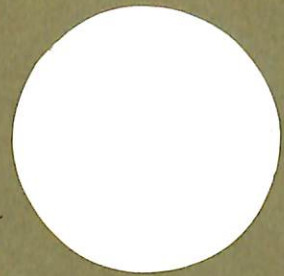


ASSAM INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH FOR
TRIBALS AND SCHEDULED CASTES
GUWAHATI



REPORT OF THE EVALUATION STUDY
ON
INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE
IN ASSAM



9

PREFACE

The Government of Assam in the Department for Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes had introduced a new scheme entitled "Grants-In-Aid to Inter-Caste Married Couple and Parents" in the year 1975-76 with a view to eradicating the evils of untouchability and to minimising a feeling of high caste and low caste among the members of the Hindu society. However, rules under this scheme were formulated in the year 1983 only.

The Planning Commission, Government of India, during one of the Annual Scheduled Caste Component Plan discussions of Assam had directed the Assam Institute of Research for Tribals and Scheduled Castes (erstwhile Tribal Research Institute, Assam) to conduct an evaluation study on the Inter-Caste Marriage scheme implemented by the Department for Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Govt. of Assam, to find out its impact in the society and to determine whether the scheme was successful or not.

In pursuance of this, the Assam Institute of Research for Tribals & Scheduled Castes has taken up the present evaluation study by accepting the year 1984-85 as base year. In selecting the base year, a few years ahead of the present time, is considered essential since the impact of the scheme can be understood only after the birth of offspring/offsprings of the married couples as well as the social acceptance of the married couples by the concerned caste groups.

20 per cent of the beneficiaries (married couples) who received grants-in-aid during the year 1984-85 was taken up for study and this sample was considered to be a reasonable one. These are all case studies and we have summarised our findings in the Concluding Observations. On the basis of our Concluding Observations we have made a few suggestions also for consideration of the concerned authority so that the implementation of the scheme can further be streamlined.

It is hoped that this study will help the administrators, specially who are entrusted with the welfare and development of the scheduled castes of Assam and also scholars and academicians.

This study was entrusted to Shri A.C. Nath, Senior Investigator of our Directorate who has completed the job satisfactorily.

B.N. Bordoloi 21/12/91
(DR. B.N. BORDOLOI)

Director

Assam Institute of Research for
Tribals & Scheduled Castes, Guwahati-28

Dated Guwahati
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REPORT OF THE EVALUATION STUDY
ON INTER - CASTE MARRIAGE
IN ASSAM

1. INTRODUCTION :

As per the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment Act 1976) there are 16(Sixteen) communities listed as Scheduled Castes in Assam. They are as follows:-

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Bansphor | 9. Kaibartta, Jaliya |
| 2. Bhuimali, Mali | 10. Lalbegi |
| 3. Brittial Bania or Bania. | 11. Mahara |
| 4. Dhupi, Dhobi | 12. Mehtar, Bhangi |
| 5. Dugla/Dholi | 13. Muchi, Rishi |
| 6. Hira | 14. Namasudra |
| 7. Jalkeot | 15. Patni |
| 8. Jhalo, Malo, Jhalo-Malo | 16. Sutradhar. |

According to 1971 Census the total Scheduled Castes population in Assam is 9,12,557 and they constitute 6.24% of the total population of Assam (146.25) Lakh. It may be mentioned here that 1981 Census could not be conducted in Assam. The projected population of the Scheduled Castes on March 1990 is estimated roughly at 15.26 lakhs.

As per 1971 Census the percentage of literacy of the Scheduled Castes was 25.8 as against the State percentage of literacy of 28.72. While the level of male literacy was 35.00% as against the State level of male literacy of 37.19%, the level of literacy among the Scheduled Castes women was 15.20% as against the State level female literacy of 19.27%. The caste-wise population of the Scheduled Castes and their percentages of literacy are given below in a tabular form :

Contd...2

POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN ASSAM.

S1. No.	Name of the Scheduled Caste.	Total Population	Total Percentage of literacy.	Male Percentage of literacy	Female percentage of literacy	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Bansphor	6,093	15.16	23.13	4.74	
2.	Bhuimali, Mali	22,175	26.54	35.73	16.16	
3.	Brittial - Bania, Bania	28,097	38.95	50.46	25.73	
4.	Dhupi or Dhubi	20,735	30.12	37.28	21.21	
5.	Dugla or Dholi	4,011	14.98	21.99	7.03	
6.	Hira	32,622	27.40	38.74	15.32	
7.	Jalkeot	2,537	26.35	35.21	14.40	
8.	Jhalo, Malo or Jhalo Malo	32,988	15.25	23.37	5.86	
9.	Kaibarta or Jaliya	2,94,819	30.38	39.90	20.35	
10.	Lalbegi	45	33.33	40.74	22.22	
11.	Mahara	896	13.62	19.67	6.54	
12.	Mehtar or Bhangi	7,296	14.49	21.86	5.18	
13.	Muchi or Rishi	40,778	12.77	18.76	5.36	
14.	Namasudra	3,00,842	21.33	30.65	11.19	
15.	Patni	85,910	31.88	41.10	22.22	
16.	Sutradhar	32,713	26.27	37.54	13.74	
Total		9,12,557	25.80	35.00	15.70	

State literacy percentage - 28.72 Male - 37.19 and Female - 19.27

Percentage of literacy among Scheduled Castes - 25.8, Male - 35.00 and Female - 15.7

There are a few very important characteristics of the Scheduled Castes population of Assam.

First, the Scheduled Castes villages are inter-mixed and interspersed with the villages of non Scheduled Castes communities. In other words, the Scheduled Castes in Assam do not generally live in compact areas. They are spreading over almost in all the districts and sub-divisions of Assam. While Karimganj district has the highest percentage of Scheduled Castes population followed by Morigaon district, Majuli Sub-Division of Jorhat district, Pragjyotishpur sub-division of Kamrup district, Silchar district and North Salmara sub-division of Dhubri district, the remaining districts and sub-divisions have very small percentages of Scheduled Caste people.

Secondly, the practice of untouchability, which is so much rampant in the other parts of the Country, is absent in Assam.

Thirdly, atrocities on Scheduled Castes in Assam is not only unknown but unheard also.

Last but not the least is that among the Scheduled Caste communities in Assam the dowry system and vices arising out of this system are conspicuous by their absence.

2. RESUME ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE SCHEDULED CASTE.

Having briefly introduced the Scheduled Castes of Assam let us now turn our attention towards the literal meaning of the nomenclature of 'Scheduled Caste'.

"These people belonging to the last Varna namely the Sudra and Avarnas include many caste groups which have suffered social and economic inequity since the ages. Particularly those people who were outside the Varna system were known as Avarnas or Panchanna or Antyaias. They were external in the sense that they were required to stay outside the village settlement. The concept of population was attached to them and they were treated as untouchable castes. These castes were systematically listed in the 1931 Census of India. These untouchable castes in India were officially defined as depressed caste in 1932.¹ Gandhiji named them Harijans where "Hari" Means "God", "Jan" means "People" and thus "Harijans" mean people of "God".²

However the term "Harijan" had a certain amount of opprobrium attached to it. Thus the untouchables reacted adversely to it and strongly opposed the Bill using the word "Harijan" in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. It was thus replaced by the term Scheduled Castes in 1938 which has since been used in all Government records and circulars even to this day.

-
1. Harlod, R. Issacs, Indian Ex-Untouchables Bombay, Asia, Publishing House, 1965, P.36.
 2. Kamble, N.D., The Scheduled Caste, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982, P.30.

Kamble (1982) is of opinion that "The expression Scheduled Castes was first coined by the Simon Commission and embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. While the castes were listed systematically in the 1931 Census of India, the terms Scheduled Castes (SC) was applied to these castes for the first time in the Govt. of India, Act of 1935. Until then they were known as "untouchables" or "depressed classes" or "exterior castes". Then the Govt. of India published a list of Scheduled Castes under the Govt. of India (Scheduled Castes) order, 1936".³

The constitution of India came into force from 26th January 1950 and the President of India had notified the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) order, 1950, the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Part-C States order 1951 and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) order, 1956.

With the coming into force of the Constitution of India, consistent with its preamble, Article 17 specifies that :-

"Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law."

The constitution of India has made the following provisions against discrimination with the expectation of helping the under-privileged population particularly the Scheduled Castes as well as the Scheduled Tribes, -

3. Ibid, P. 31

Article 15 (1) : The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

(2) : No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or conditions with regard to :-

(a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and place of public entertainments ; or

(b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the case of the general public.

3. INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE - A BACKGROUND NOTE.

Assam is inhabited by people who are segmented into a large number of groups on the basis of religions, languages, castes, tribal affiliations etc., There are Hindus - the major religious group ; the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Budhists, Parsians, etc,- the minor religious groups, and tribals and others having their own religious practics and beliefs. The Hindu population is again segmented into a large number of castes and the castes people marry normally within their own castes. The marriage systems either among the castes, or among the communities or even among the tribes show greater variations rather than uniformity.

In the Brahmaputra valley of Assam the Brahmins do not marry within the same Gotra while the other Hindu

Castes like Kalita, Keot, Koch, Kaibarta, Hira, Kumar etc. are free from such restrictions and can marry within patri clan and patrilineage. But inter-caste marriage between the members of the Caste Hindus (High Caste Hindus like Brahmins, Kayasthas, Kalitas, etc) and the members of the Scheduled Castes are strictly restricted as per prevailing traditions of the Societies. However inter mixture in many parts of India are occuring in a very insignificant way. On the basis of meagre data Sanghvi (1973) points out that the extent of inter-caste marriage in India is only 1 (One) per cent.

In "Census of India 1931 ", J.H. Hutton in Chapter - VI - "Civil Condition" has stated thus :- "The difficulty of marrying into another religion without a change of creed is not one confined to Indian Christians and until 1923 there was no law under which Hindus could contract a valid inter-caste marriage except under the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which involved a declaration that the party to the ceremony was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu. In 1910 a bill was brought to legalise marriages between persons of different castes and different religions, but it failed, and the same fate befell another bill in 1919, to legalise inter-caste marriages. In 1923 the bill referred to above was framed to legalise marriages between persons of different religions, as well as different castes, but the opposition it met with resulted in the exclusion of all communities other than Hindus, Sikha, Jains and Buddhists. Recourse to this law, however, involves to a Hindu the loss of his personal law, and he not only loses his joint family

membership, his right to manage Hindu trust property and his right to adoption, but his succession ~~to~~ property is governed by the Indian Succession Act. Nevertheless, the Arya Marriage validity bill brought in 1930, to provide for valid Hindu inter-caste marriage, has not become law, while Sir H.S. Gaur's Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill, brought forward in 1931, provide for civil marriage between members of different communities without involving a declaration abjuring their religion, met with un-comprising opposition in the Assembly and was unhesitatingly rejected".⁴

The caste ladden Hindu society in India was very much orthodox till the other days. Persons involved in inter-caste marriage were very much looked down upon by the Hindu society and they were compelled to live a secluded life out of the touch of the Hindu society. The difficulty of marrying into another religion without a change of creed was an impracticable proposition in the past. But marriage alliance between the members of the different castes of the Hindu society although does not imply the change of religion nevertheless the people involved in inter-caste marriage had to face the stigma of the society.

4. Hutton, J.H. Census of India, Vol-I 1951, Gian Publishing Hpuse, New Delhi, P. 235.

INTER - CASTE MARRIAGE IN ASSAM

In Assam as well as in the other State of North-East India the Hindu society is not very much orthodox compared to the other parts of the country. Inter-Caste marriages have been prevalent in Assam since the dawn of history because of less rigidity in the caste system. Here in Assam, although limited in numbers, marriages have been taking place between the caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes. In most cases, these are found to be love marriages and marriages by capture rather than negotiated marriages. Negotiated marriages performed according to the traditional rites are few in numbers.

In order to encourage inter-caste marriage with a view to eradicating the evils of untouchability and to minimising the high caste and low caste feelings that is to say creating a casteless society, the Govt. of Assam in the Department for Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes have been implementing a scheme entitled "Grants-in-Aid to Inter-Caste Marriage Couple and Parents" commencing from the financial year, 1975-76.

The rules under this scheme were, however, framed in 1983 vide Govt. Notification No. TAD/SC/465/79, dtd. 15th March 1983. This Notification was published in the Assam Gazette in the Issue of 13th July 1983. The Notification quoted above framing the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules is reproduced below :

No. TAD/SC/465/79/79.- The 15th March, 1983-The Governor of Assam is pleased to make the following Rules under the scheme "Grants-in-Aid to Inter-Caste Married Couples and Parents" to encourage inter-caste marriage with a few to eradicate the evils of untouchability and to create a casteless society.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE RULES, 1983.

1. These Rules shall be called Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.
2. (a) Under this scheme financial assistance will be awarded to each inter-caste married couple between caste Hindu and Scheduled Caste (I) not exceeding Rs. 5000, who perform negotiated/contract Social marriage as per religious rites and prevailing customs, (ii) Grant of Rs. 1000 (One Thousand) only will be awarded to the eligible couple who perform inter-caste marriage (between Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindu) under the Special Marriage Act to be certified by Sub-Registrar.
- (b) Under the Scheme financial assistance will also be awarded to those parents of bride grooms and bride @ Rs. 2000 in rural areas and Rs. 1500 in Urban Areas who take initiative in performing Inter-Caste Marriage as in rule 2(a)(i) of the Scheme.

3. The amounts of awards referred to in Rule 2 will be apportioned as follows:-

(a) Under Rules 2(a) (i) gift to the couple	Rs. 1000	Cash
(b) Small saving certificate in the name of bride.	Rs. 4000	"
	<hr/>	
	Total	Rs. 5000
(c) Under Rule 2 (a) (ii) gift to the couple	Rs. 500	
(d) Small saving certificate in the name of bride as gift. ...	Rs. 500	
	<hr/>	
	Total	Rs. 1000

(e) Under Rule 2(b) small saving certificate to the parents @ Rs. 2000 in Rural and Rs. 1500 in Urban areas.

