of the term is Rs. 2,45,335.00 since this amount is found to have been borrowed by 75 tribal families from non-tribal Mahajans.

In the Village Garamur Phutuki out of 119 tribal families only 3 are found to be indebted, and their percentage of total number of tribal families is 2.52. The total amount of debt being Rs. 11,000.00, the average debt per indebted family is Rs. 3,666.66. It is also very interesting to note that none of the indebted families has borrowed money either from the tribal or from the non-tribal Mahajans. While one family has taken a loan from a bank, the other two have taken loans from the banks linked up with D. R. D. A. schemes.

In the villages Upper Deori also no family is found to have taken any loan from the tribal or non-tribal Mahajans. In this village, however, 26 tribal families out of 54 have taken direct loans from banks and co-operative societies and indirect loans through banks through D.R.D.A. The total amount of debt of the 26 families is found to be Rs. 1,59,650.00 and the average amount of debt per family comes to Rs. 6140.38 which rather appears to be a highest side.

In this village 4 families have taken direct loans the banks totalling to Rs. 13,100.00 and thus the average amount of debt per indebted family is 3275.00. One family has taken a loan of

Rs. 5000.00 from a local co-operative society. The remaining 21 tribal families have taken loans from lead banks amounting to Rs. 1,41,550.00 by linking up their loans with D.R.D.A. schemes. This type of loan meant entirely for generating sufficient monetary income for the beneficiaries cannot be called rural indebtedness in the true sense of the term.

In the village Balama Miri Gaon 38 families out of 72 are found to be indebted, their percentage to the total number of families being 52.77. Although apparently these figures are starting, nevertheless, it is rather heartening to find that all these loans are linked up through D.R.D.A. scheme. Like Upper Deori none of the tribal families in this village has taken any loan from either from the non-tribal Mahajans or from the tribal Mahajans. The total amount of loan being Rs. 1,17,100.00, the average amount of loan per indebted family comes to Rs. 3081.57.

In the village Bordhadum the incidence of indebtedness is quite nominal. Out of 80 families 6 families are found to be indebted and the percentage of indebted families to total tribal families comes to 7.5. In this village also no indebted family has taken any loan from a non-tribal Mahajan. One family has, of course, taken a loan of Rs. 150.00 only from a tribal family. The remaining five families have D.R.D.A. linked up loans only amounting to Rs. 13,500.00. The total amount of debt of the indebted families is, therefore, Rs. 13,650.00.- and the average amount of debt per indebted family in this village is worked out to be Rs. 2,275.00.

Another interesting fact is the absence of loan in kind.

A further analysis of the incidence of indebtedness gives us the following results :-

- (a) Total number of S/T families - 426
- (a) Total number of indebted families - 161
- (c) Percentage of indebted families to total families - 37.79



- (d) Total amount of debt - Rs. 8,68,835.00.
- (e) Average amount of debt per indebted family - Rs. 5,396.49
- (f) Total amount of loan taken from private individuals - Rs. 2,45,485.00
- (g) Total No. of families who have taken loan from private individuals is 76.
- (h) Average amount of debt per indebted family in case of loan taken from private individuals - Rs. 3,230.06
- (i) Total No. of families taking loans from financial institutions - 85.
- (j) Total amount of loans taken from financial institutions - Rs. 5,23,350.00.
- (k) Average amount of institutional loan per indebted family is Rs. 6,157.05.

### RATES OF INTEREST

The rate of interest on loans taken from private individuals are not uniform and the rates are also exorbitantly high. The rate of interest in this case is found to be 40% per annum. The rates of institutional loans are found to oscillate between a minimum of 10% to the maximum of 15% per annum.

### REPAYMENT OF LOAN

Table 45 also reveals that the repayment position is not at all satisfactory. Out of a total amount of loan of Rs. 2,45,335.00 taken from the non-tribal Mahajans only an amount of Rs. 25,400.00 has been repaid till the date of our survey and the repaid amount constitutes 10.35 percent of the debt amount. Since the repaid amount also includes a part of the interest payment, the repayment of the principal amount and so also the percentage would be somewhat less.

Similarly, out of a total institutional loan amounting to Rs. 5,98,350.00 only an amount of Rs. 1,24,400.00 has been repaid till the date of our survey and the repaid amount constitutes 20.79 percent of the total amount borrowed. Like the previous amount this amount also includes a portion of interest payment. However, in case of institutional loan the position of repayment is somewhat better.

### CASES OF INDEBTEDNESS

There are a good number of causes which have led the people to borrow money. So far as the borrowing from private individuals is concerned, it is seen that 56 families out of 75 are found to have borrowed from non tribal Mahajans for the purpose of purchasing food stuff, 5 have borrowed to construct houses, 9 for medical treatment of ailing family members, 2 for education of students and the remaining three for purchasing power pump, cattle, etc.

while Housing Board's loan is meant for construction of semi-permanent houses, the loans from banks, direct or through D. R. D. A., are mainly meant for raising the income of the concerned families.

## CHAPTER - VIII

### SURVEY OF VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS (SIXTH SCHEDULED AREAS)

The Sixth Scheduled Areas of Assam consist of two hill districts, namely, the Karbi Anglong and the North Cachar Hills Districts. Since these are autonomous districts and the management of land is entrusted to the District Councils, the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act 1886 is not applicable in these two districts.

In the North Cachar Hills, almost all the families are shifting cultivators. Land suitable for shifting cultivation is generally owned by the entire community although private ownership is also found to be prevalent to a limited extent. Alienation of land, therefore, does not take place in the hills where the tribal people practise shifting cultivation only.

But the Karbi Anglong District has a sizeable plains area where wet paddy cultivation is done. It is now in such areas where alienation of land belonging to the tribal people generally takes place. Previous studies conducted by our Institute show that incidence of alienation of tribal land is very much rampant in the jurisdiction of the Howraghat Tribal Development Block. We have, therefore, selected five tribal villages from this block for the purpose of our study with the help of the District Census Handbook.

The details of these villages with Census Code Nos. are given below in a tabular form. The selected villages fall within the Diphu Sub-division of the Karbi Anglong district :

TABLE - 46

TABLE SHOWING THE DETAILS OF VILLAGES  
SURVEYED IN THE HILL AREAS

Sl. No.	Name of village	1971 Census Code No.	Name of district	Name of Dev. Block
1.	Pankumar	7/2/216	Karbi Anglong	Howraghat
2.	Phonglongpet	7/2/327	-do-	-do-
3.	Bahani Adarsha	7/2/382	-do-	-do-
4.	Sildharāmpur	7/2/126	-do-	-do-
5.	Karkok	7/2/297	-do-	-do-

#### DEMOCRATIC CHARACTERISTICS.

In the next table demographic characteristics of the five surveyed villages in the Hill Areas are shown. The data presented here are, however, based on 1971 Census only since 1981 Census could not be conducted in Assam due to foreign nationals' agitation.

(Please refer to Table-47)

It is seen from prepaged table that the total tribal population of the five surveyed villages has increased from 2540 in 1971 to 3142 as per this survey. That is to say there has been an increase of 23.70 percent during the 16 years period and the annual increase, therefore, is 1.48 percent which is less than half of the national growth of population.

The growth of population or otherwise in the five villages is, of course, not uniform. In the village Pankumar the growth of S/T population in between the period from 1971 to 1987 is 21.67 percent. But in the village Phonglongpet the percentage increase in the aforesaid period is 59.18. In Bahani Adharsha Gaon the percentage increase is 21.51 during the 16 years period from

TABLE - 47

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILL DISTRICTS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Scheduled Tribes		Percentage variation	Scheduled Castes		Percentage variation	Muslims		Percentage variation	Other		Percentage variation
		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987		1971	1987	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Pankumar	489	595	21.67	59	-	-	-	-	-	353	-	-
2.	Phonglongpet	517	823	59.18	-	-	-	-	-	-	224	-	-
3.	Bahani Adarsha	725	881	21.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	-	-
4.	Sildharampur	508	473	(-6.88)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	504	-
5.	Karkok	301	370	22.92	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	-	-
	Total-	2540	3142	23.70	59	-	-	-	-	-	708	504	-

1971 to 1987 and it is more or less the same as that of Pankumar. In Sildharampur, however, there has been a minus growth of population during the above-quoted period and the variation in terms of percentage is (-) 6.88. This minus growth of the population is ascribed to outmigration of a number of families from this village in order to establish a new village. In this connection it may be mentioned that a Karbi (Miri) village is generally named after the Gaonburah, the village headman, called Sarburah also in Karbi, and this post is a coveted one since it is post of honour. Hence a new aspirant for this post moves away from the parent village with a number of other families and established a new village: somewhere also where he automatically becomes the village headman. And this is precisely what happened in Sildharampur.

In the village Karkok also the percentage growth of S/T population during the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987 is found to be 22.92.

Thus it is observed that in three surveyed villages out of five the growth of S/T population centres round 22 percent or so.

So far as the scheduled caste population is concerned, we find that only in one village, i.e. Karkok there where 59 persons during 1971. But at the time of our survey no scheduled caste families were traceable in this village and their whereabouts are also not known to the villagers of Pankumar. The other four village had neither any scheduled caste population as per 1971 Census nor any scheduled caste families were located at the time of our survey in these four villages.

There have not been any Muslim population in these villages.

Another interesting fact is that although there were 708 persons in the category 'others' as per 1971 Census in four villages, namely, Pankumar, Phonglongpet, Bahani Adharsha and Karkok, at the time of our survey no population in this category was traceable. The non-tribals under this category who were origi-

nally East Bengal refugees had left the villages and settled at the villages Sildhampur and as such it is a case of out-migration.

Another interesting fact that has become apparent is that while in 1971 there were no population under the category 'others' in the village Sildhampur, at the time of our survey, however, 540 Nos. of persons in this category are found in this village and it is a case of in-migration. Non-tribal people specially who migrated to this part originally from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) are found to have settled in this village within the last few years or so by coming from the neighboring villages.

### TRIBAL FAMILIES AND LANDLESS TRIBAL FAMILIES

In the next table the total number of families, tribal families and landless tribal families in the five villages in the Karbi Anglong district are given :-

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TABLE SHOWING THE DETAILS OF TOTAL FAMILIES, TRIBAL FAMILIES

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total families	Total S/T families	Percentage	Total landless S/T families	Percentage to total S/T families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Pankumar	86	86	100.00	9	10.46
2.	Phonglongpet	102	102	100.00	1	0.98
3.	Bahani Adharsha	120	120	100.00	5	4.16
4.	Sildhampur	140	68	48.57	10	14.70
5.	Karkok	54	54	100.00	Nil	Nil
Total :-		502	430	85.65	25	5.81

From the above table it is seen that in the 5 surveyed villages in the hill areas, the total number of families is found to 502 out of which 430 or 85.65 percent are tribal families.

In four villages, namely Pankumar, Phonglongpet, Bahani Adharsha Gaon and Karkok, there are, of course, no families other than the scheduled tribes. Only in the village Sildhampur 72 non-tribal families are found. Total number of landless tribal families is 25 and they constitute 5.81 percent of the total tribal families. In the village Karkok are no landless families.

### TYPES OF LAND

In the next table different types of land found within the jurisdiction of the five surveyed villages are shown villagewise :-  
(Please refer to Table-49)

From the table given at pre-page it is seen that the total land within the territorial jurisdiction of 5 tribal villages in the hill area is 5063.9 Acres. 59.5 percent of the total land area is found to be under cultivation. 671.39 Acres or 22.4 percent of the total land under cultivation is found to be irrigated and the total irrigated area constitutes 13.33 percent of the total land area of the five village. The low percentage of irrigated land shows that irrigation is yet to make a suitable headway in the hill areas.

7.33 percent of the total land area is found to be fallow land. Forest land in these villages, either reserved or protected, is nil. Since the Karbi people are not in the habit of maintaining gardens of any type, garden land is also found to of low acreage and it constitutes only 3.16 percent of the total land. Grazing land in these villages are also found to be nil. 16.65 percent of the total land in the villages is found to be uncategorised land.

### LAND ALIENATION

In the next table a consolidated statement of alienation of

TABLE - 49

TABLE SHOWING THE TYPES OF LAND IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILL DISTRICTS (IN ACRES)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total Land	Under cultivation	P.C. to Total	Irrigated Land	P.C. to Total	Fallow Land	P.C. to Total	Forest Land		P.C. to Total	Garden Land	P.C. to Total	Grazing Land	P.C. to Total	Other Land	P.C. to Total
									L. E.	P. F.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1.	Pankumar	742.06	580.67	78.25	12.06	1.62	37.73	5.08	Nil	Nil	-	38.00	5.12	Nil	-	73.60	9.91
2.	Phonglongpet	664.66	559.80	84.22	Nil	Nil	55.20	8.30	Nil	Nil	-	49.66	7.47	Nil	-	Nil	Nil
3.	Bahani Adarsha	1446.00	659.00	45.57	Nil	Nil	64.00	4.42	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	Nil	-	723.00	50.00
4.	Sidharampur	1529.18	671.79	43.92	659.33	43.12	126.26	82.56	Nil	Nil	-	71.68	4.68	Nil	-	Nil	-
5.	Karkok	655.00	526.00	80.3	Nil	Nil	87.00	13.28	Nil	Nil	-	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	42.00	6.41
	Total-	5036.9	299.2	59.5	671.39	13.33	370.19	7.35	-	-	-	159.32	3.16	-	-	838.6	16.65

N. B. :- It may be mentioned here that land survey and settlement operations in these five villages were completed in between the years 1976 to 1977 and the pattas were also issued the villagers (Landholders) in between the years 1977 and 1978.

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TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION IN THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN HILL AREAS (In Acres)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Alienation caused by private individuals								Alienation caused by acquisition
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Pankumar	62.62	-	-	6.33	-	2.66	11.32	147.76	Nil
2.	Phonglongpet	30.28	0.68	2.66	-	5.30	-	-	30.14	Nil
3.	Bahani Adarsha	109.20	53.11	-	-	-	7.99	-	-	Nil
4.	Sidharampur	25.30	-	-	6.32	-	-	-	73.97	Nil
5.	Karkok	3.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	277.66	Nil
	Total-	230.73	53.78	2.66	12.65	5.30	10.65	11.32	529.53	

A- Paikas, B- Khoi Bandhak, C- Sukti Bandhak, D- Sale, E- Encroachment by tribals, F- Mortgage, G- Gift, H- Adhi.

tribal land in the five surveyed villages is given. Data presented here are based on the information furnished in the village schedules. Detail analysis of the land alienation cases will be presented in the next chapter of this report.

In the table the manner in which alienation has taken place is shown with codes to avoid clumsiness in the table.

(Please refer to Table-50)

### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

In the five surveyed villages in the hill areas there are 8 Nos. of educational institutions - 2 High Schools, 2 M.E. Schools and 4 L. P. Schools. These available educational facilities are shown in the next table :-

(Please refer to Table-51)

The table at pre-page shows that the total number of students in the two High Schools is found to be 714 on the roll, out of which 401 are boys and 313 are girls. The total number of S/T students in the high schools is 265 and they constitute 37.11 percent of the total students. Out of 265 tribal students are 146 boys (55.09%) and 119 are girls (44.9%).

In the two M.E. Schools, the total number of students is found to be 199 out of which 121 are boys and 78 are girls. Out of 199 students, the tribal students are found to be 168 and they constitute 84.42 percent to the total number of students. Out of 168 tribal students, there are 97 (57.73%) boys and 71 (42.25%) are girls.

So far as the L. P. Schools are concerned we find that the total number of pupils on the rolls in four L. P. Schools is 445 out of which 240 are boys and 205 are girls. Out of 445 pupils, the number of tribal students is 379 and they constitute 85.16 percent of the total number of pupils. Out of 379 tribal students, 53.03 percent or 201 are boys and 178 or 46.96 percent are girls.

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TABLE SHOWING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILL DISTRICTS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Types of schools																	
		Students in High school					Students in M. E./M. V. schools					Students in L. P. schools							
		Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	S/T Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	Pankumar	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103	58	45	72	39	33
2	Phonglongpet	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	54	24	84	41	23	59	23	36	59	23	36
3	Bahani Adarsha	369	216	153	139	79	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Sidharampur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	46	30	76	46	30
5	Karkok	345	185	160	126	76	59	121	67	54	104	56	48	207	113	94	172	83	79
	Total	714	401	313	265	146	119	119	121	78	168	97	71	445	240	205	379	201	178



Further analysis of this table shows that from high school level to L.P. Schools level, the percentage of tribal girls students is less than 50. At high school level, the percentage is 44.9, at middle school level it is 42.25 and at primary school level it is 46.96. The lower percentage of girls students at educational institutions of various levels is not due to the absence of lack of educational facilities but because of indifference of the parents and guardians towards girls' education.

### COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

From the point of view of communication facilities the hill areas are generally lagging behind compared to the plains areas. However, in the recent past due to development activities at a faster rate, improvement in the different types of communication facilities has been taken place. In the next table the communication facilities that are available in the five tribal villages are shown:-  
(Please refer to Table-52)

The table at the pre-page shows that from the point of view road transport communication facilities the surveyed villages are situated at a distance of 1/2 to 7 kilometers. All the five villages are, however, situated far away from the railway stations. The nearest railway station is at Diphu, which is also the H.Q. of the Karbi Anglong district, and the distance of Diphu railway station from the surveyed villages varies from 65 to 80 kms.

The table also shows that while two villages have all weather connecting roads, two have fair weather road communications. One village namely, Karkok, does not have any motorable roads either all weather or fair weather.

There are post offices in four villages and the village-Karkok does not have such facilities. No telegraph and telephone facilities are available in any of the five surveyed villages.

Howraghat and Bakalia are the two nearest towns of the

TABLE - 52

TABLE SHOWING COMMUNICATION FACILITIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILLS DISTRICTS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Bus Station	Distance in Km.	Rly. Station	Distance in Km.	Connecting Roads		Post Office	Tele-graph Office	Tele- phone	Nearest Town	Distance in Km.
						All weather	Fare Weather					
	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	9	10	11	
1.	Pankumar	Howraghat	1/2	No	Nil	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Howraghat	1/2
2.	Phonglongpet	Bokolia	7	No	Nil	No	Yes	No	No	No	Bakalia	7
3.	Bahani Adarsha	Bakalia	1.5	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Bakalia	1.5
4.	Sildharampur	Dokmoka	4	No	Nil	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Dokmoka	4
5.	Karkok	Bakalia	7	No	-	No	No	No	No	No	Bokalia	7
Total-												



surveyed villages. These are very small towns and they may in fact be called improved growth centres. These towns, however, offer marketing facilities to the people of the surveyed villages. By summarising the above analysis we may say that in the surveyed villages in the hill areas, available communication facilities, except Karkok, are reasonably good.

### INSTITUTIONS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

In the next table an idea regarding the availability or otherwise of the different types of institutions like the co-operative societies, banks, panchayats, medical, veterinary, etc., and also the existence of voluntary organisations is given :-

(Please refer to Table-53)

From the preceding table it is seen that all the five villages are served by co-operative societies. The people of the village Pankumar avail of the facilities offered by the LAMP at Howraghat. Phonglongpet, Bahani Adharsha and Karkok are served by the LAMP at Bokalia. The people of Sildharampur are served by the LAMP at Dokoma.

From the above quoted table we also find that all the five villages have banking facilities. The State Bank of India branch at Howraghat offers banking facilities to the villagers of Pankumar. The Rural Bank of Bakalia branch offers banking facilities to Phonglongpet, Bahani Adharsha and Karkok villages. The people of Sildharampur get the banking facilities offered by the Union Commercial Bank branch at Dokoma.

Since the Sixth Scheduled areas of Assam are not covered by the panchayat system, the question of the presence of panchayat chiefs does not arise. The villages, of course, has their traditional village councils called ME which may be regarded as a sort of Panchayat system.

Coming to the question of the medical institutions we find

TABLE - 53

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILL AREAS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Co-op Society	Bank	Panchayat	Medical Institution	Veterinary Institutions	Voluntary Organisations
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Pankumar	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
2.	Phonglongpet	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
3.	Bahani Adarsha	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
4.	Sildharampur	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
5.	Karkok	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
	Total-	5	5	-	4	4	1



that out of five, four villages have the facilities of medical institutions.

There is a 30 bedded hospital at Howraghat, the facilities of which can be availed of by the people of the village Pankumar.

A Primary Health Centre at Bakalia has recently been set up. Since the villages Phonglongpet and Bahani Adharsha are situated at a short distance, the people of these two villages can avail of the medical facilities offered by the P. H. C. at Bakalia. In the Sildharampur village itself there is a Primary Health Centre.

So far as the veterinary institutions are concerned, we find that out of five villages, four have such facilities. Howraghat, Bakalia and Dokmoka have veterinary dispensaries. While the village Pankumar is served by the Howraghat Veterinary Dispensary, Phonglongpet and Bahani Adharsha are served by the Veterinary Dispensary at Bokolia. Sildharampur is served by the veterinary dispensary located at Dokmoka. Only the village Karkok has no veterinary dispensary institution within its immediate reach.

Except Karkok there are no voluntary organisations in the surveyed villages. The Nehru Juba Kendra has organised one club called Harlongbse club in the Karkok village to do social services in the village.

Summarising the analysis in the above table we may say that essential institutions like banks, co-operative societies, veterinary and medical facilities are more or less present in the surveyed villages.

### VILLAGE LEADERSHIP

Village leadership, specially in the hill tribal societies, has a very strong holding. The traditional village council in the Karbi society headed by the Sarburah (traditional village headman) still settles the petty disputes and decides the manner in which the socio-religious festivals or religious rituals are to be observed.

However, in the present days context whatever traditional leaders the society might be having, are now gradually replaced by new leaders-like fair-price shop-keepers, Panchayat Chiefs, Gram Sevaks or village level workers, Co-operative Societies' Chairman, village Mahajans, village moneylenders, etc. One important thing in this connection which is worth mentioning is the fact that there had not been any village watchman or village chowkidars in the tribal villages of Assam in the hill areas as well as in the plains areas.

The presence or absence of different types of village leaders in the five surveyed villages is shown in the next table :-

(Please refer to Table-54)

From the preceding table it is seen that only in one village out of five there is one Fair Price shopkeeper. The shop-keeper is, of course, a tribal. It has earlier been mentioned that the hill areas of Assam being the Sixth Scheduled areas, the Assam Panchayat Raj Act is not applicable in this region and as such the question of the presence of Panchayat Chiefs in the surveyed villages does not arise. In each of the three villages, namely, Pankumar, Phonglongpet and Sildharampur, there is the H. Q. of a Gram Sevak. Out of the three Gram Sevaks, two are tribals and one is a non-tribal.

There are no co-operative chiefs located in the five villages. Although the villages are served by IAMPs, nevertheless the chiefs of the IAMPs are not the residents of these five villages.

In two villages the presence of two S/T village Mahajans is observed. Only in one village one S/T village moneylender is found.

It is, therefore, seen that the modern leadership structure is not so much strong in the five surveyed villages in the hill areas.

**TABLE - 54**

**TABLE SHOWING THE VILLAGE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN HILL DISTRICTS**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Fair price shoop keeper		Panchayat Chief		V. L. P.		Village Chowkidar		Co-Operative Society Chief		Village Mahajan		Village Moneylender	
		S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T	S/T	Non S/T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.	Pankumar	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
2.	Phonglongpet	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
3.	Bahani Adarsha	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
4.	Sildharampur	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
5.	Karkok	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Total-	1				2	1					2		1	

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**CHAPTER - IX**

In this chapter the details of the data obtained from the canvassing of the household schedules in the five tribal villages in the hill areas are given.

**VITAL STATISTICS OF SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION**

In the five tribal villages surveyed, all the families are found to belong to one community only and that is, Karbi. In the Constitution Order 1976, the Karbis are referred as the Milkirs. But since the Karbis donot like to call themselves Milkir because of the fact that this is a name given to them by others, for our purpose we shall use the term Karbi in place of Milkir.

In the next table the details of the population in surveyed tribal families are given :-

(Please refer to Table-55)

From the table 55 it is seen that the total number of S/T families in the five surveyed villages is 430 and the total number of population is 3142. An average Karbi family, therefore, consists of 7.3 persons. Out of 3142 persons, 1517 are found to be females. The number of females per 1000 males is, therefore, 933. Again out of the total population of 3142, the number of married is found to be 1071, the percentage of married persons being 34.08.

In the next table the age groups of the tribal population in the five surveyed villages in the hill areas are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-56)

From the preceding table it is seen that out of the total popu-

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**TABLE - 55**

**TABLE SHOWING THE VITAL STATISTICS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL DISTRICTS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	Name of Tribe	S/T population sexwise			Marital Status		Total
				Male	Female	Total	Married	Unmarried	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Pankumar	86	Karbi	300	295	595	225	370	505
2	Phonglongpet	102	-do-	436	387	823	269	554	824
3	Bahani Adarsha	120	-do-	463	418	881	295	586	881
4	Sildharampur	68	-do-	240	233	473	167	306	474
5	Karkok	54	-do-	186	184	370	115	255	370
	Total-	430		1625	1517	3142	1071	2071	3142

**TABLE - 56**

**TABLE SHOWING THE AGE GROUPS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS.**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total S/T Population	0 to less than 6 years	6 Years to less than 15 years	15 Years to less than 25 years	25 Years to less than 40 years	40 years and above
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Pankumar	595	85 (14.28)	170 (18.57)	123 (20.67)	129 (21.68)	88 (14.78)
2.	Phonglongpet	823	142 (17.25)	262 (31.83)	180 (21.87)	130 (15.79)	109 (13.24)
3.	Bahani Adarsha	881	156 (17.70)	219 (24.85)	240 (27.24)	115 (13.05)	151 (17.13)
4.	Sildharampur	473	85 (17.97)	108 (22.83)	114 (24.10)	88 (18.60)	78 (16.49)
5.	Karkok	370	71 (18.15)	92 (23.52)	80 (20.46)	62 (15.85)	65 (16.62)
	Total-	3142	539 (17.15)	851 (27.08)	373 (23.45)	524 (16.67)	491 (15.62)

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets show the percentage to Total.

lition of 3142, the number of persons in the category '0 to less than 6 years' is 539 and they constitute 17.15 percent of the total population. Persons in the age group 6 years to less than 15 years' are found to be 851 and they constitute 27.08 percent of the total population.

737 persons are found in the age-group of 15 years to less than 25 years and they constitute 23.45% of the total population. 16.67 percent of the total population or 524 persons are found in the category of 25 years to less than 40 years. The number of persons who are 40 years and above' are found to be 491 or 15.62 percent of total population.

The first two categories, namely '0 to less than 6 years' and '6 years and less than 15 years' which constitute 44.23% of the total population in fact do not constitute the working force in the real sense of the term. But in the tribal societies, specially, in the hills even children from the age of 6/7 years are required to attend to some domestic works like the tending of cows, looking after younger children, collection of fuel, etc.

### LEVEL OF LITERACY

The following table shows the level of literacy among the tribal population in the surveyed villages in the hill areas.

(Please refer to Table-57)

It is seen from the table 57 that out of the total population of 3142 persons, 1039 persons are found to be literate as per data revealed by our present survey, the percentage of literacy being 33.06. The level of literacy of the males and females is found to be 40.80% and 24.78%, respectively. As per 1971 Census, however, the percentage of literacy among the Milkiris (Karbis) was only 13.18 (males 21.09% and females 4.95%). It now appears that literacy has made considerable progress among the Karbis during the last 16 years although from this sample we

TABLE - 57

TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY AMONG THE TRIBAL PIPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total S/T Population	Total No. of literates	Percentage	Total No. of males	Total male literacy	Percentage	Total No. of females	Total No. of female literacy	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Pankamar	595	244	41.00	300	152	50.66	295	92	31.19
2.	Phonglongpet	823	219	26.60	436	147	33.71	387	72	18.60
3.	Bahani Adarsha	881	256	29.05	463	168	36.28	418	88	21.05
4.	Sildharampur	473	148	31.28	240	91	37.91	233	57	24.46
5.	Karkok	370	172	43.98	186	105	56.45	184	67	36.41
	Total	3142	1039	33.06	1625	663	40.80	1517	376	24.78



cannot generalise for the entire Karbi population of the hill areas. It is, of course, a fact that the spread of education in the hill areas has a tremendous effect on the hill tribal population during the last ten years. Enrolment has gone up due to special drive and establishment of more and more educational institutions has facilitated to raise the percentage of literacy to a considerable extent. Opening up of new adult education centres has also received a favourable response from the people.

The level of literacy, however, differs from village to village and it varies between the minimum of 26.60 percent to the maximum of 43.98 percent. Similarly the level of female literacy is also found to vary from the maximum of 36.41 percent to the minimum of 18.60 percent.

### EDUCATIONAL STATUS

The following table shows the educational status among the scheduled tribe population in the five surveyed villages in the hill areas :-

(Please refer to Table-58)

From the table - 58 it is seen that out of the total literates of 1039 in the five surveyed villages in the hill areas 561 persons or 49.66 percent of the literates are found to have read upto primary level. Among the 516 persons males constitute 57.75 percent and the females constitute 42.25 percent.

Out of 1039 literates, 193 persons are found to have passed primary schools and they did not go further. Their percentage to total number of literates is 18.57 (Males 63.18 percent and females 36.82 percent).

269 persons are found to have read upto high school level and their percentage to total number of literates is 25.89 (Males 67.65 percent and females 32.35 percent).

Only 40 persons are found to have passed High School Leaving Certificates and their studies ended at this level. Their per-

TABLE - 58

TABLE SHOWING THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF TRIBAL POPULATION IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS

Sl. No.	Name of village	Read upto Primary level			Primary Passed			Read upto High School level			H. S. L. Passed			Higher Secondary/ P. U. Passed			Read upto degree level			Degree holder G/Tec/M			Post Graduate degree holder			Illiterate		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1.	Pankumar	78	57	135	33	06	68	17	20	27	3	3	6	1	2	3	3		3	1		1				72	118	190
2.	Phonglongpet	83	52	135	30	14	44	27	6	33	5		5				2		2							200	227	427
3.	Bahani Adarsha	66	53	119	48	22	70	46	13	59	2		2				1		1							224	271	495
4.	Sikharampur	33	24	57				40	28	68	17	5	22										1			106	128	234
5.	Karikok	38	32	70	4	6	10	52	30	82	3	2	5	2		2	3									68	82	148
	Total	298	218	516	115	78	193	182	87	269	30	10	40	7	2	9	9		9			2				668	826	1494

N.B. - Children below school going age are not included in the number of persons shown as literates.

centage to total number of literates is 3.84 only. (males 75% and females 25%).

Only 9 persons are found to have completed their study after passing Higher Secondary/P/U/ examinations and they constitute only 0.86 percent of the total number of literates (77.77 percent males and 22.23 percent females).

Again 9 persons have given up their studies reading upto degree level and they also constitute 0.86 percent of the total number of literates. In this case there has not been any females.

There are only 2 persons who have obtained degree in general education and one post graduate degree holder and all three are males only.

It now appears that although the percentage of literacy in the five tribal villages is found to be satisfactory, the persons having higher education is too meagre. Secondly, women literacy is found to be gradually declining from primary passed stage and onward and from degree level their participation is nil.

### ANNUAL INCOME

The annual income of the S/T families under the purview of the survey in the five tribal villages is calculated on the basis of different sources of main income like land, employment, wages, artisan works, veterinary and Animal Husbandry, etc. The incomes which could not be categories under these heads are shown in the column "Any others". The following table shows the annual income of the surveyed families, average annual incomes of the families and per capita income of the family members.

(Please refer to Table-59)

From the preceding table it is seen that 58.21 percent of the total annual income of the surveyed families is derived from land and 20.73 percent is derived from employment. Thus next to land that is, cultivation, the major source of income of the tribal families is employment.

TABLE - 59  
TABLE SHOWING THE ANNUAL INCOME OF THE SURVEYED TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE HILL AREAS (In Rs.)

Sl. No.	Name of village	SOURCES OF INCOME (IN RS.)									Total S/T population	Per capita income (in Rs.)
		Land	Employment	Wages	Artisan work	Vet. & A. H.	Any other	Total	Total No. of S/T families	Average income per families (in Rs.)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Pankumar	263350.00 (28.67)	468404.00 (50.77)	69450.00 (7.56)	-	58350.00 (6.08)	63450.00 (6.90)	918504.00	86	10680.27	595	1543.70
2.	Phongbngpet	590590.00 (64.42)	78300.00 (8.54)	51400.00 (5.60)	-	77200.00 (8.42)	119200.00 (13.00)	916630.00	102	8986.56	832	1101.71
3.	Bahani Adaraha	868100.00 (70.86)	118900.00 (9.74)	216400.00 (17.73)	2000.00 (0.16)	4900.00 (0.40)	11900.00 (0.97)	1220200.00	120	10169.33	881	1395.01
4.	Salthampur	345540.00 (48.10)	215100.00 (28.69)	78850.00 (10.53)	1500.00 (0.20)	58800.00 (7.17)	54600.00 (7.28)	749480.00	68	11021.91	473	1594.54
5.	Karfiak	716500.00 (79.57)	112100.00 (11.61)	69200.00 (7.10)	-	24100.00 (2.47)	51800.00 (6.32)	978300.00	54	18033.33	370	2691.89
	Total	2762220.00 (69.21)	660804.00 (20.73)	485400.00 (10.15)	3500.00 (0.07)	219650.00 (4.51)	301050.00 (6.28)	4776824.00	480	11119.07	3142	1520.88

However, some contrasting factors in case of the two sources of income are observed by us. It is seen from the above quoted table that the village Karkok where the percentage of literacy is found to be the highest, land stands as the highest source of the total annual income, the percentage being 73.57 and employment, on the other hand, accounts for 11.51 percent of the total annual income.

In the village Pankumar, while land accounts for only 28.67% employment accounts for 50.77 percent of the total annual income. From the point of view of literacy, of course, this village stands next to Karkok. Here the percentage of literacy is found to be 41. The main reason for having such employment opportunities, apart from the high percentage of literacy, can be ascribed to the following factors :-

(1) The village Pankumar is situated very near to the Howraghat Tribal Development Block. A good number of people from this village are employed in this Block in different capacities.

(2) There is a Revenue Circle office under the control of the Karbi Anglong District Council where also a few tribals have been working.

(3) Howraghat itself is a fast growing growth centre with daily as well as weekly markets, and a number of other offices like, Handloom and Textiles, banks, co-op. societies, etc. These also provide employment opportunities to the educated persons of the village Pankumar.

(4) There are many self-employed youths having some minor trades and cottage industries. The village Karkok, of course does not have such facilities.

Wages account for 10.15 percent of the total annual income but the percentage of this source of income varies from village to village from the maximum of 17.73% to the minimum of 7.10%.

Although like the plains tribes, the people belonging to hill

tribes also are expert in artisan works of various types including the production of textiles, manufacturing of bamboo and cane goods, etc., nevertheless, the production is generally meant for domestic consumption only leaving no surplus or very negligible surplus for marketing and that is why the earning from this source is found to be practically nil. This source of income, therefore, accounts for a very negligible percentage, that is 0.07.

Similarly the earning from the source 'Veterinary and Animal Husbandry' is also not at all satisfactory and it accounts for 4.51 percent of the total annual income of the surveyed families. That is because of the fact that the Karbis do not generally milk the cows and buffaloes and the milking is not exploited for commercial purpose. Secondly the pigs, birds, eggs, etc. are reared mostly for the purpose of domestic consumption and for the observance of rituals and socio-religious festivals whether domestic or commercial. Whatever surplus they might be having are disposed of in the weekly markets either through the tradesmen or by themselves. Sometimes, of course, domesticated animals and birds are sold out of compulsion to meet the emergency need of the families. Fishery is practically nil among the Karbis.

The sources of income like sericulture, trades and commerce, etc, which are not categorised are included in 'Any Others' which account for 6.29 percent of the total annual income of the surveyed families.

While the average income per family is found to be Rs. 11,113.07 the per capita income is worked out to be Rs. 1520.88 at the current price and it is lower than the national per capita income at the current price.

### FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE

The following table shows the S/T families below the poverty line in the five tribal villages in the hill areas :-

**TABLE - 60**

**TABLE SHOWING THE FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of S/T families	No. of families below povertyline	Percentage to total families
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Pankumar	86	33	38.37
2.	Phonglongpet	102	41	40.19
3.	Bahani Adharsha	120	6	5.00
4.	Sildharmapur	68	27	39.70
5.	Karkok	54	Nil	-
		430	107	24.88

From the above table it is seen that out of 430 surveyed tribal families only 107 Nos. are found below the poverty line and in terms of percentage, it comes to 24.88 which is lower than the figures that we obtain for the surveyed tribal families within tribal belts and blocks and outside tribal belts and blocks.

Another interesting fact that has drawn our attention is that in the village Karkok which has the highest average annual income per family (Rs. 18,033.00) does not have any family below the poverty line. In the village Bahani Adharsha the percentage of families below poverty line is found to be 5 only. This might be due to the fact that this is a model village established by the Karbi Anglong District Council where all the families are given equal opportunities and benefits to generate sufficient income for their maintenance. In other words, it is a village adopted by the District Council.

**ANNUAL EXPENDITURE**

In the following table the annual expenditure, average annual expenditure per family and per capita expenditure in the

surveyed families within the five tribal villages in the hill areas under the purview of the survey are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-61)

From the preceding table, that is Table - 61, it is seen that 'food' is the major item of expenditure and it accounts for 55.62 percent of the annual expenditure of the surveyed families. The percentage in each village, of course, varies. The highest percentage is observed in case of the village Phonglongpet (74.02%). Incidentally this village has the lowest percentage of literacy (26.60) as well as the lowest percapita income (Rs. 1101.71) among the five villages under the purview of the survey.

It is also seen from the above quoted table that in the village Karkok the expenditure on 'food' accounts for only 35.50 percent of the total annual expenditure and it is the lowest among the five surveyed villages. This village, on the other hand, has the highest percentage of literacy (43.98) as well as the highest percapita income (Rs. 2631.89) among the five surveyed villages.