4. The financial assistance mentioned above will be available when an inter-caste marriage is solemnised between Caste Hindu and Scheduled Caste. The Scheduled Caste means any of the Castes mentioned in the Constitution (Scheduled Caste order 1964 (as amended from time to time). Caste Hindu means any of the castes who are not enlisted as Scheduled Caste. Scheduled Tribes (Plains) and (Hills) and other Backward Classes.

5. The amount referred to in rule 2 above will be granted on the first marriage and will not be available when either one of the couple is not marrying for the first time.

6. The amount of award in the form of each and small saving certificate will be paid to them on production of marriage certificate issued by competent authority (Namely the Sub-Divisional Welfare Officer of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes Deptt.) alongwith the application.

7. The Director of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes will obtain necessary acquittance from the beneficiaries and file the same in his Office.

8. The application for award of financial assistance under the scheme should contain the particulars indicated in the Annexure (Prescribed form of application) and should be made to the Director of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Assam who will scrutinise them and recommend the case to the Government for sanction.

9. This scheme will take effect from the commencement of the financial year 1975-76 vize 1st April 1975.

ANNEXURE.

APPLICATION FOR THE GRANT OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE.

1. Serial Number :-
2. Date and time of marriage -
3. Place, Commence where marriage was performed. -
4. Nature of marriage, whether according to (i) religious rites or (ii) by registration (iii) or otherwise.
5. Name of any person who presided over or conducted the marriage.
6. Name of Bride groom and Bride
Age -
Address -
7. (a) Bride groom's Nationality -
Caste -
Sub-Caste
- (b) Bride's Nationality
Caste -
Sub-Caste -

8. Profession of groom :-

- (a) Bride groom -
- (b) Bride -

9.(a) Name of Bride groom's father

- (b) His profession and address
- (c) Nationality -

Caste

Sub-Caste -

- (d) Whether native of the state of Assam.

10(a) Name of Bride groom's mother

- (b) Nationality -
- (c) Caste
- Sub-Caste -

- (d) Whether native of the State of Assam.

- (e) Profession -

11(a) Name of Brides father -

- (b) Nationality -

Caste -

Sub-Caste -

- (c) His profession & Address -

- (d) Whether native of the State of Assam.

12(a) Name of Brides mother -

- (b) Nationality -

Caste -

Sub-Caste -

- (c) Whether native of the State of Assam.

Signature of the Couple

(i) Bride groom :

(ii) Bride :

Signature of Father/Mother or
legal gurdian or Bride groom/
Bride.

Declaration of Mayor/Chairman/Member of Parliament or
Legislative Assembly of the State/Revenue Official not
below the rank of Sub-Deputy Collector.

1. Certify that the particulars furnished by the
applicant are Correct.

Date -

Place -

Signature and Seal of the
Mayor/Chairman/MP/MIA/SDC

A.P. SINGH
Secretary to the Govt. of
Assam, Deptt. for W.P.T.
& B.C. etc., Dispur.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

For conducting an evaluation study of a specific scheme, the reference year is very much important. In the present study it is much more important so that impact of recently completed marriage alliance could be studied carefully.

From an analysis of the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983, it appears that the main objectives of this scheme are to (1) to eradicate the evils of untouchability and (2) to create a casteless society. In order to be eligible for receiving the grants the marriage must take place between a member of a Caste Hindu and a member of a Scheduled Caste.

Caste Hindu means a person who does not belong either to a Scheduled Caste as per State list of Assam, or to a Scheduled Tribe - Hills or Plains - as per the State list of Assam or to an Other Backward Class as per Provisional List of Other Backward Classes of Assam.

The marriage, whether negotiated or contract marriage must be performed as per religious rites prevailing customs.

For conducting the present evaluation study we have accepted the year 1984-85 as the reference year. It may be mentioned here that the scheme 'Grants-in-Aid to Inter-Caste Marriage Couple and Parents' has been implemented by the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Although the scheme was formulated in 1975-76 and this scheme was assigned to be implemented by the above Directorate, nevertheless, during the initial years the implementation of the scheme was not at all satisfactory due to the absence of necessary Rules. The Rules were formulated only in March 1983. Since 1984-85, the scheme

has been implemented at a faster rate. That is why, we have selected the year 1984-85 as the reference year for our study. To create a social impact by such a scheme some time gap is essential. Sometimes it is seen that the birth of a child changes atmosphere not only in the concerned family/ families but also in the society itself.

Having fixed the year 1984-85 as the reference year for this study a full list of persons who had received benefits under this scheme during the year 1984-85 was collected from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes. It is found that during the reference year (1984-85) altogether 156 persons were benefitted under this scheme. Since the individual cases of inter-caste marriage are not uniform in respect of castes, parental behaviour, level of literacy and educational status of the couples, their places in the present social structure, the residence of the concerned persons (Urban, semi Urban or Rural), we have accepted the Case Study Method for this evaluation study. Out of 156 beneficiaries 20 per cent of them roughly was selected on the basis of random sampling.

In order to obtain correct information to the highest extent possible both personal and group interviews were conducted. In addition to this the participant observation method was also applied.

The present study covers all the districts of Assam. Data obtained from the field study have been carefully checked and arranged in a systematic way. Below a list of the total number of beneficiaries under the scheme during 1984-85 in different districts and the number of beneficiaries that were studied by the Institute are given in a tabular form.

GRANTS-IN-AID TO INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE COUPLE AND PARENTS'
AND PARENTS' SCHEME.

Table showing the number of beneficiaries during 1984-85 and the number of beneficiaries brought under the purview of the study.

Sl.	Districts	No. of beneficiaries.	No. of beneficiaries studies.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Kamrup	42	6	
2.	Nagaon	38	3	
3.	Morigaon		4	
4.	Sibsagar	4	1	
5.	Golaghat	2	1	
6.	Jorhat	11	2	
7.	Lakhimpur	6	1	
8.	Darrang	10	2	
9.	Nalbari	7	1	
10.	Barpeta	6	1	
11.	Goalpara	3	1	
12.	Kokrajhar	11	2	
13.	Dhubri	3	1	
14.	Cachar	2	1	
15.	Karbi Anglong	3	1	
16.	Tinsukia	3	1	
17.	Sunitpur	6	1	Could not be traced our due to improper address.
Total		156	(29 + 1)	30

CASE STUDIES

DISTRICT - KAMRUP SUB - DIVISION - GUWAHATI

CASE STUDY NO - 1

(Between a Kalita girl and a Dhubi boy)

1.1 The first case of inter-caste marriage taken up for study is a marriage between a Kalita girl (Caste Hindu) and a boy belonging to Assamese Dhubi community which is a Scheduled Caste. It is a negotiated marriage where engagement between the boy and the girl preceded the actual marriage.

The girl Smti Kalpana Kalita hailing from the village Dakuwapara, P.O. Boko, in the District of Kamrup is an educated one with a University Degree and her husband Dr. Khanindra Nath Moral, M.B.B.S. hailing from Sualkuchi in the District of Kamrup is an employee of Guwahati Refinery. In the year 1979 August 7, the marriage was solemnised according to traditional Hindu marriage system by performing 'Home' (Jaynga) and requisitioning the services of Brahmin Priests. The marriage was attended by relatives as well as friends of both parties. The couple has two lovely daughters and they receive love and affection in both the families.

Coming to the question of social acceptance we find that the son-in-law, although a Dhubi by caste, has been accepted by the family members and relatives of the girl as if he were belonging to their own caste (Kalita). We also observed that as a daughter-in-law of

a Dhubi family, she could adjust herself and we could find no superiority or inferiority complex in her dealings and behaviour. In fact it is a successful marriage which might inspire others also to go for such type of marriage.

From field verification we could ascertain that the couple had received the amount admissible to them under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Assam. But the father of the girl, Sri Madhab Chandra Kalita, village Dakuwapara, P.O. Boko District Kamrup, who himself is a graduate had denied to have received the amount of Rs.1500/- from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Assam. It was found from the office the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Assam, that the National Savings Certificate, amounting Rs.1500/- was ready and it was lying in the office at the time of our enquiry.

It has been brought to our notice that Shri Madhab Chandra Kalita, the father of Smti Kalpana Kalita, instead of taking the amount himself, has nominated Shri Jadab Chandra Moral, a relative of his son-in-law Dr. Khanindra Nath Moral and the Directorate has kept National Savings Certificate worth of Rs. 1500/-, in the name of the nominee. Hence Shri Madhab Chandra Kalita's denial has no justification.

CASE STUDY NO. 2

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita Girl and a Hira Boy

1.2 The next case study conducted was in respect of an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita Girl and a Hira Boy.

Smt. Niru Medhi a resident of Jyotinagar, Bamunimaidan, Guwahati is the daughter of Shri Atul Medhi and Smt. Kusum Medhi. Smt. Niru Medhi's parents belong to Kalita community, which is regarded as a Caste Hindu. Smt. Niru Medhi is a graduate and at the time of her marriage she was serving in Income Tax Office, Guwahati. After her marriage also Smt. Niru Medhi has been serving in the same office.

Shri Rajen Nath Das, son of Late Gajendra Nath Das and Late Kamala Bala Das, is a resident of village Nadla P.O. Chamta, in the Kamrup District. He is a graduate and he has been working in the Assam State Development Corporation for Scheduled Castes Ltd., Guwahati. Shri Rajen Nath Das, belongs to Hira community, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. The traditional occupation of the Hira community is pottery making.

The marriage of Smt. Niru Medhi and Shri Rajen Nath Das was solemnised in March, 1980 in accordance with the traditional Hindu marriage customs. The marriage was performed in the residence of the Caste Hindu girl in presence of friends, relatives and villagers from both sides. Prior to actual marriage ceremony the girl was traditionally betrothed after negotiations.

Coming to the question of social acceptance, we find that Shri Rajen Nath Das has been accepted by the

family of his wife as if he were a family member. He has been well treated and in fact he is staying at the residence of his wife in Jyotinagar, Guwahati. Smt. Niru Medhi accompanied by her husband Shri Rajen Nath Das visits the residence of her father-in-laws in the village Nadla, on holidays and sometimes taking leave. She is in a position to adjust herself as a daughter-in-law and she is very much liked by all the members of her husband's family. They have now a daughter also and she has become an object of love and affection in both the families.

On verification it has come to our knowledge that she has received an amount of Rs. 5,000/- (Rs. 4,000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1,000.00 (One Thousand) in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Guwahati. Shri Atul Medhi father of Smt. Niru Medhi had also received a sum of Rs. 1,500/- from the above Directorate as an incentive for his daughter's Inter-Castes to Marriage.

As Smt. Niru Medhi and Shri Rajen Nath Das are employees in offices, located in Guwahati, their total earning comes to the tune of Rs. 40,000/- per annum.

It now appears that the Inter - Caste Marriage between Smt. Niru Medhi who is a Kalita by caste and Shri Rajen Nath Das, who belongs to the Hira community is a very successful one.

CASE STUDY NO. 3

Marriage between a Kalita Girl and a Bania Boy.

The Third Case of Inter-Caste Marriage taken up for study is the marriage between a Kalita Girl and Bania Boy. In this case the girl is Smti. Alpana Das, daughter of Shri Ashok Kumar Das, and Smti. Sandhya Das, residents of New Guwahati in the Kamrup District. The girl and her parents belong to the Kalita Caste, which is an Assamese Caste Hindu, Smti. Alpana Das, is a graduate and her father Shri Ashok Kumar Das is a Commerce Graduate and an employee serving under the State Government of Assam.

Smti. Alpana Das, was married to Shri Ramesh Banikya son of Shri Umesh Chandra Banikya and Smti. Prabitra Lata Banikya, residents of Lachitnagar, Guwahati in the month of December, 1979. Shri Ramesh Banikya, is a post graduate in Fine Arts. Shri Ramesh Banikya and his parents belong to Bania Community which is a Scheduled Caste in Assam. His father Shri Umesh Chandra Banikya is an employee of N.F. Railway.

The marriage ceremony was performed according to traditional Hindu Marriage system by observing the formalities and rituals. The ceremony was conducted by their family priests. Relatives and friends of both the bride and bride-groom and also both the families attended the ceremony. It may also be mentioned that this was a

negotiated marriage and the girl was betrothed formally a few months before the actual marriage.

Coming to the question of social acceptance, we have observed a very favourable response. In spite of the fact that Shri Ramesh Banikya is a member of the Bania Community (a Scheduled Caste of Assam), he is treated in the family of his father in-laws very cordially. Not only that, but the relatives of the girl's family also treated him as if he were their own family member.

Similarly Smti. Alpana Das has also been well treated by the members and relatives of her father-in-law and her mother in-law. She has been treated as if she were a daughter of the family. The couple has been already bestowed with a son.

Smti. Das, who is now a Branch Manager of the General Insurance Company, is posted in Guwahati. Her husband Shri Ramesh Banikya is now serving as an Executive Officer in a Private Company and he is posted in Bhubaneswar. Smti Das has received a sum of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Saving Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in cash). Shri Ashok Kumar Das, father of the girl has also received a sum of Rs. 1500/- from the office of the Director, Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Assam, Guwahati.

It, therefore, appears that the Intercaste Marriage between Smti. Alpana Das, a Kalita girl and Shri Ramesh Banikya, a Bania boy is a quite successful one.

CASE STUDY NO. 4

Marriage between a Brahmin Girl and Kaibarta Boy.