The next highest item of expenditure is found to be housing which accounts for 12.47 percent of the total annual expenditure of the surveyed families. Like food, percentage of expenditure on this item also varies from village to village. While the village Phonglongpet accounts for the lowest (6.73%), in the village Karkok it is found to be the highest (17.04%). It may be mentioned here that the families in the five tribal villages now donot construct and live in their traditional houses which were pile-driving and constructed on bamboo platforms. In the Karkok village, however, many families have now C. I sheeted houses because of their affluent economic conditions.

The next highest item of expenditure is clothing which accounts for 12.18 percent of the annual expenditure. Like the previous one the percentage of expenditure on this item varies from village to village. While the village Bahani Adharsha has the highest percentage (17.91), the village Pholongpet has the lowest (6.02).

**TABLE - 61**  
**TABLE SHOWING THE PATTERN OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBE FAMILIES**  
**IN FIVE VILLAGES IN HILL AREAS**

Sl. No.	Name of village	ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE (IN RS.)											Average exp. per family	Per capita Expenditure
		Food	Clothing	Housing	Health	Education	Rituals	Social functions	Litigation	House-hold durable goods	Others	Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.	Pankumar	490680.00 (60.49)	54850.00 (6.72)	130550.00 (15.99)	16550.00 (2.02)	57930.00 (7.09)	7450.00 (0.91)	7600.00 (0.93)	-	19050.00 (1.59)	34350.00 (4.20)	815990.00	9488.82	1371.41
2.	Phanglongpet	548460.00 (74.02)	44600.00 (6.02)	49840.00 (6.73)	11800.00 (1.59)	17280.00 (3.75)	7480.00 (1.01)	7300.00 (0.99)	2900.00 (0.93)	16890.00 (2.29)	23300.00 (3.14)	740435.00	7259.16	889.94
3.	Bahani Adarsha	681300.00 (53.50)	221400.00 (17.01)	136800.00 (11.05)	26900.00 (2.17)	69200.00 (5.59)	11500.00 (0.93)	21700.00 (1.75)	1100.00 (0.08)	25300.00 (2.04)	81000.00 (4.69)	123690.00	10300.00	1402.95
4.	Sidharmapur	370200.00 (62.37)	45900.00 (7.71)	59600.00 (9.87)	12660.00 (2.13)	30200.00 (5.08)	7200.00 (1.21)	6775.00 (1.13)	1920.00 (0.32)	20009.00 (3.37)	40200.00 (6.67)	593554.00	8728.75	1254.87
5.	Karkok	335300.00 (35.50)	180960.00 (17.04)	164500.00 (17.41)	38750.00 (3.89)	64650.00 (6.84)	16800.00 (1.77)	39980.00 (3.80)	11250.00 (1.19)	55250.00 (5.84)	63050.00 (6.67)	944490.00	17490.55	2552.87
	Total-	2408920.00 (57.72)	527610.00 (12.18)	540090.00 (12.47)	104680.00 (2.41)	249905.00 (5.76)	50430.00 (1.16)	79345.00 (1.89)	17170.00 (0.93)	130499.00 (3.01)	221900.00 (5.12)	4330469.00	10070.85	1379.25

N. B. - Figures in brackets indicates percentages to the total.

Next to 'housing' comes education and it accounts for 5.76 percent of the total annual expenditure. In the village Pankumar and Karkok expenditure on this item is comparatively high. Health accounts for 2.41 percent of the total annual income. Because of better health coverage by the Medical and Health Department, the incidence of diseases has come down and hence the expenditure on this score is also found to be sufficiently low.

Although the Karbis worship a good number of deities by performing religious rituals and sacrificing pigs and birds, nevertheless, expenditure on this score found to be slightly more than one percent only (1.16). Similarly the expenditure on social functions and community celebration and festivals is 1.83 percent only of the total annual expenditure.

Expenditure on litigation is practically nil since the Karbis like to settle minor disputes and try cases of social crimes and offences of minor nature in the villages itself. However expenditure on this score is found to be incurred in four villages out of five and it accounts for 0.99 percent of the total annual expenditure.

3.01 percent of total expenditure is spent on purchasing household durable goods. Like other items, the percentages on this score also vary from village to village and the highest percentage is observed in respect of the village Karkok (5.84%). The items which could not be categorised are included in 'Others' and they account for 5.12% of the total annual expenditure.

It is also seen from the table that the average annual expenditure per family and per capita expenditure come to Rs. 10,070.85 and Rs. 1378.25 respectively.

### COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ANNUAL INCOME & EXPENDITURE

A comparative study of annual income and expenditure of the scheduled tribe families of the five villages within the hill areas will enable us to see whether the family budgets are sur-

plus and people have any scope for savings or whether the family budgets are deficit resulting in large scale indebtedness. The comparison is shown in a tabular form in the next table :-

**TABLE - 62**

**TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE BETWEEN ANNUAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN THE FIVE TRIBAL VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS ( IN Rs.)**

Sl. No.	Name of village	Average annual income per family	Average annual expdt. per family	Surplus Deficit	Percapita income	Percapita expdt.	Surplus Deficit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Pankumar	10680.27	9488.82	(+)1191.45	1543.70	1317.41	(+)226.29
2.	Phonglongpet	8986.56	7259.16	(+)1727.40	1107.71	889.94	(+)217.77
3.	Bahani Adharsha	10168.33	10300.00	(-)131.67	1385.01	1402.95	(-)17.94
4.	Sildharampur	11021.91	8728.73	(+)2293.18	1584.54	1254.87	(+)329.67
5.	Karkok	18033.33	17490.55	(+)543.33	2631.89	2552.67	(+)179.22
		11113.07	10070.85	(+)1042.22	1520.88	1378.25	(+)142.63

From the above table it is seen that while the average annual income of a family is Rs. 11,113.07, the average annual expenditure is found to be Rs. 10,070.85 and thus the average annual savings per family comes to Rs. 1,042.22. It is, however, observed that all the five villages do not have a surplus budget. One out of the five villages has a deficit budget. The village Bahani Adharsha has a deficit annual budget and the deficit amount of an average family is Rs. 131.67 which rather appears to be a small one.

Sildharampur has the highest surplus annual family budget, the amount of surplus being Rs. 2,293.18. Sildharampur is followed by Phonglongpet where the average annual surplus amount of family is found to be Rs. 1,727.40.

It can also be seen from this table that the four villages out of five have per capita surplus and the overall per capita surplus is Rs. 142.63.

From the above analysis one thing has become clear at least. As the annual surplus amount of an average tribal family is Rs. 1042.22 only, there is hardly any possibility of capital formation leading to further investment in a substantial scale. Under such circumstances, the pace of economic growth is bound to be slow.

**CATEGORIES OF LAND**

In the next table the total land under the possession of the S/T families and also their different categories in the 5 tribal villages surveyed in the hill areas are shown :-

(Please refer to Table-63)

From the table 63 it is seen that the total land under the possession of 430 S/T families in the 5 villages under the purview of the survey is found to be 2790.71 Acres. From the table 49, on the other hand, it is seen that the total land within the territorial jurisdiction of the 5 villages is 5036.90 Acres. The percentage of the land belonging to different categories under the possession of the 430 families to the total land under the jurisdiction of the villages is 55.40. That is to say 44.60% of the total land in the 5 villages is govt. land or land under the management of the District Council on which the people have no claims.

The average landholding per family is found to be 6.49 Acres, out of which 4.03 percent accounts for dry land, 81.09 percent accounts for wetland, 11.13% accounts for homestead land, 0.38% accounts for Jhum land (under shifting cultivation) and 0.25% accounts for garden land. Since the percentage of fallow land is found to be only 3.09% of the total land, it can be assumed that 96.91% of the land is under the use of the people.

Although the five surveyed villages are within the hill areas,



TABLE - 63

TABLE SHOWING THE CATEGORIES OF LAND UNDER THE POSSESSION OF TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS (in Acres)

Sl. No.	Name of village	Dry Land	Wet Land	Jhum Land	Homestead Land	Garden Land	Fallow Land	Total Land	Total No. of S/T families	Average land holding per families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Pankamar	12.83 (2.34)	456.74 (83.71)	-	70.32 (12.88)	3.00 (0.54)	2.67 (0.48)	545.56	86	6.34
2.	Phonglongpet	52.82 (8.17)	641.28 (83.81)	-	51.74 (8.01)	-	-	645.84	102	6.33
3.	Bahani Adarsha	12.33 (1.62)	635.82 (83.63)	-	103.11 (13.56)	4.00 (0.52)	5.00 (6.65)	760.26	120	6.33
4.	Sildhampur	32.70 (13.71)	175.60 (73.66)	-	30.09 (12.62)	-	-	238.39	68	3.50
5.	Karkok	2.00 (0.33)	453.77 (75.54)	10.66 (1.77)	55.42 (9.22)	-	78.81 (13.12)	600.66	54	11.12
	Total-	112.68 (4.03)	2263.21 (81.09)	10.66 (0.38)	310.68 (11.13)	7.00 (0.15)	86.48 (3.09)	2790.71	430	6.49

N. B. :- Figures in the brackets indicate percentages to the total.

nevertheless, the area under Jhum land accounts for only 0.38% of the total land under the possession of the tribal families. Moreover, Jhum cultivation (shifting cultivation) is found to be practised only in one village. This is due to the fact that these villages are situated almost in the plains areas. There are, of course, some small hillocks around the villages where in the past the people used to practise shifting cultivation. But due to the constant persuasion of the agriculture department supported by the efforts of other allied departments like soil conservation, irrigation, etc., most of the families practising shifting cultivation have given it up gradually and arrived at the present position.

Garden land is also practically nil and the Karbi people are not in the habit of maintaining separate garden land. A part of the homestead land has also been used as garden land as well as for kitchen garden.

So far as the fallow land is concerned in 2 villages it is nil. The village Karkok has the highest percentage (13.12%) of fallow land and this is due to the fact that some of the lands are rocky and not at all suitable for cultivation.

So far as the average landholding per family is concerned it is observed that the three villages, namely, Pankumar, Phonglongpet and Bahani Adarsha have more or less the same acreage (6.33 Acres). While Sildhampur has the lowest acreage (3.50 Acres) the village Karkok has the highest acreage, that is, 11.12 Acres.

#### LANDHOLDING PATTERN

In the next table, that is Table-64, landholding pattern of tribal families according to different scales of acreage is shown:-  
(Please refer to Table-64)

From the Table 64 it is seen that the percentage of families holding land between 3 Acres to less than 5 Acres is the highest (23.25%). In other words, 100 families out of 430 are found to

TABLE - 64

TABLE SHOWING THE LAND HOLDING PATTERN OF TRIBAL FAMILIES IN THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES WITHIN THE HILL AREAS (In Acres).

Sl. No.	Name of village	Landless	Less than one Acres	1 Acres to less than 2 Acres	2 Acres to less than 3 Acres	3 Acres to less than 5 Acres	5 Acres to less than 7 Acres	7 Acres to less than 10 Acres	10 Acres and above	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Pankamar	3 (3.48)	6 (6.97)	3 (3.48)	12 (13.95)	19 (22.09)	11 (12.79)	12 (13.95)	20 (23.25)	86
2.	Phonglongpet	1 (0.98)	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	16 (15.68)	22 (21.56)	22 (21.56)	20 (19.60)	16 (15.68)	102
3.	Bahani Adarsha	3 (2.50)	3 (2.50)	4 (3.33)	7 (5.83)	28 (23.33)	19 (15.83)	39 (32.50)	17 (14.16)	120
4.	Sidharampur	Nil	1 (1.47)	2 (2.94)	15 (22.05)	22 (32.35)	10 (14.70)	10 (14.70)	8 (11.76)	68
5.	Kartok	Nil	Nil	2 (3.70)	3 (5.55)	9 (16.66)	5 (9.25)	12 (22.22)	23 (42.59)	54
	Total-	7 (1.62)	11 (2.55)	15 (3.48)	53 (12.32)	100 (23.25)	67 (15.58)	93 (21.62)	84 (19.53)	340

have belonged to this category. The second highest (21.62%) category of landholders are those who have land between 7 acres to less than 10 acres. Sufficient number of families are found to have land 10 Acres and above and such families account for 19.53% of the total families. Thus the total landholders of those three categories come to 64.40%.

Only 7 families out of 430 are found to be landless and they account for 1.62 percent of the total families under the purview of the survey. It is also interesting to find that in two villages namely Sidharampur and Kartok there are no landless families.

### EXTENT OF ALIENATION OF LAND IN HILL AREAS

It has already been mentioned in the introductory chapter of this report that the manner in which tribal land is alienated in the Karbi Anglong District is quite different from the plains areas of Assam. Besides sale, the other forms of alienation are Paikas, Khoi Bandhak, Sukti Bandhak, Mena and Adhi (share-cropping). The latter forms of alienation are, in fact, not permanent alienation. But they continue perpetually once the tribal families enter into them. Since a detail description of these peculiar forms of alienation is already given in the introductory chapter, their description here again would be mere repetition only what has earlier been said.

In the next table details of alienation of land are given villagewise :-

(Please refer Table-65-A,B,C,D, & E)

### DETAIL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION

From the Table 65, from 65 (A) to 65 (E), it is seen that the forms in which alienation of tribal land in the hill areas occurs are (1) Paikas (2) Khoi Bandhak (3) Sukti Bandhak (4) Sale (5) Mortgage (6) Gift (7) Encroachment and (8) Adhi. There has not been any case of alienation of land due to acquisition for

**TABLE - 65 (A)**  
**EXTENT OF ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND (VILLAGEWISE) IN THE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILLS AREAS.**

Name of the village - Pankumar

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Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	N/T	To whom alienated				Purpose of Alienation
								Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
				Plains	Hills							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Smti Karang Rongpi	3.33	Wet land	1983	Paikas	Rs. 750.00	-	-	-	*	-	For medical treatment
2.	„ Sri Kong Terang	2.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 700.00	-	-	-	*	-	No reason adduced
3.	„ Ramsing Engti	5.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	*	Nepali	-	-	-	-do-
4.	„ Bini Teron	3.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1750.00	-	-	-	*	-	For medical treatment
5.	„ Shing Lngdok Ronghang	4.66	-do-	1988	-do-	Not known	-	-	-	*	-	Not capable of self cultivation
6.	„ Burasing Rongphar	5.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	-	-	-	*	-	No reason adduced
7.	„ Mensing Tokbi	3.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 750.00	-	-	-	*	-	Poor economic condition
8.	„ Harsing Engti	1.33	-do-	1988	-do-	not known	-	-	-	*	-	For medical treatment
9.	„ Kania Lekthe	6.00	-do-	1988	-do-	-do-	-	-	-	*	-	No reason adduced
10.	„ Mangal Sing Teron	5.33	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 1600.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	For medical treatment
11.	„ Babusing Engti	2.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	*	-	Poverty
12.	„ Dhaniram Ronghang	2.66	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1400.00	-	-	-	*	-	For household maintenance
13.	„ Mansing Terang	3.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1400.00	-	-	-	*	-	Poverty
14.	„ Jaikha Engti	3.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1400.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-

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Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised	N/T	To whom alienated				Purpose of Alienation
								Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
				Plains	Hills							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
15.	Sti Dhaniram Rongpi	2.66	Wet land	1987	Paikas	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	*	-	To meet domestic expenditure
16.	„ Smti Rongpherpi	2.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 600.00	-	-	-	*	-	Not known
17.	„ Kong Ronghang	4.50	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 2300.00	-	-	-	*	-	No capable member of home cultivation
18.	„ Borsing Rongpi	2.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 900.00	-	-	-	*	-	Educational purpose
19.	„ Tarasing Rongpi	2.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 900.00	-	-	-	*	-	Financial crisis
20.	„ Kania Teron	6.66	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 2400.00	*	Bihari	-	-	-	-do-
21.	„ Kamalsing Ronghang	0.67	Home-stead land	1984	Sale	Rs. 1250.00	-	-	-	*	-	For medical treatment
22.	„ Kania Bey	2.00	Wet land	1979	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	*	-	Poverty
		2.00	-do-	1982	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	*	-	-
		1.66	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 4500.00	-	-	-	*	-	-
		2.66	-do-	1988	Mortgage	Rs. 4500.00	-	-	-	*	-	-
23.	„ Kathar Engti	5.66	-do-	1988	Gift	-	*	Bengali	-	-	-	No able bodied man for cultivation
24.	30 families to 63 (5 families)	23.32	Wet land	Last 5 yrs. Adhlar	(Share cropping)	-	5 persons	3 Bengali 1 Bihari 1 Assamese	-	-	-	-do-
25.	Families	124.44	-do-	-do-	-do-	-	-	-	-	25 Nos.	-	-do-
		233.69				Rs. 37800.00	0		1	46		

Paikas - 66.62 Acres, Sale - 6.33, Mortgage - 2.66, Gift - 11.32, Adhlar - 147.78

\* This mark indicates a positive case.

**TABLE - 65 (B)**  
Name of the village - Phonglongpet

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Case/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Shri Satish Timung	4.00	Wet land	1986	Paikas	Rs. 1800.00	*	Bihari	-	-	-	Lack of manpower for family cultivation
2.	„ Basa Engti	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1800.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
3.	„ Hemari Engti	6.68	-do-	1981	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	No bullock
4.	„ Habe Terang	3.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1350.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
5.	„ Hemari Timung	3.30	-do-	1986	-do-	Not known	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
6.	„ Babu Tokbi	3.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	Bihari	-	-	-	-do-
7.	„ Lunse Be	1.66	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 750.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To meet household expenses
8.	„ Etpo Engti	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1800.00	-	-	-	-	-	To meet household expenses
9.	„ Dijung Terang	0.67	-do-	1983	Khol Bandhak	8 Qts of paddy	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
		2.66	-do-	1987	Sukti Bandhak	Rs. 8000.00	-	-	-	-	-	No Bullock
10.	„ Khorsing Terang	5.30	-do-	1986	Encroachment	-	3 persons	Bihari	-	-	-	Not known
11 to 22	12 families	10.66	-do-	last 5 yrs.	Adhl	-	-	-do-	-	-	-	No capital for cultivation
	4 families + 8 families	19.68	-do-	-do-	-do-	-	-	-	-	8 persons	-	-do-
		69.05					13			12		

Paikas - 30.28 Acres, Khol Bandhak - 0.67 Acres, Sukti Bandhak - 2.66 Acres, Encroachment - 5.30 Acres and Adhl - 30.14 Acres  
\* This mark indicates a positive case.

**TABLE - 65 (C)**  
Name of the village - Bahani Adarsha

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Shi Lunse Kaip	2.68	Wet land	1986	Paikas	Rs. 1200.00	*	Bihari	-	-	-	To overcome financial difficulties
2.	„ Lokpe Rongpi	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 750.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	-do-
3.	„ Longhal	2.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To cover expenses for social functions
4.	„ Lupse Rongpi	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 8000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To overcome financial difficulties
5.	Smti. Mohan Terangpi	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 700.00	*	Assamese (O.B.C)	-	-	-	Expenses for social functions
6.	Sri Munshi Rongpi	3.33	-do-	1976	-do-	Rs. 2100.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	Poor economic condition
7.	„ Duari Timung	1.00	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
8.	„ Kha Engti	3.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
9.	„ Longki Timung	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 750.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
10.	„ Adin rongkang	3.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 800.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Incapable of self cultivation
11.	„ M. Singh Timung	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2400.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Financial crisis
12.	„ Maja Rongkang	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2400.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
13.	„ Khala Terang	3.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2100.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To meet domestic needs
14.	Smti. Kache Tokbipi	4.00	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 2100.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Incapable of self cultivation

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
15.	Sri Mon Tokpi	1.33	Wet land	1988	Paikas	Rs. 600.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	Incapable of self cultivation
16.	" Singhot Keup	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 750.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To purchase food
17.	" Pator Hanse	2.33	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 3600.00	*	Bihari	-	-	-	-do-
18.	" Sarsing Rongkang	1.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 750.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
19.	Smti. Koneng Karupi	2.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	-do-
20.	Sri Longki Rongkhang	6.66	-do-	1978	-do-	Rs. 1800.00	*	Bihari	-	-	-	To meet domestic needs
21.	" Kehai Terang	4.00	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 4400.00	*	Bengali	-	-	-	To perform sradha ceremony
22.	" Borsing Terang	4.00	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	Poverty
23.	" Dhaniram Rongpi	4.66	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 1400.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	-do-
24.	" Maniram Terang	2.66	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 3100.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To meet domestic needs
25.	" Bengtok Ronghang	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2250.00	*	-do-	-	-	-	To observe socio-religious functions
26.	" Thang Keup	7.33	-do-	1986	-do-	not known	-	-	-	-	-	Poverty
27.	Smti. May Terangpi	1.66	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	-	-	-	-	-	-do-
28.	Sri Samsing Ronghang	3.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	-	-	To perfect socio-religious functions
29.	" Kumar Tokbi	1.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 500.00	-	-	-	-	-	To purchase food stuff
30.	" Sarthe Hanse	2.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	-	-	-	-	-	To meet domestic needs
31.	" Pator Tamung	3.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1575.00	-	-	-	-	-	To overcome financial problem

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
32.	Sri Kania Hanse	2.66	Wet land	1988	Paikas	Rs. 2400.00	-	-	-	*	-	To overcome financial problem
33.	" Ramsing Engti	2.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	-	-	-	*	-	To purchase food stuff
34.	Smti Kawe Hansepi	3.66	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-
35.	Sri Kanu Hanse	2.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2500.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-
36.	" Vusa Hanse	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1800.00	-	-	-	*	-	To perform marriage
37.	" Sarthe Lekthe	2.66	-do-	1986	Khoi Bandhak	Rs. 1400.00	-	-	-	*	-	To meet domestic needs
38.	Smti. Maya Terangpi	1.66	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 1000.00	-	-	-	*	-	To purchase food stuff
39.	Sri Hamai Timung	4.00	-do-	1985	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-
40.	" Barika Teron	8.33	-do-	1982-87	-do-	Rs. 2500.00	-	-	-	*	-	To observe religious ceremony
41.	" Mohan Teron	1.83	-do-	1986(10/8)	-do-	Rs. 9000.00	-	-	-	*	-	To observe death ceremony
42.	" Longkut Tokbi	6.66	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	*	-	To observe social functions
43.	" Rico Kro	3.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1800.00	*	Bengali Muslim	-	*	-	To meet domestic needs
44.	" Kalam Sing Timung	5.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 2400.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-
45.	" Ramsing Hanse	2.66	-do-	1982	-do-	Rs. 2900.00	-	-	-	*	-	To purchase food stuff
46.	" Bali Rongpi	1.33	-do-	1986	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	*	-	-do-
47.	" Kamson Lekthe	2.66	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1200.00	*	Bengali Hindu	-	-	-	To meet day-to-day expenditure
48.	" Kiri Singnar	5.33	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 8000.00	*	-	-	-	-	To celebrate marriage

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Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
49.	Sri Kaubura Rongpi	1.33	Wet land	1987	Paikas	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	.	-	To purchase food stuff
50.	" Baburam Hanse	3.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 5000.00	-	-	-	.	-	To perform death ceremony
51.	" Rambar Terang	2.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	.	-	To purchase food stuff
52.	" Malong Hanse	3.66	-do-	1987	Kholi Bandhak Mortgage	Rs. 3000.00	-	Bengali Hindu	-	.	-	-do-
53.	" Sarthe Terang	1.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 3000.00	-	-	-	.	-	Need of cash money
54.	" Monsing Rongpi	1.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	.	-	-do-
55.	" Kalam Rongpi	1.33	-do-	1984	-do-	Rs. 4000.00	-	-	-	.	-	To celebrate social functions
56.	" Smti. Bangre Kropi	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 2100.00	-	-	-	.	-	To overcome household difficulties.
		170.30				Rs.1,22,025.00				28		

Paikas - 109.20 Acres, Kholi Bandhak - 53.11 Acres, Mortgage - 7.99

TABLE - 65 (D)  
Name of the village - Sildharampur

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Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acre	Type of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised Cash/Kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Tribal		Other Agency	
									Plains	Hills		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Sri Chandra Rongpi	2.68	Wet land	1988	Paikas	Rs. 1500.00	-	-	-	.	-	No capital for cultivation
2.	" Kandali Teron	2.68	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 700.00	-	-	-	.	-	-do-
3.	Smti. Kaban Terangpi	2.33	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1375.00	-	-	-	.	-	To meet household expenses
4.	Sri Dhekong Kro	2.50	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 312.00	-	-	-	.	-	Incapable of self cultivation
5.	" Deoraj Kro	0.68	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 500.00	-	-	-	.	-	-do-
6.	" Sarthe Terang	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1500.00	-	-	-	.	-	To meet household expenditure
7.	" Veeru Tirmung	4.00	-do-	1987	-do-	Rs. 1500.00	-	-	-	.	-	Medical treatment
8.	" Longki Tokhi	1.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 1250.00	-	-	-	.	-	Incapable of self cultivation
9.	" Dikoi Teron	4.00	-do-	1988	-do-	Rs. 2100.00	-	-	-	.	-	-do-
10.	" Sarthe Rongpi	0.83	-do-	1983	-do-	Rs. 400.00	-	-	-	.	-	-do-
11.	" Kongbura Teron	1.66	-do-	1987	Sale	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	.	-	Medical treatment
12.	" Sarthe Singhar	3.33	-do-	1978	-do-	Rs. 5000.00	.	Asamese (O.B.C)	-	-	-	-do-
13.	" Rongsing Teron	1.33	-do-	1978	-do-	Rs. 2000.00	.	-do-	-	-	-	To meet financial crisis
14 to 23	10 families to 9 families + 1 families	69.97 + 4.00	-do-	last 10 yrs	Adhi	-	-	-	-	*9 Nos.	-	Incapable of self cultivation
		105.59					3			1	19	-do-

Paikas - 25.30 Acres, Sale - 6.32 Acres, Adhi - 73.97



TABLE - 65 (E)

Name of the village - Karkok

Sl. No.	Name of the head of the family	Area alienated in acres	Types of Alienated land	Year of alienation	Form of alienation	Amount realised cash/kind	To whom alienated					Purpose of Alienation
							N/T	Caste & Community	Plains	Tribes	Hills	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1.	Sri Siru Engti	3.33	Wet land	1986	Paikas	Rs. 2000.00	-	-	-	-	-	To purchase food stuff
2 to 33	32 families	277.66	-do-	last 5 yrs.	-do-	-	32 persons	Bengali, Hindu	-	-	-	Not capable of self cultivation
		280.99					32				1	

Paikas - 3.33 Acres, Adhi - 277.66 Acres.

public purposes in the surveyed villages.

So far as the Paikas is concerned it is generally meant for one year unless specifically mentioned. In case of Khoi Bandhak and Sukti Bandhak the years involved are 5 years generally unless they are otherwise specified. In case of Adhi there is no time limit. It may be for one year or many years together.

Our previous studies and experiences in the hill areas show that in case of Paikas it is renewed year after year because of the fact that it is a vicious circle and once a tribal enters into it, he can hardly get out of it. The same thing happens in respect of other cases namely, Khoi Bandhak, Sukti Bandhak, Mortgage and Adhi.

Below a village wise analysis of land alienation cases is furnished.

#### 1. PANKUMAR

- (a) Total landholding of surveyed families - 545.56 Acres.
  - (b) Total area of alienated land - 233.69
  - (c) Percentage of alienated land to total land holdings of the surveyed families - 42.83%.
  - (d) Total number of S/T families in the village - 86
  - (e) Total number of land alienated families - 53
  - (f) Percentage of land alienated families to total families - 61.62%.
  - (g) Total landholding of the land alienated families - 360.47 Acres.
  - (h) Total area of alienated land - 233.69 Acres.
  - (i) Percentage of alienated land to total landholding of land alienated families - 64.82%.
- Altogether 44 tribal families have alienated their 160.06 acres of land to tribals and this accounts for 68.49 percent of the total land alienated and 9 S/T families accounting for 10.46% of the total tribal families of the village. Pankumar have alienated 73.63 acres of their land which constitute 31.51 percent of the total

- surveyed families - 22.40%
- (d) Total No. of S/T families in the village - 120.
  - (e) Total No. of land alienated families - 56.
  - (f) Percentage of land alienated families to total families - 46.66%
  - (g) Total landholding of land alienated families - 353.47 Acres.
  - (h) Total area of alienated land - 170.30 Acres.
  - (i) Percentage of alienated land to total landholding of land alienated families - 48.27.

From the above analysis it is seen that in the village Bahani Adarsha altogether 170.30 Acres of land are found to have been alienated by 56 tribal families in the forms of Paikas, Khoi Bandhak and Mortgage. The break up is as follows :-

Paikas	-	109.20 Acres (64.12%)
Khoi Bandhak	-	53.11 Acres (31.18%)
Mortgage	-	7.99 Acres (4.69%)

The alienated land constitutes 22.40% of the total landholdings of the S/T families and 48.17% of the total landholdings of the land alienated families. Adhi is completely absent in this village.

While 28 tribal families have alienated their land to 28 non-tribals, equal number of tribal families have alienated their land to 28 tribals also.

Out of the total alienated land of 170.30 Acres, 81.25 Acres are alienated by 28 tribal families to non-tribals in the forms of Paikas, Khoi Bandhak and Mortgage which are illegal as per provisions of the existing Land Transfer Laws of the Karbi Anglong District Council. The illegally alienated land constitutes 47.7% of the total land alienated families in the village and 10.68 percent of the total landholding in the village. 28 tribal families who have alienated their land to non-tribals constitute 23.33% of the total No. of tribal families.

#### 4. SILDHARAMPUR

- (a) Total landholding of the surveyed families - 238.39 Acres.

- (b) Total area of alienated land - 105.30 Acres.
- (c) Percentage of alienated land to total landholdings of the surveyed families - 44.17%
- (d) Total No. of S/T families in the village - 68.
- (e) Total No. of land alienated families - 23.
- (f) Percentage of land alienated families to total families - 33.82%.
- (g) Total landholding of land alienated families - 125.26 Acres.
- (h) Percentage of alienated land to total landholding of the land alienated families - 84.06%.

It is now seen from the above analysis that 84.06 percent of the land belonging to the land alienated families has been alienated leaving very little for the families at their disposal. This speaks of the magnitude of the problem itself.

The forms in which the alienation has taken place are Paikas, Sale and Adhi. While Paikas accounts for 29.96 percent, Sale and Adhi account for 5.98% and 70.95 percent of the total land alienated respectively.

Out of 23 land alienated families only 3 have alienated their land to non-tribals and land alienated to these families is found to be 10.66 Acres only and they constitute 10.09 percent of the total land alienated in the village and the three families constitute only 13.04 of the total land alienated families.

In terms of the entire village the figures will be like this :-

Out of 238.39 Acres of landholdings of the tribal families 10.66 Acres or 4.47 percent are illegally alienated by 3 S/T families to non-tribals. These three families constitute only 4.41 of the total families in the village.

#### 5. KARKOK

- (a) Total landholding of surveyed families - 606.66 Acres.
- (b) Total area of alienated land - 280.99 Acres.
- (c) Percentage of alienated land to total landholding of the sur-

veyed families - 46.31%.

(d) Total No. of S/T families in the village - 54.

(e) Total No. of land alienated families - 33.

(f) Percentage of land alienated families to total families - 61.11%.

(g) Total landholding of the land alienated families - 418.22 Acres.

(h) Percentage of alienated land to total landholdings of the land alienated families - 67.18%

The forms in which lands in Karkok village are found to have been alienated by 33 tribal families are Paikas and Adhi only. Only 3.33 acres of land are alienated by one family by way of Paikas to one tribal family.

On the other hand 32 families have alienated their land by way of Adhi to 32 non-tribals totalling an area of 277.66 Acres which constitute 98.81% and 45.76% of the total alienated land and total landholding of the S/T families in the village respectively.

### FINAL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION

In the following table a final analysis of land alienation in the five tribal villages in the hill areas is shown :-  
(Please refer to Table-66)

From the analysis given in the Table - 66 it is seen that altogether 859.33 Acres of land belonging to 187 tribal families have been alienated by different methods specially by Paikas, Khoi handhak and Adhi. While the alienated land constitutes 30.79 percent of the total landholdings of the village, the land alienated families constitute 43.48 percent of the total S/T families in the five villages.

The incidence of land alienation, of course, varies from village to village. While the highest percentage of land (46.31%) is found to have been alienated in the village Karkok, the lowest

TABLE - 66

TABLE SHOWING THE FINAL ANALYSIS OF LAND ALIENATION IN THE FIVE SURVEYED VILLAGES IN THE HILL AREAS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Land Alienated											
		Total areas in acres	P. C. to total land	No. of families involved	P. C. to total families	To tribals in Acres	P. C. to total land	No. of families	P. C. to total families	To N/T in Acres	P. C. to total land	No. of families involved	P. C. to total families
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	Pankumar	233.69	42.83%	53	61.62%	160.06	29.50%	44	16%	73.63	13.49%	9	10.46%
2.	Phonglongpet	69.05	10.69%	22	21.56%	38.94	6.02%	13	12.74%	30.11	4.66%	9	8.82%
3.	Bahani Adarsha	170.30	22.40%	56	46.66%	89.05	11.71%	28	23.33%	81.25	10.68%	28	11.71%
4.	Sildharampur	105.30	44.17%	23	33.82%	94.64	39.69%	20	29.41%	10.66	4.47%	3	4.41%
5.	Karkok	280.88	46.31%	33	61.11%	3.33	0.54%	1	1.85%	277.66	45.76%	32	59.25%
	Total-	859.33	30.79	187	43.48%	386.02	13.83%	106	24.65%	473.31	16.69%	81	18.83%

percentage (10.69%) of alienation is found to have occurred in the village Phonglongpet.

Altogether 386.02 Acres of land are alienated by 106 tribal families to tribals and the alienated land constitutes 13.83% of the total landholdings of the tribal families in the five villages and the land alienated families constitute 24.65% of the total tribal families.

473.31 Acres of land constituting 16.96% of the total landholdings in the five villages are found to have been alienated by 81 tribal families to non-tribals. The land alienated families constitute 18.83% of the total tribal families.

It has already been mentioned that barring a few, all the cases are of temporary in nature but by action they are perpetuating. In the hill districts the implementation of the provisions of transfer of land under the existing land laws from tribals to non-tribals is the responsibility of the District Councils. However, from the figures obtained from the data collected from the survey, it appears that the problem of transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals is a very serious one. The Karbi Anglong District Council appears to have not paid sufficient attention to the problem.

### REASONS OF TRANSFER

From the table - 65, from 65-(A) to 65 (E), it is apparent that in most cases the tribal families have alienated their land to meet the expenses of their domestic needs including the purchase of food stuff. A few families are found to have alienated their land for the medical treatment of their ailing family members. Alienation of land for productive purposes, that is to say to get cash to invest in some profitable occupations, is nil. Our field experience has shown that the flow of cash money is primarily responsible for such a state of affairs. In fact, the tribal families are tempted to take cash to meet their immediate needs in lieu of transfer of land to so-called benefactors for temporary periods.

### AWARENESS OF SOCIO-LEGAL SYSTEM

In the five surveyed villages of the Karbi Anglong District the awareness regarding the existence of any law prohibiting transfer, sale, mortgage, lease, Paikasing, etc. of land belonging to the tribals to non-tribals is practically nil. People have rather expressed their complete ignorance regarding the existence of such laws inspite of the fact that literacy among the Karbi people in the five surveyed village is found to be quite high. Out of 430 families only 2 have expressed their awareness regarding the existence of such a law. These two families from the village Sildharampur rather have approached the Revenue Officials for restoration of their alienated land.

However so far no case has been instituted in any law courts regarding the restoration of alienated land.

### INDEBTEDNESS

In the next table indebtedness among the tribal families in the five surveyed villages in the hill areas as shown :-

(Please refer to Table-67)

From the table-67 it is seen that out of the 430 S/T families in the five villages in the hill areas under the purview of the survey, 117 families or 27.20 percent of the total families are found to be indebted. But the most interesting fact which can be easily observed is the absence of traditional money lenders like the village Mahajans and traders belonging to the tribal communities as well as non-tribals. These village Mahajans and traders from whom the tribal families used to borrow money whenever they need are still there. But the people of the five villages have not approached them for loans since the Govt. and semi Govt. agencies like the D. R. D. A. (I.R.D.P.) Rural Banks, Co-operative Societies and the Housing Board have come forward to assist the tribal families with various types of facilities for productive purposes. It is surely a good sign since the actions on the part of the financial institutions are in a position to save the poor tribal families from the clutches of the uncrupulous village Mahajans.

TABLE - 67

TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF INDEBTEDNESS AMONG THE SCHEDULED TRIBE FAMILIES IN THE VILLAGE SURVEYED IN THE HILL AREAS.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Total No. of families	Total No. of indebted families	P. C to total	Source of Debt									
					From tribals	Amount in Rs.	From N/Ts	Amount in Rs.	From Institutions	Amount in Rs.	To Tribals in Rs.	To N/T in Rs.	Institutions in Rs.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1.	Pankumar	86	24	27.90	Nil	-	Nil	-	a) Banks 20 families	18450/-	-	-	1850/-	
									b) Co-op. 4 families	1850/-	-	-	1150/-	
2.	Phonglongpet	102	20	19.60	Nil	-	Nil	-	a) Banks 7 families	19600/-	-	-	1177.87	
									b) Co-op. 13 families	7900/-	-	-	1824/-	
3.	Bahani Adarsha	120	40	33.33	Nil	-	Nil	-	a) Banks 34 families	51210/-	-	-	5807.49	
									b) Co-op. 2 families	900/-	-	-	Nil	
									c) Housing 4 families	16000/-	-	-	150/-	
4.	Sidharampur	68	18	26.47	Nil	-	Nil	-	a) Banks 7 families	15675/-	-	-	4375/-	
									b) Co-op. 11 families	5400/-	-	-	4750/-	
5.	Karkok	54	15	27.77	Nil	-	Nil	-	a) Banks 13 families	34300/-	-	-	1500/-	
									b) Co-op. 2 families	1580/-	-	-	Nil	

The total amount of loans of 117 indebted families comes to Rs. 1,72,865.00 and the average amount of debt per indebted family is Rs. 1477.47.

Out of the amount of Rs. 1,72,865.00, the amount of loan taken from banking institutions comes to Rs. 1,39,235.00 involving 81 families out of 117 indebted families. The bank loan therefore, accounts for 80.54 percent of the total loan and 69.23 percent of the indebted families is involved in it.