The case study No. 4 refers to an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Brahmin girl and a Kaibarta boy. Smti. Gita Sharma Kakati, daughter of Shri Golap Chandra Sharma Kakati and Smti. Jnanada Sharma Kakati of Chiring-Chapori, Dibrugarh, was married to Shri Abinash Hazarika, son of Late Thuluk Hazarika and Smti. Padmini Hazarika of Dergaon of Golaghat district in July 1975. Smti Gita Sharma Kakati is a Brahmin by caste while Shri Abinash Hazarika is a Kaibarta by caste.

Smti Gita Sharma Kakati is a graduate and she was ²³ years old at the time of her marriage. Shri Abinash Hazarika was 32 years old at the time of his marriage. He is a graduate and still working in the Assam Civil Secretariat.

The marriage was a negotiated one and the marriage ceremony was performed according to traditional Hindu Marriage System. The marriage was of course, solemnised in the Kamakhya Temple by requisitioning the service of priests. The marriage was attended by friends and relatives of both the parties.

Our field study has shown that the position of Golap Chandra Sharma Kakati, a Brahmin by Caste and the father of the Girl Smti. Gita Sharma Kakati has not been lowered in the society for giving his daughter in marriage to a Kaibarta boy. He has not faced any social

stigma for this. Specially in a big town like Dibrugarh nobody minds such things. Shri Abinash Hazarika the son in-law, does not feel any inferiority complex while visiting his in-laws at Dibrugarh. His parents in-law and their other family members are quite considerate and they have accepted Shri Hazarika with love and dignity. Similarly Smti. Gita Sharma Kakati has also been well received and well treated in the family of the boy. Her behaviours with the family members do not show any superiority complex because of her coming from a high caste Hindu family. The couple has a son and a daughter and they are loved by their grand-parents and other family members in Dibrugarh as well as in Dergaon.

Smti Gita Sharma Kakati has already received an amount of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in a National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Govt. of Assam.

Both the husband and his wife and their respective family members are quite happy with the marriage and we, therefore, consider it to be a successful one.

CASE STUDY NO.-5

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita girl and a Bania boy.

The Fifth case that we have undertaken for study is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita girl and a Bania boy. Here the bride is Smti. (Dr.) Moroni Dutta, an employee of the Guwahati Medical College having a M.D. degree in Medicine. She is kalita by caste and is the daughter of Shri Tarun Chandra Dutta and Smti Putuli Dutta, Atilagaon Kushal Kowar Path, Jorhat. Her father Shri Tarun Chandra Dutta is also B.Sc (Agri.).

The name of the bridegroom is Dr. Sailesh Banikya who belongs to the Bania community, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. Dr. Banikya's father is Shri Umesh Banikya a Science graduate and his mother is Smti. Kunu Banikya. They are residents of Abhyapuri town in Goalpara district. Dr. Banikya is a qualified physician having a Master Degree in Surgery.

It is a negotiated marriage and there was prior engagement between the boy and the girl.

The marriage was solemnised in February, 1976 in presence of the family members of both the parties and as well as their friends.

Our study shows that this is also a successful marriage. The boy, although belongs to a Scheduled Caste, has been accepted by the girl's family without showing slightest caste distinction. In the family of the boy also the daughter in-law could adjust

herself in her new surroundings. In fact she has been able to prove herself as a very loveable daughter in-law. They have a son and a daughter. Their social visits to their families and their relatives are considered fruitful.

Our field studies have also revealed the couple had received the admissible amount from the Directorate, Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes Government of Assam under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.

Now it appears that this Inter-Caste Marriage performed between a kalita girl and Bania boy, who are highly educated and are members of the medical profession, is a successful one.

CASE STUDY NO. 6.

Inter-Caste Marriage between a kalita girl and a Kaibarta boy.

The case study referred to here is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita Girl and Kaibarta boy.

The girl in this case study is Smti. Mun Mun Barkakati, daughter of Shri Baidya Barkakati and Smti. Bunu Barkakati. Her parents who are Kalita by Caste are residents of Silpukhuri, Guwahati. Smti. Mun Mun Barkakati is an educated girl with a University Degree.

The boy in this case: Shri Girish Das, son of Shri Manik Kumar Das and Smti. Sarada Das of Panbazar, Guwahati. They belong to Kaibarta Caste which is a Scheduled Caste. Shri Girish Das is a Science Graduate and he is a Contractor.

The Inter-Caste Marriage between Smti. Mun Mun Barkakati and Shri Girish Das was a negotiated one and the Marriage took place in the house of the bride according to traditional Hindu System in December, 1982. The Marriage was attended by the family members, relatives and friends of both the parties.

Coming to the question of social acceptance we have found that although the boy belongs to the Kaibarta Caste, nevertheless, in the girl's family he is well received and well treated. The behaviour of the parents and other family members of the girl does not show any superiority complex. Among the relatives of the girl's family also the boy has been treated in such a way so that he hardly finds anything that reminds him of his Scheduled Caste status. Similarly in the boy's family also the daughter-in-law does not show any superiority complex because of her hailing from a Caste Hindu family. Smti Mun Mun Barkakati (now Das) could adjust herself in the boy's family suitably.

The couple has a girl and she is specially liked by her grand father and grand mother and other family members in the parental house of the girl.

Under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983 they have received the admissible amount from the Director, Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Assam, Guwahati.

In this case also we have found that this is a successful Inter-Caste Marriage and the married couple is living in peace and happiness.

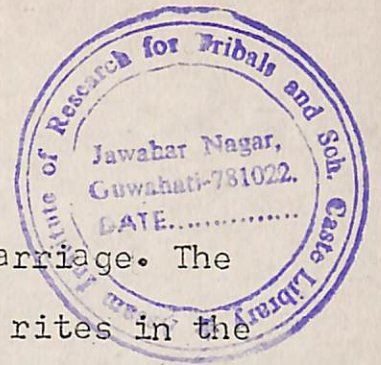
DISTRICT NAGAON

CASE STUDY NO. 7

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kayastha Girl and a Kaibarta Boy.

In the Nagaon District two case studies in respect of Inter-Caste Marriage are made. One case study refers to an Inter-Caste Marriage between a girl belonging to the Kayastha community and a boy belonging to the Kaibarta community which is a Scheduled Caste in Assam. Smti. Sulata Kumari Purkayastha, who belongs to an upper caste Hindu, viz, Kayastha (next to Brahmin), is a daughter of Shri Nishi Mohan Purkayastha and Smti. Hemanta Purkayastha. Smti. Sulata Kumari Purkayastha and her parents are residents of village Rangmala, P.O. Lanka of Nagaon District.

The boy Shri Sushil Kumar Das, son of Late Sonaram Das and Late Umeshwari Das, is a Kaibarta by caste. Kaibarta traditionally fisherman is one of the Scheduled Castes of Assam. He is a resident of the village Garikunji, P.O. Bebejia of Nagaon district. He is a ^{primary school} and is serving as a School teacher in a nearby L.P. School.



In their case it was a negotiated marriage. The marriage was performed according to Hindu rites in the residence of the girl in July, 1986. The marriage was attended by the members of both the families along with their friends and relatives. However, the conservative elders of the girl's village had shown reluctance to attend the marriage.

Shri Sushil Kumar Das the son in-law has been well received and well treated by the family members of the girl. The elderly people of the village who at first did not approve the idea of marrying a Kaibarta boy by a Kayastha girl, later on had given-up their conservatism and they have now shown due respect to Shri Sushil Kumar Das. Since he is a School teacher in a local L.P. School, this has also indirectly helped to raise his social status.

Now let us turn over attention to Smti. Sulata Kumari Purkayastha as a daughter in-law in a Kaibarta family. Since she is a Caste Hindu girl there is no question of ill treating her in her husband's family. She is rather overwhelmed with so much love and affection that she has forgotten her upper caste identity. Moreover, she is in a position to adjust herself in her new surroundings and new society. As an outcome of this wed-lock, they have become the parents of a boy and a girl.

From our field verification we could understand that the couple had received the admissible amount under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

The above facts show that this is a successful marriage where a kayastha girl, an upper Caste Hindu and a Kaibarta boy, a Scheduled Castes member of fishermen community got themselves into a negotiated wed-lock and they are living happily now although at the initial stage of marriage the patriarchs of the girl's village could not swallow the idea.

CASE STUDY NO. 8

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta Girl and a Keot Boy.

The next case of inter-caste marriage taken up for study is the marriage of Smti. Kalpana Das, daughter of Shri. Patik Chandra Das and Smti. Suryakanti Das, residents of the village Dimaruguri, P.O. Dimaruguri, district of Nagaon. Smti Kalpana Das is a Kaibarta by Caste. So far her educational qualification is concerned we may say that she is simply literate. Shri Sarat Keot, son of Late Herakanta Keot and Smti. Aideo keot, is a resident of the village Bez Kumar Chowk, P.O. Dimaruguri, District Nagaon. Shri Sarat Keot is a caste Hindu, his caste being Keot. His educational level is simply literate.

The marriage of Smti. Kalpana Das, now Keot and Shri Sarat Keot was solemnised in the Nagaon Court in the month of April 1982 under Special Marriage Act in presence of a Magistrate. Our field study shows that the couple had received a sum of Rs.5000/- in total (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in Cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam.

But we have one observation here to make. As per Rule 2(a) of Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1982 financial assistance not exceeding Rs.5000/- will be awarded in respect of negotiated/ contract social marriage solemnized as per religious rites and prevailing customs. In case of inter-caste marriage under the Special Marriage Act to be certified by a Sub Registrar, the grant to the tune of Rs.1000/- only is admissible to the couple. In this case now we have seen that the marriage between Shrimati Kalpana Keot and Shri Sarat Keot was not solemnised as per Hindu religious rites

and prevailing Customs. Since their marriage was performed in a Court in presence of a Magistrate and since it was a registered marriage, the couple should have received only Rs. 1000/- as a financial grants. However, the couple was given a sum of Rs.5000/- instead, in violation of rule 2(a) of Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983.

From our field verification it has come to light that because of the objection raised by the mother of Shri Sarat Keot the marriage had to be performed in the court. But later on, Smti. Aideo Keot had accepted her daughter in-law Smti. Kalpana Das in the family. Initially she was not allowed to cook food inside the kitchen. But as the time passed by the daughter-in-law has been able to prove herself to be a true family member in her husband's family. She has been treated as a member of her husband's family by the village people and relatives of her husband. Smti. Kalpana Das is also in a position to adjust herself and her actions as a daughter-in-law of the family have endeared her among family members. In other words Smti. Kalpana Das has been socially accepted.

Smti. Kalpana Das and Shri Sarat Keot are now a happy couple and judging from the social acceptance angle we may say that this inter-caste Marriage is a successful one.

CASE STUDY NO.9

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Dhubi Girl and a Kayastha Boy.

Next case of Intercaste Marriage on which study was conducted in the Nagaon District is the marriage between Smti. Rina Das, a Girl belonging to Dhubi community (a Scheduled Caste of Assam) and a Boy named Shri Sunil Bhowmick, belonging to Kayastha Community (Kayastha in Assam is a Caste Hindu). Smti. Rina Das is the daughter of Shri Haripada Das and Smti. Tara Das, Panigaon, Netaji Path, Nagaon district. Shri Sunil Bhowmick, son of Shri Pulin Bhowmick and Smti. Usha Bhowmick also hails from the same locality as that of the girl. Both the newly married husband wife can simply read and write and their main occupation is cultivation.

Since the parents of the boy was not agreeable to bring to the family a girl belonging to a Scheduled Caste as their daughter-in-law, they did not agree to the proposal of celebration of the marriage at the residence of the girl. The marriage was, therefore, solemnised in the Kamakhya temple according to the Hindu Marriage Rituals in August, 1983. The parents and relatives of the boy were not present during the celebration of the marriage although the parents and relatives of the girl were present.

After marriage, however, the husband and wife have been living in the house of the parents of the boy. Although the parents of the boy did not take interest at the celebration of this Inter-Caste Marriage at the initial stage, later on when it was found that the daughter in-law was a girl of amiable disposition, and hard working and also has been looking after the interest of the parent-in-laws and

other family members or adually they started to like her and at the time of our study it is found that the girl has been accepted by parents and relatives of the boy as a true daughter-in-law in the family. When the family members themselves have shown such an attitude, the feelings of the neighbours and the other village people of the Kayastha community have also undergone changes. The Boy is also in a position to mix with the parents and other family members of the girl's family and he does not maintain a feeling of superiority complex because of his birth in a Kayastha community. The couple has now been blessed with two daughters.

On our verification it is found that the couple has already received an amount of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs.1000/- in cash).

It now appears that although this marriage appeared to be an unsuccessful at the beginning because of the stiff resistance of the boy's parents for bringing a daughter in-law belonging to a Scheduled Caste, later on the marriage has proved to be a successful one. The illiteracy and conservatism of the parents of the boy were responsible for the initial unco-operative attitude together with the fear of public criticism.

MORIGAON DISTRICT.

CASE STUDY NO. - 10

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Namasudra Girl and Kayastha Boy.

The next case study we have taken up is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a girl belonging to the Namasudra community, a Scheduled Caste of Assam and a boy belonging to the Kayastha community which is also known as Sudh community.

Here the girl in question is Smti. Dipti Rani Mandal, daughter of Late M. C. Mandal and Smti. Nirmala Mandal hailing from the village Jaluguti (P.O. Jaluguti) in the district of Morigaon.

Smti. Dipti Rani Mandal was married to Shri Dilip Kumar Modak, son of Shri Nilmoan Modak and Renu Bala Modak, residents of the village Hiragaon, P.O. Morigaon in the Morigaon district. The couple has no any formal education. Their basic occupation is agriculture.

This marriage cannot be said to be a negotiated one because of the fact that the parents of the boy did not whole-heartedly participated in the marriage ceremony and in fact they were reluctant to bring home a girl as her daughter-in-law, who belongs to a Scheduled Caste. That is why the marriage was solemnised in the Kamakhya temple, Guwahati in October, 1982 in presence of the friends of both the parties. The parents of the boy did not attend the marriage. Now here is a marriage which was performed against the wish of the parents of the boy.

Since the boy's parental home is located in rural interior area of Morigaon, the social acceptance of the daughter-in-law by the parents and the family members as

as well as relatives of the boy and the village people is not favourable. Since the marriage, the newly married couple has been living in a separate house although the house is situated in the same compound where the parents and other family members of the boy are staying. The son and the daughter-in-law have been compelled to live separately because of the fact that this inter-caste marriage has violated the social traditions which prohibit inter-caste marriage.

Shri Dilip Kumar Madak has of course, been receiving treatment that a son-in-law should receive in his parent-in-law's house.

At present the couple has two daughters and the birth of two daughters. The birth of two grand-children has brought some changes in the attitude of the parents of the boy to some extent. Formerly the parents of the boy did not take food cooked by their daughter-in-law. But now the aged parents-in-laws take food cooked by their daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, the parents of the boy have been maintaining their social distances between them and their daughter-in-law because of the fact she happens to belong to a Scheduled Caste community.

Our case study, therefore, has revealed that this inter-caste marriage between a Namasudra girl and a Kayastha boy is not a successful one in the sense that the girl being a scheduled caste, has not fully been accepted by her parents-in-laws, family members and relatives of the boy.

We could ascertain from the field verification that the couple has received an amount of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates & Rs.1000/- in cash) admissible to them under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Govt. of Assam, Guwahati.

CASE STUDY NO.-11

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Namasudra Girl and a Brahmin (Nepali) boy.

The next case taken up for study is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Brahmin boy of Morigaon district and a Namasudra girl of Morigaon district. The boy Shri Tulshi Sharma is a Nepali Brahmin and at present is a resident of Moriraja gaon, P.O. Marigaon, of Morijaon district. Although at present he is settling in Moriraja gaon and in fact he is a Nepali National residing here with no family members of his own. He was born in Nepal and brought-up there. The boy has not any definite work and his occupation is now wage earning. It may also be mentioned that although he is a Brahmin by caste, nevertheless, he is an illiterate person.

The girl Smti Akadeshi Mandal is a Namasudra by caste (Namasudra is a Scheduled Caste of Assam). She is the daughter of Shri Chandra Mohan Mandal and Smti. Ramani Mandal of Gunamara village, P.O. Azarbari, in the district of Marigaon. Like the boy Smti Mandal is also an illiterate persons

The marriage was, however, a negotiated one and it was solemnised in 1978 in accordance with the traditional Hindu Religious rituals. Parents, relatives and friends of the girl attended the marriage. So far the boy's side is concerned his marriage was attended by the friends only, since he has no any relations in the area where he lives.

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Since the boy is alone in his family and he has not taken his wife to Nepal after marriage, the social acceptance by Nepali Brahmin Society as well as the girl as the daughter in-law of a Brahmin family cannot be ascertained. However, the parents, relatives and other people of the girl has accepted Shri Tulshi Sharma as their true son in-law and Shri Tulshi Sharma also does not show through his behaviour that he belongs to a caste Hindu (Brahmin family) The couple has a son and they have been living happily.

The amount admissible to them as grants under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983 has already been paid to the married couple.

Thus this marriage is also a successful one.

CASE STUDY NO. 12

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Namasudra Girl and a Kalita Boy.

The next case of Inter-Caste Marriage taken up for study in the Morigaon district is a marriage between a Namasudra girl (Namasudra is a Scheduled Castes in Assam) and a boy belonging to Kalita caste which is Caste Hindu.

Smti Bimala Biswas daughter of Late S.M. Biswas and Smti Dukunibala Biswas, hails from Morihira gaon of Morigaon district. The name of the boy is Shanti Chandra Rai, son of Shri Harekrishna Rai and Smti. Niroda Rai, all residents of Morihira gaon, P.O. Morigaon. While the girl Smti. Bimala Biswas has no formal education, the boy Shri Shanti Chandra Rai read upto Class VII.

The marriage was not a negotiated one and it was solemnised in the Civil Court of Morigaon under Hindu Marriage Act in March 1974 in the presence of a Magistrate. While the parents, close relatives of the girl were present in the Court at the time of the registration of marriage, none from the bride groom's family attended the ceremony because of the fact that the parents and relatives of the boy did not like the idea of bringing a Namasudra girl as a daughter in-law to the family.

After marriage however, the boy had brought the girl to his parents' house and although in the initial stage the parents and relatives of the boy was quite

indifferent and did not regard the bride as the true daughter in-law of the family, as the time passed by their attitude towards her had undergone changes. In fact it was the birth of a girl to them which had brought changes to the attitude of the parents and to the other family members. At present we have found that the parents like their grand daughter very much and the daughter in-law has been accepted by the parents as well as family members and also relatives as if she were of their own castes. In other words there is full social acceptance although it was not so in the beginning. From this we can say that this Inter-Caste Marriage has also proved to be a successful one.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Savings Certificate and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Assam Guwahati.

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CASE STUDY NO. 13

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita Girl and Hira Boy.

The next case taken up for study in Morigaon district is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita girl and a Hira boy. Smti. Binapani Saikia is a daughter of Late M. Saikia and Smti Lahita Saikia of the village Rupaibori, P.O. Anhatguri of Morigaon district. She belongs to the Kalita caste which is caste Hindu in Assam. Shri Thaneswar Das is the son of Late Karuna Das and Smti Phatiki Das of the village of Matiparbat, P.O. Bengaldhara, district Morigaon. Shri Thaneswar Das is a Hira by Caste (Hira is a Scheduled Castes in Assam). The girl Smti. Binapani Kalita read upto Class V and the boy Shri Thaneswar Das read upto Class X. Their marriage was solemnised in February 1977 according to the Hindu traditional system in presence of the relatives and friends of both the parties.

As the girl is a caste Hindu, the question of her social acceptance in the boy's family, which is lower caste does not arise. We have seen that the girl has been treated in the family as if she were a member of their own caste. The girl Smti. Binapani Kalita could adjust herself in the family of her parents in-law since she is a girl of simple nature who does not maintain a superiority complex because of her birth in caste Hindu family. Similarly we have found that Shri Thaneswar Das, the son-in-law, although belongs to Hira community, is accepted by the family members and parents of the girl as if he were a member of their own caste. The couple has three boys and they are liked by both the families alike. Thus we have found that both the husband and the wife are quite happy with their marriage and hence we can say their marriage a successful one.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Savings Certificate and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate, Welfare of Plains Tribes & Backward Classes, Assam, Guwahati.

DISTRICT SIBSAGAR.

CASE STUDY NO. - 14

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta Girl and a Brahmin Boy.

The first case in the Sibsagar district taken up for study is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta Girl and a Brahmin Boy.

The name of the girl is Smti. Thaneswari Hazarika, daughter of Late Damodar Hazarika and Smti Neuli Hazarika. The girl's family hails from the village Jailgaon P.O. Disangmukh in the Sibsagar district. The name of the boy is Shri Purna Goswami, son of Late M.C. Goswami and Late H.L. Goswami. The boy hails from the village Palasanj P.O. Rajabari in the Sibsagar district.

It was a negotiated marriage and the negotiator was the boy himself since his parents were not alive. The principal occupation of both the families is agriculture. The boy as well as girl read upto Xth standard only.

The marriage was celebrated in the traditional Hindu Religious ways on July 1982. It was attended by the mother and family members and other relatives of the girl and family members and other relatives of the boy.

Coming to the question of social acceptance we find that although Smti. Thaneswari Hazarika is a Kaibarta by Caste (Kaibarta is a Scheduled Caste in Assam), nevertheless, in the boy's family she has been accepted as the daughter-in-law without keeping any social distance. She is allowed to feed, prepare tea and to cleanse the room

where the family idol is kept. In other words she has been treated in the family of the boy as if she were belonging to a Brahmin community. Among the relatives and other villagers belonging to the Brahmin community. Smti. Thanewari Hazarika has been well received and well treated. The boy although belongs to the highest caste in the Hindu society, nevertheless, he does not maintain a superiority complex and as a result he is loved by one and all in the family of the bride as well as by the neighbouring people. The couple has now been blessed with a male child. The couple has already received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificate and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati. Smti. Neuti Hazarika the mother of the girl (living parent), has also received a sum of Rs.1500/- in accordance with the provision of Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983 from the above mentioned Directorate.

We find that the couple is quite happy with their marriage and we can say that this is a successful Inter-Caste Marriage where marriage has taken place between a girl which is one of the so called lowly communities and a boy who from the point of view of caste structure is at the top.

DISTRICT GOLAGHAT.

CASE STUDY NO. - 15

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta Girl and a Keot Boy.

In Golaghat district only one case of Inter-Caste marriage was taken up for study and this refers to a marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Keot boy.

The girl in question here is Smti. Kunjalata Das, daughter of Shri Bhogai Das and Smti. Janaki Das hailing from the village Mamarani, P.O. Na-bhanga of Golaghat district. The name of the boy is Shri Lalit Bora son of Shri Sonaram Bora and Smti. Gunada Bora. They are residents of the village Kalukhorai, P.O. Bokakhat of Golaghat district. While the girl is illiterate, boy had read upto Class VII. The occupation of the parents and the boy is cultivation. While the boy belongs to the Caste Keot which is a Caste Hindu, the girl belongs to the Kaibarta community which is a Scheduled Caste in Assam.

The marriage took place in July, 1983 not in the house of the bridegroom but in the Golaghat Court in presence of the Magistrate. It was not a negotiated marriage but a contract social marriage. In fact the boy married the girl against the wish of his parents. In the marriage which was held in the Golaghat Court, family members and relatives of the girl were present while the parents and other family members of the boy did not attend the marriage.

Although at the initial stage the parents of the boy had kept a social distance with the girl, nevertheless

in course of time she had been accepted as a true family member of the household. The girl, although uneducated, knows how to mix-up with people with good manner and behaviour. She never expresses any inferiority complex because of her birth in a kaibarta family. In the social gathering also. Smti. Kunjalata Das has been well treated. Her husband Shri Lalit Bora has also been accepted by the relatives and family members as a true son-in-law.

Our field verification shows that the couple has received a sum of Rs. 1000/- (Rs. 500.00 in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 500/= in cash) under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983 from the Director, Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

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DISTRICT JORHAT.

In Jorhat district two cases of Inter-Caste Marriage have been taken up for study. The first case is between a Kaibarta girl and Keot boy and the second case is between a Kaibarta girl and Kalita boy.

CASE STUDY NO. 16.

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and Keot boy.

Smti Labanya Das is the daughter of Shri Dhirman Das and Smti. Sarusoali Das. She belongs to Kaibarta caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. The girl and her parents hail from the village Baliate, P.O. Garumera in the Jorhat district.

Smti. Labanya Das is an illiterate person.

Her husband Shri Rajani Bora is the son of Shri Katia Bora and Smti. Sarumai Bora of Disoinagar, Jorhat. They belong to Keot Caste, a Caste Hindu. Shri Rajani Bora read upto Class X and his present primary occupation is tailoring.

Since their marriage was not a negotiated one, it was performed in the Jorhat Court in the June, 1981 in presence of the Magistrate. The parents, family members and other close relatives of the boy did not attend the marriage. The married couple has now one son and one daughter.

The parent of the boy and other family members did not appreciated the idea of brining a Kaibarta girl as the daughter in-law to a Keot family. Nevertheless their attitude had undergone changes as soon as a male child was

born to the couple. The daughter in-law now does not keep any social distance either in the parents in-laws family or outside the family. Shri Rajani Bora also does not maintain any air of superiority while dealing with the family members and relatives of his wife because of his high caste status.

We have found that since the marriage was not a negotiated one and since it was not performed as per Hindu traditional ways, the couple has received a sum of Rs. 1000/- only (Rs. 500/- as a National Savings Certificate and Rs. 500/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

From the above it can be inferred that this Inter-Caste marriage between a Kaibarta girl and Keet boy has ultimately resulted in greater amount of success although initially it was not so..

CASE STUDY NO. - 17

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and Kalita boy.

The next case taken up for study in Jorhat district is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and Kalita boy.

This is rather a peculiar case where formal marriage had not taken place inspite of the fact that the husband and wife have been living together since August, 1969. Smti Niru Das is a daughter of Late Sonaram Das and Late Rupahi Das. Smti. Das and her parents belong to Kaibarta caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. She hails from Borigaon, P.O. Jorhat. Borigaon is on the outskirts of Jorhat town on the eastern side of the river Bhogdoi. Her husband's name is Shri Atul Bora, son of Late Keshab Bora, and Smti. Sarunai Bora, belonging to the village Padumoni, Hatigaon in the Jorhat district. While Smti Niru Das has no formal education her husband Shri Bora is a simple literate person. He belongs to Kalita Caste, a Caste Hindu and his basic occupation is motor vehicle driving and is employed in a Government department.

It has been stated earlier that it is a peculiar case of marriage where no formal marriage has taken place. In fact it was a marriage by elopement. Shri Atul Bora had taken the girl from her residence and brought her to his own home. And since August, 1969 they have been living together as a husband and wife. The society too has

recognised them as husband and wife though they did not have any formal ceremony. At the beginning when Shrimati Niru Das and Shri Atul Bora were living together as a husband and a wife and while many people including their own relatives and family members disapproved their action, a social distance was always maintained. But in course of time the attitude of the people of the village where Shri Atul Bora has been living has undergone changes and now for all practical purposes Smti. Niru Das has been considered to be a good daughter-in-law in the family and the social distance no longer exists. For all practical purposes she is the daughter-in-law who prepares food in the kitchen for all, prepares tea and tiffin and performs other household works. In fact there is no caste barrier. The son-in-law also does not maintain any social distance while visiting his father-in-law's family.