32 families have taken loans from the Co-operative societies specially from the LAMPs and the total amount of loan comes to Rs. 1,7,630.00. These families constitute 27.35% of the total indebted families and the amount of loan taken from the Co-op. Societies constitutes 10.19 percent of the total loan.

Only 4 S/T families have taken loans from the State Housing Board for the construction of their houses totalling an amount of Rs. 16,000.00 only. While the 4 families constitute 3.41 percent of the total families indebted, the amount of loan constitutes only 9.25 percent of the total amount of debt.

So far as the repayment position is concerned, it is not found to be satisfactory. Out of the total amount of loan of Rs. 1,72,865.00 only an amount of Rs. 22584.36 was found to be repaid at the time of our survey and the paid amount constitutes 13.06 percent of the total amount of loans.

While the bank loans are primarily meant for taking up income generating schemes and linked up mostly with the D.R.D.A, the loans taken from the Co-operative societies are primarily meant for agricultural purposes including the purposes of bullocks and other agricultural inputs.

#### ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND DUE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JAGIROAD PAPER MILLS

#### (NAGAON PAPER PROJECT UNDER THE HINDUSTHAN PAPER CORPORATION LTD.)

The Jagiroad Paper Mills (Nagaon Paper Project under the Hindusthan Paper Corporation Ltd.), situated at Jagiroad, a place

about 56 Km. east of Guwahati city, is a major industrial project of Assam. To establish this project the Government started acquisition of land from the owners of the land, falling within the project area, since 1971, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, 1884. This process continued upto 1986.

### DETAILS OF LAND ACQUIRED FOR THE PROJECT

Our data collected during the survey of alienation of tribal land show that for the Nagaon Paper Project of Hindusthan Paper Corporation Ltd. lands were acquisitioned from five villages, namely (1) Deosal, (2) Tegheria, (3) Nakhola Grant, (4) Ghonasa and (5) Jagiroad Revenue Town. The details of land acquired from these places have been shown in table 1. below :-

**TABLE - 1**  
**DETAILS OF LAND ACQUIRED FOR JAGIROAD PAPER MILLS**

Sl. No.	Name of the village/town	Area of land acquired (In Acres)	Majority of the inhabitants/Tribal/non-tribal
1.	Deosal	20.47	Tribal
2.	Tengharia	236.77	Tribal
3.	Nakhola Grant	314.65	Non-tribal
4.	Ghonosa	26.45	Non-tribal
5.	Jagiroad Revenue Town	2.50	Non-tribal
Total :-		600.84	

The above table shows that altogether 600.84 Acres of land were acquisitioned from the above five villages/town. The respective area of land acquired from the villages/town has been

shown against the name of the village/town in the above table. The table also shows that of the five villages only the first two i.e. Deosal and Tegheria are the villages mostly inhabited by the tribals. Our data collected during the survey show that in Deosal village 18 tribal and 4 non-tribal families were affected due to the acquisition of land for the project. These families have now been settled in New Deosal village, which is adjacent to their former Deosal village. In Tegheria 17 Nos. of plains tribal families and 52 Nos. of non-tribal families were found to be affected due to the acquisition of land. It is to be noted here that a good number of non-tribal families include Hill tribes living in plains. Our data collected from the S.D.C's office show that the number of such families is 32 in the village Tengharia.

Another Data submitted to us by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Ltd. in connection with our another study on 'Displacement of Tribals due to establishment of Nagaon Paper Project', H.P.C. Ltd., Jagiroad', in August/86 show that altogether 325.5 Bighas (107.4 Acres) of land were acquired from 82 non-tribal and tribal persons belonging to both Hills and Plains, of the two villages. A list of tribal persons from whom land were acquired along with quantity of land and class of land is given below :-

It may be mentioned here that the list of tribal people displaced due to acquisition of land for the project submitted by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation includes the names of three ex-tea garden labourers who are not Scheduled Tribe in Assam. The lands acquired from them have been shown at Sl. No. 62, 63 and 64 respectively. The total area of land acquired from these three persons is 2.062 Acres. So if we deduct this area of land from 107.41 Acres, as mentioned earlier, the total area of land acquired from the scheduled tribes will come to 105.53 Acres.

### Classification of land acquired :-

We have already mentioned that Deosal and Tegheria are the two Tribal villages from where lands were acquisitioned for



Name of tribal people who were displaced due to the Establishment of the HPC LTD. NPP : Jagiroad :

Sl. No.	Name of person	Address	Qty. of land acquired	Class of land
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Shri Bikudar Lalung	Tegheria, P.S. Jagiroad, Nagaon (Assam)	3B 1K 10L	Cultivated land
2.	„ Dheli Mikir	-do-	7B 3K 2L	-do-
3.	„ Dhola Bar Mikir	-do-	10B 11L	-do-
4.	„ Dhansing Mikir	-do-	6B 15L	-do-
5.	„ Barman Mikir	-do-	2B 3K 1L	-do-
6.	„ Dipari Lalung	-do-	3B 2K 8L	-do-
7.	„ Raben Mikir	-do-	3B 2K 12L	Basti land
8.	„ Garsing Deori	-do-	2B 3K 19L	-do-
9.	„ Bhathor Mikir	-do-	1B 0K 5L	-do-
10.	„ Sombar Mikir	-do-	7B 3K 6L	-do-
11.	„ Sondoi Milir	-do-		-do-

1	2	3	4	5
12.	Shri Khadou Mati Mikir	-do-	8B 3K 5L	Cultivated land
13.	„ Dhela Lalung	-do-	8B 3K 19L	-do-
14.	„ Raona Lalung	-do-	6B 3K 6L	-do-
15.	„ Raheswar Mikir	-do-	6B 3K 6L	-do-
16.	„ Manbar Mikir	-do-	1B 0K 15L	Basti land
17.	„ Hagura Mikir	-do-	1B 2K 15L	-do-
18.	„ Rabin Mikir	-do-	1B 0K 1L	-do-
19.	„ Gaman Mikir	-do-	2B 3K 5L	-do-
20.	„ Dhansing Mikir	-do-	3K 9L	-do-
21.	„ Tilbor Mikir	-do-	3K 7L	Basti land
22.	„ Padmeswar Mikir	-do-	7B 3K 9L	Cultivated & Basti land
23.	„ Kalia Lalung	-do-	2B 0K 7L	-do-
24.	„ Bholi Lalung	-do-	7B 3K 12L	-do-
25.	„ Jagat Lalung	-do-	3B 0K 11L	-do-
26.	„ Kale Lalung	-do-	12B 2K 3L	-do-

1	2	3	4	5
27.	Shri Rangkhil Lalung	-do-	11B 3K 7L	Cultivated land
28.	„ Rupsing Lalung	-do-	6B 3K 14L	-do-
29.	„ Sing Man Lalung	-do-	17B 3K 2L	-do-
30.	Sonmali Lalung	-do-	7B 0K 12L	-do-
31.	Songbar Lalung	-do-	9B 3K 16L	-do-
222 32.	Laimai Lalung	-do-	3B 3K 9L	-do-
33.	„ Ripan Lalungni	-do-	3B 2K 2L	-do-
34.	„ Datsing Deori	-do-	1B 2K 0L	Basti land
35.	„ Jaja Mikir	-do-	8B 0K 13L	Basti & Cultivated land
36.	„ Dhona Mikir	-do-	2B 0K 19L	-do-
37.	„ Bhadmati Lalungani	-do-	5B 2K 10L	-do-
38.	„ Ramen Mikir	-do-	0B 3K 3L	-do-
39.	„ Dheli Mikir	-do-	6B 0K 6L	-do-
40.	„ Rabi Ram Mikir	-do-	0B 0K 19L	-do-
41.	„ Birlal Bordoloi	-do-	2B 3K 5L	-do-

1	2	3	4	5
42.	Haren Deori	-do-	1B 2K 3L	-do-
43.	Rupsing Lalung	-do-	0B 0K 13L	-do-
44.	Khatan Lalung	-do-	12B 0K 3L	Basti & cultivated land
45.	Mil Lalung	-do-	3B 3K 19L	-do-
46.	Sodan Lalung	-do-	1B 0K 3L	Basti land
47.	Sorati Lalung	-do-	6B 3K 15L	Cultivated land
48.	Khala Lalung	-do-	1B 0K 0L	-do-
49.	Mandoi Mikirani	-do-	3B 2K 10L	Basti land
223 50.	Ranna Lalung	-do-	3B 1K 7L	Cultivated land
51.	Padmeswar Mikir	-do-	5B 3K 11L	-do-
52.	Bholi Lalung	-do-	7B 3K 12L	-do-
53.	Jagat Lalung	-do-	3B 1K 11L	-do-
54.	Lamai Lalung	-do-	3B 3K 9L	-do-
55.	Jana Mikir	-do-	0B 0K 5L	-do-
56.	Hitabor Mikir	-do-	1B 3K 19L	Basti land

1	2	3	4	5
57.	Birbol Bordoloi	-do-	2B 3K 5L	-do-
58.	Haren Deori	-do-	1B 3K 3L	-do-
59.	Bhoban Patar	-do-	4B 2K 10L	Cultivated land
60.	Khandor Lalung	-do-	2B 1K 10L	Basti land
61.	Khala Lalung	-do-	0B 0K 19L	-do-
62.	Bhonda Orang	-do-	2B 0K 12L	Cultivated land
63.	Joy Ram Orang	-do-	2B 0K 13L	-do-
64.	Bodhana Orang	-do-	2B 0K 0L	-do-
65.	Barjlu Lalung	-do-	0B 3K 19L	-do-
66.	Noaran Lalung	-do-	2B 0K 14L	-do-
67.	Soana Lalung	-do-	0B 1K 0L	-do-
68.	Arlai Lalung	-do-	2B 1K 4L	-do-

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1	2	3	4	5
69.	Kangi Lalung	Deosal, Jagiroad, Nagaon	1B 3K 19L	-do-
70.	Kanti Lalung	-do-	1B 0K 16L	Basti land
71.	Bishbor Lalung	-do-	3B 1K 5L	Cultivated land
72.	Sala Lalung	-do-	1B 3K 6L	Cultivated land
73.	Lamai Lalung	-do-	3B 2K 17L	-do-
74.	Ram Lalung	-do-	2B 2K 12L	Basti land
75.	Jiman Lalung	-do-	2B 0K 8L	-do-
76.	Bhol Lalung	-do-	3B 0K 10L	-do-
77.	Mansari Lalungani	-do-	3B 0K 1L	-do-
78.	Lakhan Lalung	-do-	2B 0K 13L	-do-
79.	Mela Lalung	-do-	1B 0K 0L	-do-
80.	Nagen Lalung	-do-	1B 0K 0L	-do-
81.	Pholsing Lalung	-do-	1B 1K 16L	-do-
82.	Ransing Lalung	-do-	2B 3K 18L	-do-

Hindusthan Paper Corporation and as such tribals were affected only in these two villages. We, therefore, restricted our study in these two villages. Our data collected during the survey show that altogether 257.24 Acres of lands were acquired from tribal as well as non-tribal families from these two villages which include homestead lands as well as dry and wet paddy land. The classes of lands acquired from these two villages have been shown in table - 2.

**TABLE - 2**

**CLASSES OF LAND ACQUIRED FROM VILLAGE DEOSAL AND TEGHERIA**

Name of village	Total area of land acquired (in Acres)	Homestead land acquired (in Acres)	Wet Paddy land acquired (in Acres)	Dry land acquired (in Acres)
1. Deosal	20.47	13.70	6.77	-
2. Tegheria	236.77	74.10	146.20	16.47
<b>Total :-</b>	<b>257.24</b>	<b>87.80</b>	<b>152.97</b>	<b>16.47</b>

The above table shows that from Deosal and Tegheria all total 257.24 Acres of land were acquired of which 87.80 Acres were homestead land, 152.97 Acres were wet cultivable land and the rest 16.47 Acres were dry land. The table also indicates that from Deosal village 20.47 Acres of land were acquired of which 13.70 Acres were homestead land and the rest 6.77 Acres were wet cultivable land. On the other hand a larger quantity of land was acquired from Tegheria in comparison to Deosal which amounts to 236.77 Acres of which 74.10 Acres were homestead land, 146.20 Acres were wet paddy land and the rest 16.47 Acres were dry land.

We have already mentioned earlier that the data submitted to us by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation Ltd. show that alto-

gether 319B 1K 5L (105.35 Acres) of land were acquired from 79 tribal persons belonging to the two villages under discussion. The classes and quantity of land acquired from these persons have been shown in table - 3.

**TABLE - 3**

**CLASSES AND AREA OF LAND ACQUIRED FROM THE TRIBALS**

Name of village	No. of persons affected by acquisition	Area of cultivable land acquired (in Acres)	Area of Basti land acquired (in Acres)	Area of Basti & cultivable land acquired (in Acres)	Total area of land acquired (in Acres)
1. Deosal	14	2.211	7.824	-	10.035
2. Tegheria	65	56.318	16.061	22.935	95.314
	<b>79</b>	<b>58.529</b>	<b>23.885</b>	<b>22.936</b>	<b>105.349</b>

(Source - List of Tribal people who were displaced due to the establishment of the H.P.C. Ltd. Nagaon Paper Project, Jagiroad, submitted to us by H.P.C. Ltd., N.P.P., Jagiroad).

The above table shows that from Deosal village total 10.035 Acres of land were acquisitioned from 14 tribal persons of which 2.211 Acres were cultivable land and 7.824 Acres were Basti (homestead) land. Similarly, 95.314 Acres of land were acquired from 65 tribal persons of village Tegheria. Out of these 95.314 Acres of land, 56.318 acres were cultivable land, 16.061 Acres were Basti land and the rest 22.935 Acres were Basti and cultivable land. The total areas of cultivable land, Basti land and Basti and cultivable land acquired from the two villages are, 58.529 Acres, 23.885 Acres and 22.935 Acres respectively. The total area of these three categories of land, if added, comes to 105.34 Acres.

These lands were acquisitioned during 1971 to 1986. The exact dates of acquisition of the land could not be traced out as there was no record in the S.D.C's Office. All the relevant records relating to the acquisition of land for the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Nagaon Paper Project, were found to be handed over to the Gauhati High Court by the S.D.C. concerned in connection with a civil suit filed by the persons affected by the acquisition of land against the S.D.C. on the ground that they were not paid the actual value of land acquired for the purpose.

#### **PERSONS DISPLACED BY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR THE PROJECT :**

Our data collected during the survey show that altogether 52 tribal families (Deosal - 23 ; Tegheria - 29) were displaced by the acquisition of land. The total area of land acquisitioned from these displaced families is 79.77 Acres (Deosal-19.57 Acres ; Tegheria - 60.20 Acres). The data further show that a total of 88 'non-tribal' families (Deosal - 2 ; Tegheria - 86) were displaced as a result of acquisition of land. It may once again be mentioned here that among the 86 displaced 'non-tribal' families of Tegheria village, there are 32 families belonging to hill tribes living in plains but not enlisted as Scheduled Tribe (Plains) list of Assam. The total area of land acquisitioned from the 'non-tribals' is 177.47 Acres (Deosal - 0.90 Acres ; Tegheria - 176.57 Acres).

However, the list of Tribal people who were displaced due to the establishment of the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Nagaon Paper Project, Jagiroad, submitted to us by the Corporation shows that 79 scheduled tribe families (both hills and plains) were displaced due to acquisition of land for the project. According to the list the numbers of tribal families displaced from the two villages i.e. Deosal and Tegheria are 14 and 65 respectively. The difference crop up from the above two data is perhaps due to the fact that probably lands were acquisitioned from

five more families after the list submitted to us by the H.P.C., Jagiroad in August 86.

#### **POSITION OF LAND HOLDINGS OF PERSONS DISPLACED BY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR THE PROJECT.**

Out of 84 displaced tribal families (both hills and plains) the land holding pattern of only 50 tribal families (35 belonging to plains tribes and 15 belonging to hill tribes) could be collected during our survey as the rest 34 families could not be interviewed because of the fact that they either shifted to other places or they are not permanent residents of the two villages.

We have shown the tribal status of the tribal pattadars affected by the acquisition of land for the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Nagaon Paper Project, Jagiroad, the quantity of land acquired, classes of land, details of compensation received by the pattadars, the way of utilising the compensation and the land holding pattern of the affected tribal families after the acquisition of land for the project in tabular form at table - 4 below :-

The column on land holdings after the acquisition of land as shown in the above table (table-4) shows that none of the tribal families, affected by the acquisition of land for the project, has become landless as a result of the acquisition of land except in one case. The solitary case in our view is that of Shri Meleng Lalung of the village Deosal (Sl. No. 14, Table-4). Out of 4.445 Acres of land under his possession, land measuring 3.92 acres was acquired for the paper mill leaving only .53 acres for his use. Thus he has become almost landless. We could not find out the actual position of land holdings of two of the affected tribal families after the acquisition but they have not become landless. The column further shows that the number of tribal families left with less than 2.5 Acres (1 hector) of land is 13. 17 of the 50 tribal families, from whom we collected data through a household sur-

**TABLE - 4**  
**TABLE SHOWING THE TRIBAL PATTADARS AFFECTED BY ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR HPC, JAGIROAD, THEIR TRIBAL STATUS, AREA OF LAND ACQUIRED, CLASS OF LAND, COMPENSATION RECEIVED, UTILIZATION OF COMPENSATION AND LAND HOLDINGS AFTER THE ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR THE PROJECT.**

Sl. No.	Name of the Pattadars and Address	Tribal status	Quantity of land acquired (In Acres)	Name of the village to which the land belong	Class of land acquisition	Compensation received (in Rs.)	Manner of utilizing the Compensation	Land holdings after the acquisition of the land (In Acres)	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Ramsing Lalung (Deosal)	ST(P)	0.643 0.699	Deosal -do-	Homestead -do-	19,900.00 15,400.00	Purchased 0.33 Acres of land for Rs. 7600/- and spent the rest of the money for housing, food and clothing.	2.64	
2.	Laisang Lalungani (Deosal)	-do-	1.32 0.703	Tegheria Deosal	Net land Homestead	Not known -do-	Purchased 0.33 Acres of land for Rs. 6500/-	5.35	
3.	Ram Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.396 0.825	Tengheria Deosal	Garden land Homestead	-do- 20,300.00	Spent the money for construction of house and other household expenses	6.73	
4.	Monsari Lalungani (Deosal)	-do-	0.993	-do-	-do-	28,740.00	Spent the money for housing and purchased two pairs of bullock	12.87	
5.	Bhuban Patar (Deosal)	-do-	1.485 0.66 0.198	Tegheria -do- Deosal	Wet land Dry land Homestead	45,375.00	Purchased 1.485 Acres of land for Rs. 12,000/- Also purchased another plot of land (measurement not known) for Rs. 22,500/- The rest amount was spent for housing and son's marriage.		
6.	Jiman Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	2.112 0.198 0.66 0.851	-do- -do- -do- Tegheria	Wet land Homestead -do- Wet land	21,600.00 6,300.00	Purchased two plots of land measuring 33 Acres each for Rs. 10,800/- and Rs. 4,500.00 respectively. The rest amount was spent for household expenses.	3.3	
7.	Phusung Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.448	Deosal	Homestead	13,200.00	Released a mortgaged plot of land for Rs. 5000/- purchased a pair of bullock. The rest amount was spent for housing.	2.77	
8.	Kahi Lalungani (Deosal)	-do-	1.211 1.217	-do- Tengheria	-do- Wet land	42,000.00 9,500.00	Purchased a pair of bullock. The rest amount was spent for housing food and clothing.	10.03	

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9.	Kahi Lalungani (Deosal)	ST(P)	1.528 0.66 2.26	Deosal -do- Tegheria	Homestead Wet land -do-	58,000.00	Purchased 1 Acres of land for Rs. 9000/- Deposited Rs. 10,000/- in Bank. The rest amount was spent for housing, food and clothing.	3.96	
10.	Dul Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	1.023 1.989	Deosal Tegheria	Homestead Wet land	69,000.00	Constructed a house by spending Rs. 45,000/- Purchased 0.66 Acres of land for Rs. 6000/- and a pair of bullock for Rs. 4500.00.	7.75	
11.	Simon Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	1.32 5.748	Deosal Tegheria	Homestead Wet land	70,000.00	Repaid a debt of Rs. 28,000/- and purchased a pair of bullock and a cow for Rs. 5,400/-	2.11	
12.	Nagen Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.683	Deosal	Homestead	14,000.00	Purchased 0.198 Acres of land for Rs. 3,800/-	3.49	
13.	Khalia Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.99 0.495	-do- Tegheria	-do- -do-	Not known -do-	Purchased a pair of bullock and a cow. The rest amount was spent for housing, and other household expenses.	2.77	
14.	Melong Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.495 3.96	Deosal Tegheria	-do- Wetland	40,700.00	Spent the amount for housing, 0.53 food and clothing.		
15.	Laimon Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	1.122 0.792	Deosal Tegheria	Homestead Wetland	16,500.00	Purchased buffalo and cattle and spent the rest amount for housing, food and clothing.	5.94	
16.	Birmon Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	1.072	Deosal	-do-	8,700.00	Spent the money for purchasing food and clothing and cattle.	3.43	
17.	Ripon Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	0.840	-do-	-do-	5,282.00	Not known	Not known	
18.	Dhansing Lalung (Deosal)	-do-	1.148	-do-	Homestead	40,728.00	-do-	-do-	But not land less -do-
19.	Dhiren Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	2.956	Tegheria	Wet land	22,500.00	Purchased a plot of land (measuring not known) at a cost of Rs. 12,500/- The rest amount was spent for housing, food and clothing.	1.85	
20.	Sonmali Lalungani (Tegheria)	-do-	2.340	-do-	-do-	17,200.00	Purchased 3.63 Acres of wet land for Rs. 8000/- and a plot of homestead land of a cost of Rs. 3000/-	5.94	
21.	Sonuti Lalungani (Tegheria)	-do-	2.237	-do-	-do-	15,500.00	Purchased 1 Acre of land at a cost of Rs. 11,000/- Also purchased a pair of bullock and a few cows.	1.78	
22.	Lt. Khaton Patar (Tegheria)	-do-	3.184	-do-	-do-	24,500.00	Purchased 1.32 Acres of land at a cost of Rs. 12,000/- Also purchased two pairs of bullock and a pair of buffalo.	9.96	
23.	Jogen Bordoloi (Tegheria)	-do-	1.118	-do-	-do-	7,800.00	Spent the money for purchasing bullock, food and clothing.	10.39	

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
24.	Gorsing Deori (Tegheria)	ST(P)	2.821	Tegheria	Wet land	38,000.00	Purchased land for Rs. 12,000/- Released mortgaged land. The rest amount was spent for housing.	6.6	
25.	Brikodar Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	3.141	-do-	-do-	21,500.00	Purchased land. Constructed houses.	5.87	
26.	Americal Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	1.65	-do-	-do-	11,500.00	Purchased 1 Acre of land.	1.65	
27.	Birbal Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	2.943	-do-	-do-	11,500.00	Released Mortgaged land and spent the rest amount for food and clothing.	3.96	
28.	Jagat Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	2.99	-do-	-do-	not known	Purchased one Acre of land for Rs. 9000/- and released a plot of mortgaged land for Rs. 3000/- Also purchased a bicycle.	1.65	
29.	Dipori Lalungani (Tegheria)	-do-	1.333	-do-	Homestead	14,500.00	Released mortgaged land and purchased two pairs of Bullock.	1.65	
30.	Berman Deori (Mikr) (Tegheria)	-do-	0.999 2.353	-do-	-do-	Not known	Released the mortgaged land.	3.3	
31.	Lt. Ratan Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	0.686 3.927	-do-	Wet land Homestead	24,000.00	Spent the money for housing food and clothing	2.77	
32.	Dhelabor Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	0.726	-do-	Wet land Homestead	not known	Purchased 1.32 Acres of land and Dug a fishery	2.31	
33.	Dot Sing Deori (Tegheria)	-do-	3.491	-do-	-do-	-do-	Not known	2.31	
34.	Bhumil Lalung (Tegheria)	-do-	2.547	-do-	Wet land -do-	-do-	-do-	6.6	
35.	Tarun Deori (Tegheria)	-do-	0.198	-do-	Homestead	not available	Doesnot arise	1.78	
36.	Jadu Mikr (Tegheria)	ST(H)	0.66	-do-	-do-	Not known	Released 5.28 Acres of land from mortgage	5.94	The respondent did not received the compensation till the date of our investigation due to none sett element of a partition case.
37.	Ramesh Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	0.924 1.848	-do-	Homestead Wet land	30,000.00	Purchased land for Rs. 6000/- and released land from mortgage	5.41	
38.	Lalmon Teron (Tegheria)	-do-	0.832	-do-	Homestead	10,000.00	Purchased 1.32 Acres of land	5.61	

The respondent did not received the compensation till the date of our investigation due to none sett element of a partition case.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
39.	Hirabor Mikr (Tegheria)	ST(H)	1.29	Tegheria	Homestead	Not known	Deposited the entire amount in the bank	7.92	
40.	Robi Ram Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	1.65	-do-	-do-	-do-	Released land from mortgage for Rs. 5000/- Purchased a pairs of buffalo and the rest amount was spent for other household exps.	3.16	
41.	Panmoti Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	0.66 1.45	-do-	-do-	-do-	Released land from mortgage for Rs. 6000/- Purchased a pairs of bullock and the rest amount was spent for household expenses.	1.98	
42.	Sandor Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	0.827	-do-	Homestead	Not known. But received the compensation in full.	Household expenses.	2.64	
43.	Hagura Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	1.627	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	2.97	
44.	Langhan Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	1.003	-do-	-do-	-do-	Released land from mortgage and spent the rest amount for household expenses.	5.28	
45.	Banti Mikirani (Tegheria)	-do-	2.838 4.62	-do-	-do-	52,000.00	Purchased 3.96 Acres of land. Spent Rs. 14 000/- for digging a fishery. Constructed houses	13.99	
46.	Senbor Mangthal (Tegheria)	-do-	0.726 1.537	-do-	Wet land Homestead	Not known But received the compensation in full.	Purchased land and also released land from mortgage.	2.31	
47.	Tibor Mikr (Tegheria)	-do-	0.33 0.33	-do-	Homestead Wet land	4,000.00	Deposited the amount in bank	1.32	
48.	Bhatbor Bangthal (Tegheria)	-do-	5.58	-do-	Homestead Wet land	Not known But received the compensation in full.	Purchased one Acre of land for Rs. 20,000/-	3.96	
49.	Sombor Bangthal (Tegheria)	-do-	0.66 2.896	-do-	Homestead Wet land	-do-	Released land from mortgage and constructed houses.	2.64	
50.	Tikeswar Bangthal Tegheria	-do-	1.729	-do-	Homestead	-do-	Spent the money for housing and digging a fishery.	3.96	

vey possess land between 2.5 Acres to 5 Acres (1 hectare to 2 hectares) after the acquisition of land from them. Another 14 families own land between 5 Acres to 10 Acres (2 hectares to 4 hectares). 4 of the affected families, however, possess land more than 10 Acres (4 hectares) after the acquisition of land for the project.

#### DETAILS OF COMPENSATION PAID :-

The value of land paid (in 1982) to the affected persons of Deosal villages was Rs. 6300/- per Bigha (0.33 Acre) for homestead and garden land and Rs. 2350/- per Bigha (0.33 Acres) for wet cultivable land (excluding 15% additional compensation under section 23 (2) of the concerned Act).

The rate fixed for village Tegheria (in 1978) was Rs, 2500/- per Bigha (0.33 Acre) for homestead land and Rs. 2000/- per Bigha (0.33 Acre) for orchards and arable land (excluding 15% additional compensation under section 23(2) of the concerned Act).

The affected land owners of the village Tegheria have filed a civil suit in the Gauhati High Court against the value of land acquisitioned from them. We did not receive any complaint regarding squeezing away of the compensation money, in any form by any one, from the affected tribals whom we personally interviewed during our survey.

The column Nos. 7 and 8 of the table No. 4 of this report show the details of compensation received by the 50 affected tribal pattadars, whom we interviewed during our survey, and the way of utilizing the compensation respectively. The column on compensation received shows that except one all the 49 tribal families (both plains and hills) received the compensation against their land acquired. Out of these 49 families the exact amount of compensation received by 21 families is not known. The rest 28 families received compensation between Rs. 4000/- to 69,500/-

depending on their quantity and classes of land which have been shown separately in the same table.

#### UTILIZATION OF COMPENSATION

The column on the manner of utilizing the compensation shows that the compensation amounts were utilized for different purposes like purchase of land, clearing of debts, construction or repairing of houses, purchase of bullocks, digging of fishery, food and clothing, etc. some have deposited the compensation in banks.

The table 4 (column 8) shows that out of 50 of our tribal respondent 21 respondents purchased land out of the compensation they received against the land acquired for them. But a comparative study of column 4 (Quantity of land acquired) and column 8 of the table shows that only 3 persons (sl. No. 20, 32 and 38 of table 4) could be able to purchase an area of land measuring more than the area of land they lost as a result of the acquisition. 13 persons (sl. No. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 21, 22, 26, 28, 45 and 48) purchased land but their area of newly purchased land is less than the area of land acquisitioned from them. The area of land purchased by 5 persons (Sl. No. 19, 24, 25, 37 and 46) is however, not known. The table further shows that 13 persons (Sl. No. 7, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 36, 37, 40, 41, 44, 46, 49) released their mortgaged land out of the money they received as compensation against their land. One person (Sl. No. 11) repaid his debt of Rs. 28,000/- after getting the compensation. 12 persons (Sl. No. 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 21, 22, 23, 29, 40 and 41) informed us that they purchased bullock, buffalo, cow out of the compensation they received. Another 27 persons (Sl. No. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49 and 50) told us that they spent a part or the whole amount of compensation for construction of houses and other household expenses. Three persons (Sl. No. 32, 45 and 50) spent a part of

their compensation for digging fisheries. Three of our respondents (Sl. No. 9, 39 and 47) deposited a part or the whole amount of compensation in the Bank. The way of utilizing the compensation of 4 persons (Sl. No. 17, 18, 33 and 34) is not known.

Our concluding observation on the aspect is that in most of the cases compensation has not been utilized fully in acquiring the assets of permanent nature. A part of the cash money received as compensation is utilized for unremunerative and unproductive purposes like consumption.

#### REHABILITATION PROGRAMME :-

The Hindusthan Paper Corporation did not have a fullfledged rehabilitation scheme for the tribal families displaced by the Jagiroad Paper Mills. However, Nagaon Paper Project, Jagiroad has so far employed 116 land affected persons (both tribal and non-tribal) in the project as Field Assistant, Driver, Khalasi, Operator, Technician and unskilled workers. A list of such persons has been given at Annexure - I.

As per another list submitted to us by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Jagiroad in connection with our study on 'Displacement of Tribals due to Establishment of H. P. C., Jagiroad', shows that altogether 55 tribal persons (both plains and hills) were employed by the Corporation as semi-skilled workers, peons, un-skilled workers, Crane-Operators, Khalasis and Technicians. Services of one of these 55 employees was, however, terminated by the corporation. Besides the regular employment the Corporation has provided training in technical trades to 5 land effected tribal persons. The list of the tribal persons employed and trained by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation, Nagaon Paper Project, is enclosed at Annexure - II.

No other rehabilitation programme has been taken up so far for the people affected by the project.

#### FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE FAMILIES :-

During the course of our field study we were informed by

our respondents that the financial condition of some of the affected families has worsened after the acquisition of their valuable land. They have failed to purchase another plot of land of the same proportion with the compensation amount as the value of land in the area has gone up due to the establishment of the project and as a result their income has gone down. However, the employment programme for the land affected persons in the project has to some extent brought some sort of economic relief to the affected families.

#### ANNEXURE - I

#### LIST OF LAND AFFECTED EMPLOYEES OF NAGAON PAPER PROJECT AS ON 24-01-87.

1.	Shri	Ramesh Ch. Mikir	S.S.W
2.	"	Homeswar Bordoloi	S.S.W
3.	"	Durga Gore	S.S.W.
4.	"	Sukram Gore	S.S.W.
5.	"	Loko Nath Gore	D.S.W
6.	"	Madhab Ch. Bora	Field Assistant
7.	"	Aghuna Gowala	H. V. Driver
8.	"	Lekhi Kr. Bordoloi	Peon
9.	"	L. R. Mikir	Peon
10.	"	Naren Deuri	Peon
11.	"	Cheniram Ranta	Khalashi
12.	"	Bhaben Nath Ingti	Khalashi
13.	"	Gouranga Sarkar	Khalashi (F. S. S.)
14.	"	Dhan Bahadur Sonari	Security Guard
15.	"	Puspa Bahadur Lama	D. G. Operator
16.	"	Siagbor Teron	U. S. W.
17.	"	Puspa Bahadur Lama	D. G. Operator

18.	Shri	R. N. Chetri	Khalashi (F. S. S.)
19.	"	B. Bordoloi	Crane Operator
20.	"	A. B. Chetri	Peon
21.	"	S. C. Patwary	Peon
22.	"	Dhani Ram Gore	Khalashi (F.S.S.)
23.	"	K. K. Bangthai	Khalashi (F. S. S.)
24.	"	G. C. Chetri	U. S. W.
25.	"	A. Bordoloi	U. S. W.
26.	"	Batbar Mikir	U. S. W.
27.	"	Ramesh Ch. Mikir	U. S. W.
28.	"	Khatsing Bordoloi	U. S. W.
29.	"	Sarat Patar	U. S. W.
30.	"	Prabin Bordoloi	U. S. W.
31.	"	Moneswar Tumung	U. S. W.
32.	"	Ram Sing Bordoloi	U. S. W.
33.	"	Deva Deuri	U. S. W.
34.	"	song Mon Bordoloi	U. S. W.
35.	"	Mahendra Bangthai	U. S. W.
36.	"	Padmeswar Bordoloi	U. S. W.
37.	"	Kashiram Deuri	U. S. W.
38.	"	Kamaleswar Deuri	U. S. W.
39.	"	Babul Bangthai	U. S. W.
40.	"	Dharmeswar Nath	U. S. W.
41.	"	N. C. Bordoloi	Peon
42.	"	Girish Bordoloi	U. S. W.
43.	"	Anil Roy	U. S. W.
44.	"	Abul Hassain	U. S. W.
45.	"	Sukman Bordoloi	U. S. W.
46.	"	Ram Sing Patar	J. S. W.
47.	"	Padmeswar	U. S. W.
48.	"	Kusha Bangthai	U. S. W.
49.	"	Suklal Roy	U. S. W.
50.	"	Amal Bahadur Lama	U. S. W.

51.	Shri	Jagadish Devnath	U. S. W.
52.	"	Ramsing Deuri	U. S. W.
53.	"	Abdul Rahim	U. S. W.
54.	"	Hafizullah	U. S. W.
55.	"	D. C. Routh	U. S. W.
56.	"	R. N. Gowalla	U. S. W.
57.	"	N. C. Bordoloi	U. S. W.
58.	"	Nandi Lalung	U. S. W.
59.	"	Horsing Patar	U. S. W.
60.	"	Ramesh Das	U. S. W.
61.	"	Nagen deuri	U. S. W.
62.	"	Pradip Kr. Chanda	U. S. W.
63.	"	Sas Sen	U. S. W.
64.	"	Nal Bahadur Bhujai	U. S. W.
65.	"	Manibar Bangthai	U. S. W.
66.	"	N. C. Mazumdar	U. S. W.
67.	"	Amish Bordoloi	U. S. W.
68.	"	Manik Bordoloi	U. S. W.
69.	"	Mohan Boar	U. S. W.
70.	"	M. S. Lalung	U. S. W.
71.	"	Hussain Ali	U. S. W.
72.	"	Labar Deuri	U. S. W.
73.	"	Joysing Lalung	U. S. W.
74.	"	Ram Lal Goar	U. S. W.
75.	"	Hema Bordoloi	U. S. W.
76.	"	Mahasing Lalung	U. S. W.
77.	"	Mahendra Patar	U. S. W.
78.	"	Ismile Ali	U. S. W.
79.	"	G. B. Chetri	U. S. W.
80.	"	G. C. Chetri	U. S. W.
81.	"	Monbar Bangthai	U. S. W.
82.	"	Nagen Lalung	U. S. W.
83.	"	Siba Kanta Roy	U. S. W.

84.	Shri	Jiblal Lalung	U. S. W.
85.	"	Birbahadur Sonari	U. S. W.
86.	"	Parashu Ram Deka	Techn. (Elect. Tr.)
87.	"	Lakheswar Teron	Techn. (Fitter Tr.)
88.	"	Rajeswar Ingti	-do-
89.	"	Ranju Krow	Techn. (Fitter Gr. III)
90.	"	Rabindra Nath Das	Techn. (Fitter Tr.)
91.	"	Rupen Saikia	Techn. (fitter Gr. III)
92.	"	Haren Ch. Kalita	Techn. (Fitter Tr.)
93.	"	Biswanath Rai	Techn. (Black Smith Trg)
94.	"	Ganesh Kr. Singh	Techn. (Fitter Tr.)
95.	"	Rabi Das	Techn. (Fitter Gr. III)
96.	"	Narayan Ch. Gour	(Techn. (Fitter Gr. III)
97.	"	Kumud Goswami	Operator, Trainee
98.	"	Naraswar Deka	U. S. W.
99.	"	Thaneswar Lalung	U. S. W.
100.	"	Rabat Sing Lalung	U. S. W.
101.	"	Rahmat Ullah	U. S. W.
102.	"	Dhaneswar Lalung	U. S. W.
103.	"	Phukubar Deuri	U. S. W.
104.	"	dharmeswar Lalung	U. S. W.
105.	"	Mihi Ram Lalung	U. S. W.
106.	"	Pradip Ch. Paul	U. S. W.
107.	"	Ganesh Ch. Bhowmik	U. S. W.
108.	"	Binod Deuri	U. S. W.
109.	"	Ram Lal Rajbhar	U. S. W.
110.	"	Lunsing Lalung	U. S. W.
111.	"	Bhanu Ram Das	U. S. W.
112.	"	Bansing Patar	U. S. W.
113.	"	Birman Patar	U. S. W.
114.	"	Ganesh Ch. Hazarika	U. S. W.
115.	"	Lakhan Ch. Nath	U. S. W.
116.	"	Nan Lal Debnath	U. S. W.