In fact it is a successful marriage inspite of the fact that there was not formal celebration. The couple has already received a sum of Rs.1000/- (Rs.500/- in National Savings Certificate and Rs.500/- in case) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

DISTRICT LAKHIMPUR

CASE STUDY NO. -18

In the Lakhimpur District only one case was taken up for study.

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and Kalita boy.

The case referred to here is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Kalita boy. Smti. Manti Das is a daughter of Shri Saruman Das and Smti. Jaymati Das belonging to the village Sanatan, P.O. Bahadurchawk in the Lakhimpur district. The girl belongs to Kaibarta castes which is Scheduled Caste of Assam.

Shri Prasanna Deka is the son of Late Gopal Deka and Smti. Purnima Deka of the village Madhapur, P.O. Barama district Nalbari. The boy belongs to kalita caste, a caste Hindu.

It may be mentioned that the girl as well as boy do not have any formal education. The primary occupation of both the families, meaning the girl's family as well as boy's family is cultivation.

It was a negotiated marriage and marriage was solemnised in the house of the bride in accordance with Hindu Marriage System in March, 1981. The marriage was attended by family members and relatives of both the parties. It is also interesting to note that a few months prior to the marriage the girl was engaged with the boy formally.

From our field verification it is ascertained that this is a successful marriage which has been accepted by the family members and relatives of the boy socially. The daughter in-law has been well treated and well received not only in the husband's family but by the neighbouring families belonging to Kalita community. There is a cordial relationship between the two concerned families and the boy very often visits the family of his mother in-law in the Nalbari district. The couple has two daughters and it is a happy family. From this we can ascertain that this Inter-Caste marriage is a successful one.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs.1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules 1983.

DISTRICT DARRANG.

In Darrang district two cases of Inter-Caste Marriage were taken up for study. The first one is an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kalita girl and a Kaibarta boy.

Case Study No. 19.

Smti. Numdli Kalita is the daughter of Shri Surath Ram Kalita and Smti. Makani Bala Kalita belonging to the village Bezpara P.O. Melpara in the Darrang district. The family belongs to Kalita Caste, a Caste Hindu. Shri Gajen Bora who married Numdli Kalita is the son of Shri Rupram Bora and Smti. Dilubala Bora belonging to the village Lengaripara, P.O. Mangaldoi in the Darrang district. The family belongs to Kaibarta Caste, which is Scheduled Caste of Assam. While Smti. Numdli Kalita has no any formal education, her husband read upto Class X and his main occupation is cultivation.

This was a negotiated marriage which took place in March, 1979 in the house of the bride in accordance with the traditional Hindu Marriage system where Brahmin priests had solemnised the religious rituals. The marriage was attended not only by the family members of the two families, but also by their friends and relatives.

Coming to the question of social acceptance we have found that the son-in-law, although belongs to the Kaibarta Caste, has been accepted by the parents-in-laws and the family members and relatives of the girl as if he

were a member of their own Kalita caste. The daughter-in-law, inspite of the fact that she belongs to Kalita caste, does not maintain superiority complex because of her high caste. She is in a position to adjust herself as a member of her husband's family. Her husband Shri Gajen Bora has never been looked down upon by the parents and family members of his wife whenever he visits the house of his wife. It is also observed that while visiting his wife's house he does not maintain an inferiority complex because of the fact that he belongs to the kaibarta caste. In the social gatherings in the village of his wife and among her relatives no discrimination has been made in the matters of sitting and eating together.

Considering all these facts we may say that this is also a successful marriage which has been accepted socially.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs.1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

CASE STUDY NO. 20

The next case taken up for study in the Darrang district was an Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Kalita boy.

Details of the Girl

Smti. Chitala Das is the daughter of Late Chirika Das and Smti. Chikunibala Das belonging to the village Jaljali, P.O. Jonaramsukin the district of Darrang. The girl's family belongs to the kaibarta caste which is a Scheduled Caste of Assam. She has no formal education. The primary occupation of her family is agriculture.

Details of the Boy.

Shri Barada Choudhury is the son of Late Shyamalata Choudhury and Late M. Choudhury belonging to the village Lengaripara, P.O. Mangaldoi of the Darrang District. The family belongs to the Kalita caste, a Caste Hindu. The basic qualification of Shri Barada Choudhury is lower primary passed. By occupation he is a driver and an employee of a Government Department of Mangaldoi. It was a negotiated marriage and prior to the actual marriage the girl was engaged to the boy formally. The marriage was solemnised and the residence of the bride on 3rd September, 1971 according to the traditional Hindu marriage system by requisitioning the services of the Brahmin priests. The marriage ceremony was attended by the family.

members and relatives of both the parties. Even the marriage party which was thrown for the bride-groom party was participated by the boy's relatives and friends.

Coming to the question of social acceptance, our field investigation reveals that although the girl belongs to a Scheduled Caste community, nevertheless the family members and relatives of the boy have accepted her as if she were a member of their own caste. The son-in-law, although hails from a Caste Hindu is in a position to mix freely with the family and relatives of his wife and does not maintain an air of superiority complex in his dealings and behaviour with his mother-in-laws family.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati. It is also heartening to note that Smti Chikunibala Das, the mother of Smti Chirala Choudhury (Das), has also been paid National Savings Certificates worth of Rs. 1500 from the Directorate of the Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati, for the initiative she had taken and shown for arranging the marriage of her daughter with a kalita boy and solemnising the same as per Hindu customs.

Our field verification has shown that this is a successful marriage and the couple is found to be quite happy with the marriage.



DISTRICT NALBARI.

In the Nalbari district only one case of Inter-Caste Marriage was taken up for study.

CASE STUDY NO. 21.

The Inter-Caste marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Keot boy.

Details of the Girl.

The name of the girl under the purview of the case study is Smti. Pranati Saikia. She is the daughter of Late Dandeswar Saikia and Smti. Dipali Saikia belonging to the village Manikarneswar, P.O. North Guwahati in the district of Kamrup. Smti. Pranati Saikia has no formal education. The Primary occupation of her family is cultivation. The girl belongs to Kaibarta caste which is a Scheduled Caste of Assam.

Details of the Boy.

Shri Anil Kumar Pathak is the son of Late Bhanuram Pathak and Late Lankeswari Pathak of the village Kamarpara P.O. Makhibaha, Nalbari district. The family belongs to the Keot caste, a Caste Hindu. He is an educated man, his basic qualification being High School Leaving Certificate passed. He is working in the Irrigation department, Government of Assam, as a L.D.A.

This Inter-Caste marriage was a negotiated one and prior engagement had taken place between the boy and the girl about six months before the actual marriage. In August, 1980 the actual marriage was solemnised in the residence of the bride in accordance with the traditional

Hindu marriage system where the services of the Brahmin Priests were requisitioned. The family members, friends and relatives of both the parties attended the marriage.

Our field studies show that the girl, although belonging to the Kaibarta caste, has been accepted in the family of the boy without minding her caste. She has become an integral part of the family of the boy. She cooks food and prepares tiffin for all. The relatives of the boy also do not hesitate to take food from her. There has been a cordial relationship between the family of the boy and family of girl. Shri Anil Kumar Pathak does not show any indication that he belongs to high caste while visiting the family members of his wife.

They have a happy married life and are blessed with two sons and one daughter. The couple has already received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs. 4000/- National Savings Certificates and Rs.1000/- in cash) under Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Govt. of Assam, Guwahati.

Our observation has shown that this is also a very successful Inter-Caste Marriage.

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DISTRICT BARPETA.

CASE STUDY NO. 22

Marriage between a Kayastha girl and a Kaibarta Boy

In the Barpeta district only one case of Inter-Caste marriage was taken up for study. It was an Inter-Caste marriage between a Kayastha girl and a Kaibarta boy.

Smti. Sabita Dey is the daughter of Shri Nikhil Chandra Dey and Smti. Tarulata Dey hailing from Bongaigaon in the district of Goalpara. The girl's family belongs to Kayastha caste and Caste Hindu. Smti. Sabita Dey has no formal education. Shri Kamal Kumar Das is a son of Late Harendra Das and Smti. Sisirbala Das hailing from Rayat para in the district of Barpeta. His family belongs to the Kaibarta Caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam, Shri Kamal Kumar Das is an educated boy whose basic qualification is P.U. Passed. He is a self-employed business man of the locality from which he is hailing.

It is a negotiated marriage and the engagement took place between the boy and the girl prior to the actual marriage. The marriage was solemnised in November, 1976, in the house of the bride in accordance with Hindu Marriage system where the Brahmin Priests performed religious rituals. The marriage was attended by relatives, family members and friends of both the parties.

Coming to the question of social acceptance we have found that the girl although belongs to a Caste Hindu family, she could adjust herself in the family of her husband

and she does not maintain any superiority complex because of her birth in a high caste Hindu family. Similarly we have found that the boy maintains a cordial relationship with his father-in-law's family and other relatives. He has not been ill-treated in the family of his parent-in-laws because of his birth in a Scheduled Caste family.

The couple has already two sons and their married life is quite happy. Since there is nothing to make them worry so far the two societies - one belonging to the bride and the other belonging to the bride-groom - are concerned. Their conjugal life is blessed with peace.

Our field investigation had revealed that the couple has already received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs.1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati, under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.

DISTRICT GOALPARA

CASE STUDY NO. - 23

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Hira Girl and a Kalita Boy.

In the Goalpara district only one case of Inter-Caste Marriage was taken up for study and this marriage was between a Hira girl and a Kalita boy.

Smti. Purnima Das is the daughter of Late Budhiram Das and Smti. Gangabala Das hailing from the village Sastri Nagar, P.O. Baitamari of Goalpara district. The family belongs to the Hira community which is Scheduled Caste of Assam. The girl has no formal education. The name of the boy is Shri Anil Kalita who is the son of Shri Bishnuram Kalita and Smti. Janani Kalita hailing from the village Malaybari, P.O. Boko in the district of Kamrup. The boy's family belongs to the kalita caste which is a Caste Hindu. He is now working in a hotel as a sweet maker. He has no formal education.

It was not a negotiated marriage inspite of the fact that the girl was engaged to the boy few months before the performance of the actual marriage. It was a social contract marriage and the marriage was performed in October, 1984 in Goalpara District Court in presence of District Magistrate. Therefore, the marriage Deed was registered under the Hindu Marriage Act. In fact the marriage was performed in the Court not because of the opposition from the boy's family of marrying a Hira girl to Kalita family.

But because of the fact that both the families wanted to minimise the cost of a formal marriage which would likely to involve huge amount of expenditure.

From field verification we have found that the girl has been accepted in the family of the boy without any malice and she has been nicely treated. Similarly the boy could also mix with his in-laws' family without maintaining any social distance. The couple is happily married and they have two lovely sons. We can conclude that this is a successful marriage inspite of the fact that it was not a negotiated one.

Since this is a social contract marriage performed in accordance with the Hindu Marriage Act, the couple should have received a sum of Rs.1000/- only. In the field verification it has come to our knowledge that Smti Purnima Das(Kalita) has received the National Savings Certificates No. A/D/3.776486 worth of Rs.500.00 vide letter No. DW 66384 - 1748-69 dated 30-12-85 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Dispur. Why the cash amount of Rs.500/- was not paid to the couple could not be ascertained.

DISTRICT KOKRAJHAR

CASE STUDY NO. -24

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kayastha girl and a Namasudra boy.

(relates/
In the Kokrajhar District two Cases were taken up for study the first case ^{relates} ~~relates~~ to an inter-caste marriage between a Kayastha girl and a Namasudra boy.

Details of the girl.

Smti. Renuka Das daughter of Late Jatin Chandra Das and Smti. Tarulata Das hails from Kokrajhar town. The family belongs to kayastha caste, a caste Hindu. Smti. Renuka Das has no formal education.

Details of the boy.

Shri Sadhan Chandra Mandal hailing from Patalpur, in the district of Kokrajhar is the son of Late Chandra Mohon Mandal and Late Charubala Mandal. The family belongs to Namasudra caste, which is a Scheduled Caste of Assam. Like his wife Smti. Renuka Das, Shri Sadhan Chandra Mandal has no formal education. He is a black-smith by profession.

In July 1981 the marriage between Smti. Renuka Das and Shri Sadhan Chandra Mandal was solemnised in temple as per traditional Hindu marriage system. It was a negotiated marriage [redacted] and it was performed in the temple since the boy's parents were not alive. He was not in a position to arrange a formal marriage at his own residence. In the temple all the friends and relatives of both the parties were present.

Coming to the question of social acceptance, we are required to examine whether the boy Shri Sadhan Chandra Mandal has been socially accepted by the family members and other relatives of his wife, since he belongs to a Scheduled Caste family. Our field studies have shown that the boy has been accepted in the family of his wife as one of the family belongs to a high Hindu caste. The girl as a daughter-in-law of the family of the boy has also been mixing freely with the relatives of the boy as if she herself belongs to the Namasudra caste.

Our observation is that it is a successful marriage. The couple has received the amount admissible to them from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

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CASE STUDY NO. 25.

An Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Kayastha boy.

In the Kokrajhar district the second Inter-Caste Marriage taken-up for study was the marriage between a Kaibarta girl and a Kayastha boy.

Details of the girl.

Smti. Mallika Das hailing from the village Lakura, P.O. Chaibari in the Kokrajhar district is the daughter of Shri Kunja Bihari Das and Smti. Subarna Prabha Das. She read up to class XI standard. The girl's family belongs to the kaibarta caste which is a Scheduled Caste of Assam.

Details of the boy.

Shri Santosh Kumar Guha hailing from Kokrajhar town is the son of Shri Charindra Mohan Guha and Smti. Anjali Guha. The family belongs to kayastha caste which is a caste Hindu. Like his wife Shri Guha also read upto class XI and he is a contractor by occupation.

On 26th February, 1982, the marriage was solemnised in accordance with the Traditional Hindu Marriage System at the residence of the girl. The marriage was a negotiated one. In the marriage family members and relatives of both the parties were present.