## ANNEXURE - II

LIST OF LAND AFFECTED TRIBAL FAMILIES HAVE  
BEEN GIVEN EMPLOYMENT IN HPO. LTD.  
NAGAON PAPER PROJECT

1.	Shri	Ramesh Ch. Mikir	U. S. W.
2.	"	Homeswar Bordoloi	U. S. W.
3.	"	Lakhi Pd. Bordoloi	Peon
4.	"	L. R. Mikir	Peon
5.	"	Noren Deuri	Peon
6.	"	Cheniram Manta	Khalashi
7.	"	Bhaben Nath Ingti	Khalashi
8.	"	Singbor Teron	U. S. W.
9.	"	S. Bordoloi	Khalashi (F. S. S)
10.	"	K. K. Bangthai	-do-
11.	"	A. Bordoloi	U. S. W.
12.	"	Bhatbor Mikir	U. S. W.
13.	"	Ramesh Ch. Mikir	U. S. W.
14.	"	K. Bangthai	U. S. W.
15.	"	Khat Sing Bordoloi	U. S. W.
16.	"	Sarat Patar	U. S. W.
17.	"	Prabin Bordoloi	U. S. W.
18.	"	Moneswar Timung	U. S. W.
19.	"	Ram Sing Bordoloi	U. S. W.
20.	"	Deva Deuri	U. S. W.
21.	"	Song Mon Bordoloi	U. S. W.
22.	"	Mohendra Bangthai	Peon
23.	"	Padmeswar Bordoloi	U. S. W.
24.	"	Kashiram Deuri	U. S. W.
25.	"	Kamaleswar Deuri	U. S. W.

26.	Shri Babul Bangthai	U. S. W.
27.	„ M. C. Bordoloi	Peon
28.	„ Girish Bordoloi	U. S. W.
29.	„ Sukman Bordoloi	U. S. W.
30.	„ Ramsing Patar	U. S. W.
31.	„ Padmeswar Mikir	U. S. W.
32.	„ Kusha Bangthai	U. S. W.
33.	„ Mansing Deuri	U. S. W.
34.	„ N. C. Bordoloi	U. S. W.
35.	„ Nandi Lalung	U. S. W.
36.	„ Borsing Patar	U. S. W.
37.	„ Sandar Mikir	U. S. W.
38.	„ Nagan Deuri	U. S. W.
39.	„ Bhanibar	U. S. W.
40.	„ Amish Bordoi	U. S. W.
41.	„ Mani Bordoloi	U. S. W.
42.	„ M. S. Lalung	U. S. W.
43.	„ Lobar Deuri	U. S. W.
44.	„ Joysing Lalung	U. S. W.
45.	„ Hema Bordoloi	U. S. W.
46.	„ Mahasing Lalung	U. S. W.
47.	„ Mahendra Patar	U. S. W.
48.	„ Kanibar Bangthai	U. S. W.
49.	„ Nagen Lalung	U. S. W.
50.	„ Jibal Lalung	U. S. W.
51.	„ Lakheswar Terong	Techn. (Fitter. Trainee)
52.	„ Rajeswar Ingti	U. S. W.
53.	„ Janju Krow	Techn. (Fitter Gr. III)
54.	„ Rupen Saikia	-do-
55.	„ S. R. Deuri	Tr. (Terminated)

### NUMBER OF TRIBAL TRAINEES WHO HAVE RESERVED IN VARIOUS TRADES

1.	Shri Lakheswar Teron	(Fitter) Techn. (Fitter Tr.)
2.	„ Rajeswar Ingti	-do- -do-
3.	„ Hanju Krow	-do- -do-
4.	„ Rupen Saikia	-do- -do-
5.	„ S. R. Deuri	-do- Terminated

### ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND DUE TO INSTALLA- TION OF DHANSIRI IRRIGATION (MAJOR) PROJECT IN THE DISTRICT OF DARRANG :: ASSAM

#### INTRODUCTION

The Dhansiri Irrigation Project is a major Irrigation Project of Assam and is located at Bhairabkunda where the borders of Assam, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh have met. Bhairabkunda is located about 20 Km. North-East of Udalguri town, the headquarters of Udalguri Sub-division of Darrang District of Assam. The river Dhansiri is the biggest river in the Udalguri Sub-division of the Darrang District of Assam, the source of its origin being the foot-hills of Arunachal Pradesh. On its way to the down hills it meets with the river Janepani from the Bhutan hills. The meeting point of these two rivers is known as Bhairabkunda which has a picturesque landscape.

The Irrigation Project has been designed with six big canals. They are— (i) Main canal-9.75 kms. in length and 33 meters in breadth, (ii) canal B1.M-7.94 kms. in length and 33 meters in breadth, (iii) canal S1B1.M-3.28 kms. in length and 33 meters in breadth, (iv) canal Sc. B1.M-4.29 kms. in length and 33 meters in breadth, (v) Canal C1 and (vi) canal CL Apart from these six main canals, there is a net-work of smaller canals which embraces a good number of villages within a radius of 20 kms. The total area potential of the project is estimated to be round



about of 41200 hectares. Although the project was started in the year 1976 and it was scheduled to be completed by the end of 1980, nevertheless, the project was yet to be completed at the time of our study (June, 1987).

The data submitted by the Special Land Acquisition Officer, Udalguri, show that till 1982, for the purpose of the Dhansiri Irrigation Project, total land amounting to 1184 Bighas (390.72 Acres) belonging to 1001 tribal families of 65 villages of five mouzas were acquired. The following table shows the Mouza wise number of affected tribal villages, number of affected tribal families and their percentage to total affected families.

**TABLE**

Mouza	No. of affected tribal villages	No. of affected tribal families	Percentage to total affected families
1. Silputa	2	84	8.39
2. Udalguri	19	252	25.17
3. Ambagaon	24	318	31.77
4. Harisinga	4	70	6.99
5. Barsilazhar	16	277	27.68
	65	1001	100.00

The land acquired includes periodic patta land, annual patta land and T.B. land.

**DETAILS OF LAND ACQUIRED FOR THE PROJECT :**

Our data collected during the course of our filed investigation, on the three selected villages namely Tamulbari, Baniapara and Routa Pathar for the present study and comparison of the same with the data submitted earlier to us by the special land acquisition officer and collector, Dhansiri Irrigation Project, Udalguri, in connection with the study of 'Displacement of Tribals

due to Installation of Dhansiri Irrigation Project, show that altogether 34.864 Acres of land were acquisitioned from the three sample villages under study. The villagewise area of land acquired, the classes of land acquired and the period of acquisition of the land are shown in table below :-

**TABLE**

**TABLE SHOWING THE VILLAGEWISE LAND ACQUIRED, CLASSES OF LAND ACQUIRED AND PERIOD OF ACQUISITION OF LAND**

Name of the village	Total area of land acquired (in Acres)	Cultivable land acquired (in Acres)	Homestead and Garden land acquired (in Acres)	Period of acquisition
1. Tamolbari	9.834	9.834	-	1976-1981
2. Baniapara	16.087	10.494	5.503	1976-1981
3. Routa Pathar	8.943	8.679	0.264	1976
<b>Total :-</b>	<b>34.864</b>	<b>29.007</b>	<b>5.857</b>	

The above table shows that altogether 34.864 Acres of land were acquisitioned from the three sample villages selected for our present study. Out of these 34.864 Acres of land 29,007 acres were cultivable land and the rest 5.857 Acres were homestead and garden land. The lands were acquired between the period 1976 to 1981. The table shows that from village Tamolbari 9.834 Acres of cultivable land were acquired during the said period. The table also shows that out of the 16.087 Acres of land acquired from village Baniapara 10.494 Acres were cultivable land and 5.593 Acres were homestead and garden land. Similarly, it shows that out of the 8.943 Acres of land acquired from the village Routa Pathar 8.679 Acres were cultivable land and only 0.264 Acres were homestead and garden land.

Our data further show that lands belonging to both peri-

odic patta and Annual Patta were acquired from the three villages for the project. The villagewise area of acquired lands belonging to periodic patta and Annual Patta are shown in the table below :-

**TABLE**

**TABLE SHOWING VILLAGE WISE PER PERIODIC PATA LAND AND ANNUAL PATA LAND ACQUIRED FOR THE PROJECT**

Name of the village	Total area of land acquired (In Acres)	Periodic Patta land acquired (In Acres)	Annual Patta land acquired (In Acres)
1. Tamolbari	9.834	6.980	2.854
2. Baniapara	16.087	10.494	5.593
3. Routa Pathar	8.943	6.996	1.947
<b>Total :-</b>	<b>43.864</b>	<b>24.470</b>	<b>10.394</b>

The above table shows that out of 34.864 Acres of land acquired from the three villages 24.470 Acres were periodic patta land and the rest 10.394 Acres were Annual Patta land, Out of 9.834 Acres of land acquired from village Tamolbari, 6.980 Acres were periodic patta land and 2.854 Acres were Annual patta land. Of the 16.087 Acres of land acquired from village Baniapara 10.494 Acres were periodic patta land and 5.593 Acres were Annual Patta land. Similarly, out of 8.943 Acres of land acquired from village Routa Pathar, 6.996 Acres belonged to Periodic Patta and the rest 1.947 Acres of land belonged to Annual Patta.

**PERSONS DISPLACED BY ACQUISITION OF LAND.**

Our data collected on this aspect show that altogether 62 Nos. of tribal families were affected in the three villages due to acquisition of land. Some of the families were joint patta holders. The village wise number of affected tribal families due to

acquisition of land for Dhansiri Irrigation Project are shown below :-

Name of the village	No. of affected tribal families
Tamolbari	-- 20
Baniapara	-- 20 (33 Patta holders)
Routa Pathar	-- 22 (19 Patta holders)

**Total :-62**

Position of land holdings of the families affected by acquisition of land.

Out of 62 tribal families of the three villages ; who were affected by the acquisition of land we could find out the present land holding patterns of only 51 families who are still living in the three sample villages. The rest 11 families were found to be shifted to other places as their remaining lands were found to be un-economic from the point of view of supporting their families. The present position of village wise pattern of land holding is shown at the table below followed by an analysis.

**TABLE**

**LAND HOLDING PATTERN OF THE TRIBAL FAMILIES OF THE SAMPLE VILLAGES**

Name of village	No. of families who have become landless as a result of acquisition	No. of families left with land up to 2.5 Acres	No. of families left with land between 2.5 to 5 Acres	No. of families left with more than 5 Acres of land	Total
1. Tamolbari	--	1	--	11	12
2. Banipara	2	5	11	2	20
3. Routa Pathar	--	5	8	6	19
<b>Total-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>51</b>

The above table shows that out of 51 families belonging to the three villages only 2 families who belonged to village Baniapara have become landless as a result of the acquisition of the land for the project, 11 tribal families (Tamolbari-1; Baniapara-5; and Routa Patta-5) have left with land up to 2.5 acres after the acquisition of their lands. The table further shows that only 19 families (Baniipara-11 and Routa Pathar-8) possess land between 2.5 to 5 Acres after the acquisition of their land. Another 19 families (Tamolbari-11 ; Baniapara-2 and Routa Pathar-6) however, possess land more than 5 Acres still after the Acquisition of their lands:

#### **DETAILS OF COMPENSATION PAID**

Except the affected persons of village Routa Pathar none of the tribal persons, belonging to village Tamolbari and Baniapara, who lost their lands as a result of the acquisition had received compensation for their lands till the date of our investigation. The land acquisition cases of village Tamolbari and Baniapara were found to be pending with the S. D. C. concerned for re-valuation statements and clearance of ceiling certificates, etc. Compensation were, however, paid to the land affected persons of village Routa Pathar during the first half of August 1978. The rate of compensation for this village was fixed at Rs. 450/- per Bigha (0.33 Acre for cultivable land and Rs. 445/- per Bigha (0.33 Acre) for other lands. We do not have any information regarding squeezing away of compensation in any form the tribal persons of village Routa Pathar who received the compensation on their lands. The villagers, however,, complained to have received compensation much less than the actual value of land.

#### **UTILISATION OF THE COMPENSATION :**

The question of utilization of compensation does not arise in case of the land affected persons of village Tamolbari and

Baniapara as the persons concerned did not receive the compensation till the date of our field investigation. Out of the total land affected persons of village Routa Pathar, who received compensation on their land only a few could afford to purchase land or release their mortgaged lands out of the money they received as compensation. But majority of the persons informed us that they spent the money for their day to day household expenses. A few, however, informed us that they purchased bullocks for agricultural purpose out of the money they received as compensation.

#### **REHABILITATION PROGRAMME :**

The project report itself does not contain any rehabilitation scheme for the affected families and as such has no rehabilitation programme has yet been taken up by the authorities concerned for the people displaced as a result of acquisition of land for the Dhansiri Irrigation Project.

#### **ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE AFFECTED TRIBAL FAMILIES :**

The tribal families of the three villages where lands acquired for the purpose of Dhansiri Irrigation Project are primarily agriculturalist. Our field investigation reveals that most of the land affected persons of the three villages could however manage their annual expenses out of the income they received from their cultivation prior to the acquisition of their lands. The economic condition of the people of the three villages, as informed by the villagers, has deteriorated to a considerable extent. Some of the villagers of the village Tamolbari have faced another problem due to the raising of high canal banks just along the side of their remaining cultivable lands. This has resulted into less productivity of their remaining cultivable lands ; since the beds of the paddy field have gone up and covered by unfertile soil.

Sri Abra Doimary, Shri Bidhowa Rabha, Sri Dhanendra Doimary and Sri Khegere Doimary of village Tamolbari informed us that they are facing this new problem as a result of which the production of their cultivable lands has gone down to a great extent. We have already mentioned that the land affected people of village Tamolbari and Baniapara are yet to get their compensation. The affected people informed us that they are facing economic hardship due to non payment of the compensation. One can easily visualize the condition of the two families of village Baniapara who have become landless as a result of the acquisition of whatsoever land they have had. The villagers of village Baniapara informed us that to fulfil the household requirements, some members of the affected tribal families have resorted to other means of livelihood like wage earning, etc.

## **SURVEY OF ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND IN ASSAM**

### **SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS.**

Because of the very nature of the survey, the report has been divided into four parts. The Part-I contains the report of the survey of 10 tribal villages within the Tribal Belts and Blocks where the law regarding prohibition of land from tribals to members of the unprotected classes is prohibited.

The Part-II of the report contains the surveyed data of five tribal villages outside the jurisdiction of tribal belts and blocks where there is no prohibition of transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals is in operation.

The Part-III of the report contains the surveyed data of five tribal villages in the hill areas of Assam which are under the sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India and where law prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals is in operation.

The Part - IV, which is incidentally also the last part con-

tains the survey report of five villages where tribals were displaced due to the installation of the Jagiroad Paper Mills under the Hindusthan Paper Corporation at Jagiroad in the Nagaon District and the Dhansiri Irrigation Project, the biggest flow irrigation project in Assam, in the Darrang District. 2 affected tribal villages in case of the former and three affected tribal villages in case of the latter were surveyed.

The main findings of the survey reflected in the four parts of the Report are enumerated below :-

### **1. POPULATION**

- 1.1. The total No. of tribal families within the ten surveyed villages of tribal belts and blocks is 6081 and the average No. of family members is, therefore, 7.5.
- 1.2. The total No. of tribal families surveyed in the five villages outside Tribal Belts & Blocks is 426 and the total No. of population is 3410 and therefore the average size of the family is 8.
- 1.3. The total No. of scheduled tribe families in the five villages surveyed within the Sixth Schedule area (Hill Areas) is 430 and the total population is 3142 and the size of the family is 7.3.
- 1.4. The percentage of scheduled tribe families in the ten surveyed villages within the Tribal Belts & Blocks is 52.12, while in the five tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks 93.21 and the percentage of tribal families in the five tribal villages in the hill areas is 85.65.
- 1.5. The growth rate of scheduled tribe population during the 16 years period from 1971 to 1987 in the ten surveyed villages within the Tribal Belts & Blocks is 43% in the five villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks the percentage is 36.94 and the growth rate of scheduled tribe population in the five villages in the hill areas during the period from 1971 to 1987 is 43%.

## 2. LITERACY

- 2.1 The percentage of literacy among the scheduled tribe families in the ten villages within the tribal belts and blocks is comparatively low than those of the scheduled tribe population surveyed outside belts and blocks as well as in the Hill areas.
- 2.2 The percentage of literacy of the tribal population within the tribal belts and blocks is 28.81 and the percentage break up of males and females is 33.86 and 23.52 respectively.
- 2.3 The percentage of literacy of the scheduled tribe population of the five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks is 47.21 and the break up of percentage of the males and females is 57.52 and 42.48 respectively.
- 2.4 In the five tribal villages surveyed from the hill areas the percentage of literacy is found to be 47.21, while it is 57.52% for the males, it is 42.48% for the females.

## 3. LAND SURVEY & ISSUE OF PATTAS

- 3.1 So far as the 10 villages within Tribal Belts & Blocks are concerned the land survey was done in the different years and pattas were also issued to the concerned families.
- 3.2 In the five tribal villages living outside Tribal Belts and blocks it is also found that land survey was done earlier and pattas were issued to the concerned families after the completion of the survey.
- 3.3 In the five tribal villages within the hill areas it is found that land survey was done and the pattas were issued to the land holders.

## 4. ANNUAL INCOME

- 4.1 From the point of view of average annual income and per capita income the ten tribal villages surveyed within the tribal belts and blocks appear to be comparatively poor.

- 4.2 The average annual family income and the per capita income at the current price among the surveyed families of the 10 villages within the Tribal Belts & Blocks are Rs. 8343.83 and Rs. 1110.00 respectively.
- 4.3 Among the scheduled tribe families surveyed within the jurisdiction of five tribal villages located outside tribal belts and blocks the average annual income per family and the per capita annual income at current price is Rs. 1308.75 and Rs. 1650.12 respectively.
- 4.4 So far as the tribal families surveyed in the five villages within the Hill Areas is concerned the average annual income of a family is found to be Rs. 11113.07 and the per capita annual income is found to be Rs. 1520.88 at current price.

## 5. FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE

- 5.1 Among the 809 tribal families within the ten surveyed villages located in tribal belts and blocks, 47% of the families is found to be below the poverty line.
- 5.2 So far as the tribal families surveyed in the five villages located outside tribal belts and blocks are concerned 31% of the families is found to be below the poverty line.
- 5.3 In the five tribal villages within the hill areas 24.88% of the families is found to be below the poverty line.

## 6. ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

- 6.1 The average annual expenditure and per capita expenditure of a scheduled tribe family surveyed in the ten tribal villages within tribal belts and blocks at the current price are found to be Rs. 8483.55 and Rs. 1128.62 respectively.
- 6.2 So far as the five tribal villages outside tribal belts and blocks are concerned the average annual expenditure per family and per capita expenditure at current price are found to be Rs. 12040.56 and Rs. 1504.18 respectively.

- 6.3. In the five tribal villages surveyed in the hill areas the average annual expenditure of a scheduled tribe family and the per capita annual expenditure are estimated at Rs. 10070.85 and 1378.85 respectively at current price.