When we are looking for social acceptance we find that the daughter-in-law although belongs to a kaibarta community has been accepted as a member of the boy's family in all respects. She has never been ill-treated or disrespected by the family members of her husband because of her birth in a Scheduled-Caste family. Similarly the boy although belongs to kayastha caste does not maintain an air of superiority.

Considering all these facts we have come to the conclusion that this is also a successful marriage. It has also been verified that the couple has received a sum of Rs.5000/- (Rs.4000/- in National Savings Certificate and Rs.1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati.

DISTRICT DHUBRICASE STUDY NO. -26

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Brahmin girl and a Jalo boy.

In the Dhubri district only one case of Inter-Caste Marriage was taken up for study. The case referred to here is a marriage between Smti. Iti Bhattacharyee, a brahmin girl and Shri Dilip Kumar Saha a Jalo boy.

Details of the girl.

Smti. Iti Bhattacharyee who hails from Bagaribari in the Dhubri district is the daughter of Late Braja Mohan Bhattacharyee and Smti. Ashalata Bhattacharyee. Her family belongs to the Brahmin caste, a caste Hindu. She read upto Class X.

Details of the boy.

Shri Dilip Kumar Saha who hails from Dafring Road of Dhubri district, is the son of Shri Nirmal Chandra Saha and Smti. Basanti Rani Saha. The family belongs to Jalo caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. Shri Dilip Kumar Saha's basic qualification is H.S.L.C. passed and he is serving in a Government Office as a L.D.A.

This was not a negotiated marriage but a social contract marriage. The girl's mother, family members and relatives were against this marriage since they did not like to have a Scheduled Caste boy as the son-in-law of the family. But the boy and the girl, inspite of

an adverse situation, had agreed to marry and as a result the marriage was performed in the Dhubri Court in presence of a Magistrate under Hindu Marriage Act in January, 1976.

When we come to the question of social acceptance we ~~are to~~^{to} discuss it from two angles. Since the girl belongs to ~~the~~ Brahmin Caste her acceptance in the family of her husband did not raise any difficulty. She was rather received in her husband's family just like a special guest. The girl herself has not been maintaining any superiority complex and she could mix freely with the family members of her husband.

So far the acceptance of the Scheduled Caste boy in the family of his wife is concerned it may be mentioned here that at the beginning the relationship was somewhat strained. But the passage of time has improved this strained relation to a great extent and at the time of our study it is found that the boy has been ultimately accepted as a son-in-law in the family of his wife without maintaining any social distances.

Thus this Inter-Caste Marriage looked from the point of view of social acceptance can be said to be a successful one although in the earlier stage it did not appear so.

The couple has already received a sum of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam Guwahati.

CACHAR DISTRICT.

CASE STUDY NO. 27

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Brahmin girl and Dhubi boy.

In the Cachar district only one Inter-Caste Marriage was taken up for study. This Inter-Caste Marriage took place between a Brahmin girl and a Dhubi boy.

Details of the Girl.

Smti. Dipa Chakraborty who hails from Longai Road, Karimganj town, is the daughter of Shri Ranjit Chakraborty and Smti. Priti Chakraborty. Her family belongs to the Brahmin caste, which is highest caste among the Hindus. The girl read upto class X only.

Details of the Boy.

Shri Phani Bhusan Sukla is the son of Shri Lakshmi Charan Sukla and Smti. Labanga Bala Sukla. They are residents of Bonanali Road of Karimganj town. His family belongs to the Dhubi caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam. Shri Phani Bhusan Sukla is an educated man having a University degree. He is at present serving as the Assistant Store Keeper at the Silchar Polytechnic.

His marriage with Smti. Dipa Chakraborty was not a negotiated one but it was a social contract one. Since the girl's parents did not approve their daughter's marriage with a Scheduled Caste boy, the marriage was performed in the Silchar Court in presence of a Magistrate under the Hindu Marriage Act in May, 1978. Although the

parents of the girl tried their best to dissuade their daughter from marrying a Dhubi boy, their attempts were not successful. While the marriage had taken place in the Court the parents and relatives of the girl did not attend.

In our field verification it was found that the newly married couple was not allowed to visit the girl's house. Since the girl belongs to the Brahmin community her question of acceptance in her husband's family immaterial. She has been given special treatment in the family of the boy, because of her birth in a Brahmin family. The daughter-in-law also does not maintain a feeling of superiority complex because of her birth in the highest Hindu caste. After some years of course, the son-in-law has been accepted in the family of his wife. Two factors have played an important role here. The boy although belongs to a Scheduled Caste, his caste, meaning a Dhubi caste, is not so low in the Scheduled Caste scale. Secondly, he is a qualified man having a permanent job in a Government Educational Institute. In other words he has a social status, as a result of his educational qualification as well as his placement in the Government service. All these factors combined together have ultimately led the parents and family members of the girl to accept Shri Phani Bhusan Sukla as a son-in-law.

Thus we have seen that although in the initial stage this marriage did not appear to be a successful one ultimately it is proved to be a success.

Since this marriage was not a negotiated one the couple has received a sum of Rs. 1000/- only from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati, under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rule, 1983.

KARBI ANGLONG DISTRICT.

CASE STUDY NO. 28.

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Brahmin girl and a Kaibarta boy.

In Karbi Anglong District only one case of Inter-Caste Marriage was taken-up for study and it was a marriage between a Brahmin girl and a kaibarta boy.

Smti Rupa Borbora is the daughter of Shri Achyut Borbora and Smti Binu Borbora and the family hails from Chanakya Path, Dispur, Guwahati in the Kamrup district. Her family belongs to the Brahmin caste, the highest caste in the Hindu caste structure. She is a Master Degree holder and she has been serving in the Diphu Government College as a Lecturer.

Dr. Guna Das is the son of Shri Budhiram Das hailing from Budhipur, P.O. Langhing, in the Karbi Anglong district. He is a Medical Graduate with Diploma in public Health. He has been serving as a Medical Health Officer - I in the Diphu Civil Hospital.

Their marriage was a negotiated one where prior engagement between the boy and the girl had taken place before the actual marriage. The marriage was solemnised in the residence of the girl on May 11, 1978 in accordance with the Hindu Marriage System by requisitioning the services of Brahmin priests, Family members, relatives and friends of both the parties attended the marriage.

Coming to the question of social acceptance it is found from the field verification that the son-in-law who is a Doctor by profession has been accepted by the girl's family without keeping any social distance treating him as if he were belonging to the Brahmin caste. The boy could adjust himself in the family of his wife and because of his high education no inferiority complex has ever come to his mind. The girl has also been respectfully treated by the family members of the boy. In fact it is a successful marriage in all respect. We have found that the couple has received the amount admissible to them under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983 from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati. We have also ascertained that Sri Buhiram Das, father of Dr. Guna Das had received a sum of Rs. 1500/- from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, as an incentive for the Inter-Caste Marriage of his son with a Brahmin girl.

On the other hand we have ascertained in the field verification that Sri Achyut Borbora (Ex. Principal) U.G.S.C.T.C., Kahikuchi (Azra) Chanakya Path, Dispur, Guwahati-6, father of Smti Rupa Borbora has also received a sum of Rs. 1500/- (in National Savings Certificates) from the Directorate of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Govt. of Assam, in accordance with the provisions of Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.

TINSUKIA DISTRICT.

CASE STUDY, NO.-29

Inter-Caste Marriage between a Kayastha girl and a Kaibarta boy.

In the Tinsukia district only one case of Inter-Caste Marriage was taken up for study and it was a marriage between a Kayastha girl and a kaibarta boy.

Smti. Minu Dutta who hails from Tinsukia town is a Kayastha by caste. Shri Bipul Kumar Medhi who hails from Dahanua Chuk of Tinsukia town is a Kaibarta by caste. It was a negotiated marriage where engagement had taken place between the girl and the boy prior to the actual marriage. The marriage was performed in March 1975 according to the traditional Hindu system in the residence of the girl. Since it was a negotiated marriage performed with the consent of both the parties, family members, relatives and friends of both the parties attended the marriage.

On our field verification it is observed that the boy although belongs to the kaibarta caste, a Scheduled Caste of Assam, has been well received and treated in the girl's family. His wife's relatives and other villagers have also socially accepted him as the son-in-law of the concerned family. The girl has not maintained any air of superiority because of her birth in a high caste (Kayastha). In fact it is a successful marriage from all respects.

It has also been ascertained that the couple had received an amount of Rs. 5000/- (Rs. 4000/- in National Savings Certificates and Rs. 1000/- in cash) from the Director Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, Guwahati, under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rule, 1983.

SONITPUR DISTRICT.

CASE STUDY NO. 30

Although it was decided to take-up one case of Inter-Caste Marriage for study in the Sonitpur District it could not be done so due to lack of address of the beneficiary. From the list supplied by the Director of Welfare of Plains Tribes and Backward Classes, Government of Assam, address of the beneficiary could not be ascertained.

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Consolidated Statement of Inter-Caste Marriage.

Sl. No.	Name of Wife	Caste	Name of Husband	Caste	Negotiated	Social Contract	Manner of performance of marriage.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Smti. Kalpana Kalita	Kalita	Sri Khanindra Nath Moral	Dhubi	N	-	Traditional
2.	" Niru Medhi	Kalita	" Rajen Nath Das	Hira	N	-	Traditional
3.	" Alpana Das	Kalita	" Ramesh Banikya	Bania	N	-	Traditional
4.	" Gita Sharma	Brahmin	" Abinash Hazarika	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
5.	" Moromi Dutta	Kalita	" Sailesh Banikya	Bania	N	-	Traditional
6.	" Mun Mun Barkakati	Kalita	" Girish Das	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
7.	" Sulata Kumari Purkayastha	Kayastha	" Sushil Kr. Das	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
8.	" Kalpana Das	Kaibarta	" Sarat Keot	Keot	-	SC	Court
9.	" Rina Das	Dhubi	" Sunil Bhowmik	Kayastha	-	SC	Temple
10.	" Dipti Rani Mandal	Namasudra	" Dilip Kr. Madak	Kayastha	-	SC	Temple
11.	" Akadashi Mandal	Namasudra	" Tulshi Sharma	Brahmin	N	-	Traditional
12.	" Binjala Biswas	Namasudra	" Santi Chandra Rai	Kalita	-	SC	Court
13.	" Binapani Saikia	Kalita	" Thaneswar Das	Hira	N	-	Traditional
14.	" Thaneswari Hazarika	Kaibarta	" Purna Goswami	Brahmin	N	-	Traditional
15.	" Kunjalata Das	Kaibarta	" Lalit Bora	Keot	N	-	Traditional
16.	" Sarusoali Das	Kaibarta	" Rajen Bora	Keot	-	SC	Court
17.	" Niru Das	Kaibarta	" Atul Bora	Kalita	-	SC	Not yet performed.
18.	" Manti Das	Kaibarta	" Prasanna Deka	Kalita	N	-	Traditional

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
19.	Smti. Numali Kalita	Kalita	Sri Gojen Bora	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
20.	" Chirala Das	Kaibarta	" Borada Choudhury	Kalita	N	-	Traditional
21.	" Pranati Saikia	Kaibarta	" Anil K. Pathak	Keot	N	-	Traditional
22.	" Sabita Dey	Kayastha	" Kamal Kr. Das	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
23.	" Purnima Das	Hira	" Anil Kalita	Kalita	-	SC	Court
24.	" Renuka Das	Kayastha	" Sadhan Ch. Mandal	Namasudra	N	-	Temple
25.	" Mallika Das	Kaibarta	" Santosh Kr. Guha	Kayastha	N	-	Traditional
26.	" Iti Bhattacharyee	Brahmin	" Dilip Kr. Saha	Jalo	-	SC	Court
27.	" Dipa Chakraborty	Brahmin	" Phani Bhusar	Dhubi	-	SC	Court
28.	" Rupa Borbora	Brahmin	" Sukla Guna Das	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional
29.	" Minu Dutta	Kayastha	" Bipul Kr. Medhi	Kaibarta	N	-	Traditional

Kalita - 7 (21.13)	Dhubi - 2 (6.89)	Negotiated	Traditional - 19 (65.52)
Brahmin - 4 (13.79)	Hira - 2 (6.39)	-20 (68.96)	Court - 6 (20.69)
Kayastha - 4 (13.79)	Bania - 2 (6.89)	Social Contract - 9 (31.03)	Temple - 3 (10.34)
Kaibarta - 9 (31.03)	Kaibarta - 7 (24.14)		Other - 1 (3.45)
Dhubi - 1 (3.45)	Keot - 4 (13.79)		
Namasudra - 3 (10.34)	Kayastha - 3 (10.34)		
Hira - 1 (3.45)	Brahmin - 2 (6.89)		
	Kalita - 5 (17.24)		
	Namasudra - 1 (3.45)		
	Jalo - 1 (3.45)		

29

29

N.B. Percentages are shown in bracket..

From the above statement it is seen that out of 29 bridegrooms who had entered into marital alliance under Inter-Caste Marriage 15 belong to caste Hindus and 14 belong to Scheduled Castes. The castwise breakup is as follows :-

Kaibarta	-	9
Kalita	-	7
Brahmin	-	4
Kayastha	-	4
Namasudra	-	3
Dhubi	-	1
Hira	-	1
<u>Total</u>	-	<u>29</u>

Among the 29 brides the caste kaibarta tops the list and the caste-wise break-up is as follows :

Kaibarta	-	7
kalita	-	5
keot	-	4
kayastha	-	3
Dhubi	-	2
Hira	-	2
Bania	-	2
Brahmin	-	2
Namasudra	-	1
Jalo	-	1
<u>Total</u>	-	<u>29</u>

From the above figures it is seen that out of 29 brides under the purview of the study 14 belong to caste Hindu and 15 belong to Scheduled Castes.