## 7. SOURCES OF INCOME

- 7.1. In the ten surveyed villages located within the tribal belts and blocks it is found that 60.25% of the total annual income of the surveyed families is derived from land alone. Employment accounts for 15.10% of the total annual income. 9.92% of the income is derived from wages. 6.77% of the income is derived from the Veterinary & Animal Husbandry source. Artisan works account for the lowest percentage of income i.e. to say 0.20% of the total annual income.
- 7.2. In the five villages surveyed outside the Tribal Belts and Blocks the situations are somewhat different. It is found that 43.15% of the total annual income is derived from land. Here employment accounts for 27.08% of the total annual income. The earnings from wages are also quite high and it accounts for 9.89%. Veterinary and Animal Husbandry of course, accounts for only 5.48% of the total annual income. So far as the earnings from artisan works are concerned they may perhaps be treated as nil since it accounts for only 0.01% of the total annual income. The unspecified sources account for 14.36% of the total annual income.
- 7.3. So far as the survey of five tribal villages in the hill areas is concerned it is found that land account for 58.21% of the total annual income of the surveyed families. Employment accounts for 20.70% of the total annual income. The next important source of annual income is wages which accounts for 10.15% of the total annual income 4.51% of the total

annual income is derived from Veterinary & Animal Husbandry sources. Like the villages outside tribal belts and blocks in this case also the income derived from artisan works is very very negligible and this source accounts for only 0.07% The unspecified sources accounts for 6.29% of the total annual income of the families.

## 8. ANNUAL EXPENDITURE

- 8.1. In the ten surveyed villages within the Tribal Belts and Blocks food alone accounts for 61.11% of the total annual expenditure. The next important item of expenditure is housing which accounts for 8.60% closely followed by clothing which accounts for 8.26%. Thus the basic necessities of life i.e. food, shelter and clothing together account for 77.97% of the total annual expenditure. Expenditure on education, health and household durable goods is found to be 4.45%, 3.60% and 3.31% respectively. Expenditure on rituals constitutes only 2.78% while on social functions it constitutes only 1.55%. Expenditure on litigation is practically negligible since it constitutes only 0.70%. While the average annual expenditure of a family comes to Rs. 8483.55, the per capita annual expenditure comes to Rs. 1128.62%.
- 8.2. In the five tribal villages surveyed outside tribal belts & blocks the situations are more or less similar. While 60.29% of the annual income is spent on food, 7.17% is spent on housing and 6.92% is spent on clothing. Thus food, shelter and clothing account for 74.98 percent of the annual expenditure of the surveyed families. The percentage of expenditure spent on education is 6.04 which is about 2.5% higher than that of the villages within tribal belts and blocks. While 3.81 percent is spent on household durable goods, 3.56% is spent on health. Expenditure on social functions and on the performance of religious rituals are 1.67% and



1.43% only. The expenditure on litigation is practically nil and it accounts for 0.28% only. Here the average annual family expenditure is Rs. 12040.56 while the per capita expenditure is Rs. 1504.18.

- 8.3. In the five surveyed villages in the hill areas, the picture is somewhat different. While 55.62 percent of the annual expenditure is spent on food, 12.47 percent is spent on housing and 12.18 percent is spent on clothing. These three items together constitute 80.72% of the total annual expenditure. 5.76% is spent on education while 2.41% is spent on health, 3.01% is spent on household durable goods. Expenditure on social functions and rituals are 1.83% and 1.16 percent respectively. Expenditure on litigation is only 0.39% which is very insignificant. While the average annual expenditure of a family is Rs. 10,070.85, the per capita annual expenditure is Rs. 1,378.25.

### 9. FAMILY BUDGET

- 9.1. In the ten surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks an average tribal family has an annual deficit budget, the amount of deficit being Rs. 139.72 only.
- 9.2. In the five surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks an average tribal family has an annual surplus budget, the amount of surplus being Rs. 1168.19.
- 9.3. In the five surveyed villages in the hill areas an average tribal family has also an annual surplus budget, the amount of surplus being Rs. 1042.22.

### 10. FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LINE

- 10.1. 47.34% of the tribal families in the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks are found to be below the poverty line.
- 10.2. 31% of the tribal families in 5 surveyed villages outside tribal belts and blocks are found to be below the poverty line.

- 10.3. In the 5 villages surveyed in the hill areas 24.88% of the families are found to be below the poverty line.

### 11. CATEGORIES OF LAND AND PATTERN OF LAND HOLDING

- 11.1. (a) In the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks different categories of land under the possession of the tribal families are as follows :-

Wet land	--	72.05%
Dry land	--	12.20%
Homestead land	--	11.48%
Garden land	--	2.74%
Fallow land	--	1.55%
Jhum land	--	Nil

- (b) The pattern of landholdings in the aforesaid villages is as follows :-

11.99% families have land less than an acre.  
 9.64% families have land one Acre to less than 2 Acres.  
 11.74% families have land 2 Acres to less than 5 Acres.  
 20.39% families have land 5 Acres to less than 7 Acres.  
 15.69% families have land 7 Acres to less than 10 Acres.  
 10.50% families have land 7 Acres to less than 10 Acres.  
 13.96% families have land 10 Acres and above.

- (c) The total landholdings under the possession of 809 tribal families come to 4424.47 Acres and the average landholding per family comes to 5.46 Acres.

- 11.2. (a) In the 5 tribal villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks the different categories of land under the possession of the surveyed families are as follows :-

Wet land	--	51.75%
Dry land	--	29.12%
Homestead land	--	10.83%
Garden land	--	4.51%

Fallow land	--	2.63%
Jhum land	--	Nil

(b) The land holding pattern of the surveyed families in the five villages quoted above is given :-

- 1.64% families have land less than an acre.
- 16.90% families have land one Acre to less than 2 Acres.
- 17.13% families have land 2 Acres to less than 3 Acres.
- 19.95% families have land 3 Acres to less than 5 Acres.
- 17.13% families have land 5 Acres to less than 7 Acres.
- 7.74% families have land 7 Acres to less than 10 Acres.
- 12.62% families have land 10 Acres and above.

(c) The total landholdings under the possession of 426 tribal families come to 2078.89 Acres and the average landholding per family is 4.88 Acres.

11.3. (a) In the five tribal villages in the hill areas, the different categories of land under the possession of the surveyed families are as follows :-

Wet land	--	81.09%
Dry land	--	4.03%
Homestead land	--	11.13%
Fallow land	--	3.09%
Jhum land	--	0.38%
Garden land	-	0.25%

(b) The landholding pattern among the surveyed families of above quoted five villages is as follows :-

- Families having land less than an acre - 2.55%
- Families having land one acre to less than 2 acres - 3.48%
- Families having land 2 Acres to less than 3 acres - 12.32%
- Families having land 3 acres to less than 5 acres - 23.25%
- Families having land 5 acres to less than 7 acres - 15.58%
- Families having land 7 acres to less than 10 acres - 21.62%
- Families having land 10 acres and above - 19.53%

(c) The total landholdings of 430 tribal families come to 2790.71 Acres and the average landholding per family is,

therefore, 6.49 Acres.

In the surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks, outside tribal belts and blocks and in the hill areas one common feature in respect of the land holding pattern is observed. The percentage of the landholders having land between 3 Acres to less than 5 acres is the highest.

## 12. EXTENT OF LAND ALIENATION

12.1. In the 10 surveyed villages within tribal belts and blocks, 16.44 percent of the families (133 Nos. of families out of 809) have alienated 198.61 Acres of land and the alienated land constitutes 25.94% of the total landholdings of the land alienated families. The alienated land, however, constitutes 4.48% of the total land under the possession of the surveyed families.

12.2. The breakup of the land alienated families is as follows :-

- (a) 84 families or 10.38% of the surveyed families have alienated 164.83 Acres of their land to non-tribals and the alienated land of these families constitutes 82.99% of the total land alienated.
- (b) 18 families or 2.22% of the surveyed families have alienated 19.07 Acres of their land to tribals and the alienated land constitutes 9.60 percent of the total land alienated.

- (c) 14.71 Acres of land involving 31 families or 3.83% of the surveyed families were acquired by the govt. for public purposes and the land lost due to acquisition constitutes 7.41 percent of total land alienated.

12.3. (a) Out of 133 land alienated families 58 Nos. or 43.60% have alienated 122.75 Acres or 61.80% of the total land alienated through sale.

- (b) 42 families or 31.57% have alienated 58.82 Acres or 29.36% of the total alienated land through mortgage/lease.

- (c) 31 families or 23.30 percent have lost 14.71 Acres or 7.41% of the total land alienated due to acquisition.
- (d) 2 families or 1.50 percent have been compelled to alienate their 2.83 Acres of land or 1.42% of the total alienated land due to encroachment.
- 12.4. In the 5 surveyed villages located outside tribal belts and blocks, out of 426 tribal families 38 Nos. or 8.92% of the total surveyed families have alienated 42.50 Acres of land constituting 12.15% of the total landholdings of the land alienated families. The alienated land, on the other hand, constitutes only 2.04 percent of the total land holding of the 426 surveyed families.
- 12.5. Out of 38 families only one family has alienated 1.35 acres of land to 2 tribal persons on two occasions. So the land alienated to non-tribals comes to 41.15 Acres and the number of tribal families involved comes to 37.
- 12.6. No land is found to have acquired by govt. for public purposes.
- 12.7. Out of 42.50 Acres of total land alienated, 37.02 Acres are alienated through sale involving 34 tribal families. The remaining 5.48 acres of land are alienated temporarily through mortgage and 4 tribal families are involved here.
- 12.8. In the 5 villages surveyed in the hill areas, it is found that out of 430 tribal families 187 Nos. or 43.48% of the total families have alienated 859.33 Acres of land through sale, Paikas, Khoi Bandhak, Sukti Bandhak and Adhiar systems. The alienated land constitutes 30.79% of the total landholdings of the families surveyed.
- 12.9. (a) 187 Nos. of land alienated families had 1392.59 Acres of land in their possession out of which 859.33 Acres have been alienated and the alienated land constitutes 61.70 percent of the total landholding of the land alienated families.

(b) 386.02 Acres of land are alienated by 106 tribal families to tribals.

(c) 473.31 Acres of land are alienated by 81 tribal families to non-tribals.

(d) 12.65 Acres are alienated through sale.

233.73 Acres are alienated through Paikas.

10.65 Acres are alienated through mortgage.

53.78 Acres are alienated through Khoi Bandhak.

2.66 Acres are alienated through Sukti Bandhak.

529.53 Acres are alienated through Adhiar system.

Encroachment accounts for 5.30 Acres.

All cases except sale are temporary alienation only.

### 13. AWARENESS OF LEGISLATION PROHIBITING TRANSFER OF LAND

- 13.1. In the 10 surveyed villages within the tribal belts and blocks all the 809 tribal families except 5 have expressed their ignorance in regard to the existence of any legislation prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals.
- 13.2. The five tribal villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks do not come under the Chapter-X of the Assam Land Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 as amended upto date and as such transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals is not illegal. The question of social awareness prohibiting transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals in this case does not arise.
- 13.3. In the five villages surveyed in the hill areas the awareness among the tribal families regarding the existence of any law prohibiting transfer of land whether permanently or temporarily from tribals to non-tribals is practically nil.

### 14. INDEBTEDNESS

- 14.1. In the 10 tribal villages within tribal belts and blocks out of 809 tribal families 345 Nos. or 43.75% are found to be

indebted. The average amount of loan in cash per indebted family is Rs. 2239.63 and 86 Kg. of paddy in kind. Out of 354 indebted families 88 or 24.85% had borrowed in cash from non-tribal Mahajans/money lenders and the average amount of debt for 88 indebted families is Rs. 2352.27. 27 families out of 354 or 7.62% of the indebted families borrowed in terms of kind (paddy) and the average amount of paddy per indebted family comes to 2.27 quintols.

115 families out of 354 or 32.48% of the indebted families had borrowed from tribals and the average amount debt per indebted family comes to Rs. 1424.95. Again 22 families out of 354 or 6.21% of the indebted families had borrowed in kind (paddy) and the average amount of paddy per indebted family is 5.01 quintols.

Loans flowing from the financial institutions are the highest, 97 families out of 354 indebted families or 27.40% of the indebted families had borrowed from the financial institutions and the average loan per indebted family comes to Rs. 4350-10.

14.2. In the 5 tribal villages surveyed outside tribal belts and blocks out of 426 families 161 or 37.79% are found to be indebted. The average amount of debt per indebted family is Rs. 5,396.49.

Out of 161 indebted families 76 Nos. have borrowed from private individuals and the average amount of loan per indebted family is Rs. 3230.06. Again of these 76 tribal families only one has borrowed from a tribal.

#### 15. ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND DUE TO INSTALLATION OF THE JAGIROAD PAPER MILLS IN NAGAON DISTRICT

15.1. Lands were acquired from five villages out of which two villages are inhabited by tribals. The total area of land acquired for the project was 600.84 Acres.

15.2. Out of 600.84 Acres of land acquired for the installation of the project, 105.35 Acres or 17.53 percent were acquired from 79 tribal families. Out of 105.35 Acres, 58.52 Acres or 55.54 percent were cultivable land.

(N. B. :- Data furnished by the Hindusthan Paper Corporation authority and by the State Revenue Authority donot tally).

15.3. Cash compensations were paid to all the affected families. But the affected families of the village Tegheria has moved the High Court of Gauhati against the rate at which the land valuation was fixed and the matter is still pending the decision.

15.4. Out of the study conducted on 50 affected tribal families, it was found that only 21 or 42 percent had purchased land with the amount of money received as compensation. But the area of the newly purchased land was smaller than that of the area alienated due to acquisition. 13 families (26%) had released their mortgaged lands. The remaining families had spent a part of the compensation for consumption purposes and a part for production purposes (agricultural activities).

15.5. The Paper Mill Authority did not have any programme for the rehabilitation of the affected families.

15.6. However the Mill Authority has given employment to 55 tribal youths of the affected families in the plant.

#### 16. ALIENATION OF TRIBAL LAND DUE TO INSTALLATION OF DHANSIRI IRRIGATION (MAJOR) PROJECT IN THE DISTRICT OF DARRANG

The main findings on the basis of the study on the Dhansiri Irrigation (Major) Project in the district of Darrang have been apportioned below :-

- 16.1. Altogether 1184 Bighas i.e. 390.72 Acres of land belonging to 1001 Nos. of tribal families of 65 villages of five mauzas were acquired for the project.
- 16.2. Out of 65 villages only 3 (three) villages were selected for this study namely :- Tamolbari, Baniapara and Routa Pathar and altogether 34.864 Acres of land were acquired from these three villages of which 29.007 Acres were cultivable land and the rest 5.857 Acres were homestead and garden land.
- 16.3. Altogether 62 number of tribal families (Tamolbari - 20 Nos, Baniapara - 20 Nos. and Routa Pathar - 22 Nos.) were affected in the three villages due to acquisition of land for the project.
- 16.4. Only 2 families who belonged to the village Baniapara have become landless as a result of the acquisition of the land for the project.
- 16.5. The question of utilization of compensation does not arise in case of the land affected persons of village Tamolbari and Baniapara as the persons concerned did not receive the compensation till the date of field investigation. Out of the total land affected persons of village Routa Pathar, who received compensation on their lands only a few could afford to purchase land and or release their mortgaged lands out of the money they received as compensation.
- 16.6. There has not been any rehabilitation programme for the affected families by the authorities concerned.
- 17.7. It reveals that most of the land affected families of the three villages could however manage their annual expenses out of the income they received from their cultivation prior to the acquisition of their lands. But after acquisition of a portion of their land the economic conditions of the land affected families have deteriorated to a considerable extent.

## SUGGESTIONS

1. In Assam the existing legislation prohibiting, transfer of land from tribals to others within the Tribal Belts & Blocks and the Sixth Schedule area specially in the District of Karbi Anglong are found to be quite satisfactory as well as quite adequate. At the implementation stage only the provisions of the laws are found to be ineffective. In other words the machineries entrusted with the implementation of provisions of this legislation do not appear to be up and doing.

It is, therefore, suggested that a State level Committee with members drawn from amongst the administrators, lawyers, tribal leaders and social scientists belonging to different disciplines should be set up to look after the implementation of the provisions of the chapter - X of Assam Land and Revenue Regulation Act, 1886 as amended upto date. Similarly in the Sixth Scheduled area a similar committee at District level should also be set up by the concerned District Council. The State level Committee as well as the District level Committee for the Sixth Schedule areas should review the implementation of the existing laws at least one in three months and apprise the Govt. and the District Council Authority regarding their observations. The government as well as the District Council shall have to take immediate necessary actions on the reports submitted by these two committees. The tenure of these Committees should be at least for 3 years so that the Committee members are in a position to see that their suggestions are given due weightage by the Government and the District Council.

2. We have observed that land has also been transferred within the tribal belts and blocks as well as out side the tribal belts and blocks to the richer section of the tribal people by the poorer once. The Govt. may make some provisions to the effect that no tribal person having land 7 hectares and above can acquire of land of a poor tribal without prior permission from the



Deputy Commissioner. If the circumstances compell a poor tribal family to sell its land, the nearby co-operative society or the State Government itself should purchase the land from the poor tribal family and return it to the owner when he repays the amount of sale proceeds.

3. The affected tribal families which need legal assistance to recover the illegal transfer of land should be provided with free legal assistance by the Government and this should be made known to the people through the publicity machinery.

4. It has been observed by us that the root cause of alienation of tribal land is the abject poverty. Unless the economic conditions of the poor tribal people are improved, transfer of tribal land will go on continuing under various covers which might be considered legal.

The Government should therefore give more importance to eradicate poverty from amongst the poorer section of the tribal people specially through the family beneficiary schemes.

So far as the Hill areas of Assam are concerned, the Adhiar system which has replaced Paikas, seems to carry a seed of greater danger in the sense that it is not illegal. Our observation in this regard is that the non-tribals have now switched over to Adhiar system when the District Council by an enactment has made the Paikas system illegal. The District Council Authority of the Karbi Anglong District, may, therefore, have to put a ban on the Adhiar system also to stop temporary alienation of tribal land to non-tribals.

5. The displaced tribal families due to installation of irrigational, industrial and mining complexes shall have to be fully rehabilitated by providing alternative land, residential structure and other facilities which they use to enjoy in their original habitation instead of paying cash compensation as has been done at present. In addition to this at least one able bodied member from each affected family shall have to be given employment in the concerned complex.

Our another observation is that 30 to 40 years back the tribal people did not consider land as a valuable asset since at that time land was plenty and people were less so they parted with their land very easily and sometimes gifted away a part of their land to the people with whom they had a very close and friendly relation. Only in recent years they have come to realise the value of land as a permanent asset and by the time their realisation has come, a part of their land has already gone to the other people. The tribal people in Assam in the past and even today have a tendency to get to the interiors whenever they find undesirable people coming from somewhere else have settled in their vicinity as neighbours. The injection of easily attainable cash money has made the matters worse.

We therefore, feel that to make the people aware of the importance and value of immovable property and the existing provisions prohibiting alienation of their land through different types of publicity media including publication of pamphlets in their local language/dialects and also by installing hearings specially in the market places in the tribal inhabited areas will surely be an effective step towards prohibiting transfer of land from tribals. In case of acquisition for public purposes where the displacement of the tribal families does not take place, compensation due should be paid to the affected families within a month of the acquisition so that the affected families might be in a position to purchase alternative plots of land if they desire to do so.