It is also seen from the above statement that out of 29 Inter-Caste Marriages under the purview of the survey 20 are negotiated marriages and 9 are social contract marriage, the percentage of negotiated marriage being 69.

Coming to the question as to the manner in which the marriages were performed it can be seen that 19 marriages were performed in the residence of the brides in accordance with the Hindu Marriage System. While 3 marriages were performed in the temple premises, 6 marriages were performed in Courts in presence of Magistrates. In one case although the bridegroom and the bride have been living together as a husband and wife, no formal marriage has been constituted so far. The couple has two children also.

Inter-Caste Marriage and Educational Qualifications.

Educational Qualifications of the bridegrooms.

In order to find out the co-relation between the educational qualifications and the success or failure of Inter-Caste Marriage, let us discuss the educational qualifications of the bridegrooms and the brides.

<u>Bridegrooms</u>	<u>Brides.</u>
Post Graduate - 2(6.89%)	Post Graduate -2(6.89%)
Graduate - 4(13.79%)	Graduate -5(17.24%)
P.U/H.S.S.L.C.- 1(3.45%)	P.U/H.S.S.L.C.-2(6.89%)
H.S.L.C. - 2(6.89%)	H.S.L.C. -4(13.79%)
Under H.S.L.C.- 7(24.14%)	Under H.S.L.C.-8(27.59%)
Literate without formal education -10(34.48%)	Literate without formal education- 6(20.69%)
Illiterate - 3(10.34%)	Illiterate - 2(6.89%)

From above it is seen that among the bridegrooms literate without formal education has the highest percentage- 34.48% (10 out of 29) followed by "Under H.S.L.C."-24.14% (7 out of 29). Thus these two categories together constitute 58.62% of the total persons involved.

Similarly, in case of brides, it is found that " under H.S.L.C." category has the high percentage -27.59 (8 out of 29), and it is followed by literate without formal education 20.69% (6 out of 29). These two categories together constitute 48.28% of the total persons involved.

From this it can be observed that the inter-caste marriage has mostly been confined more or less to those young boys and girls whose basic qualifications are within the range of simple literate to under matric standard. Higher the qualifications lesser are the persons involved.

Similarly, among the illiterates also the percentage is quite low.

If we make a further analysis of the case-wise qualifications of the brides and bridegrooms we find that out of 16 educated brides, 2 are post-Graduates and 4 are Graduates. Among 4 educated Brahmin brides, one is a Post-Graduate degree holder and another is a Graduate. Similarly among the 6 educated brides belonging to the Kalita community one is a Post Graduate degree holder and 3 are Graduates. Thus out of 16 educated brides 6 are degree and Post-Graduate degree holders.

Among the bridegrooms, however, out of 21 educated bridegrooms only 7 are Degree and Post-Graduate degree holders. There are 2 educated Bania bridegrooms out of 21 and both of them are Post-Graduate degree holders. Out of 6 Kalita bridegrooms 3 are Graduates and out of 2 Dhubi educated bridegrooms one is a Graduate and out of 2 educated Hira bride rooms one is a Graduate.

Although the sample taken-up for study is about 20% and although from 20% sample we cannot generalise the basic facts for all the cases of inter-caste marriage, nevertheless, it is a fairly reasonable sample from which we can infer many hitherto unknown facts. From this evaluation study we can infer that brides possessing higher qualifications is more than the number of bride grooms having higher qualifications. We have also seen that wherever the bride and the bridegrooms are highly qualified or sufficiently qualified, greater is the degree of success of the Inter-Caste Marriage. It, however, does not mean

that fate of the brides and bridegrooms having lesser educational qualifications or brides and bridegrooms who have not formal education or who are illiterate, is doomed. Our study shows that in the latter case also the Inter-Caste Marriages have proved themselves to be successful. But here the main difference lies in the fact that in case of Inter-Caste Marriage between a bride and a bridegroom having no formal education, time required for adjustment with the concerned families is rather somewhat of longer duration. However, in cases of Inter-Caste marriage of illiterate brides and bridegrooms the problems of adjustment appear at the beginning and continue for some time although in course of time the problems gradually disappear.

RURAL URBAN.

Out of the 29 cases studied by our Institute 15 (51.71%) are in the urban areas and 14 (48.27%) are in the rural areas. While conducting studies on the impact of such marriages in the urban areas, we find that such Inter-Caste marriages are immediately accepted by the urban society which is constituted with various castes and creeds. In the urban society the neighbouring families do not take much interest if an upper caste boy married a Scheduled Caste girl or a Scheduled Caste boy marries a high caste girl. Since the society is composed of heterogeneous ethnic groups and since the urban societies are not so conservative neighbouring families do not like to interfere with the internal affairs of such a family.

But so far as the rural society is concerned we find a different picture. In the rural society generally in the village families belonging to one or two castes reside. Here the people are also conservative and the rural societies generally are governed by the traditional social rules and customs. Therefore, whenever there is any Inter-Caste marriage which is rather against the prevailing traditional customs, the village people make it a matter for discussion and gossip. In fact it becomes a talk of the village and in the neighbouring area, the older section of the society which is generally more conservative does not take such matters lightly. Society itself may oppose such a move that is why, some of inter-caste marriages are performed in the Court in presence of the Magistrate under the special Hindu Marriage Act. As we have observed, subsequently such marriage are also accepted by the society.

The main factor on which we have paid sufficient emphasis in this study is the social acceptance. We are to see whether such marriages are partly or fully accepted by the concerned families first and secondly the society. As a part of their social life, such acceptance should come forward from the society itself. We are also to see whether such acceptance at the society level is voluntary or out of compulsion. Social acceptance or in other words, discarding social distance, can be observed when we find that the married couple is given due place in the society and among the friends and relatives. When a bride belonging to a Scheduled Caste is married to a Caste Hindu boy and if the family members have allowed her to cook food and allowed to distribute not only among the family members but also among the village people in some social gathering, the acceptance is almost complete. Similarly if a Scheduled Caste boy who has married a Caste Hindu girl is allowed to take his meals by sitting with the other caste Hindu villagers of the village/society without showing any disrespect to him we may say that the social acceptance has been more or less complete. The birth of a child to the newly married couple has also brought the alienated parents or parents-in-laws nearer. The love for the grand-son or the grand-daughter makes them forget everything. Our studies in respect of 29 Inter-Caste marriage have shown clearly that except in one case the others have stories of successful marriage.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

The evaluation of 29 cases of inter-caste marriage has clearly shown that except in one case, in all other cases the marriages have proved to be successful ones. The spread of education and liberal attitude pervading the Hindu society, have broadened the outlook of the societies' leaders. Dynamism is one of the basic characteristics of a living society and changes are bound to take place in the social character sooner or later. The success stories of inter-caste marriages will surely be an eye-opener for the young generation of the caste-based Hindu society. Not only that, the inter-caste marriages have also fostered and developed a new era of relationship between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes.

It has also been observed that the inter-caste marriage has also raised the social status of the involved Scheduled Caste families to a certain extent. It may also further be mentioned that the Hindus social customs in Assam are not so rigid as they are observed in the other parts of the country. Untouchability among the local indigenous scheduled caste families is practically unknown.

Awarding the couples who have entered into wed-lock through inter-caste marriages with cash amounts can be regarded as an incentive scheme since such a scheme is likely to motivate the other young boys and girls who are intended to go for inter-caste marriage.

It is also true that even if such an incentive scheme is not implemented, the inter-caste marriage will take place. For the poorer couples having undergone inter-caste marriage, such a monetary award will prove itself

to be a boon since the couple will be in a position to utilise it as a sort of capital for starting something as a self-employment venture.

It has also been observed by us that in one case although marriage was performed in a Court in the presence of a Magistrate under the Special Hindu Marriage Act the couple was paid Rs.5,000.00 instead of Rs.1,500.00 as per Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.

Inter-Caste Marriage Scheme as such is a good scheme and it should further be encouraged so that fellow feeling, brotherhood and good social relations between the Caste Hindu and the Scheduled Castes can be strengthened.

SUGGESTIONS.

The amount fixed for paying the couple having married the traditional Hindu custom is Rs.5,000.00 where as monetary award for the couple married under Special Hindu Marriage Act, is limited to Rs.1,500.00. In this connection it may be stated that to perform a marriage in the Hindu traditional way is very much expensive. In the present days' context of ever rising prices of various items required for the performance of a marriage in the traditional Hindu way, the couple instead of performing the marriage in the traditional Hindu way might opt for performing the marriage in the Court in the presence of a Magistrate under the Special Hindu Marriage Act. Hence we suggest that for all categories of inter-caste marriage the amount paid to the couple should be a uniform one.

The Inter-Caste Marriage Rule was framed in 1983. From 1983 to 1991 the value of money has gone down considerably. In other-words the price index has considerably gone up from 1983 to 1991. Keeping in view of rising price

index the amount payable to a couple who has entered into wed-lock through inter-caste marriage should also be increased accordingly.

In selecting the couples for the award of cash amount under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983, the income criterion of the married couples should be taken into account. In other words the income criterion should be introduced so that a larger number of beneficiaries of the low income groups could be covered. For example a husband and a wife who are employed as Doctors earning a sizeable income need no incentive. Similarly a husband and his wife who are working as Lecturers in a College in the U.G.C. scale of pay hardly need any monetary incentive. On the other hand, a newly married couple under the Inter-Caste Marriage whose basic occupation is agriculture and whose earning is quite low actually needs monetary incentive² even at a higher rate. We, therefore, suggest that economic status of the husband and wife is to be taken into account at the time of considering the award under the Inter-Caste Marriage Rules, 1983.

Prior to disbursement, the full names and addresses of the beneficiaries including the names and addresses of parents-in-laws should be recorded correctly and fully by the authority entrusted with the implementation of the scheme.

Lastly, we suggest that there should be wide circulation regarding this scheme through various audio-visual means so that more and more couples may avail of the benefits of this scheme. We suggest that hordings could be erected specially in the Weekly Hat areas and other important places for the benefit of prospective couples.

LIST OF BENEFICIARIES IN THE YEAR, 1984-85

(As supplied by the Directorate of welfare of Plains Tribes
and Backward Classes, Assam, Guwahati)

Sl. No.	Full name and Address of the Beneficiary.	Amount Sanctioned by Govt.	Amount Disbursed by N.S.C.	Amount disburse by Bank Draft.
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Smti Rupemai Baruah Vill-Niz Khatawal P.O.-Bengatali, Dist. Nagaon (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
2.	Smti Junumai Kalita Vill - Niz Khatawal P.O. - Barangtali, Dist. Nagaon (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
3.	Smti. Padma Saikia Vill:-Morikelong P.O. - Sadar Dist. Nagaon (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
4.	Smti Dipta Rani Mandal Vill - Mori Hira Gaon P.O.- Morigaon, Dist. Nagaon .	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
5.	Smti Akadashi Biswas, Vill - Moriraja Gaon P.O. - Morigaon, Dist. - Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
6.	Smti. Geeta Kakati, Municipal Administration Deptt. Assam Sect. (Civil) Dispur, Guwahati.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
7.	Smti Mira Bala Medhi Vill - Bahanpum , Dist. Nagaon (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
8.	Smti. Kalpana (Saikia)Das, Quarter No. C-483 ABRP1 Township, Dhaligaon, Dist.- Kokrajhar, Pin - 783383 (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
9.	Smti Khirada Bala Das, Vill - Panipara, P.O. Hojo. Dist. Kamrup.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
10.	Smti Prema Saikia, Vill - Kachua, P.O. Raha, Dist.- Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
11.	Smti Banti Bhuyan Vill - Chinatali, P.O. - & Dist. North Lakhimpur.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

1	2	3	4	5
12.	Smti. Mallika Barkakati Vill. Rajaduar (Monokarneswar) P.O. Guwahati-30, Dist. - Kamrup.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
13.	Smti Pramila Bala Barmah, Vill. -Kaihati P.O. -Salmara Dist. -Nalbari	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
14.	Smti Bimala Barman Vill - Bori Via Salmara, Dist.- Nalbari	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
15.	Smti. Devamai Das Vill - Sanatan Gaon Bahadur Chuk Dist - North Lakhimpur Assam,	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
16.	Smti. Sewali Dasia Vill - Devo Morikali, P.O. - Devo Narikali Dist - Nagaon, Assam.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
17.	Smti Monti Das Vill - Sanatan, Bahadur Chuk Dist. - North Lakhimpur Pin - 787001	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
18.	Smti Rumi Das Uzanbazar Chatrakar, Guwahati - 1	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
19.	Smti Archana Baruah Kanteswar, Tilak Deka Road Dist. - Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
20.	Smti Padami Das Fouzdar Patty, P.O. - Nagaon Dist - Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
21.	Smti Lilawati Bora Morikohong Deboka Road, P.O. - Pathari, Dist. - Nagaon (Assam.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

1	2	3	4	5
22.	Smti Kalpana Keot Vill - Diamru Guri P.O. - Diamru Guri, Dist.- Nagaon (Assam)	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
23.	Smti Soroj Hazarika, C/O Subhash Hazarika Asstt. Engineer Mech (P & D) Cell, Office of the E.C. (Rds) Chandmari, Guwahati-3	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
24.	Smti Sabitri Kalita, Vill - Hussain Chuburi Sonitpur, Dist. Darrang (Assam)	3,000/-	1,500/-	1,500/-
25.	Smti. Renuka Hazarika, Seniali - Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,500/-	1,500/-
26.	Smti Hemani Deka Bhakatpara, Barpeta	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
27.	Smti Ulupi Deka Vill- Kumarhati Dist.- Barpeta	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
28.	Smti Bijoya Bala Talukdar Raha Parghat, P.O. Raha Dist. Nagaon	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
29.	Smti Dipa Chakraborty C.O. B.P. Sukla (A.S.K.) Silchar	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
30.	Smti Kunja Lata Das Vill - Kalakhewa, P.O. - Bokakhat Dist.- Jorhat.	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
31.	Smti Jonaki kalita Vill- Bori, Via-Solmara P.O.-Bori, Dist. Nalbari	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
32.	Smti Purnima Bala Das, Vill- Shastri Nagar P.O.- Balamari, Dist. Goalpara	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
33.	Smti Numali Bora Lengaripara, Mangaldoi	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
34.	Smti Dalimi kalita Bhetarghat, Bompara P.O. Mangaldoi.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

	2	3	4	5
35. Smti Sabitri Bala Das Ward No.-5, P.O. Mangaldoi,	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
36. Smti Chirala Choudhury, Mangaldoi	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
37. Smti. Kalpana Kalita, Guwahati Refinery Hospital, Guwahati.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
38. Smti Niru Das (Medhi) Vill. Jyoti Nagar, P.O. - Hamunimaidan, Guwahati.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
39. Smti. Rupa Borbora, Diphu Civil Hospital, P.O. - Diphu Karbi Anglong.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
40. Smti Dipanmani Mazumdar, Vill & P.O.- Hajo, Kamrup.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
41. Smti. Hiranya Prava Bora (Das) Vill. Kahilipara Near Power House Guwahati	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
42. Smti. Radha Rani Deka, Guwahati University, Guwahati.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
43. Smti Nilima Kalita, Via - Uzanbazar, Guwahati - 1.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
44. Smti. Nilima Das (Neog) Vill.- Borkuloi, Via - Jagibhakat Gaon, Nagaon.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
45. Smti Pranati Saikia, Vill - Makhibaha, P.O.-Tihu. Kamrup.	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-
46. Smti Sneha Lata Das, Office of the S.E. Guwahati Project Circle, Pub-Sarania, Guwahati-3	5,000/-		4,000/-	1,000/-

Sub-Total 2,02,000/-

1	2	3	4	5
47.	Smti Nilima Hazarika Guwahati - 3	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
48.	Smti Mani Sarma Machharhat, Dorkhata	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
49.	Smti. Iken Bala Baishya, Vill. & P.O.-Mahira, Dist. - Kamrup.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
50.	Smti Lakhi Talukdar, Vill - Japarkuchi, Nalbari	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
51.	Smti Basanti kalita, Vill - Sandha - Nalbari.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
52.	Smti. Sabita Dey, P.O. - Barpeta	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
53.	Smti. Usha Bala Das, Vill - Dahati, Barpeta P.O. - Barpeta.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
54.	Smti Akan Prava Das. Vill - Sunderidia, Barpeta.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
55.	Smti. Janaki Das, Vill - Natun Singri P.O. - Singri Tezpur.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
56.	Smti Thunu Mallik (Sarkar) Vill - No.2, Bharigaon P.O. - Bijni, Kokrajhar.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
57.	Smti. Renuka Das, Vill - & P.O. -Kokrajhar Ward No. 6.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
58.	Smti. Mallika Das, Ward No.-6 Kokrajhar.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
59.	Smti Gayatri Roy Tengapara, Ward No.-5, P.O. - Kokrajhar.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
60.	Smti Amiya Bala Mandal Ward No.- 1 Kokrajhar.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

1	2	3	4	5
61.	Smti. Rina Das, Netaji Road, Panigaon, Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
62.	Smti Puma Lata Bora Puranigudam, Nagaon	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
63.	Smti. Anupama Saikia Vill - Doomdomaa, P.O. - Balisatra, Nagaon	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
64.	Smti Bidyabati Devi Vill - Mahmonia Gaon, P.O. - Dekarghat, Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
65.	Smti. Kusum kalita, Vill - Niz Khatowal, P.O. - Barangatali, Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
66.	Smti. Rajana Deysi Raha Khaligaon, P.O. Raha Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
67.	Smti. Anjana Das, Vill - Joyari, P.O. - Joyari Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
68.	Smti. Indreswari Devi Mowa Moria Gaon, Sonitpur, Bindukuri.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
69.	Smti. Bina Pani kalita, Vill - Matiparbat, P.O. - Bangalathara, Nagaon,	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
70.	Smti. Bimala Biswas Moribana gaon, P.O. - Morigaon. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

1	2	3	4	5
71. Smti. kalpana Banik Vill.- Jhargaon, Nageon, P.O. - Morigaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
72. Smti. Mina Mahanta, Vill. Sialmara Morigaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
73. Smti, Pratima(Kundu) Sutradhar, Vill- Nakhala grant, P.O. - Jagiroad, Nagaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
74. Smti. Sewali Medhi, Vill - No. 1, Gunamara, P.O. Azarbari, Jagiroad.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
75. Smti. Nilima Bhuyan, Vill.- Kabeti Nagoan, Morigaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
76. Smti. Bogimai Das, Vill- Doloishupa, Morigaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
77. Smti. Nilima Kakoti, Vill - Baghamara, P.O. - Baghamara, Morigaon.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
78. Smti. Thaneswari Goswami (Hazarika) Vill- Desengmukh, P.O.- Dessengmukh Sibsagar.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
79. Smti. Bina Hazarika (Bhagawati) Vill- Metekhat, Sibsagar.		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
80. Smti. Haremai Hazarika Vill- Nalkhata, Bugalguri, P.O. - Bagalijsn, N/L		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
81. Smti. Sundari Kalita, Capital Campus Disput, Block No.33 Unit-1		5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
82. Smti. Putul Bala kalita, Vill- Bihdia, P.O. Karja, Kamrup.		1000/-	500	500/-
83. Smti. Munmun Das, C/O Sri Manik Kr. Das, S.G. Road, Panbazar, Guwahati-1.		1000/-	500/-	5000/-
84. Smti. Niru Saikia (Das) Vill- Borigaon- Jorhat-2		1000/-	5000/-	500/-

	1	2	3	4	5
85. Smti. Kiran Baruah, Vill. No. I Kowadonga Naobaicha, Lakhimpur			1,000/-	500/-	500/-
86. Smti. Labanya Borah, (Das) Vill- Baliati (Dergaon) P.O.- Garumara, Jorhat.			1,000/-	500/-	500/-
87. Smti Iti Shaha, Duffreng Road, P.O.- & Dist. Dibrugarh			1,000/-	500/-	500/-
88. Smti Dipti Das (Gowami) Vill-Purani Nati, Satra, P.O. - Panichukua, Jorhat.			1,000/-	500/-	500/-
89. Smti. Manika Bas (Devi) Vill. & P.O. Sualkuchi Bamunpai- Dist. Kamrup.			1,000/-	500/-	500/-
90. Smti. Ruram Bora, Lengaripara P.O.-Mangaldoi.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
91. Smti. Makani Bala Kalita, C/O Ganjan Bora, Lengaripara, Mangaldoi.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
92. Smti Damayanti Bala Das, C/O - Bipin Ch. Das, Ward.No.5, Mangaldoi.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
93. Shri. Manik lal Choudhury, Ward No. 5, Mangaldoi.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
94. Smti. Chikuni Bala Das, C/O Borada, Choudhury, Lengaripara, Mangaldoi.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
95. Smti. Bhabani Priya Moral C/O Khanindra Nath Moral, Guwahati Refinery Hospital, Guwahati.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
96. Sri Madhab Ch. kalita, C/O, Khanindra Moral, Gauhati Refinery Hospital			1,500/-	1,500/-	
97. Smti. Atul Ch. Medhi, Jyotinagar, Gauhati-21.			1,500/-	1,500/-	
98. Shri Buhiram Das, Lengapeni, Karbi Anglong.			1,500/-	1,500/-	

1	2	3	4	5
99.	Sri Achyut Ch. Borbora, Principal, U.G.S.C.T.C. Kahikuchi Azra.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
100.	Smti Bhubaneswari Das, Gandhi Basti, P.O. - Guwahati.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
101.	Sri Keshab Ch. Das, Rtd. Magistrate, Rehabari, Guwahati-8	1,500/-	1,500/-	
102.	Smti Devajani Hazarika, Kanwachal, Guwahati.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
103.	Sri Jagan Nath Baruah, Natun Sarania, Guwahati-3	1,500/-	1,500/-	
104.	Shri Manindra Ch. Sarkar, Vill.No.2. Bhetagaon P.O. Bijni, Kokrajhar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
105.	Shri Lakshman Ch. Mallik, Vill. No.2, Bhetagaon, Bijni, Kokrajhar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
106.	Smti Bina Pani Gongapadhaya, Ward No. 5, Kokrajhar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
107.	Smti Kanchan Prova Roy, Tengapara, Kokrajhar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
108.	Shri Matish Ch. Mandal, Ward No.1, Kokrajhar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
109.	Smti. Newli Hazarika, Jail gaon, P.O. Dessangmukh Dist. Sibsagar.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
110.	Shri Chandra Kanta Saikia, Nabin Nagar, R.G. Baruah Road, Guwahati-24	1,500/-	1,500/-	
111.	Shri Gandhi Ram Das, Vill- Hajo, Panipara, P.O.-Hajo, Kamrup.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
112.	Smti Subhadra Barman, Vill- Kalhati, P.O. - Salmara, Nalbari.	1,500/-	1,500/-	

1	2	3	4	5
113.	Sri Bapu Ram Dutta, Bahadurchuk, North Lakhimpur.	2,000/-	2,000/-	
114.	Smti. Pratima Hazarika, Vill. & P.O. Indrapur, Guwahati.	2,000/-	2,000/-	
115.	Champa Bala (Das)Hazarika, C/O, Late Guneswar Das, P.O. Raha, Bhatigaon, Dist. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
116.	Smti. Sabita Das(Kalita) C/O Shri Giridhar Das Vill. & P.O. Malayabari, Via Khetri, Kamrup.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
117.	Smti. Sulata Kumari Purkayastha, C/O, Shri Sushil Kr.Das, Vill. Garikuri, P.O. - Bebjia, Dist.Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
118.	Smti. Pona Bhuyan, C/O. Loveswari Das, Fauzadar patty Dist. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
119.	Smti Sunmani Medhi(Deka) C/O, Mahendra Deka, Ganeshguri, Chariali, Dispur, Guwahati-6.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
120.	Smti Aikan Choudhury, C/O, Hridayananda Choudhury, Vill-Jyotigaon, P.O. Jatia, Dist. Barpeta.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
121.	Smti Lily(Barua)Das, C/O Shri Dhen Das Vill-Baliati Kaisha gaon Sibsagan.	1,000/-	500/-	500/-
122.	Smti Kamala Bala Das. C/O Atul Ch. Medhi. Vill-Jyoti Nagar, P.O. Bamnimaidan,Guwahati.	1,000/-	1,500/-	
123.	Shri Surendra Nath Neog, Vill. Barkuloi, Jagibhakt gaon, Dist. Nagaon.	1,500/-	1,500/-	
124.	Shri Dendeswar Saikia, P.O. Manikarnaswal (Rajaduar)North Guwahati-3C	1,500/-	1,500/-	

1	2	3	4	5
125.	Shri Gomalu kalita, Vill-Jatinara, P.O. - Chandrapur, Dist. Kamrup	1,500/-	1,500/-	
126.	Smti Bojo Bala Das, Vill. & P.O.-Malayabari, Via - Khetri, Dist. Kamrup	1,500/-	1,500/-	
127.	Smti Bijoya Das Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
128.	Smti Indra Thakuria, Sonitpur.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
129.	Smti. Champa Das, Raha, Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
130.	Smti Samti Das, Sonitpur	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
131.	Smti. Dalimi Bora, Sonitpur.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
132.	Smti. Anjali Mallik, Dis. - Goalpara.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
133.	Smti. Banalaya Das, Dist - Goalpara.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
134.	Smti. Namita Neog, Dist. Sonitpur.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
135.	Smti Kujuk Gayan, Dist. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
136.	Smti. Puni Das, Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
137.	Smti. Sangita Kakoti, North Gauhati.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
138.	Smti. Minu Dutta, Dist. Tinsukia.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
139.	Smti. Pratima Saikia, Dist. Tinsukia.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

Sub-Total 1 3 4 5

1	2	3	4	5
140.	Smti. Tilottoma Medhi, Dist. Tinsukia.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
141.	Smti. Jyotshna Rani Das, Dist. Cachar.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
142.	Smti Basanti Das, Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
143.	Smti. Kusum Das, Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
144.	Smti. Bakuli Dutta, Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
145.	Smti. Swapna Goswami. Dist. Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
146.	Smti. Broja Bala Saikia, Dist. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
147.	Smti. Bulu Hazarika, Dist. - Jorhat.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
148.	Smti. Renu Das, Dist. Nagaon.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
149.	Smti. Anima Dey, Dist. Dhubri	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-
150.	Smti. Swapna Bose Dist. Dhubri.	5,000/-	4,000/-	1,000/-

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151.	Smti Bhanu Bani Das, C/O Sri Biren Das, Ambikagiri nagar {Tarabari path, P.O. Zoo Road, Gauhati -24.	1,000/-	1,000/-
152.	Smti Susun Choudhury, S/O Shri Arup Kr. Choudhury, K.R. Choudhury Road, Bharulumukh, Gauhati-9	5,000/-	5,000/-
153.	Smti. Anu Hazarika C/O Sri Ram Ch. Hazarika, Vill- Indrapur P.O. - Indrapur, Dispur.	5,000/-	5,000/-
154.	Smti Alpana Das, C/O Shri Ramesh Banikya, New Gauhati, Bamunihaidan, Gauhati-20	5,000/-	5,000/-
155.	Dr. Smti Marani Dutta, Aradhana, South Sarania, Gauhati -781007	5,000/-	5,000/-
156.	Smti Malati Das, C/O Sri Paramananda Rajkhowa, Assam Civil Sett. Dispur Gauhati - 6	5,000/-	5,000/-
Total amount,		6,08,000/-	

Nos of beneficiary - 187

Awarded - 156
